

THE MILITANT

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

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'BAKKE' IN STEEL

New threat to Black job rights

Louisiana white sues union,
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ERA

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what is next step
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Antinuclear activists plan Nov. protests



Militant/Susan Ellis

LOUISVILLE, Ky.—Hundreds rally during first national conference of antinuclear movement, August 16-20. See page 5.

Rally hails socialists' suit, blasts FBI attacks

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How to fight inflation

The Carter administration has targeted truck drivers as the latest victims in its "war against inflation." Barry Bosworth, head of the Council on Wage and Price Stability, promises trucking bosses the government will intervene to hold down wages in the Teamsters' Master Freight Agreement next year.

The attack on the Teamsters comes on top of the administration's efforts to:

- ram a miserable 3 percent a year contract down postal workers' throats, and
- limit pay increases for all federal employees to 5.5 percent.

Carter insists that the only way to slow down inflation is for workers to accept *less*. Lower wage increases. Lower standards for pollution and job safety. Less government spending for jobs and social services.

Inflation is ravaging the living standards of American working people. In July the government's Consumer Price Index shot up at the "double digit" annual rate of 10.8 percent. But the prices of basic necessities—food, shelter, health care, and energy—are actually rising at 15 percent a year, a private research study shows.

Everyone whose wages are not going up at that rate—in other words, the vast majority of workers—is losing ground. According to Operation PUSH, Black purchasing power has fallen 15 percent in the past five years!

Workers are the victims, not the culprits, of inflation. Wages are not pushing up prices; they are vainly struggling to catch up with prices.

Carter's exhortations for sacrifice to "fight inflation" cover up the fact that *the government's own policies are the prime engine of inflation.*

The Pentagon's insatiable war budget will devour \$126 billion in fiscal 1979 and Carter proposes \$135 billion for 1980. The federal government runs multi-billion-dollar deficits every year to cover these mammoth arms expenditures. This expands the supply of *money* in the economy faster than production of *goods* expands. The inevitable result is that dollars are worth less in terms of goods—that is, goods cost more in terms of dollars.

At the same time, the government protects U.S. monopoly control of prices against foreign competition. Last year Carter imposed new curbs on imported steel, allowing the steel

barons to jack up prices 9.5 percent already this year.

To top it off, the centerpiece of Carter's energy plan is *decontrol* of oil and gas prices—a move that will raise energy prices (and profits) by untold billions of dollars.

Workers can find no relief from inflation by accepting Carter's fraudulent schemes. The only protection lies in cost-of-living escalators for *all* wages and social benefits, so that wages go up penny-for-penny with the *real* increase in the cost of living, not the government's rigged inflation statistics.

There is no need for sacrifice of any social services. Elimination of the war budget would free up billions for jobs and human needs.

The real battle to defend living standards against inflation is being fought today by Teamsters, postal workers, railroad workers, and others striving to protect their wages and jobs. They are fighting *against* the Carter administration and the capitalist class it represents. They deserve the active solidarity of every working person.

Arson in Iran

Arsonists set fire to a crowded movie theater in the southern Iranian oil port city of Abadan August 19. As many as 420 persons died.

The shah's regime claims that this hideous crime was committed by antigovernment demonstrators, whose protests have been spreading and winning ever greater support throughout Iran in recent months.

But some 600 supporters of the Iranian Student Association demonstrated in Washington, D.C., August 21 to protest this version of the Abadan massacre.

One of the student leaders told the *Washington Post* that her group received information from sources in Iran leading to the conclusion "that SAVAK, the shah's secret police, had set the fatal fire in order to arouse public support in the government's battle against dissidents."

A similar point was made by Shi'ite Muslim leader Ayatollah Shariat Madari, a leading dissident in Iran.

The Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI) also put responsibility for the fire on the government.

Recent events in Iran support these charges. This crime is entirely consistent with the gunning down by government troops of hundreds of protesters this summer.

And only the government—not its opponents—benefits from the way the shah is using the Abadan fire as a pretext for launching yet another witch-hunt against human rights activists.

In the past twenty years, the U.S. government has shipped more than \$18 billion worth of arms to the Iranian dictatorship.

Working people should demand that Washington end this criminal support to the shah's mass murderers, torturers—and arsonists.

Israeli terror

Israeli warplanes bombed Palestinian civilian refugee centers in Lebanon August 21. The early-morning Zionist attack left four people dead and forty injured. The Israeli government claimed it murdered these civilians in retribution for a Palestinian commando attack on an El Al Airlines bus in London.

But the Israeli raid only underscores the Zionists' hypocrisy on the eve of a new round of U.S.-sponsored Mideast peace talks scheduled to open September 5.

The U.S. government claims it is neutral in these talks and has the best interests of both Arabs and Israelis at heart. Thus, Washington suggests to Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat that it might force Israel to return some of the Arab land it occupies. But only if Sadat will make some concessions to the Zionists.

Carter's real goal, however, is not forcing Israeli concessions but protecting the interests of U.S. corporations in the Middle East.

Washington knows that Israel is its most dependable launching pad for the military defense of these interests from the Arab masses. This is why it currently bankrolls the Zionist regime to the tune of \$2 billion a year.

And this is why—despite its diplomatic maneuvering to keep Sadat at the bargaining table—Washington takes no meaningful action against the Israeli government's terror tactics in Lebanon or its repeated establishment of new illegal settlements on occupied Arab land.

By continuing to support and encourage Israel in this way, the U.S. government, far from enhancing the prospects for peace, is *accelerating the outbreak of a new Mideast war.*

American workers shouldn't be fooled by Carter's phony peace summit. Our demand should be: End all U.S. aid to Israel now!

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Lethal 'time bomb' at Love Canal

The army and Hooker Chemical dumped poisonous chemicals in Love Canal, Niagara Falls, for twenty-five years. Now the residents are paying the price: birth defects, disease, death.

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Postal delegates reject contract

Angry delegates at the American Postal Workers convention voted to reject the proposed contract and mandate a national strike. Page 8.

Czechoslovakia: 1968

Ten years ago, Soviet troops invaded Czechoslovakia. A decade later, the fight continues to overthrow the Stalinist bureaucracy and establish socialist democracy. Page 18.



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Conference against apartheid set for NYC Nov. 17-19

By John Hawkins

NEW HAVEN, Conn.—Representatives of close to twenty college campuses and organizations met at Yale University here August 12 to set plans for a northeast regional conference on South Africa this November.

The steering committee of the North East Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa (NECLSA), sponsor of the conference, decided to schedule the gathering for the weekend of November 17-19 at New York University in New York City.

Tentative plans call for a mass meeting or teach-in to be held Friday evening, workshops, and plenary sessions where participants as a whole can discuss proposals for action.

Josh Nessen, a leader of NECLSA, presented a detailed proposal for the conference. Nessen is a founder of the East Coast Catalyst Project, a research group on university investments in South Africa.

He proposed workshops on campus antiapartheid struggles; on the links between the divestment movement and other social forces such as the labor movement, Blacks, and the anti-nuclear power movement; and on other solidarity activities—from the campaign to end sales of the South African Krugerrand gold coin to aiding African liberation groups.

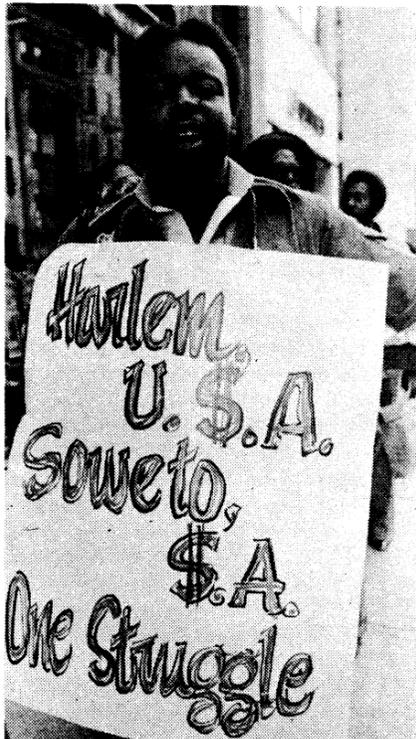
Activists from NYU reported that facilities for the conference, including housing, have already been secured.

The coalition endorsed the Harvard University divestment committee's proposal for a nationwide campus moratorium on March 21, 1979, the anni-

versary of the Sharpeville massacre. The proposal and a questionnaire are being mailed to groups around the country. A number of organizations have called for national and international protests on this date already. The United Nations has declared March 21, 1978, to March 20, 1979, "International Anti-Apartheid Year."

Among the campuses represented at the August 12 steering committee were Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Princeton,

Continued on page 4



Militant/Lou Howort

'We can begin to unite this movement'

The following is a letter sent out by North East Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa, urging support for an action conference on U.S. involvement in southern Africa. The conference will be held in New York City on November 17-19.

Dear friend,

During the past year, students have stepped up activity in support of the Black freedom struggle in southern Africa. Focused around the issue of divestment—for an end to university complicity with U.S. corporations doing business in southern Africa—this activity has spread to scores of colleges and universities across the country.

In the Northeast, where divestment protests have been most widespread, 500 students representing forty-three schools and many different organizations gathered together for a conference last spring at Yale University. This conference established the North East Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa (NECLSA) based on the following points of unity:

1. Working around the call for American withdrawal from apartheid, including the cultural, political, and economic isolation of South Africa and Rhodesia.
2. We recognize the right of self-determination of the people of southern Africa. We support the struggle of the liberation groups to achieve this goal.
3. We recognize that our struggle against racism and national oppression in southern Africa is a contribution to the struggle against imperial-

ism and racism in the U.S.

The NECLSA has decided to sponsor another conference this fall, November 17-19, at New York University in New York City. The purpose of this conference will be to discuss how to build the most effective movement in solidarity with the liberation struggle in southern Africa. We want to bring together antiapartheid activists to share their experiences, to discuss how to broaden and deepen the movement against U.S. involvement in southern Africa, and to consider plans for future united campaigns.

We urge all interested people throughout the Northeast to participate. We also hope that activists from across the country will attend so that we can begin the process of uniting this movement on a national scale.

There are many ways that you or your organization can help make this conference a success:

1. Endorse the conference and get others to endorse it also.
2. Select representatives to attend NECLSA Steering Committee meetings, which will be regularly announced through the NECLSA Newsletter.
3. Help raise funds. Send a contribution.
4. Help publicize the conference. Order posters and sample leaflets for distribution in your area.

If you want to help in this effort, or would like further information, contact: NECLSA, c/o American Committee on Africa, 305 East Forty-sixth Street, New York, New York 10017. Telephone: (212) 838-5030.

Congress continues cover-up in King murder

By Harry Ring

When James Earl Ray appeared before the House Select Committee on Assassinations August 16-17, it was clear that the committee was determined to thwart the development of information pointing to government complicity in the murder of Martin Luther King.

The committee, headed by Black Democrat Louis Stokes, did not concern itself with the documented admissions of the FBI's law-breaking vendetta against King. Nor did it address itself to the major unanswered questions in the case.

Instead the committee satisfied itself with seeking evidence to refute Ray's protestations of innocence, and to bolster the original court finding that he acted alone.

What is involved is more than a simple lack of concern for truth and justice. The Stokes committee shares the fears of the rulers of this country that revelations pointing to government complicity in Dr. King's death

would have explosive repercussions among Black people in this country.

This concern was indicated by the importation of an unusually dubious witness from England. The witness, Alexander Eist, is a former British cop who was assigned to guard Ray after his arrest in London in 1968. Eist offered the committee his uncorroborated word that Ray had confided to him that he had killed King and, in Eist's words, "did that on his own."

Eist's appearance before the committee was blasted by Ray's attorney, Mark Lane, who said Eist had been dismissed from the British police for alleged corruption, perjury, and robbery.

Now a bar owner, Eist said he agreed to provide his testimony after being approached by two Americans who told him, "This was probably something important to the country's sake."

Yet the House committee's efforts have not stilled the mounting conviction that the government was involved

in King's assassination.

This belief was voiced at the committee hearing by Rev. Ralph Abernathy, the former SCLC leader, who was standing on the Memphis balcony with King when he was gunned down.

Recalling that King was killed at the time he became involved in support of a sanitation workers' strike, Abernathy told the committee:

"I believe very firmly that the assassination of Martin Luther King was a political assassination. I believe it was a conspiracy."

He later told reporters, "When Dr. King began to bring poor people together, who separately are a minority but together are a powerful majority—Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, and poor whites—then someone in a very high position decided that they must eliminate him."

Abernathy pointed the finger directly at the late FBI chief, J. Edgar Hoover.

The accusation of FBI complicity was also made before the committee by

PUSH leader Jesse Jackson, who was also present when King was killed.

Despite their presence at the scene of the murder, Jackson said, neither he nor Abernathy had ever been interviewed by the FBI, which was allegedly investigating the murder.

These facts and more were cited in an August 19 editorial in the New York *Amsterdam News*.

The editorial recalls that four participants in the Memphis march organized by King in support of the sanitation strikers were later revealed as FBI plants.

The editorial also noted the recent disclosure of "misfiled" FBI evidence, including a report that Memphis businessmen had offered \$50,000 for the assassination of King.

The widely circulated Black weekly declared it was firmly convinced that at a minimum the FBI had engaged in a conscious cover-up in the case.

And, it added, in saying this, "we reflect the predominant view of Black Americans."

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Pressure grows for equal rights

House extends ERA deadline three years

By Shelley Kramer

On August 15 the House of Representatives voted 233 to 189 to extend the deadline for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment. The bill passed would extend the original March 22, 1979, deadline to June 30, 1982. An amendment to the extension bill proposed by ERA opponents—which would allow states to rescind earlier ratification votes—was defeated 227 to 196.

These House votes score significant victories for ERA supporters. But the battle for extension—and ratification—is far from over.

Anti-ERA senators led by Utah Sen. Orrin Hatch are threatening to filibuster the extension bill in order to prevent its passage during this legislative session.

To push extension through the Senate—and to win ratification in the three more states needed—mass pressure is needed.

Women and their allies exerted that kind of pressure July 9 when 100,000 marched in Washington demanding passage of the ERA. It was only days after this demonstration—the biggest ever for women's rights—that the House Judiciary Committee approved the extension bill. And you can bet the House representatives had July 9—and the vision of even larger future actions—fresh in their minds when they voted up extension.

The upswing in big, visible actions for the ERA is reinforcing and breathing confidence into public support for equal rights. And that's putting the politicians on the spot.

For two years polls have shown a decline in the majority supporting the



Militant/Ginny Hildebrand

Upswing in actions for ERA helped win House extension of deadline for ratification

ERA. But in the past six months—months that have seen a rise in pro-ERA activity—the Harris poll reports a jump from 51 to 55 percent in favor of the amendment. A recent Associated Press-NBC News poll shows 54 percent in favor.

And while the AP-NBC poll shows 34 percent supporting extension of the deadline, the Harris poll finds that 57 percent are for extension.

The pro-ERA majority will continue to grow if women broaden the offensive in the equal rights struggle. The National Organization for Women's

August 26 walkathons for the ERA provide one opportunity to turn the pressure up even higher.

These local fund-raising events can maintain the visibility of ERA supporters—and draw new forces into action. In Seattle and New York, public rallies will be combined with the walkathons. As the August *National NOW Times* put it, "The Walkathon will be a perfect follow-up to the March; let your community know that the July 9 ERA spirit lives on!"

A vital aspect of following up on July 9 is to further involve the labor

movement in ERA activities. Row after row of union contingents in the Washington march showed the potential for putting labor's social muscle to work for the ERA.

United Auto Workers District 9 in New Jersey has pledged \$100 to NOW's walkathon in that state. In New York, the Coalition of Labor Union Women has called a noontime "Labor for the ERA" rally August 31 at Herald Square, as part of NOW's Women's Equality Week. Just recently, the American Postal Workers Union convention voted its support to the ERA.

All ERA supporters will have an important opportunity to discuss how to win ratification when NOW holds its national conference in Washington, D.C., October 6-9.

Thousands of new women have joined the ERA struggle this past year—in unions, on campuses, through the International Women's Year conferences, and in actions. Many have been attracted to NOW through these activities.

The big question before the conference will be the need to carry the momentum of the July 9 march forward by calling another massive protest for the ERA.

An editorial in the August *National NOW Times* points out the impact of July 9:

"1. It decisively influenced the House Judiciary Committee vote on extension of the deadline for ratification of the ERA.

"2. It dramatized the depth, breadth, and intensity of the national commitment to the ERA. . . .

Continued on page 22

YSA sets key fall demand: 'U.S. out of Africa!'

By Chuck Petrin

"A new generation of young rebels is growing up in this country. Young people by the tens of thousands awakening to the spectacle of capitalist oppression and exploitation. Young people in growing numbers, stepping out to act in defense of their rights and interests. We must reach this new generation, champion their progressive demands, and win them to the revolutionary socialist movement."

That was the theme sounded by Cathy Sedwick, national chairperson of the Young Socialist Alliance, in a special presentation on "Youth and the American Socialist Revolution" at the Active Workers and Socialist Educational Conference held in Ohio August 5-12.

More than 250 YSA members attended the conference, which provided an opportunity to share ideas and experiences in preparation for the socialists' fall activities.

"The top priority of the YSA this fall will be activity in defense of the African revolution," Sedwick explained. "We are pledging all our aid and support to building a movement that can tie American imperialism's hands, force the U.S. government to end all economic, political, and military support to the racist regimes in southern

Africa, and prevent another Vietnam-style military adventure there."

During the past year, Sedwick pointed out, student demonstrations opposing U.S. involvement in Africa have spread across the country. These demonstrations have focused on the demand to end all college and university ties to U.S. corporations doing business in South Africa.

"'Stop the lies! Break all ties!' That's been the rallying cry of student activists," Sedwick said. "But it's not just campus complicity students are concerned about. It's also government complicity and the very real danger of direct U.S. military intervention to turn back the insurgent Black majority in southern Africa."

A student action conference on U.S. involvement in Africa, called by the North East Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa, will be taking place November 17-19 in New York City (see article on page 3). The YSA will be there, Sedwick said, and it plans a campaign to involve as many other activists as possible.

In addition to Africa solidarity, there are other important issues the YSA will address this fall. These include:

- Ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment, building on the success of the giant pro-ERA march on Washing-

ton July 9 sponsored by the National Organization for Women.

- Defense of affirmative-action programs in the wake of the Supreme Court's decision in the *Bakke* case.
- Defense of the Wilmington Ten, focusing on the October 7 national demonstration in Washington called by the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression.
- Opposition to nuclear power and nuclear weapons, focusing on the November 11-19 week of activities planned to coincide with the anniversary of the death of nuclear-plant-safety activist Karen Silkwood.

"Through all these struggles," Sedwick explained, "the YSA will be work-



CATHY SEDWICK

Militant/Rich Robohn

ing alongside many young people interested in finding out what socialists have to say, what our views are on current issues, what our strategy is to bring about social change.

"Answering these kinds of questions, helping young people find their way to revolutionary socialism and to the YSA, is the most important part of everything we do."

To aid this effort the YSA will be on a big campaign this fall to increase circulation of both the *Militant* and the YSA's own newspaper, the *Young Socialist*. YSA members will be pitching in on the *Militant's* fiftieth-anniversary drive to sell 100,000 copies between September 1 and December 15. In addition, they will be shooting to reach a national sales goal of 4,000 *Young Socialists* in September, October, and November.

Special efforts will be made to sell the *Militant* and *Young Socialist* at college campuses outside of cities where YSA chapters or Socialist Workers Party branches are now established. Weekend—and in some cases week-long—traveling teams will be fielded on a regional basis.

Sales will also be combined with activities aimed at building support for Socialist Workers Party candidates in state and local elections.

The YSA plans a \$20,000 national fall fund drive to back up its ambitious projections.

"The grand finale of the YSA's fall campaigns will be our eighteenth national convention," Sedwick said, "which will take place in Pittsburgh, December 28 through January 1.

"The last day of the convention—January 1—will mark the twentieth anniversary of the Cuban revolution. And we plan to celebrate that historic event in true revolutionary style."

...conference

Continued from page 3

University of Massachusetts, NYU, Howard University, Temple University, Rutgers, and Amherst.

Groups present were the Workers Viewpoint Organization, Revolutionary Student Brigade, Catalyst Collective, and Young Socialist Alliance.

A working committee was estab-

No-Nukes Strategies Conference

Activists call for Nov. antinuke protests

By Arnold Weissberg

LOUISVILLE, Ky.—Activists at the first National No-Nukes Strategies Conference, held at the University of Louisville August 16-20, have called on the anti-nuclear power movement to join in nationally coordinated local protests November 11-19 to commemorate the death of Karen Silkwood.

Silkwood, a trade-union activist at an Oklahoma plutonium plant, died under mysterious circumstances on November 13, 1974, on her way to meet a reporter to expose unsafe conditions in the plant.

The action proposal was unanimously approved by the conference's national direct action workshop. The proposal includes a call for organizations to send representatives to a Silkwood memorial rally in Oklahoma that week. In addition, the National Organization for Women has called for memorial actions November 13.

Several other workshops here also discussed and approved the November action.

The direct action workshop also issued a call for the U.S. antinuke movement to join in international protests next June, in solidarity with a call issued earlier this year by a coalition of European antinuke groups.

Guy Chichester, a New Hampshire carpenter and founder of the Clamshell Alliance, initiated the direct action workshop. It struck a responsive chord, with more than 100 conference participants taking part in its discussions.

The largest of the workshops here, it attracted people from virtually every area of the country.

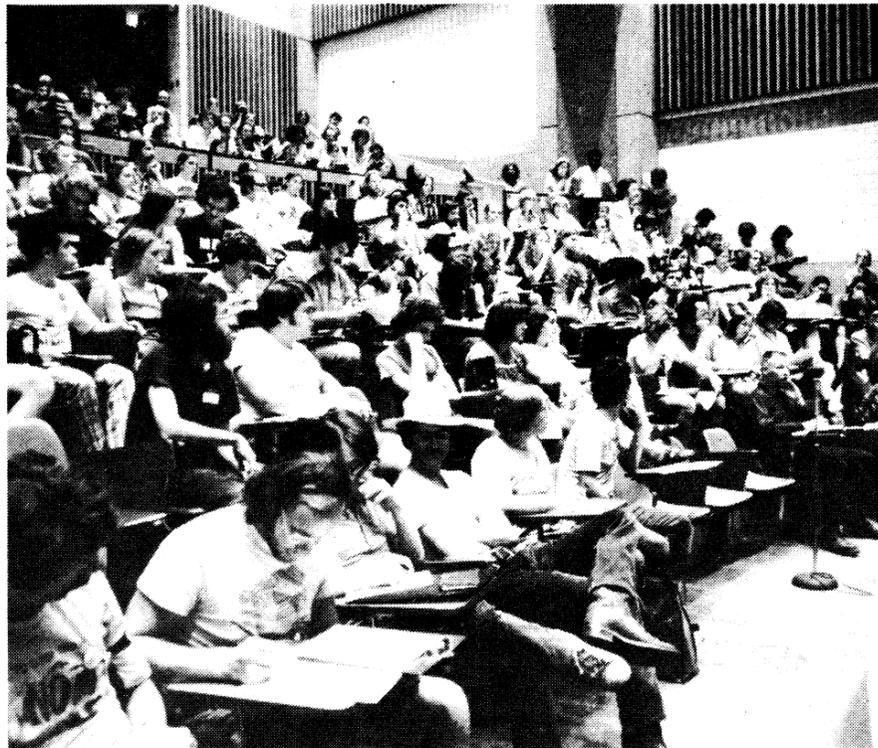
There was also general agreement in the workshop on the need for a national action in Washington, D.C., a "show of strength," as one delegate said. Several different proposals for such an action were presented at the workshop. The conference as a whole took no votes.

The gathering here marked the first time antinuke activists from all over the country have come together for a general strategy discussion.

The 300 delegates came representing antinuke groups from every corner of the country: Clamshell Alliance; Shad Alliance; Palmetto Alliance; Catfish Alliance; Oystershell Alliance; Great Plains Alliance; Headwaters Alliance; Crabshell Alliance; Abalone Alliance; and many, many more.

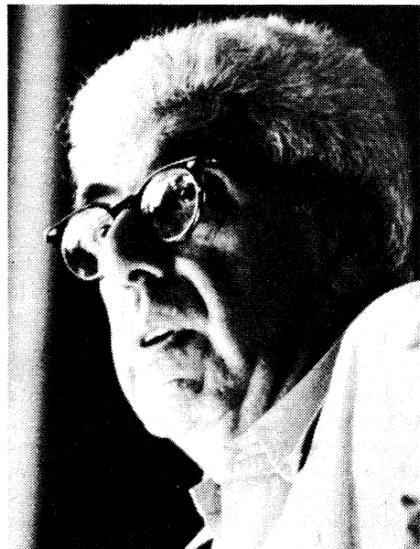
Also represented were national groups that oppose nuclear power, including the American Friends Service Committee, Mobilization for Survival, Socialist Workers Party, New American Movement, International Socialists, Young Socialist Alliance, and others.

One of the highlights was a spirited rally Friday evening, August 18. Some 500 people heard Barry Commoner; Joe Frantz, a member of the environment committee in United Steelworkers Local 1010; Cathy Ford of the Louisville chapter of the National Organization for Women; Helen Kuester of the



Militant/Susan Ellis

Louisville conference marked first time antinuke activists have held national discussion on strategy.



Militant/Susan Ellis

BARRY COMMONER

Mobilization for Survival sets national conference

Mobilization for Survival, a national organization that opposes nuclear weapons and nuclear power, will hold its second annual conference in Des Moines, Iowa, September 15-17. The conference is open to all.

MfS points in its conference call to the series of antinuke, anti-nuclear weapons actions this spring and their importance in fighting for "a disarmed and nuclear-free world whose resources are used for the human needs of its peoples."

The preliminary conference agenda lists workshops on such topics as surveillance of the antinuke movement; human rights; ura-

nium mining; and others. Also scheduled are regional meetings and full conference sessions.

Many of the activists at the Louisville No-Nukes Strategies Conference indicated they were planning to go to the MfS meeting to continue discussions on how to build the movement to stop nuclear power and nuclear weapons.

The conference will be held at Washington Irving School, Sixteenth and Forest streets. For more information, contact Mobilization for Survival, 1213 Race Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19107, or call (215) 563-1512.

Paddlewheel Alliance, a Louisville antinuke group; and others.

Commoner's speech, picked up on a national CBS-TV broadcast the next day, was a powerful indictment of the dangers and wastefulness of nuclear power.

Helen Kuester, whose speech was also reported by CBS, explained that the antinuke movement has a weapon more powerful than the billions of dollars the government and the nuclear industry possess: the truth.

The rally site was filled with handmade signs from the many delegations.

During the conference, delegates divided into two-day issue workshops to discuss such questions as nuclear waste; the relationship of nuclear power to nuclear weapons; government spying on the antinuke movement; and many other topics.

All fifteen issue workshops came up with lists of proposals. The proposals, including the November Silkwood actions, will be mailed to the delegates for local discussion.

A session on "Socialism and the antinuke movement" was sponsored by the University of Louisville Young Socialist Alliance and featured Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of California.

The National No-Nukes Strategies Conference marked another important step forward for the antinuke movement. Delegates from around the country were able to share their experiences and ideas with one another face to face in small-group discussions, in regional meetings, and in two general sessions.

It was clear from these discussions

that the huge turnout of 20,000 people at Seabrook, New Hampshire, last June 25 has made a deep impact on the thinking of many activists. The Seabrook protest, many times larger than any other anti-nuclear power actions in this country, showed that the antinuke movement has the potential to bring into action large numbers of people who oppose nuclear power.

How to deepen that opposition, how to win over still more people, and how to mobilize the millions who already oppose nukes were the questions on the minds of delegates.

A special topic of concern was how to win support from the union movement.

As one woman noted, "The Karen Silkwood actions are a golden opportunity to involve unionists, because Silkwood was an activist in the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union." She added that the breadth of trade-union support for the June Seabrook antinuke protest showed that important labor backing for the November actions could be won.

Other delegates pointed out that a lawsuit filed by Silkwood's parents against her employers, the giant Kerr-McGee energy firm, might come to trial this fall, heightening public awareness of the case and adding both importance and potential support to the November actions.

By bringing together, for the first time, activists from around the country, the National No-Nukes Strategies Conference played an important role in forging the kind of movement that can shut down the nukes—and shut them down for good!

Memorial actions mark Hiroshima Day

August 6, the thirty-third anniversary of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima, was marked by a series of anti-nuclear demonstrations.

Some 3,500 people rallied outside the Diablo Canyon nuclear power plant near San Luis Obispo, California. The plant sits on an active earthquake fault. About 500 people were later arrested for trespassing after entering the plant grounds. The protest was

sponsored by the Abalone Alliance.

In Oregon, 200 people were arrested at the Trojan nuclear power plant, forty miles from Portland. The attempted occupation of the Trojan site began August 6, the day after a support rally of 1,200 people. The Trojan action was sponsored by the Trojan Decommissioning Alliance, and the August 5 rally by Mobilization for Survival Portland Coalition.

On August 5, 1,500 people picketed the Seal Beach Naval Weapons Center, near Los Angeles. Sponsored by Mobilization for Survival, the action protested the storage of nuclear weapons in a heavily populated area, and called for spending the war budget on human needs instead.

Six hundred people gathered at the Rocky Flats, Colorado, nuclear weapons plant August 6, in a commem-

oration sponsored by the Rocky Flats Action Group and the Rocky Flats Truth Force. About fifty people, including Daniel Ellsberg and poet Allen Ginsberg, were arrested following a "die-in" at the plant entrance August 9.

Nearly 500 people came to a memorial meeting in New York City August 6 sponsored by Mobilization for Survival. A candlelight march to the United Nations building followed.

Steelworkers convention

McBride bars mailing on right to ratify

By Andy Rose

In a serious new infringement on union democracy, top officers of the United Steelworkers have prohibited USWA Local 1010 from sending a mailing to other locals urging them to support the right of all steelworkers to vote on their contracts.

Supporters of union democracy hope to make membership ratification a major issue at the USWA convention in September. USWA contracts in the basic-steel, aluminum, can, and nonferrous metals industries—covering nearly half the union's 1.3 million members—are voted on by local presidents, not by the members.

Local 1010 at Inland Steel in East Chicago, Indiana, voted in July to pay for a mailing on the right to ratify, to be sent through international union channels.

USWA President Lloyd McBride responded by sending two "inspectors" to investigate charges that the local had obtained an "illegal" mailing list. Only the international has a list of all USWA locals. The investigators later admitted there was no

evidence to back up this charge.

Nevertheless, the international informed Local 1010 President Bill Andrews that it would be "improper" for the local to finance such a mailing even if the international sent it out. It would "open a Pandora's box" of communications among locals on various issues, the international claimed.

Through this Catch-22 ruling, McBride has in effect prohibited any widespread communication among locals.

The McBride bureaucracy, of course, retains full freedom to use its network of hundreds of loyal staff representatives to organize a flood of convention resolutions. In preparation for the September convention, McBride's flunkies have been pushing resolutions to end referendum election of international officers and to raise McBride's \$75,000 a year salary.

Despite bureaucratic harassment, Local 1010 has been getting letters from steelworkers across the country voicing support for the right to ratify, Local 1010 Vice-president Cliff

"Cowboy" Mezo told the *Militant* in a telephone interview.

The initiators of the right-to-ratify campaign are urging all steelworkers to pass resolutions in their locals, circulate petitions, and spread the movement to other locals.

The purpose of the petitioning, Mezo said, is "to blunt any attempt by opponents of the right to ratify to hide behind the claim that the rank-and-file member, the guy that's paying the freight, doesn't want this."

"The guy in the mill feels alienated, cut off from the union—like it's a power apart from him," Mezo said. "The more participation and input he has, the more he's going to feel that he has a voice in his destiny."

"This is desperately needed not only in the steelworkers but in the whole labor movement. It was graphically illustrated in the mine workers' strike just recently. Only their right to ratify kept them from being completely wiped out by a sell-out agreement."

The right to ratify will mean better contracts, Mezo explained. "When

you can go behind closed doors and satisfy three or four people by whatever means of convincing, you're dealing with one thing. But when you know that you have to satisfy thousands of people out there on the job, even your initial offer will be much better."

The right to ratify is not an isolated issue, Mezo indicated, but one that is connected with many other concerns of steelworkers. For example, if there is a big show of support for the right to ratify, he said, it is likely that the trial balloon on eliminating referendum election of officers "will never be brought to the floor."

Mezo also thinks that winning the right to vote on contracts would "effectively nullify" the Experimental Negotiating Agreement. The ENA, a no-strike straitjacket for bargaining in basic steel, was imposed on steelworkers in 1973.

If steelworkers have the right to reject a contract, Mezo said, the ENA's provision for arbitration of unresolved issues would "become meaningless."

Drop the charges!

Cops assault, frame up Black socialist in Miami

By Lee Smith

MIAMI—A newly formed defense committee here is demanding that frame-up charges be dropped against a young Black socialist who faces prosecution for his support to an antiracist Haitian demonstration.

Roy (Leo) Harris was injured and then arrested when a cop drove a car into the edge of a demonstration outside a Winn-Dixie store August 8.

A member of the Socialist Workers Party, Harris was there to support the demonstration and to sell the *Militant*.

Harris was first thrown up on the car hood and then whipped back to the pavement by the car. A Haitian woman was knocked to the ground.

When Harris finally received medical treatment, seventeen stitches were needed to close the gash in his leg. Before he was treated, Harris was taken in and charged with disorderly conduct and criminal mischief.

The demonstration was one of a series related to a boycott by Miami's Haitian community against the Winn-Dixie store in the city's largest Haitian neighborhood.

The boycott was in response to racist statements made by the store's manager and its security guard to the



Leo Harris (second from right) speaks at August 19 demonstration to defend Haitian rights. At earlier Haitian protest, Harris was attacked by cops and then arrested.

local press. Winn-Dixie manager Doug Antle was quoted as saying of Haitians: "They're all right. It's just like all niggers. You've got to keep on their butts. They work."

Miami cop and moonlighting security guard G.L. Kunkle was reported as "suggesting putting dispensers over

the doors, spraying them with deodorant as they enter."

When Harris was hit by the car, he asked cops on the scene to call an ambulance. They agreed to but didn't.

Two Haitian protest leaders then asked them to do so. The cops replied, "He's not one of you. He's an outsider

trying to stir up trouble."

The Haitians protested that the Black community had been welcome to the protests. They insisted Harris get medical attention.

"He doesn't want medical attention. He just wants to make trouble," the cops asserted.

After further insistence, the cops agreed and said they would take him to the hospital in a patrol car.

With Harris in the car, they stopped at a nearby athletic field where other cops were standing by. The cops got out of the car and Harris heard them talking about "American niggers who stir up the Haitians."

The cops got back in the car. But instead of taking him to the hospital they headed for the police station, telling Harris he was under arrest.

Only after being charged, did he get medical treatment.

Harris is being defended by attorney Lou Heller, and a Leo Harris Defense Committee has been formed.

Heller was an attorney for Delbert Tibbs, who was recently exonerated after a frame-up rape and murder charge.

Initial endorsers of the defense committee include: James Burke, NAACP Executive Board member; Ed Cohen, state chairperson of Concerned Democrats; and Sue Sullivan of the National Council of Churches.

Other endorsers include the Haitian Refugee Center Steering Committee, the Human Rights for Haitians Refugees Coalition, and the Florida Alliance against Racist and Political Repression.

The defense committee asks that letters and telegrams be sent to Miami Mayor Maurice Ferré demanding that the charges be dropped.

These can be sent to the mayor at Miami City Hall, Dinner Key, Miami, Florida 33133.

Copies should be sent to the Leo Harris Defense Committee, 7623 Northeast Second Avenue, Miami, Florida 33138.

MIAMI—The Winn-Dixie boycott and demonstrations resulted in a gain for the Haitian community. Winn-Dixie was forced to apologize and transferred its racist manager and security cop to another store.

Haitians protest racist harassment

By Jack Lieberman

MIAMI—"Asylum yes, deportations no!" "Human rights for Haitians!" "Hey, Hey, USA, stop supporting Duvalier!"

These chants rang out through downtown Miami as more than 400 Haitian refugees and their supporters marched and rallied August 19 demanding political asylum and work permits for thousands of Haitian refugees threatened with deportations in south Florida.

The marchers also demanded an end to stepped-up racist attacks against the Miami Haitian community.

On August 17, Denis Telfort was shot to death in the Haitian community by a passing car of whites. Police claim they can find no "mo-

tive" or suspects.

The August 19 demonstration was sponsored by the Coalition for Human Rights for Haitian Refugees. Participants included the Haitian Refugee Center, the National Council of Churches, the Partido Revolucionario Dominicano, the Socialist Workers Party, and the Florida Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression.

The action was the latest response to mounting racist attacks against the large Haitian refugee communities in both Florida and the Bahamas.

On July 31, in Shreveport in the Bahamas, more than 2,000 Haitians and Bahamians attended a burial of twenty-three Haitians. The refugees had drowned when their sailboat

capsized while trying to flee to Florida to escape deportation to Haiti.

Since June, hundreds of refugees have been deported from the Bahamas to Haiti. Fearing imprisonment or death at the hands of the murderous Duvalier dictatorship, many fled to Miami in small boats.

The U.S. response has been stepped-up repression in Florida. Deportation hearings, which early protests had slowed down, are now proceeding at a rate of more than fifty a day.

On August 3, 250 people demonstrated in New York City in a protest sponsored by the Ad Hoc Committee Against Mistreatment of Haitian Refugees.

Weber case: new attack on Blacks, unions

By Andy Rose

A devastating new assault on Black rights.

A new battleground in the escalating employer attack on union rights.

That's what is posed by *Weber v. Kaiser Aluminum and United Steelworkers*, the case that is likely to become the next big test in the drive against affirmative action. The implications of the Weber case are even more far-reaching than those of the Supreme Court's recent *Bakke* decision.

A ruling last November by the Fifth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, if upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court, would prohibit unions from negotiating affirmative-action programs to provide equal rights for all their members.

The Weber case involves a training program for skilled jobs at fifteen Kaiser Aluminum plants. The United Steelworkers, representing Kaiser employees, had long sought such a program and finally won it in the 1974 contract. Before the training program was won, Kaiser filled these higher paid jobs by hiring only people with a lot of prior experience.

Because of the long-standing exclusion of Blacks from skilled jobs and craft unions throughout industry, the prior experience requirement effectively barred Blacks from these jobs. At the Kaiser plant in Gramercy, Louisiana, in 1974, Blacks held only 5 out of 290 skilled jobs—less than 2 percent. At the same time Blacks made up 15 percent of the total employees at the plant and 39 percent of the work force in the surrounding area.

The Steelworkers 1974 contract removed the prior experience requirement and set up an on-the-job training program. To provide equal opportunity for Black workers, the plan provided

that one minority worker was to be admitted for each white until the proportion of minorities in skilled jobs roughly equalled their proportion in the area work force.

Bidding on the skilled-job training positions was to be done by seniority, with separate Black and white seniority lists created for this purpose alone. This setup both preserved the seniority system and provided fair treatment for Blacks, who otherwise would have no way to overcome the effects of past discrimination by Kaiser and by society at large.

Brian Weber, a white Kaiser employee at Gramercy, sued to overturn the program. He claimed that since he had more seniority than some Blacks admitted to the program, he was a victim of "reverse discrimination."

Both the Federal District Court in New Orleans and the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals upheld Weber and struck down the affirmative-action plan. This is the first circuit court decision on the crucial issue of so-called voluntary affirmative action—that is, affirmative action not imposed by the courts themselves.

The circuit court in effect outlawed any such "voluntary" affirmative action. It ruled that quotas or goals for the advancement of minority workers infringe on "the opportunities due to the white workers" and are therefore illegal—unless a court has found that particular employer guilty of specific discriminatory practices.

The court insisted that "Kaiser has not been guilty of any discriminatory hiring or promotion at its Gramercy plant." Furthermore, it said that "societal discrimination" is irrelevant! Closing its eyes to the racist practices that have prevailed in American industry for many decades, the court thus



Militant/Lou Howort
Auto workers join demonstration against 'Bakke' ruling. To defeat lawsuit by Brian Weber (inset), united action by labor, Blacks, women, and students will be needed.

put the burden of proof on the Black victims of discrimination.

Although the job-training program and its affirmative-action provisions cover all aluminum plants under USWA contract, the court decision immediately applies only to the Gramercy plant. It is obvious, however, that a victory for Weber would quickly lead to scuttling these gains across the country. In addition, similar measures such as the affirmative-action consent decree in the basic steel industry (also signed in 1974) would be jeopardized.

The real significance of the court's ban on "voluntary" affirmative action is not that employers will feel intimidated from advancing Blacks. After all, the employers are the ones who profit from discrimination. They have never taken any steps toward curbing it except under intense pressure.

The court ruling above all restricts the unions from negotiating and enforcing programs—such as the one at Kaiser—that strengthen working-class unity by defending the rights of Blacks, other minorities, and women.

In its attack on Black rights, the Fifth Circuit Court's *Weber* ruling follows the same reactionary logic as the *Bakke* decision.

In its attack on union rights, it is in the worst tradition of the Taft-Hartley Act, open-shop "right to work" laws, and strikebreaking injunctions.

Explaining the dual nature of Weber's reactionary assault will help make clear the big stake of the labor movement in this case. It will help to rally the broadest possible opposition to Weber—from the unions; Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican groups; women's organizations; and other supporters of civil rights.

Exposing the real record of discrimination at Kaiser and throughout industry will be a crucial part of this

effort. In his dissenting opinion on the case, circuit court Judge John Minor Wisdom pointed out that neither Weber nor Kaiser had any interest in bringing out these facts.

"In the district court," he wrote, "no one represented the separate interests of the minority employees of Kaiser, the only people potentially interested in showing past discrimination."

The Weber case is the most serious court challenge yet mounted to affirmative action in industry. A massive educational campaign is needed to explain the truth about this case and lay the groundwork for united actions to defeat Weber.

Where USWA stands

The United Steelworkers of America opposes Weber's challenge to affirmative action. The USWA negotiated the program Weber is trying to overturn; the union is a defendant in Weber's suit.

A brief filed by USWA attorneys appealing the Fifth Circuit Court ruling gives the union leadership's stand on important aspects of the case.

It disagrees with Kaiser Aluminum's claim not to have discriminated against Blacks. The USWA brief states: "The Union, on the other hand, believed that the general absence of blacks from craft jobs throughout the aluminum industry might well reflect past discrimination by the employers in the filling of those jobs—certainly the statistics alone established a *prima facie* case of such discrimination. . . ."

It further points to the far-reaching implications of the Weber decision:

"The [circuit court] majority herein has construed Title VII [of the 1964 Civil Rights Act] to forbid private parties from choosing in collective bargaining to extend preferences to societally disadvantaged minorities. The implications of that decision are profound. Agreements throughout the aluminum industry (indeed throughout other major segments of this union's jurisdiction) are imperiled by this ruling. More broadly, the ruling deprives private parties generally of the right to make voluntary choices with respect to perhaps the most important social issue extant in America. Inevitably, the ruling will deter other parties from making the choice which the parties in this case made."

Urban League study refutes myth of Black gains

By Peter Archer

During the past several years, a myth has been in the making.

Sociologists, capitalist politicians, and others have claimed that the economic situation of Blacks has been improving relative to whites. Now, they say, there is no longer any discrimination against Blacks in the United States. In fact, the argument runs, Blacks themselves are responsible for "reverse discrimination" against whites.

This myth was challenged—and exploded—in a recent study released by the National Urban League. Titled, *The Illusion of Black Progress*, the study reports that far from

closing, the economic gap between Blacks and whites has significantly widened.

From 1975 to 1976, "the black-to-white family income ratio fell sharply from 62 percent to 59 percent," according to the study.

The gap between Black unemployment and white unemployment has also reached a new high.

At the peak of the 1975 recession, the jobless rate for Blacks was 1.7 times that of whites. But by the first half of 1978, it had reached a record 2.3 times as high.

The Urban League report also points out that the proportion of Black families earning \$24,000 and

up has steadily declined over the past several years: from 12 percent in 1972 to 9 percent in 1976. Meanwhile, the proportion of Black families with incomes between \$16,200 and \$24,000 has remained constant, at about 25 percent.

These findings sharply dispute the claim that there is a growing "Black middle class."

Dr. Robert Hill, director of research for the Urban League, commented that many whites think that "there is no longer any need for special emphasis and efforts on behalf of Blacks and other minorities."

Hill cited a 1977 survey that found only one in three whites believe that

racial discrimination still existed. This compared with a 1970 survey in which three out of four whites said there was racist discrimination.

The rulers hope to use their myth of "reverse discrimination" to ease the way for more *Bakke*-type court rulings to strike down every gain won by Blacks, other oppressed minorities, and women over the past twenty-five years.

The Urban League's study deserves wide circulation as an important means of answering the rulers' lies. It is available from the Urban League's national office, 500 East Sixty-second Street, New York, New York 10021.

New Orleans

Say no to Weber!

Friday, September 1, 8:00 p.m.

Speakers:

Rev. Isadore Booker, president of West Bank Jefferson Parish NAACP, head of United Steelworkers Local 13000 (Kaiser Aluminum) civil rights committee. Sara Jeffries, president of New Orleans National Organization for Women.

Jane Van Deusen, Local 13000 civil rights committee.

Andy Rose, *Militant* staff writer and author of *The Fight for Union Democracy in Steel*.

Treme Community Center, 1400 St. Philip in New Orleans. Donation \$1. Sponsored by New Orleans Militant Forum. For more information call (504) 486-8048.

Postal convention says 'nuts to contract'

By Marty Pettit

DENVER—Chanting, placard-waving delegates to the American Postal Workers Union convention here August 14 vehemently protested the government's proposed contract—and then voted to reject it.

The five-to-one roll-call vote "totally rejecting" the agreement is not binding. But it showed the depth of dissatisfaction among the 300,000 members of the APWU, the largest of the three postal unions now voting on the tentative settlement. The deadline for return of the mail ballots is August 23.

The nearly 2,700 delegates also voted to mandate APWU President Emmet Andrews to call a national strike if the contract is rejected, and if

- the U.S. Postal Service fails on demand to reopen negotiations within five days, or

- after fifteen days of talks, the negotiators fail to agree on another new contract that "substantially" improves the original agreement.

As Andrews was introduced to the open session, an angry demonstration erupted. One-fourth of the convention marched down the aisles, led by the New York delegation and joined by delegates from across the country.

"Two percent is a disgrace," said signs referring to the proposed first-year pay raise.

"We were sold out by our officers,"

As we go to press, the National Association of Letter Carriers has announced membership rejection of the postal agreement. The vote total reported was 78,000 opposing the contract, 58,000 for. The two other unions voting—American Postal Workers Union and Mail Handlers division of the Laborers' International Union—have yet to announce vote tallies.

and "Replace the gutless officers" read others.

Some of the printed signs declared, "Nuts to this contract."

Protesters waved copies of the New York Metro local's newspaper with a banner "VOTE NO!!!" headline above a thumbs-down drawing.

Delegates shouted "Emmet's gotta go," as they banged cans and clapped. T-shirts saying "Vote No" and "Down with Andrews" abounded.

After an hour, the demonstration subsided and Andrews began his keynote address, punctuated by continuing boos.

"Our dissenters say we deserve more," he said. "Of course we deserve more. That is what unions are all about—to work for more. But in the process of seeking more you had better be sure you don't wind up with less."

'Lousy odds'

Andrews, who has made a big hullabaloo about getting the contract vote over with so that the ranks could have their "democratic" say, made it clear that they better say yes.

"I believe my friends who attack this contract are wrong in thinking its rejection can open the door to a better contract. Under the Postal Reform law it can only open the door to binding arbitration and that is a gamble with lousy odds."

The next day, delegates answered his view of how "to work for more"

Marty Pettit is a postal worker in Kansas City, Missouri, and a member of the American Postal Workers Union.



Delegates to American Postal Workers Union convention protest contract at opening session

Militant/Marty Pettit

with their vote for a strike mandate.

The convention also approved a resolution demanding reinstatement for the approximately 200 workers fired from the bulk-mail centers in Jersey City and Richmond, California. These workers and others struck when the contract terms were first announced July 20.

The resolution established a defense fund with an initial \$50,000 contribution from the APWU contingency fund.

In addition, \$8,304 was collected in cash from the delegates, and more than 100 pledges were made by locals, ranging from \$100 to \$1,000.

Two stronger motions in support of the fired workers were voted down. One called for a strike if amnesty were not granted, and the other mandated that no agreement be signed until all fired workers are returned to their jobs.

On the fourth day of the convention, about sixty women met to form the APWU Women's Caucus. Back in the convention session, caucus members surrounded all microphones and demanded the rules be suspended to consider their resolutions. Their request was granted.

A general resolution in support of the Equal Rights Amendment passed the convention, but one requiring the APWU to bypass states that have not ratified the ERA for future conventions was narrowly defeated. A third resolution was approved endorsing the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

On the final day of the convention, the women's caucus met a second time to discuss ongoing plans. It was decided to call for the formation of a national Women's Program in the APWU. On the floor of the convention, however, delegates—some of them gesturing thumbs down—defeated the proposal without discussion.

It was a blow to the women who earlier in the week had joined with their male coworkers in a united protest of the contract.

Such a dismissal of women's needs can only weaken the APWU—in which representation of women on leading bodies and attention to issues affecting women have been sorely lacking.

Growing suspicion

Several other convention votes showed a growing suspicion among postal workers of top union officials, as well as of Democratic "friends of labor."

Although delegates listened to and applauded several capitalist-party politicians, they voted unanimously to demand President Carter "live up to his pledge to resign if he ever lied to

the American people." Carter had promised a "first class mail system," but the resolution approved charged he "is attempting to force postal management's second class system on the country."

The convention passed a resolution pegging future salary increases for union officials to the same dollar increases received by bargaining-unit employees. This change from the percentage previously granted by the constitution will mean a substantial reduction in salary hikes.

Delegates also voted to prohibit members retiring after January 1, 1979, from running for state, regional, or national union office.

These constitutional changes are relatively minor, but both went against recommendations of the constitution committee. The discussion around them reflected a growing resentment of overpaid union officials who have no idea of present conditions on the shop floor.

The clearest example of their dis-

tance from the ranks is the contract the officials tried to sell to postal workers. The tentative settlement provides for a measly 10 percent pay raise over three years, a cost-of-living clause capped at \$1,500, and no improvements in working conditions.

In the government's eyes—and in its courts—strikes by postal workers are "crimes." A federal judge even declared a strike vote by the New York Metro APWU illegal—which the leadership of the union meekly accepted.

Postal workers must have the right to a meaningful vote on our contract—and that means the right to strike to force the employers to give us something better.

In trying to exercise these rights, we're up against powerful opposition. We need to prepare immediately by mobilizing our own ranks, by educating the public on the issues, and by winning the broadest possible support from the labor movement and our potential friends in the women's and Black movements.

Letter carriers: mood of anger

By Carol Riners

CHICAGO—As the convention of the National Association of Letter Carriers opened here July 31, there was a mood of anger and frustration.

The first motion—made by a New York delegate to great applause—was a proposal to immediately vote to reject the national postal contract. It was ruled out of order.

Discussion of the proposed settlement began, but it was limited because most of the delegates had not seen the contract. The chair—NALC President J. Joseph Vacca—explained the agreement's merits, conceding it is "not what we would have liked."

But considering Carter's "war on inflation," the contract's backers argued, "it's the best we're going to get, and we're just going to have to live with it."

One delegate took the floor to complain of the damage done by bargaining behind the members' backs. He charged that union negotiators had agreed to keeping the no-strike clause in the contract in exchange for holding onto the no-layoffs clause.

"We want the right to strike and no layoffs," he declared to cheers from the delegates.

As the session dragged on in end-

less parliamentary maneuvering, repeated motions from delegates for a vote to reject the contract were ruled out of order by union officials at the podium.

From the Missouri delegation, a voice was heard, "We have lost 86,000 jobs, and within the next few years, thousands more are to be eliminated. We can't stand this hell no more. I say we reject the contract!" A roar came from the delegates.

Vacca then called on a delegate who pleaded for postponement of the convention vote on the contract because he had not had a chance to read it. He demagogically appealed for the right of members to read and vote on the agreement. Delegates, he charged, were trying to "steamroll" the convention.

Vacca quickly agreed, failing to point out that he and other union officials were responsible in the first place for not letting the ranks see the proposed settlement, let alone participate in its negotiation.

Boos greeted a motion to adjourn the day's session. Vacca was finally forced to bring the issue to a vote. The voice vote was overwhelmingly for rejection of the contract. The convention erupted in cheers and applause.

SWP candidate: 'People before polluters' profits!

The following is a statement by Kevin Kellogg, Socialist Workers Party candidate for lieutenant governor of New York:

I recently visited Love Canal at Niagara Falls, the area declared a health emergency site because of chemicals poisoning the ground and air.

Hooker Chemical and Plastics Company used the Love Canal as a chemical dump from 1930 to 1953. The army dumped chemical wastes there from 1940 to the end of the Korean War.

The result? People were killed by the chemicals. Children were born with horrible defects. Now more than 200 families are being forced to flee the area.

This tragedy underscores the complete disregard that the capitalists hold for the lives and health of working people. And it shows, I believe,

the government's unwillingness to enforce even minimal safety standards when those might infringe on the huge profits of the polluters.

Working people need to open all the books and records of these polluters and all the government files on dumping operations in this country. People not only in Niagara Falls but throughout the country need answers to crucial questions.

What is being dumped where?

How many millions of dollars has Hooker profited from the agony of its victims at Love Canal?

Why does the government continue to give these killers huge tax breaks like the \$17 million gift New York State is giving to Hooker over the next ten years?

The trade-union movement, to protect its members both at work and home, should take the lead in championing the fight of working people

to know and control all these hazards to our environment.

The Democratic and Republican parties helped cover up the Love Canal disaster. This shows once again that working people need our own political weapon to put the lives of working people before the profits of the polluters. We need a labor party based on a militant and democratic union movement.

My party demands that immediate reparation be paid by Hooker and the government to all the Love Canal victims.

Open the books of the polluters and their government agents.

Halt all dumping of chemical and radioactive waste.

Close down the deadly nuclear-power reactors.

Nationalize all those companies that put their profits ahead of our health and safety.

By Diane Wang

NIAGARA FALLS, N.Y.—The area here known as Love Canal doesn't look like a disaster site. It looks like any other working-class neighborhood—until you notice the signs.

"If it can kill me, it can kill you," reads one sign. "Visit at your own risk."

Another sign sums it up: "Love Canal Recipe: 1. Mix 82 chemicals. 2. Place in Canal for 25 years. Yield: sickness and death."

Neighbors here compare the types and quantities of poisons found in their homes. But the main topic of conversation is moving out—fast.

Most of the people have lived here for ten to twenty-five years. Some were here before the end of the Korean War. The Army was still dumping its chemical wastes in Love Canal then. The Hooker Chemical and Plastics Company dumped its wastes there for twenty-five years.

But in 1953 the canal was covered over and sold to the city for one dollar. Houses were built.

No one told the people who moved in about the time bomb buried nearby.

There seemed to be no problems until about three years ago. Karen Schroeder described to the *Militant* what happened:

"The backyard started filling up with chemicals. It ate up our redwood fence. The trees started dying. Then everyone started having trouble with their sump pumps."

The chemicals were not only burning up the tree roots, it turned out. They were eating up people's lives.

The casualty list

Schroeder and her neighbor, Ida Bird, began listing the casualties, going house by house:

Two people on the next street have been diagnosed for an incurable liver disease; one has bone cancer; two women have had their breasts removed; another, three-fourths of his lung taken. This one, severe liver damage; that one, leukemia.

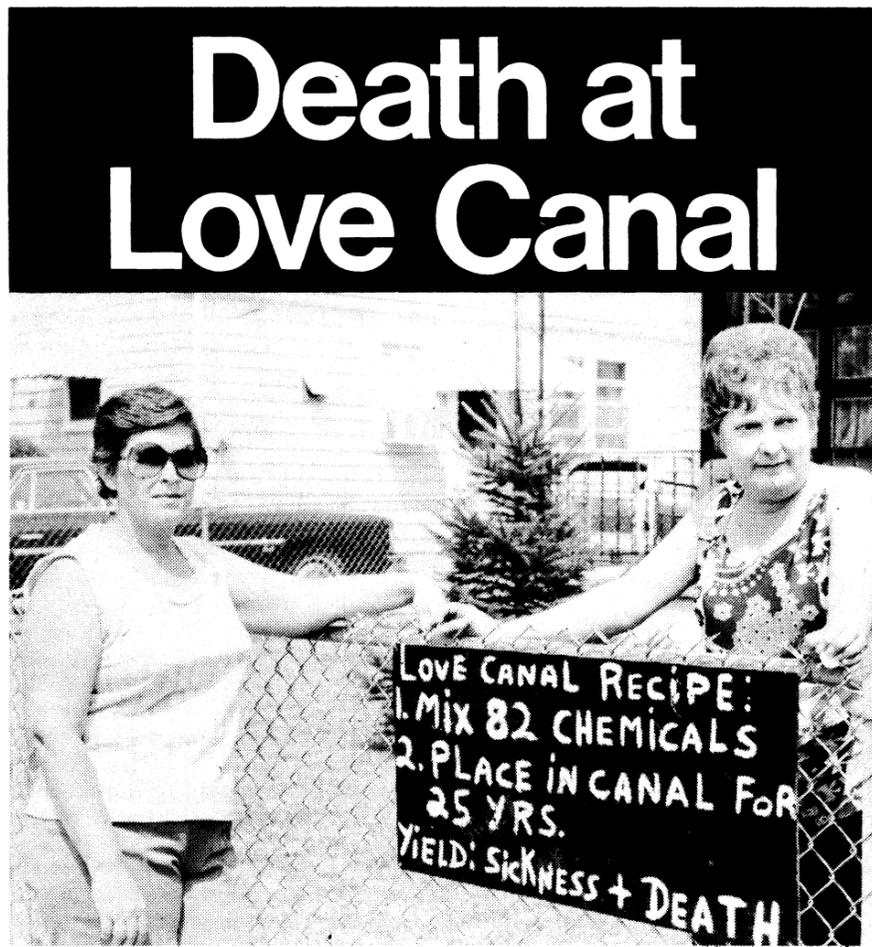
Two women in their thirties have died with cancer, leaving children. One man has died of bowel cancer; his son, only in his twenties, has had his face rebuilt due to cancer.

And then there are the children. Schroeder's one daughter has severe birth defects. Her son was born with a rare eye disease.

The state health commission's survey found that five of twenty-four children born in this area had birth defects.

Schroeder and her neighbors first took their complaint to the city council. "We didn't get any place with those people," she recalled. And the county health commissioner "just thought it was a big joke."

Finally in April they forced the state health agencies to act. Inspectors found that more than two dozen chemicals had seeped into basements near the dump. Eight of the chemicals are known cancer-producing agents.



Karen Schroeder (left) and Ida Bird. "We've had twenty-five to thirty cases of cancer on this block," said Schroeder.

Now the state is evacuating about 237 families. But it is the working people here who are paying the price for Hooker's dumping and the years of government-company cover-up of the Love Canal scandal.

The Gilmores, a young Black family, typify the dilemma. Mr. Gilmore works at Hooker. "We've always thought it was dangerous for him to work there, but there's just no other place he could get a job," explained Margaret Gilmore. "He's got a skilled job, and he makes a decent living for us."

Decent enough that about eight years ago they bought a house near Love Canal.

But now? "There is no way I can afford another house," concluded Mrs. Gilmore, even though the government has agreed to buy the old one. "We've been out looking at houses. And the prices they want these days—with one man in the family working—it's impossible."

"You have people losing the only things that they worked for all their lives."

A legion of government agencies has descended on the site with proposals. The main idea is to build a new drain around the dump. It's a dangerous project, since the chemicals might not only contaminate more ground but could also explode. Plans call for standby fire units, mobile toxic units, and gas masks.

But Love Canal residents see no reason to trust the government and

companies that have already treated them like industrial by-products.

"I live four houses down from where people are leaving," one woman told the *Militant*. "They're talking about all these precautions for the people working. But what about us? I don't trust them. I'll sit down in front of the bulldozer first."

The Love Canal Homeowners Association is considering legal action to demand greater safety measures.

The cleanup project also has not yet answered the question of how far the chemicals have spread.

No one from the government agencies has inspected the public housing project a few blocks away. Yet two people there told the *Militant* that a dark, smelly liquid mud had come up in their basements. "We're stuck here," Eve Mathews explained. "We don't have anywhere else to go, and the government sure isn't going to find us a place."

Green patches spread

Infrared aerial photos seem to confirm the spread. The chemicals show up as light green patches in the photos. A deputy health commissioner has said the green patches run "as though the canal extended all the way to the river." That would mean the poisons are dripping into the Niagara River.

But according to one state environmental agency official the river has already been poisoned. "Why are they

so concerned about the Love Canal," the official asked, "when virtually every chemical company in Niagara Falls and the city sewage treatment plant still discharges toxic wastes into the river?"

In fact, on August 12 the *Buffalo News* revealed that the state was about to give Hooker a permit to dump unlimited amounts of untreated benzene, benzene compounds, and toluene into the Niagara River directly! Those are the same chemicals that turned Love Canal into a disaster site.

Meanwhile, there are also the people who work in Niagara Falls's five or six chemical plants.

Some workers at Hooker told the *Militant* they believed there had been a significant cleanup there. But one retired construction worker—now a Love Canal victim—recalled the headaches he got at Hooker and an explosion.

"It's a bad place to work," he judged. "I don't know how these fellows work there steady."

And who is responsible for this disaster? For the personal tragedies and the threat still hanging over the community?

"I'm furious with Hooker—they put the chemicals there," one woman said. It was a common answer.

Other residents point out Hooker could clean up the murderous waste. "They could afford it—if they wanted to," said one.

As Delores Gordon insisted, "Nothing should be too expensive when it comes to a human life."

Even more residents were angry with the city for its complicity. "I wouldn't feel so bad, had they said that there's a possibility of a health hazard," said one woman. "Had I known, it would have been my decision. But this was not told to me."

More disasters?

Love Canal is one of the first of this kind of disaster. But an Environmental Protection Agency official estimates that 18 million to 40 million tons of hazardous chemical waste are not disposed of safely each year. Published estimates of the number of potential Love Canal-type disasters range as high as 1,000.

That adds urgency to the warnings from Love Canal victims.

Casimir Thompson told the *Militant* his son and daughter are "all against this polluting air and doing things like that."

"Before I thought, you know how young kids are. But now . . . if they had listened to these kids years ago, I think some of this stuff would never have happened."

Karen Schroeder concluded, "They've got to stop these companies. I don't care how large they are, corporations or whatever."

"I'd like to find out who's putting what where and put a stop to it," said Margaret Gilmore. "I'd hate to think of anybody else having to go through what we've gone through these last two months."

National picket line

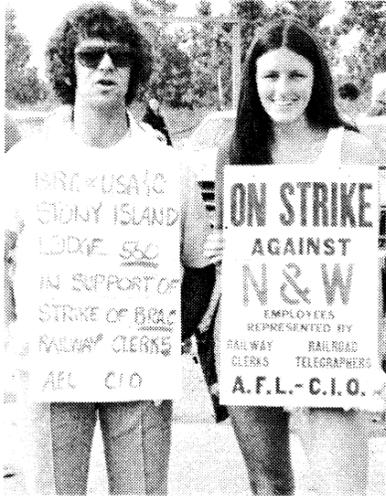
Solidarity with BRAC strikers!

On August 17, 150 members of railway unions honoring Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks (BRAC) picket lines rallied outside Chicago's Calumet Yard.

Five thousand BRAC workers struck the Norfolk & Western Railway July 10 over the company's refusal to negotiate job security. In the past three years 1,300 BRAC jobs have been eliminated; at least 1,500 more are threatened in the near future due to technological changes and subcontracting.

Labor solidarity with the BRAC strikers has been mounting. The N&W Railway has been virtually idled as 15,000 other workers—members of ten different rail unions—refuse to cross the BRAC picket lines. Truckers, steelworkers, and miners are also respecting the BRAC strike.

The AFL-CIO Executive Council issued a statement August 8 urging all affiliates to support the BRAC strike until the union is able to "gain a fair and equitable settlement."



Rally against 'right to work' in Missouri

A September 9 Labor Day Parade and Rally is planned for St. Louis as part of the Missouri labor movement's counteroffensive against a "right to work" drive in that state. The antilabor forces turned in petitions July 6 to place a constitutional amendment on the November ballot to make the union shop illegal. As we go to press, validity of the petition signatures is in dispute.

Missouri unions—including the AFL-CIO, Teamsters, United Auto Workers, United Steelworkers, and United Mine Workers—have formed the United Labor Committee. On the local union level, Right to Truth Committees are organizing an educational and advertising campaign to counter the bosses' lies.

The unions are conducting a voter-registration drive to secure a massive "no" vote if the referendum makes the ballot. Workers' cars now sport stickers saying, "Right to Work is a Ripoff."

New Orleans teachers prepare to strike

August 30, the first day of school in New Orleans, may be the first day of a strike by 4,000 members of United Teachers of New Orleans (American Federation of Teachers Local 527).

The teachers are demanding a 9 percent wage raise and 100 percent medical coverage. School Superintendent Gene Geiserg—who boosted his own salary this year by \$6,000 to a total of \$53,200—has refused to negotiate with the teachers, claiming, "Teachers' salaries are not a priority this year."

UTNO is readying its members for strike action and has opened a strike headquarters. Teamsters have promised that no buses will roll and that no food will be delivered if the teachers walk out. UTNO is sending letters to the Black community appealing for support to the 70 percent-Black teachers union.

Joel Aber, a UTNO member and Socialist Workers Party candidate in the September 16 school board elections, says he is 100 percent behind whatever action is necessary for teachers to win their demands.

"I'll be walking the picket line and staffing strike headquarters if the teachers go out," Aber told the *Militant*. "But my Democratic Party opponents refuse to take UTNO's side. For them, our standard of living and the quality of education for New Orleans students are just not 'priority items.'"

Louisville machinists go back to work

After holding out for eighty-eight days, 300 General Electric tool and die makers—members of International Association of Machinists Lodge 2409—returned to work July 24.

The main issue in the Louisville strike was GE's violation of an agreement to bring the machinists' pay into line with craft wages in the surrounding area.

Initially IAM members rejected GE's paltry ten-cent wage offer out of hand, but after eighty-eight days and two strikebreaking court injunctions, the membership voted to authorize its grievance committee to settle.

But IAM workers still feel they have a score to settle with GE. According to machinist Jim Burfeind, "People here are looking to the June 30 expiration of our national contract. If we have to, we'll organize a national strike against GE, and this time it will be possible to win."

Chicanos defend fired sanitation workers

A broad coalition of Chicano organizations in San Antonio is demanding the reinstatement of fired sanitation workers. Two days after the workers walked off the job July 22, city manager Tom Huebner fired 150 of them. He still maintains that eighty-three of the strikers are permanently fired.

Groups that have come to the support of the fired workers include League of United Latin American Citizens, GI Forum, Image, Raza Unida Party, Tu-Casa, Casa-HGG, Socialist Workers Party, and various church and community groups. More than 350 people attended a fundraiser for the victimized workers August 14 in Mission County Park.

—Shelley Kramer

NY SWP ballot drive: 21,000 sign in 1st week

By Rich Robohm

NEW YORK—Halfway through a two-week petitioning drive, supporters of the Socialist Workers Party in New York State have gathered 21,000 signatures to put three statewide and two congressional candidates on the ballot here in the November election.

The socialists plan to gather an additional 26,000 signatures during an intensive final week of petitioning that ends August 26.

The SWP candidates in New York are Dianne Feeley for governor; Kevin Kellogg, lieutenant governor; Ray Markey, attorney general; Sharon Grant, Fourteenth Congressional District; Ken Miliner, Nineteenth C.D.; and Diane Shur, Twenty-eighth C.D. Shur will be running a write-in campaign for Congress in the Albany area.

The socialists' total goal of 47,000 signatures is almost twice the number required by law for each of the offices. This will ensure that they have far more than enough valid signatures of registered voters to qualify for ballot places.

Response to the drive has been good.

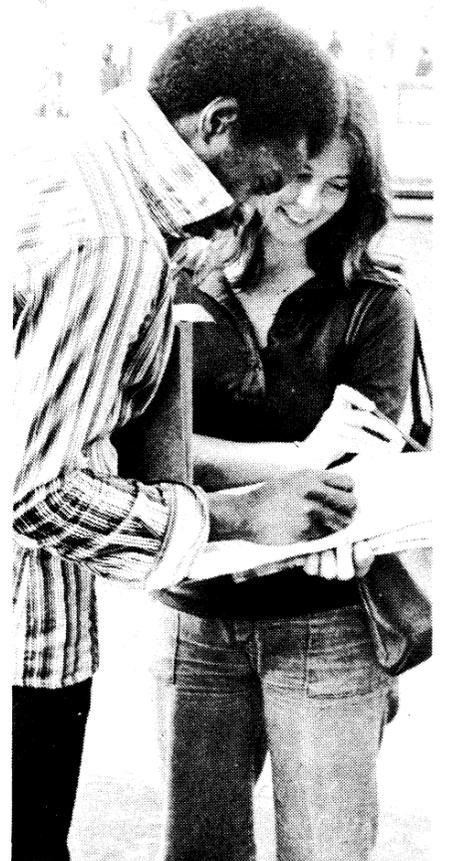
"A lot of people have heard about the Socialist Workers Party because of our suit against government spying. Most of them sign right away when we point out that we're the ones who are suing the FBI," petition drive coordinator Margaret Jayko reports.

Congressional candidate Sharon Grant is campaigning in Brooklyn's Fourteenth C.D. This is where racist cops brutally murdered Crown Heights Black community leader Arthur Miller.

"When people see our campaign slogan, 'End police brutality! Justice for Arthur Miller!' they just grab the petitions out of our hands to sign," Grant says. "As much as they hate and distrust politicians in general, people are glad to sign for somebody who is really fighting for what they want."

Pat Mayberry is organizing the ballot drive in the Albany area. She reports a "very, very good response" to SWP petitioners in Albany, Schenectady, and Troy.

Mayberry says government workers at the huge South Mall state office building complex in Albany and Black residents in area housing projects have helped boost upstate signature totals.



Militant/Rich Robohm

Socialist candidates' stand against cop brutality convinced many New Yorkers to sign petitions.

After almost reaching their original goal of 2,000 signatures in only one week of petitioning, Albany SWP supporters have decided to raise their goal to 3,000.

The socialists plan to complete required paper work on the petitions in time to file them with the Board of Elections on September 12, the earliest possible date under election law.

Campaign supporters will celebrate the successful completion of the petition drive at a picnic on Sunday, August 27. The picnic will begin at 1 p.m. at Inwood Hill Park in Manhattan.

For information on how to help with petitioning and paperwork, or on the picnic, call (212) 982-5963 in New York City, or (518) 463-0072 in Albany.

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Publishers demand layoffs, speedup

New York papers force press operators' strike

By Frank Lovell

New York City's three major daily newspapers stopped publishing August 9 in a joint move to lay off workers and slash labor costs.

Notice of new pay scales and a reduced pressroom work force was posted at the *New York Times* by agreement with the *Daily News* and the *New York Post*.

This signaled the end of contract negotiations with the Pressmen's Union and provoked the automatic walkout of all 1,550 press operators at the three papers.

Publishers of the three papers, with daily circulation exceeding 3 million, previously said they had contingency plans to publish in the event of a strike. Those plans were thwarted at the outset by members of the Newspaper Deliverers' union, who refused to cross press operators' picket lines.

The publishers, however, are promoting interim daily papers—*City News*, *Daily Press*, and *Daily Metro*—which will broadcast their propaganda version of strike developments, seeking to isolate and divide the strikers.

These scab papers employ union labor, but under conditions imposed by the "temporary" publishers. The *Metro's* editor explains that reporters are getting less than union scale but "a living wage."

The press operators have the support of eight of the nine other newspaper craft unions in the Allied Printing Trades Council. The council represents the overwhelming majority of 12,000 workers directly affected.

The Newspaper Guild, representing reporters and editors, is also backing the strike. Only the printers have withheld official endorsement because the International Typographical Union has an eleven-year contract with a no-strike clause, which expires in 1984.

On August 17, a week after the newspapers were closed, two other craft unions voted to strike. They are Paperhandlers Union Local 1 and Machinists Union Local 15. Members of these unions needed the official vote to get union strike benefits. The *Post's* Guild unit struck August 22. They have basic issues yet to be resolved.

There will likely be no return to work until contracts are signed with all unions—unless the publishers succeed in dealing the Pressmen's Union a crushing defeat. In that event other unions will get what the publishers choose to give them, if and when they get a settlement.

'Giveback' campaign

Ever since contracts expired for the New York newspaper workers March 30, negotiations have dragged on with no sign of compromise by the publishers.

The newspaper employers are among the leaders and organizers of the "giveback" campaign aimed at workers in all sectors of the economy.

In the case of the press operators, the giveback demanded is a drastically reduced work force. William Kennedy, president of Printing Pressmen's Union Local 2, charges that employers' demands would eventually result in a 50 percent reduction of pressroom workers at the three New York papers.

He says publishers deliberately provoked the strike and are prepared to bring in scabs when they can find delivery drivers.

Wages are not and have not been at issue in any of the negotiations except for some lower-paid members of the Newspaper Guild.

Automation is not an issue with the



Hotel workers join picket line August 15. Solidarity with striking newspaper workers is needed from entire labor movement.

press operators, as it is with most other crafts in the printing trades. Operation of the presses has remained unchanged for the past twenty years. And the pattern of the work force was established by the publishers after they broke the last New York press operators' strike in 1923.

The only difference today, says the *Post's* negotiator Martin Fishbein, is that the presses "run twice as fast." He thinks there ought to be half as many workers to run them.

The publishers are encouraged because the Pressmen's Union has contracts with suburban papers that allow fewer pressroom workers. They believe that with a proper strategy they can destroy the press operators' union as was done in 1975 at the *Washington Post*.

That strike was provoked by the

publishers and defeated because other crafts and the drivers refused to support it.

'Daily News' strike

Earlier this year, union members in New York showed they remember the bitter lesson of the defeat in Washington three years ago. In June the *New York Daily News* tried to impose company work rules on members of the Newspaper Guild and broke off contract negotiations. The Guild struck, and for two days the *Daily News* published and it seemed as though the strike might be lost.

On June 17, when members of the Deliverers' Union were refusing to cross the Guild picket lines in overwhelming numbers, the drivers' union officials finally decided to support the strike. The *News* stopped publishing and started bargaining.

Pickets declare, 'We'll stay and fight'

By Jane Roland

NEW YORK—Chanting, "No contract, no work," eighty members of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union joined the picket line of the *New York Times* press operators August 15. The restaurant workers, most of them Black or Latino came for a lunchtime solidarity demonstration.

"We're here to support the striking pressmen," they all said, waving picket signs at TV cameras.

Also present to show support for the striking newspaper workers was Ken Miliner, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from Manhattan's Nineteenth District.

One *New York Times* worker told Miliner that not just the hotel workers, but most people who walk by the picket line express support for the strikers.

"They know," he said, "that the newspapers are trying to break our unions. And if they can do it to the Pressmen's Union, they can do it to anyone. And if they can bust the union movement in New York, they

can do it anywhere."

A picket in front of the *Daily News* explained, "It's not a question of automation. It's a question of union busting. Improved machinery? We haven't gotten any new equipment for twenty years.

"No," he continued, "we're not fighting against automation. We're fighting against speedup. They'll cut back the workers by half, then make up for lost personnel by increasing our work load."

Many of the newspaper workers have long years of work experience. One striker guessed the average is as high as twenty years' seniority. One of the aims of the publishing companies is to force early retirement and then not replace those workers.

The press operators face the possibility of a long strike, but have made it clear that the ranks are solid and intend to win.

"What's our alternative," said one worker with ten years' seniority at the *Times*. "Either we win, or speedup and increased work loads force us into slavery. We'll stay and fight."

As the current press operators' strike progresses, it is settling into a war of attrition. Each side hopes to divide the solid front of the other. As for the unions, they have expressed determination to hold out for the next several weeks—"until Christmas," says Pressmen's President Kennedy.

On the publishers' side, they appear to have set a time limit for breaking the strike. August is a slow month for advertising, and there are signs that they do not want the strike to last much beyond the end of the month.

John Pomfret of the *Times* management reportedly told a locked-out reporter, "See you after Labor Day." This is interpreted as both a threat and promise.

New York Gov. Hugh Carey wasted little time in denouncing the strike and the strikers as another threat to the city's economy.

"If he thinks layoffs and unemployed workers help the economy of this city, he is badly mistaken," answered Kennedy for the press operators.

Carey's anti-union stand did not deter the New York Central Labor Council on August 17 from endorsing this "friend of labor" for reelection this fall.

The August 18 issue of the *Times's* scab paper *City News* carried a front-page photo of another so-called friend of labor—Mayor Ed Koch—reading an early edition for news on the strike.

A strong propaganda weapon of the publishers is the threat that one or two of these papers will go out of business. That would mean the loss of several thousand jobs. But a victory for the publishers also means the loss of jobs. And there is no guarantee that the *News* or *Post* will continue to publish for long regardless of the strike settlement. That is the quandary of the printing crafts.

The union movement has a big stake in the outcome of this strike, as in all strikes where the employers are out to destroy the unions.

A victory of the striking press operators will raise the hopes of all union members, and can hasten the pending mergers of outmoded craft unions—including the International Typographical Union and the Newspaper Guild. Such a new industrial union could set about to organize the nearly 80 percent of the publishing industry that is now nonunion.

"These strikers are absolutely right," said SWP candidate Miliner. "There's a lot at stake for all unionists in this battle with the New York publishers. And the newspaper workers deserve the broadest and biggest labor solidarity possible."

"The drivers, for example, are critical to this fight, but they don't have union strike benefits and aren't prepared for a long strike."

"Aid—material and moral—such as was mobilized during the coal miners' strike earlier this year may prove decisive for the newspaper workers. I urge all unions—as well as the Black, Puerto Rican, and women's movements—to get actively behind the newspaper strikers."



KEN MILINER

Celebrate 40 years of Fourth Int'l

Internationalism: hallmark of socialist meeting

By Peter Seidman

OBERLIN, Ohio—"We know that capitalism is an international system and it will take a worldwide socialist movement to defeat it," Linda Jenness explained to the August 5 opening session of the Active Workers and Socialist Educational Conference here.

At the session, members and friends of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance were celebrating the fortieth anniversary of the Fourth International, the world party of socialist revolution founded September 3, 1938.

A banner stretching across the meeting hall read: "Workers of the World Unite! 40th Anniversary of the Fourth International."

Jenness, a leader of the SWP, stressed that revolutionaries in the United States "have a special responsibility" in the struggle to build the worldwide socialist movement, "because it is American imperialism that is the most ruthless, the most dangerously armed, the most powerful."

"That's why, as Jim Cannon, a central founding leader of the SWP, put it, 'American Trotskyists are internationalists through and through.'"

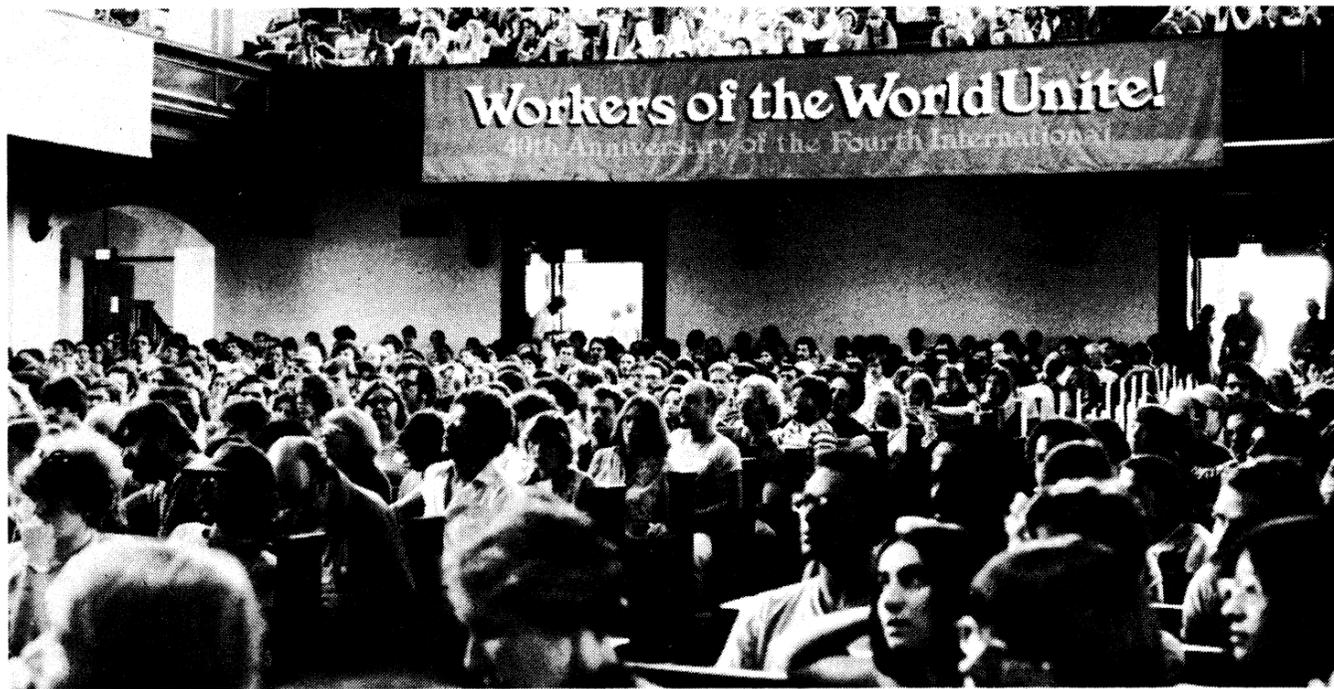
Longtime SWP leader George Novack demonstrated the continuity with which the SWP has lived up to this credo. He told the audience that the very first Trotskyist meeting he

Some 1,550 members and friends of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance gathered in Oberlin, Ohio, August 5-12 for the Active Workers and Socialist Educational conference. The week's activities—focused around the deepening radicalization of working people in this country and around the world—included special talks by leaders of the SWP, classes, and workshops where trade unionists and other activists shared experiences. 'Militant' coverage of the conference begins with this issue and will continue for several weeks.

attended—at New York City's Stuyvesant Casino on November 4, 1933—was held to "proclaim the need for a new International, after the debacle of the Stalinized Third International in Germany."

Jenness explained that the Fourth International continues a heritage of the revolutionary socialist movement going back to Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, who established the First International in 1864 and the Communist League, the first organization of scientific socialism, in 1848.

She said that much of the week-long conference would be devoted to "the lessons to be learned from the 130-year history of the international Marxist movement." This is done "not in the spirit of history buffs, but as fighters



Participants at Active Workers and Socialist Educational Conference attended wide range of classes and panels on international struggles against oppression.

for socialism, seeking to better equip ourselves to do our part in the international struggle."

SWP National Committee member George Breitman made an important contribution to the study of this history at the fortieth anniversary celebration. Breitman recently completed nine years of work as coeditor of the twelve-volume *Writings of Leon Trotsky, 1929-40*, published by Pathfinder Press.

Early years

In the course of this work, he assembled a great deal of information about the early history of the Fourth International that had been forgotten or never before been published. Breitman used this material to prepare a talk on the five-year period from 1933, when the Fourth International was proclaimed as a goal, until 1938—when it was actually founded.

Unfortunately, Breitman was unable to attend the conference because of illness. But Joseph Hansen, editor of *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor* and a founding member of the Fourth International, read Breitman's speech to conference participants.

Breitman described the August 1933 vote by the International Left Opposition to start work toward the formation of a new, revolutionary International as "the single most important decision in the fifty-five-year history of our movement."

Exiled Russian revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky, along with other ILO leaders, made this bold move after the Stalinized Third International failed to correct the disastrous policies it followed that helped pave the way for Hitler's rise to power in Germany.

The forces setting out to build the new world party were few in number—with no more than 4-5,000 adherents, many in exile, scattered throughout the world, Breitman said.

Trotsky's role

Yet, through Trotsky, the left oppositionists benefited from "direct continuity with the experiences of the Russian revolution, the long, uphill struggles that preceded it, and the lessons of the Communist International in both Lenin's and Stalin's times."

Trotsky worked carefully with the forces available to build the new International, Breitman explained. He tried "to educate them in the methods of Marxism and principled politics, to help them meet their responsibilities as revolutionary cadres and provide collective leadership for the whole movement."

"It was often frustrating," Breitman said, describing how "all of them were operating under murderous pressures—the pressures of isolation and an unending series of defeats and setbacks, the pressures of imperialism and of Stalinism, the spread of fascism, the poverty resulting from mass unemployment, and much more."

Nonetheless, this five-year period was a time of political gains and organizational progress for the embryonic Fourth International.

These political lessons were summarized, Breitman explained, in the "Transitional Program," "unquestionably the most valuable programmatic document produced by the revolutionary movement since Lenin's time. . . . [It] put an indelible stamp on our movement. The Fourth International and the SWP would be quite different and much weaker without it. I am not sure that they would have survived the crippling adversities of the forties and fifties without such a program and method."

Most important, Breitman argued, was the ability of Trotsky, along with Cannon and others to overcome hesitations within the movement—as well as murderous attacks by Stalinist and Nazi agents against it—to form the new International before the outbreak of the Second World War.

"Hard as it was to found the International in 1938 with Trotsky's help," Breitman said, "it would have been harder to found it after the war [and after Trotsky had been murdered by a Stalinist agent], when the authority of the would-be founders would have been smaller and the precious continuity of the movement would have been sundered for several years."

Breitman concluded with the observation that the Fourth International is "not yet strong or influential enough anywhere to complete the mission it undertook in 1938." Nonetheless, he noted, "it is many times larger than it was then . . . and still growing. . . . It has lived longer than any of [its] predecessors, but it is still young, vigorous, able to learn and correct mistakes, and revolutionary in its outlook and practice."

The extensive discussion at the conference on international political questions, as well as of support activities for different sectors of the world class struggle, underscored the accuracy of this observation.

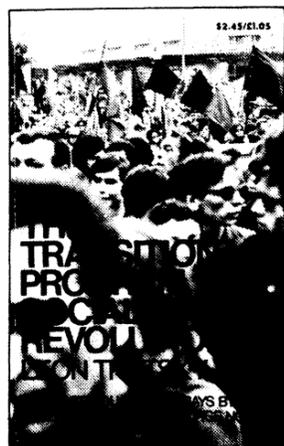
Workshops and panels were held, for example, on defending Iranian, Latin American, and Irish political prisoners, as well as on support work for Soviet and East European dissidents, Palestinian human rights, and the freedom struggle in southern Africa.

There were also classes on topics such as Puerto Rico, "Eurocommunism," the Dominican Republic, Mexico, Colombia, China, the Middle East conflict, and Vietnam.

Co-revolutionists and friends of the SWP from Australia, Colombia, Britain, the Dominican Republic, Germany, Israel, New Zealand, Puerto Rico, Sweden, Belgium, France, Switzerland, Canada, Mexico, and other countries contributed to all these conference activities—thereby helping to forge even stronger links of collaboration among supporters of the Fourth International.



Militant/Walter Lippmann
GEORGE BREITMAN



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by Leon Trotsky

Originally drafted in 1938, the *Transitional Program* is the basic programmatic document of the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution. This volume contains discussions with Trotsky about the program and two applications of it to today's struggles, "A Transitional Program for Black Liberation" and "A Strategy for Revolutionary Youth."

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Militant/Lou Howort

Rally hails socialist suit

Twelve hundred people attending the Active Workers and Socialist Educational Conference in Oberlin, Ohio, rallied on August 11 to celebrate recent victories in the lawsuit by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance against government spying and harassment. The rally also celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the 'Militant.'

In late June the socialists' case made international headlines when Attorney General Griffin Bell defied a court order to turn over the files of eighteen FBI informers and was cited for contempt of court. The government has appealed the contempt order.

A broad spectrum of civil liberties fighters shared the rally platform. Speakers included Vernon Bellecourt of the American Indian Movement; Maceo Dixon and Larry Seigle, members of the SWP National Committee; Héctor Marroquín, threatened with deportation; Robert Meeropol, son of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg; George Novack, an SWP leader and veteran of civil liberties battles; Olga Rodríguez, the SWP's field organizer in the Southwest; Anne Sheppard Turner, one of the Wilmington Ten defendants; Pat Wright, SWP candidate for governor of Ohio; and Mary Zins, a coal miner and a socialist.

The rally sent a telegram of support to the Wilmington Ten.

Reprinted on the following pages are excerpts from the speeches and greetings sent to the rally.

Following is the speech to the August 11 rally by Larry Seigle, a member of the Socialist Workers Party National Committee.

They used to have a list in this country called the Attorney General's List. And if the attorney general didn't like the organization you belonged to, if he thought your union was too militant, or your civil rights group too radical, or if you were a socialist or a communist, he would put your organization on his list. And the FBI would move into action to get you fired, or frame you up, or try to intimidate you into silence.

I remember when Fred Halstead was campaigning for president on the Socialist Workers Party ticket in 1968. At that time it was still quite common for someone in the audience to challenge Fred, asking if it wasn't true that the SWP was on the Attorney General's List of "subversive organizations."

Fred had a standard reply—yes, we are on the Attorney General's List, but the attorney general is on *our* list, too.

Now there is no Attorney General's List anymore. Instead we have a list of attorney generals—beginning with John Mitchell and going right on down to Griffin Bell. All of whom are either in jail, on their way to jail, or ought to be.

This historic reversal of roles is a defeat for the American rulers, and a tremendous victory for the rights of all of us.

The Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party—along with the many who have participated in this fight with us—have every right to be proud of the role we have played in bringing this about.

Today the capitalist politicians—conservative and liberal—and the media are all worried about the "rights" of informers. They've discovered a new oppressed group.

You've heard of "reverse discrimination"? You know, white people being oppressed by Blacks? Well, the informers say they're suffering from *reverse harassment*—harassment from socialists who are getting them fired from their jobs, breaking up their families, framing them up.

Now we have learned a lot of things about the FBI. We've learned that

"informer" is not the right word to use for the FBI's stool pigeons. Of course we each have our own favorite word for them. But their purpose is *not* to gather information.

Informers' real role

The FBI says it needs informers to find out what we are up to. Isn't that ridiculous when you think about it? They *know* what we're up to. They found out *exactly* what we are up to when they bought their first copy of the *Militant* fifty years ago this year. And it's *because* they know what we are up to that they began their campaign to disrupt our party—including the use of informers.

But, they say, if we don't have informers, how will we know when the revolution is coming? They'll know. The American revolution is going to be a *big event*. They will see it coming.

And if the working class of this country has the right leadership, there won't be a damn thing the capitalists can do to stop it. That's where we come in.

There is a lesson from history here. There were a lot of informers in czarist Russia. But when the Russian workers and peasants became convinced that what Lenin had been saying was true, that there was no course open to them but to take power in their own hands and begin the socialist reconstruction of society, there was nothing that could stop them.

And when the majority of the American people become convinced that what the SWP is saying is true, that we need to bring to power a workers government in order to build a new society, the FBI won't be able to stop us either.

No, the informers aren't there to "gather information." They are there for something else. They are there to disrupt; to prevent different groups from working together on common goals; to sow dissension. They're there to provoke inexperienced activists into illegal activities, to aid the government in engineering political frame-ups.

Hoover's favorite informer

FBI informers are murderers. This is not an epithet, this is a *fact*. Gary Rowe, in the pay of the FBI as an

Continued on page 16

Militant launches fund drive

The rally celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the *Militant* by launching a \$75,000 fund drive.

The fund drive will extend through December, going hand in hand with the fall campaign to sell 100,000 copies of the *Militant*.

Those attending the rally showed their enthusiasm by contributing more than \$43,000 to kick off the effort.

In addition, the fund got a boost from two *Militant* supporters who guaranteed a \$10,000 matching

fund. That is, they agreed to match every dollar sent to the fund, up to \$10,000.

George Novack, who made the fund appeal at the rally, introduced veteran *Militant* supporter Max Engel of Los Angeles, who began the matching fund. Engel donated \$5,000 for the matching fund—\$100 for every year of the *Militant*.

Will you join us in this drive?

The \$75,000 will help the *Militant* cover rising production costs and continue its coverage of the battles for justice and socialism.

Every dollar you send in counts for two, thanks to the matching fund.

Please send your contribution today. Mail it to The *Militant*, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.



Max Engel has been a reader, supporter, and seller of the 'Militant' since its first issue in 1928.

Vernon Bellecourt, national council member of the American Indian Movement and a leader of the International Indian Treaty Council.

In the past few weeks we concluded an historical effort; The Longest Walk that eventually brought over 5,000 of our people to Washington, D.C.

We have, in fact, been the victims of America's longest war.

When we got to Washington, D.C., we organized a freedom-of-information project. We assembled many movement people from many organizations—attorneys, legal workers, researchers—to start going through the upward of 80,000 separate pieces of information that the FBI has on the American Indian Movement. After two years of noncompliance, the Federal Bureau of Investigation has just now decided to turn over many of these documents.

And what we have found out is that although most of the pages are totally whited out, they still show very clearly that starting in 1970 and 1971 the American Indian Movement was, and still is today, the target of a special FBI program to infiltrate, to disrupt, to discredit, to neutralize the leadership and the American Indian Movement.

In the 1800s, it was the Seventh Cavalry, the Gatling guns, the sabers; and today it's the FBI, the federal marshals, the National Security Agency, and every security agency of this government. And if you want to know why they see us as a threat to the national security of the United States government, it's because we are standing in forums throughout the world, and we are saying loud and clear: *Colonialism*—it must be crushed here as it is being crushed in Africa!

We are saying that if this government can label the governments of John Vorster in South Africa (Azania), or the government of Ian Smith in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), as illegitimate governments, then, by that standard, this government and every government in Central and South America is every bit an illegitimate government.

For almost 500 years the indigenous populations of every country of North and South America, under the oppression of various dictatorships, have been the victims of cultural, spiritual, political, and economic genocide—for 500 years. And we must bring it to a halt!

Mary Zins, a socialist and member of United Mine Workers Local 2874. Zins was introduced to the rally by the nickname she earned in the mines while helping to build a UMWA contingent for the July 9 ERA march in Washington—'Mary Equal Rights.'

Recently, Secretary of Labor Ray Marshall and the president of Bethlehem Mines toured my mine in Marianna, Pennsylvania. They wanted to find out what it was like . . . 1,100 feet underground, down in the pits.

A lot of miners would have liked to get Marshall a few hundred feet underground and ask him why the Carter administration tried to bust the United Mine Workers Union last winter with a strikebreaking, scab-herding, slave-labor Taft-Hartley injunction.

Well, we didn't get to ask our questions. Bethlehem wouldn't even let our union president tour the mines with the Honorable labor secretary.

But we in the labor movement can watch—and cheer—as the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance put Attorney General Griffin Bell on the spot for refusing to obey the court's order to hand over the informer files.

Miners have not forgotten that during the coal strike, Bell took a different position on obeying court orders. In fact, he was known as a "hardliner" on enforcing Taft-Hartley.

Bell even ordered U.S. attorneys in the coalfields to "consider arrests of any persons threatening to interfere with coal miners returning to work under the court's order."

Well, the coal miners advised Bell that the only thing necessary to get them back to work was to offer them a decent contract.

Because in case Carter and Bell haven't heard about it, involuntary servitude is no longer legal in these United States. In the coalfields the highest law of the land is "Solidarity Forever" and "No Contract, No Work!"

So he can take his Taft-Hartley and shove it!

Bell wants to protect the secrecy of what he calls "informants."

In the labor movement we have better names for them—finks . . . scabs . . . stool pigeons . . . rats . . . and some less polite terms.

For many decades, stool pigeons, provocateurs, and spies were the main weapons the bosses used to stop workers from organizing unions. The auto barons and steel barons had whole armies of informers to spy on their work force. If you talked union, you were fired.

Those same tactics continue today. The power of the working class—the kind of power we saw in the coal strike—is the ultimate target of all the FBI's spying, bugging, and disruption.

The socialists in the coalfields can promise you this: More and more miners are going to be finding out about the SWP and YSA lawsuit. They'll read about it in the *Militants* they buy at the mine portals and from their co-workers. They'll hear about it from our SWP candidates.

And we know more and more miners will support the suit. And they will want to know more about the party that's got Griffin Bell on the run.

Miners will be joining our party—to work for a new society, a socialist society, where there will be justice for the workers and an end for once and for all to the system that gives rats and finks the highest protection of the law.

Rosario Ibarra de Piedra, founder of the Mexican National Committee to Defend Political Prisoners. In 1975 Ibarra's son Jesús was arrested on a phony murder charge—the same charge used to frame Marroquín—and 'disappeared' by the police. Mexican authorities have refused ever since to release information on Jesús Ibarra's whereabouts.

First of all, I bring you greetings from the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners and the Politically Persecuted, Disappeared and Exiled, and my

own greetings as well.

Also, I bring congratulations for the *Militant* and our undying thanks for getting out the facts about our problems, which take on very relevant meaning by appearing in a newspaper with such a long tradition of honesty and truth.

We in Mexico have undertaken a great task. On July 26 we launched our national campaign for general amnesty with a march and rally of 30,000 to 40,000 people in Mexico City.

We have called to struggle on our side the best of the human race. We have called the workers, the peasants, all those who are the people who, sooner or later, will have to oversee the world's fate. And we have called on them to struggle for their rights. This is why I think my optimism is very well founded.

The movement for amnesty in Mexico is very significant. A great portion—the majority of members—are women like myself. Hundreds of women who had never left their homes—hundreds of women who had never raised their voices—are now militant activists in our organization. Many of them do not even know how to read or write; many of them have had to struggle against centuries-old prejudices just to be able to get out and look for their children and husbands.

And I repeat. We will win with the efforts of people like yourselves, who exist in many parts of the world. Four days ago one of my daughters returned from Cuba, where she attended the World Youth Festival. And she discovered, to her surprise, that they know about Héctor Marroquín's case, and that the name of Piedra is dear to them.

Now, before ending, I ask of you two things.

First, that you continue to fight to win political asylum for Héctor in the United States and to expose and denounce the ongoing violations of human rights in my country.

And second, that you send protest letters to President López Portillo of Mexico, asking that he present the disappeared and declare a general amnesty. We urge that these letters be sent on August 28, and during the whole month of September up until October 2, the tenth anniversary of the massacre of 500 students in Tlatelolco.

Héctor Marroquín, a member of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. Marroquín is fighting for political asylum in the United States. He faces frame-up charges in Mexico and possible torture or death if he is deported.

My presence here is a big victory for all of us.

On September 24 of last year—six days after I was arrested by la migra in Texas—I was allowed to make one telephone call from jail.

I called my branch of the Socialist Workers Party in Houston, Texas.

I explained that I was in jail, convicted of being a worker without documents.

I explained that I was the victim of a political frame-up in Mexico, because the Mexican government is trying to silence me.

And I also described how two of the others accused with me had already been savagely murdered by the Mexican police. And that a third, Jesús Piedra Ibarra, had been kid-

Victims of go unite to blas



Speakers at rally: (clockwise from top left) Larry Seigle, Maceo Dixon, Robert Meeropol, Pat Wright, Rosario Ibarra de Piedra, and George Nov

Greeting

**Walter Johnson
President, Department Store
Employees Union, Local 1100**

Although we have had our own problems regarding negotiations with the giant retail conglomerates and national chains, I felt it necessary to take time to inform you that I support your efforts to obtain information necessary to your legal case.

Further, the protection and guarantee of individual rights and individual freedoms are the keystone to a free society. Differences of opinion expressed in a nonviolent way sharpen the issue and help develop a stronger, more cohesive citizenry.

Your organization, for many years, supported us in our hours of trial and testing. We shall do no less for you.

**Kate Millett
Feminist writer**

The Socialist Workers Party has led the way for all political activists to recover our rights and to limit the powers of the police state over us. The rights of any citizen at this point are dependent on the kind of fearless vigilance that the Political Rights Defense Fund has represented so ably. For this reason, they deserve not only our support but our sincere gratitude.

**Martin Sostre
Community activist imprisoned
for years**

The Socialist Workers Party suit against the FBI for government harassment and illegal surveillance exposed the lawless and sordid techniques employed by so-called law enforcement officials, pushed the Justice Department into a confrontation with the federal district court, and raised the

't repression FBI attacks



Militant photos by Lou Howort and Rich Robohm
Mary Zins, Vernon Bellecourt, Héctor Marroquín, Anne Sheppard Turner,

napped, tortured and "disappeared."

A year ago, I lived in constant fear of la migra. I had to hide my past life and true identity from everyone.

But today I am free to tell the world that I am not guilty of any crime.

I am free to tell the real truth. That is, that the Mexican government framed me up to silence me. And that the U.S. government would also like to silence me—forever—by handing me over to the blood-thirsty Mexican police.

Recently, I went to Washington and met personally with Leonel Castillo, the head of the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service.

He told me that I have a wonderful case for political asylum—except for one thing. He said I could not prove I would be persecuted if I returned to Mexico, because there is no political repression in Mexico.

And Castillo told me he knew there was no political repression because he had taken a vacation in Monterrey, and he didn't see anyone tortured!

Then he told me, "Your problem is, you don't have enough faith in either the U.S. or the Mexican court systems."

Well, he's right. I don't have much faith in their court systems. And I don't have any faith at all in their social system!

It is a social system that breeds racism, sexism, wars, and deportations.

That's precisely why the U.S. government wants to deport me back to Mexico—because I am a socialist, a proud member of the SWP and YSA.

The FBI has a lot to do with my case. We just obtained files under the Freedom of Information Act showing that the U.S. government was spying on me in Mexico before I ever came to the United States and before I was ever accused of any crime.

So, you see, the secret police of the capitalists don't observe any borders. From Chile to Iran, from Canada to South Africa—these secret police work together, across national borders.

Well, then, we too—the victims of this international political oppression—must solidarize beyond borders. We must fight our common enemy through our international solidarity.

Recently, an INS spokesperson announced that a German ex-Nazi official would not be deported—because the INS does not like to break up families! What a sweetheart. I don't know exactly what he meant, whether it was a case of the Nazi's family or whether the INS agent and ex-Nazi were brothers.

Well, I don't want to be separated from my family either. I have a family in Mexico that I love very much.

And I have a larger family that will not let the U.S. or Mexican governments separate us.

I have many brothers and sisters in this country. My family is my comrades in the SWP and YSA. My family is all the undocumented workers and my brothers and sisters who are the working people of this country—and the oppressed people everywhere.

Free all political prisoners!
Por un mundo sin fronteras!

Anne Sheppard Turner, one of the Wilmington Ten, political prisoners framed up for their fight against

segregated schools in North Carolina.

People have come to me time and again commenting on how much they have learned about the frame-up of the Wilmington Ten in the *Militant*. Many of you are now waiting to read about the recent paroling of three more of my brothers last week.

I want to convey my gratitude to all of you who have understood the urgent need to continue to mobilize the masses to protest the vicious frame-up against us—ten innocent people—guilty in the eyes of the government for seeking political and social change. The government keeps plotting—hoping we will fade from the eyes of the people, so they can rest easy after their criminal acts of perjury and bribery.

I'm proud to be here. I wish all the brothers could be here with you too.

You have kept the struggle going nationally and internationally—just as you have in many other cases over the years—because you stand by the motto "an injury to one is an injury to all." Therefore, in a unified defense effort—with great sacrifice from all of you—we can free the Wilmington Ten and through us, all political prisoners!

Robert Meeropol, son of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, speaking on behalf of the Fund for Open Information and Accountability, which is seeking government files about the witch-hunt trial and execution of the Rosenbergs.

When we first went into court [to demand the government's secret files on the Rosenbergs], the FBI told us—after eight or ten months of battle in which we had secured 65,000 pages—that that was all they were going to give us, that the rest of our request was "irrelevant."

But we spent two years fighting the FBI in court, and we finally won. The court declared that there's no such thing as "irrelevant" in the Freedom of Information Act.

For every page we have, there are at least two or three that have still been withheld. And many of the pages have deletions. Our next step is to fight for making those deletions once again readable. We hope to present all this material to a Bertrand Russell-style international tribunal, to be held once the processing is done.

Reopening the case, for me, has always been reopening the case in the minds of the public and in the court of public opinion, in the court of the people, which is the only real court today in this country.

I'm here to express my solidarity with the PRDF suit, with Héctor Marroquín, with all the others here.

We had a rally recently in New York which, police said, 6,700 people attended, commemorating the twenty-fifth anniversary of my parents' execution, and the slogan of that rally was "Unite against today's repression." And I'm here today to start the process of making that slogan a reality.

We must unite—all of us. We must get together groups that disagree on other issues.

Therefore, speaking not as a member of the Socialist Workers Party or any other party, I say that my parents were killed, they were mur-

dered. Héctor Marroquín faces death. Russell Means is back in prison. This is what has to take precedence today. The victories of the sixties are being rolled back. And that is what has to take precedence today.

For in unity we can effectively fight back. In unity we can overcome this challenge. And in unity we can move forward toward justice, toward peace, and toward socialism.

George Novack, longtime leader of the SWP and veteran of many civil liberties battles.

I couldn't possibly do justice to all the functions the *Militant* has performed in the life of our movement. So let me zero in on a single aspect. That's the part the paper has played in the ceaseless fight for justice in this unjust society.

The democratic rights of the American people are the most valuable political, legal, and constitutional acquisitions of their past struggles.

Socialists must defend all victims of reactionary persecution, regardless of their special beliefs. The most effective way of doing so is to develop a broad and united defense movement in any given case. Appeals for support should be based upon general civil liberties grounds, not upon agreement with the views of the defendants, or approval of their real or alleged acts.

We stand by the imperishable solidarity slogan of the IWW: "An injury to one is an injury to all."

The *Militant* has faithfully lived up to this policy. Its bound volumes record virtually the whole history of the struggles for human rights here and abroad for the past fifty years.

Our paper has come to the aid of the most variegated victims of injustice whose rights have been denied: conscientious objectors, Jehovah's Witnesses and Nation of Islam members, Puerto Rican nationalists, foreign-born workers, union organizers, anarchists, civil service employees, liberal clergy, teachers, scientists, writers and magazines threatened by censorship.

We have initiated and participated in many significant campaigns to protect persecuted minorities: Blacks, Chicanos, Filipinos, Native Americans, and Japanese-Americans during the Second World War.

When our own rights are trampled on or any of our members are attacked, we don't turn the other cheek. We've resisted governmental persecution ever since the Minneapolis Smith Act trial of 1940 when the administration sought to legalize our party and put our leading comrades behind bars.

Regrettably, some other groups on the left do not share our non-sectarian attitude. Although we've consistently rallied to defend its rights, the Communist Party refused to support the Minneapolis defendants in the 1940s or the case of the legless veteran, Jimmy Kutcher, in the 1950s—much to their disgrace and detriment.

That's one reason we were pleased to see Charlene Mitchell, executive director of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, make so strong a declaration on the informer issue at the Political Rights Defense Fund's recent press conference in New York. Let's hope it's a harbinger of further collaboration in opposing acts of injustice.

s to rally

possibility of U.S. Attorney General Bell going to jail for contempt of court. I congratulate the Socialist Workers Party for its revolutionary perseverance which exposed these contradictions of the capitalist system.

Let me also take a moment to thank the many of you who supported me in my struggle to gain my release, even though I am still on parole until the year 2001.

- Free the Four Puerto Rican Nationalists!
- Free Attica Brother Dacajewiah!
- Free all political prisoners!
- Jail Griffin Bell!
- Victory for the Socialist Workers Party suit!

Leonard Boudin Attorney for the socialists' suit

I want to congratulate members of the SWP and the YSA for the great contribution which they have been making these last five years to the administration of justice in the United States.

A most important issue is being presented to the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit.

Is there a government privilege which permits the attorney general to conceal from the courts, litigants, and the public the illegal acts of the FBI committed through its so-called informers? The answer must be against the government's contention that there is, if the rule of the law is to have any meaning and if the Constitution is still in effect. That is why I believe that we must, and will, prevail.

Dick Gregory

Thank you for bringing out the truth in your long trial against the FBI under the Freedom of Information Act. You have suffered for us all, but in doing

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"informer" in the Ku Klux Klan, was a conspirator in the 1963 Birmingham bombing that killed four Black children. Gary Rowe repeatedly gunned down Black people in the streets of Birmingham—with the knowledge and protection of the cops—when he went nightriding with Klan terrorists on assignment from the FBI.

How many people did he kill? The Birmingham cops say they have no way of knowing. Black people, you see, were shot down in the streets of Birmingham all the time. So the cops stopped counting.

This racist killer, Gary Rowe, was J. Edgar Hoover's favorite. That's right. Hoover once said Rowe was the best undercover agent "we've ever seen."

And now that Gary Rowe has confessed to at least some of his crimes, the attorney general is protecting him. Why hasn't Bell ordered the FBI to release to the public the informer file the FBI kept on Gary Rowe? He's protecting "informer privilege."

What about the right of Black Americans not to be shot down in the streets. What about the right of the American people to know the truth?

Bell doesn't care about those rights. He cares about protecting the racist scum, psychopathic liars, and terrorist assassins the FBI hires—and then delicately calls "informers."

Now we have learned something else about the FBI through our suit. One of the techniques the FBI uses is what they call a "trash cover." In addition to opening your mail, tapping your phone, and bugging your bedroom, the FBI likes to look through your trash cans. We found out from the secret files that this assignment is highly regarded among FBI agents.

They like to do it. They get citations for doing it well.

This may seem funny on the surface, but it's actually a very significant discovery. In fact, it provides the key to unlocking one of the great philosophical problems that has plagued the Marxist movement since the *Communist Manifesto* was written. It is a question that opponents of Marxism confront us with every day: "Who, under socialism, will want to collect the garbage?"

Socialist Workers Party

The American people have learned some things about the FBI, and also some things about our movement, our party. People want to know what it is about the Socialist Workers Party that makes it possible for us to deal such blows to the FBI—to back the attorney general into the corner he is in now.

You can't explain the success we are having by our size. We are still a small party. We don't have great resources at our disposal. Today we only speak in

the interests of the masses; we do not yet speak for the masses.

Some people think we've gotten the attorney general and the FBI into this predicament because we've outsmarted them. That it must be because of our brilliant courtroom strategy and our sharp lawyers. But it's not because we're trickier than they are in court. We're not smarter than they are. Although we do okay, of course.

So if it's not because we're so big, and it's not because we're so smart, why have we been able to do what no other political organization, no other tendency has been able to do?

Part of the answer is that we understand that the struggle for basic democratic rights is important to every working person in this country. And defending these rights will be even more important as the radicalization of the working class advances.

It helps to remember that we filed our suit five years ago, at the height of Watergate. At that time, just about everyone—except for us—thought that the major issue raised by the Watergate revelations was whether Nixon as an individual should be impeached.

Exposing capitalist gov't

But we saw an opening to raise a much more fundamental question. To expose and challenge how the capitalist government, through its two parties, protects the rule of a tiny minority. How it has to lie, attack democratic rights, and build up a secret police agency in order to do this.

And, as it turned out, the ruling class had an easier time disposing of a discredited president than it is having restoring confidence in its political-police apparatus.

They need the FBI. And they are going to need it more as the class battles intensify. But just at the time they need the secret police more than ever, millions of people are beginning to realize what the FBI is really all about.

So they try to get their goons to operate with a little more finesse. But it is hard to bring a mad dog to heel. And the rulers have not yet figured out how to resolve this problem.

Now there is another reason why we have succeeded where others feared to tread. We're not afraid of what is in those files. What other party can say that? Not one.

We have no history of betrayals, of frame-ups of dissidents inside our party, of falling victim to FBI inspired witch-hunts in our ranks.

This is very important because more than any other disruption technique, the FBI tries to sow dissension and suspicion by starting organizations on the road of agent-baiting and spy scares.

Make everybody distrust everybody else. Get everyone looking around to find who the agent is. Such spy scares are a thousand times more harmful to

the party than any agent can be. And that's why we have never fallen into that trap.

'We can't be bought'

There is something else about our party. We can't be bought.

Now I am going to tell you something you don't know about, because we haven't yet written about it in the *Militant*, and we haven't discussed it with the press.

Earlier this year, Justice Department officials got in touch with us. They said they wanted to discuss an out-of-court settlement. We didn't know it at the time, but they knew exactly what was coming, that the attorney general would refuse to hand over the informer files, even if it meant being held in contempt of court. They wanted to see if they could avoid that.

We didn't reject the possibility of a settlement out of hand. We discussed it seriously. The government has the power to tie this case up in the courts almost indefinitely. They have the whole U.S. treasury at their disposal, while we have very limited resources; they could starve us out on that level.

And we know that at a certain point, we might maximize our gains by forcing them to make concessions and settle out of court.

So we had several meetings with the head of the Civil Division of the Justice Department in Washington. How they must have hated inviting the American Bolsheviks into their fancy offices to negotiate the fate of the FBI!

We authorized our negotiating team to make a simple and very reasonable proposal. Give us millions of dollars and all the files. They began by offering us several hundred thousand dollars—but no files.

We laughed and said, you'll have to do better than that. So they thought it over and said they wanted another meeting.

They offered us a little bit more money, and they said, we have a solution to the problem of the files. We will put them under lock and key in the National Archives, and nobody, absolutely nobody—not the FBI, or anyone—will be able to use them for any reason . . . unless, of course, the attorney general says it's okay.

So we laughed and said we would see them in court. And we did.

'A party that tells truth'

It is beginning to dawn on the government that there is something worrisome about the SWP. Their normal methods of dealing with opponents don't work against us.

At the court hearing where arguments were heard on whether Bell should be held in contempt of court, after an hour-long plea, the United States attorney got frustrated.

Your honor, he said, I've been involved in many important cases. I know how our legal system works. We've always been able to avoid situations like this by compromising. We've

always been able to work something out. But these people won't cooperate.

That's right. Because they've never had to deal with the Socialist Workers Party.

They have never run into a party before that meant what it said and said clearly what it stood for. A party that has no interests other than to tell the truth, a party that has no interests other than the interests of the working class and its allies.

By the rulers' standards we are unreasonable. Because we are not interested in helping them find a way out. We are interested only in exposing their system, and in arming the American people with the truth.

That's why we are not going to let Bell or Carter and the FBI off the hook. We are going to take full advantage of the openings presented by this case—to mobilize all the victims and potential victims of the FBI to strike a blow against the political police and the class they defend.

And we are going to make the Socialist Workers Party known to millions—through our campaigns for office, through our drive to sell 100,000 copies of *Perspectiva Mundial* and the *Militant* this fall—we are going to do everything we can to convince working people that a party that can do the job we are doing on the FBI today is the party of the future.

We have one goal and one goal only. And that is to educate and organize and mobilize the working people of this country to use their power to defend their own interests, to take control of this country in their own hands, and to bring to power a workers government. A government that can begin to build a new society. A society free of exploitation, free of racism, free of sexism. A society without nukes and the threat of nuclear war. A society without secret police and without informers.

Our party is your party!

IF YOU AGREE with what you have been reading in the *Militant*, now is the time to join the Socialist Workers Party. . . . OUR PARTY is made up of working people like you. The more who join, the better we can fight together against war and racism, and for decent living and working conditions. . . . JOIN US and help us build a better world, a socialist world. Fill out the coupon below and mail it today.

Join the Socialist Workers party!

- I want to join the SWP.
 Please send more information.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Telephone _____

SWP, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014

...Greetings

Continued from page 15

so you have made this a better country, and the whole world is better off because of that.

Thank you. God bless you, and may peace be with you.

David Livingston President, District 65 National Council, Distributive Workers of America

Protecting those whose abuse of authority has compromised the American principles of free political expression runs directly counter to the national interest. The trust placed in the office of attorney general is poorly served by disobeying court orders to cover up for individuals who have arrogantly functioned outside the law.

Since defense of constitutional rights remains the highest duty of citizenship, Attorney General Bell should immediately turn over to federal Judge Griesa all documents necessary to ascertain the extent of illegal political spying in this country.

David McReynolds War Resisters League

Civil liberties has too often been considered as a "bourgeois value." The reality is that freedom is a revolutionary value. The very concept that individuals have rights which no state can violate, and that associations have rights to meet, to organize, to publish without police intervention, is a concept historically associated with the left and its commitment to the extension of freedom and democracy into all areas of human activity, including the workplace.

The Socialist Workers Party, in fighting against the lawless activities of the FBI, has been fighting not only for its own rights but, by implication, for the rights of all citizens.

Anne Braden Civil rights activist

In vigorously pursuing its suit against the FBI, the Socialist Workers Party has performed an invaluable service for the entire people's movement in this country.

It is now crystal clear that *everyone* working for simple justice and a decent society—those asking

for civil rights, an end to war, and an end to poverty—has been subjected to actual criminal acts on the part of the U.S. government.

It is time that all of us who have been so victimized join together and say in a thundering voice that we will stand for it no longer.

Dr. Benjamin Spock

I congratulate you on the anniversary of the start of your great fight to restore the freedoms granted by the Constitution, but stolen by the FBI, the most subversive and lawless of the gangs of today.

Dave Dellinger Member, 'Seven Days' editorial board

The Political Rights Defense Fund has been doing a magnificent job for all of us by challenging the FBI and exposing to the American people the dirty tricks which are routine for the FBI and all repressive governments. I wish you success in your continuing efforts to curb these abuses and to reveal their logic within the existing competitive capitalist economy.

Officials block Cleveland busing, claim no funds

By Lynda Joyce
and Kathleen Fitzgerald

CLEVELAND—For the second year in a row, city and state officials are blocking school busing here. Again the fake argument against desegregating the schools is "lack of funds."

Federal Judge Frank Battisti, who ordered busing, has pretty much thrown up his hands. In an August 15 order, he said the school district could open late if it deemed it necessary or, if need be, not open at all.

Scoring the officials responsible, Judge Battisti said that "as a direct result of the defendants' actions and omissions," it appeared unlikely there could be any desegregation this September. He also placed responsibility on the U.S. Court of Appeals, which gave racist officials an important assist.

Earlier this year, when the Board of Education pleaded poverty to avoid busing, Judge Battisti ordered state officials to allocate \$14.4 million to cover the costs. The state auditor refused to release the money and appealed the order to the Court of Appeals, which upheld his action.

Meanwhile, the Board of Education, which argues it doesn't even have the money to pay teachers or operate the schools, is squandering thousands of dollars fighting the busing order in the courts.

In addition, the city school district is deliberately risking a loss of substantial federal aid because, for three years, it has failed to come up with a bilingual education plan for 3,000 Spanish-speaking students.

In the desegregation camp, the 6,000-member Cleveland Teachers Union, in concert with other school employees unions, has formed a unity committee. They have resolved to strike if they are not assured a cost-of-living salary in-



Judge Frank Battisti blames school district and court of appeals for failure to desegregate Cleveland schools this fall.

crease or are not paid on time.

The union has also reaffirmed the official American Federation of Teachers antidesegregation stand.

Also, local groups have formed to combat the board of education's anti-busing maneuvers.

One Cleveland Teachers Union member, Michael Nelson, told the *Militant* that the role of the school board has been "to slow down, derail, and impede the progress of desegregation." A leader of the Alliance of Concerned Teachers, a Black desegregation group, Nelson urges unity in the fight.

"The more groups that are involved and are on record as being in favor of desegregation the better," he said.

Another educator who is active in the fight expressed concern about the adverse affect of the recent U.S. Supreme Court *Bakke* decision.

Prof. C.J. Prentiss of Cleveland State University is education coordinator for the Cuyahoga Plan of Ohio, which is fighting against bias in housing. She was instrumental in founding the Black Community Leaders for Peace and Desegregation, a group which vows to ride the buses when they roll.

In a *Militant* interview, she said the *Bakke* decision prompted her to organize Black leadership around the desegregation issue.

Prof. Prentiss said the *Bakke* decision was a fresh signal that "in order to do right we've got to fight. . . . Black people are going to have to fight every step of the way. What's happening in Cleveland is just an example of people having to fight for everything they get."

Antibusing forces, including CORK [Citizens Opposed to Rearranging Kids] and the Old Brooklyn Citizens for Community Schools, assert they favor nonviolence and reliance on the courts.

Early this month, shotgun blasts shattered windows in the home of Rev. Austin Cooper, president of the Cleveland NAACP.

Police say they're investigating, but have no leads.

At stake in Cleveland are the civil rights of Blacks in one of the nation's most segregated cities.

To defend the rights of Black children a probusing movement must be built that is capable of rallying broad public sentiment.

Cleveland's trade unions can play an important role in this regard. And so can the NAACP, Black community groups, the women's movement, students, and other partisans of civil rights.

The way to push forward is for all these forces to come together in a highly visible movement that can force the city to desegregate the schools.

1,000 march against segregation

CLEVELAND, August 20—Nearly a thousand people, Black and white, met at the Superior Bridge today in a demonstration of solidarity in the fight for desegregation of the city's school system. It was the biggest action of its kind since the fight began.

The bridge is the link between the mainly white West Side and the mainly Black East Side. Partisans of equal education marched from both communities and joined forces at the center of the bridge for a united march downtown where they held a rally.

A broad array of civil-rights, community, church, and political groups joined in. There were three union contingents—the Cleveland Federation of Teachers, the Amalgamated Meat Cutters, and the Municipal Laborers.

Another contingent was organized by WomenSpace, an umbrella formation of women's organizations in the city.

Also participating was a sizable contingent of Puerto Ricans marching under the banner of the Hispanic Coalition for Peaceful Desegregation and Bilingual Education.

Representing thirty-two Hispanic organizations, the coalition was formed a week before the rally. Their banner declared: "Defend Your Flag, Your Culture, Your Island."

Senate energy debate

Congress prepares to give oil barons billions

By Dick Roberts

Beginning after Labor Day the U.S. Senate is slated to debate deregulation of natural gas prices. The senators will be acting on a bill sponsored by the Carter administration that goes much further towards meeting the demands of the energy trust than the energy bill Carter himself initially proposed sixteen months ago.

The stage was set for the forthcoming debate August 18 when a House-Senate conference on natural gas prices reached agreement after more than eight months of stalemated secret negotiations. The conference voted to completely lift government regulation of natural gas prices by 1985.

This will allow the gas companies to jack up prices and profits by incalculable amounts.

The deregulation of natural gas prices has been a goal of the energy trusts for no less than twenty-four years.

The key vote change in the House-Senate conference last week was by two House Democratic Party liberals. Up until August 17, Reps. James Corman (D-Calif.) and Charles Rangel (D-N.Y.) had opposed complete decontrol.

Last week, oil brought out the big guns. "On Wednesday [August 16]," according to the *Washington Post*, "Secretary of Treasury W. Michael Blumenthal and G. William Miller, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, met with Corman, Rangel and other conferees and made a profound impact. . . ."

Thursday afternoon Corman and Rangel were briefed by House Speaker Tip O'Neill, and then they were

shipped to the White House for final treatment. Corman and Rangel signed the dotted line at 7:30 p.m., Thursday, bringing before both the Senate and House the bill the Senate will soon debate.

The most recent gimmick to justify passing the energy bill is that it is needed to prop up the declining dollar by curbing oil imports. But this argument is just as phony as the many other ones offered previously.

In fact, in recent months oil imports have been declining—at the same time as the dollar's steepest fall!

If Carter had wanted to slash oil imports he could have imposed quotas long before—or now—but this move has been stoutly resisted by the White House.

Stopping the import of OPEC oil was never the aim of the U.S. rulers. OPEC oil is distributed in this country by such oil giants as Gulf, Exxon, Mobil, and Texaco, and it is a source of vast monopoly profits to them.

In order to understand what has changed and what brings this formidable new profit grab before the Senate, we have to recall the basic aim of the energy trusts and consider what they have so far accomplished.

They have always had one central goal: to raise gas and oil prices in this country. As a result of much complicated legislation following World War II, there are government-imposed controls on both oil and gas prices. For more than two decades the oil barons have been trying to get rid of these controls.

That has proven extremely difficult. An increasing number of Americans



do not trust the government. Vietnam, Watergate, revelations about FBI burglaries and assassinations, exposures of corporate bribery and corruption the world over, and hatred of the profit-gouging energy trust itself, boil over into a seething distrust of Carter's energy plan.

The government and the press have responded with a massive propaganda campaign to sell the "energy crisis" and to obscure the aims of the oil trust.

When Carter proposed the energy plan sixteen months ago, the administration did not go the whole way. The initial White House proposal called for retaining oil and gas controls, with higher price ceilings for gas. The initial White House proposal also had

window dressing that was not to the likings of the oil companies—and may never have been seriously intended by Carter to begin with.

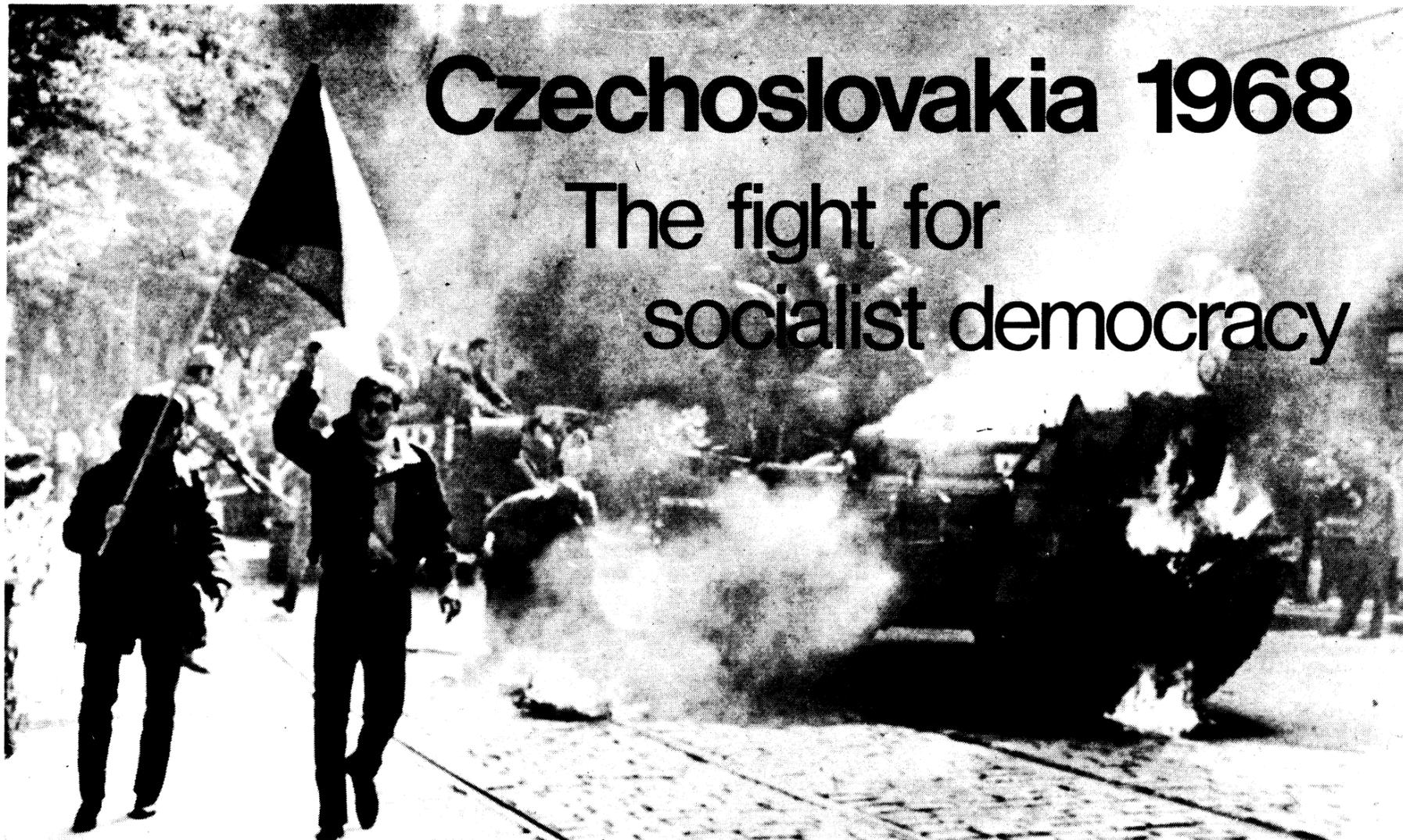
Carter proposed a well-head tax on crude oil that would have immediately raised its price to world levels. Such a sharp increase in oil prices was supposed to encourage conservation of oil use in the United States. But the increased revenues would go to the government, not the oil companies. This has been shelved:

"What the administration originally claimed were its big energy-saving measures—proposed taxes on domestic crude oil and on business use of oil and gas—are widely considered dead on

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Czechoslovakia 1968

The fight for socialist democracy



During Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, young Czechs attacked and burned Soviet tanks

By David Frankel

"Socialism with a human face" was a slogan made famous all over the world by the so-called Prague Spring of 1968. The imagination of millions was kindled as the Czechoslovak people began to dismantle the grim police dictatorship that had been imposed on them by Stalin. The vision of genuine socialism—a planned, cooperative economy, run democratically by working people—began to seem a realistic possibility.

Then, on August 20, 1968, the Kremlin ordered nearly 200,000 Warsaw Pact troops into Czechoslovakia. The Soviet-led invasion was a tragic setback for the cause of socialism. It gave new life to the old capitalist lie that socialism and democratic rights are incompatible.

At the same time, the invasion was a political disaster for the Kremlin. The Stalinist bureaucrats in Moscow tried to justify their brutal intervention by claiming that top figures in the Czechoslovak government had appealed to them for aid against a "counterrevolutionary danger." But so massive was the opposition to the invasion that the Kremlin was unable to come up with a single prominent Czechoslovak leader willing to act as front-man for Moscow in a new government.

Alexander Dubcek, the general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, had been arrested and taken to Moscow in chains, accused of being the leader of an antisocialist plot. Unable to find a replacement for Dubcek, however, the Stalinist bureaucrats in Moscow were forced to temporarily reinstate the chief of the "counterrevolution."

Resistance among the Czechoslovak masses continued for months, before the bureaucratic apparatus—backed, after a few weeks, by 650,000 Warsaw Pact troops—succeeded in reimposing its control.

The outrage of workers around the world at the invasion of Czechoslovakia was reflected in condemnations of the Soviet invasion by Communist parties in France, Italy, Britain, Sweden, the Dominican Republic, Switzerland, Austria, Japan, and Mexico, to name only a few.

Half a million Mexican students demonstrated in Mexico City on August 27, 1968, behind a huge banner saying: "The Students of Mexico Demand the Withdrawal of Yankee Troops from Vietnam and Soviet Troops from Czechoslovakia."

American Stalinists split

Even the American Communist Party, long known for its slavishness toward Moscow, was shaken up by the invasion. The *People's World*, the CP's West Coast weekly, opposed the invasion, and George and Eleanor Wheeler, two CP correspondents in Prague, declared: "There was no counterrevolution here. Only plans for better socialism, for democratic socialism. . . ."

All that was ten years ago. Those CP members

who refused to back down and praise Moscow's "internationalist aid" to Czechoslovakia were driven out of the party long ago. Nevertheless, an article by Erik Bert in the May 9 issue of the CP's *Daily World*, referring to the CP's own periphery, and to many of its sister parties around the world, complains about "bitterness" over the invasion "in circles that should have known better, to put it charitably. And it has not ended."

A decade later, the invasion of Czechoslovakia still haunts the Stalinists!

Apologies for the invasion of Czechoslovakia are particularly grotesque when one recalls that the Vietnam War was nearing its height in 1968. President Lyndon Johnson had reacted to the Tet offensive with brutal military might against the liberation forces.

There was counterrevolution in action, but Moscow hardly lifted a finger to aid the Vietnamese. Its tanks were too busy in Czechoslovakia.

Let's take a closer look at this supposed "counterrevolution."

Simmering discontent

By the end of 1967 Czechoslovakia had been ruled for nearly twenty-five years by Antonin Novotny, a tyrant hand-picked by Stalin after the previous leadership of the Czechoslovak CP was framed up and executed on his orders.

Novotny's stifling dictatorship was the cause of simmering discontent. This was first expressed openly by a number of prominent writers and intellectuals, whose ideas found a response among the student youth.

At the same time, lack of significant progress in living standards had generated widespread dissatisfaction in the working class, and Novotny's discriminatory policies were causing anger among the Slovak minority. Opposition to Novotny began to surface among the top leaders of the ruling party, who feared that unless they bent to the pressures for change, they would face an explosion.

In November 1967 all three Slovak members of the party presidium—Dubcek, Premier Joseph Lenart, and Michal Chudik—demanded that Novotny resign. They blamed him for blocking a three-year-old plan of reforms designed to aid the country's

stagnant economy and accused him of discriminating against Slovakia, the underdeveloped eastern region of Czechoslovakia.

Finally, in January 1968, Novotny was replaced by Dubcek as first secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. Dubcek and his team were hardly revolutionaries. They had been trained in the bureaucratic school and reached the highest posts in Czechoslovakia only after years of service in the interests of the privileged caste ruling the country.

But to carry through the reforms they believed were necessary, Dubcek and his supporters had to rely, at least to some extent, on the masses for support against Novotny's backers entrenched in the party and state machinery. The division in the ranks of the bureaucracy between the old-line Stalinists and the technocratic reformers created an opening for the masses. And it wasn't long before they took advantage of it.

Nationwide debate

A heated, countrywide debate opened up, as the controversies within the Communist Party began to spill over into the general population. Tumultuous mass meetings demanded the resignation of Novotny from his remaining ceremonial post of president. For the first time since the Stalinist takeover in 1948, censorship of the mass media was effectively abolished. Demands began to be heard for the right to form political parties. Thousands of students took to the streets in demonstrations March 28 to oppose Dubcek's choice for a new president.

As an article in the March 9, 1968, *New York Times* pointed out, "in recent days there have been signs that Czechoslovakia's quiet revolution was moving too fast for Mr. Dubcek and some of his 'progressive backers.'"

Czechoslovak students began to voice support for their counterparts who were demanding democratic rights in Poland. At the same time, the revolutionary upsurge of the French working class in May 1968, and the actions of the radical student movement elsewhere in Europe, had a big impact in Czechoslovakia.

The ferment was reflected in a new magazine, *Informacni Materiály*, which in its June 24, 1968, issue published parts of a Trotskyist manifesto, "For a Government of Workers Councils in Czechoslovakia." That issue of the magazine reported the formation of a left communist group that announced it was petitioning the government for recognition. Articles on workers democracy and how it could be established also began appearing in the daily press.

After the Soviet invasion, the right of the Czechoslovak people to read about and openly discuss the political issues facing them was singled out by the Kremlin as an example of "counterrevolution" in

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The Struggle for Socialist Democracy in the Soviet Bloc

By Gus Horowitz. \$60
Enclose \$25 for postage and handling. Order from
Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New
York 10014.

Speech by Hugo Blanco

'Wage a consistent struggle for a workers government!'

The following speech by Hugo Blanco was given to a rally of 5,000 held July 16, the day he returned to Peru from exile in Europe. At this rally representatives of a number of Trotskyist groups spoke, including the Partido Obrero Marxista Revolucionario (Revolutionary Marxist Workers Party, a group that shares the views of the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International.)

There was a broad spectrum of speakers, including the president of the teachers union, SUTEP; and Andrés Luna Vargas, a leader of the Peruvian Peasant Federation. Alfonso Barrantas Lingán, president of the Democratic People's Union, one of the two slates to the left of the CP, also spoke and called for unity of the left.

The translation of Blanco's speech is by Intercontinental Press/Inprecor.'

[Applause, shouts, chanting of slogans "Land or death, we will win!" "Hugo, Hugo, Hugo!" "Down with Bedoya!"¹]

Compañeros, I'm going to begin by reading a message from [deportees still in exile in] Paris. It's a joint statement by the FOCEP² and the UDP.³

"Through Compañero Hugo Blanco we send joyful greetings to the Peruvian working people, and we hail their great struggles in which we are participants. We announce that we are demanding that the Peruvian military government pay the fares of returning deportees. Since it deported us, it has the obligation to give us the material means to return. [Applause, shouts of "Bravo!"] As you know, the government bought only one-way tickets!"

I remind you all that we have to fight to get the government to pay the fares for these compañeros. The government deported candidates, and now that these candidates have been elected, it doesn't want to pay their

way back. So, we've got to fight to make sure that they don't get into the habit of doing such things. [Laughter, applause.]

During the campaign itself, we said that the elections were a farce. That's what we said, and we still say it. We have said that we were using the elections to give impetus to the struggles of the masses, which are the only thing that can lead to the liberation of our people. We said this during the campaign and it is what we say today. [Applause.]

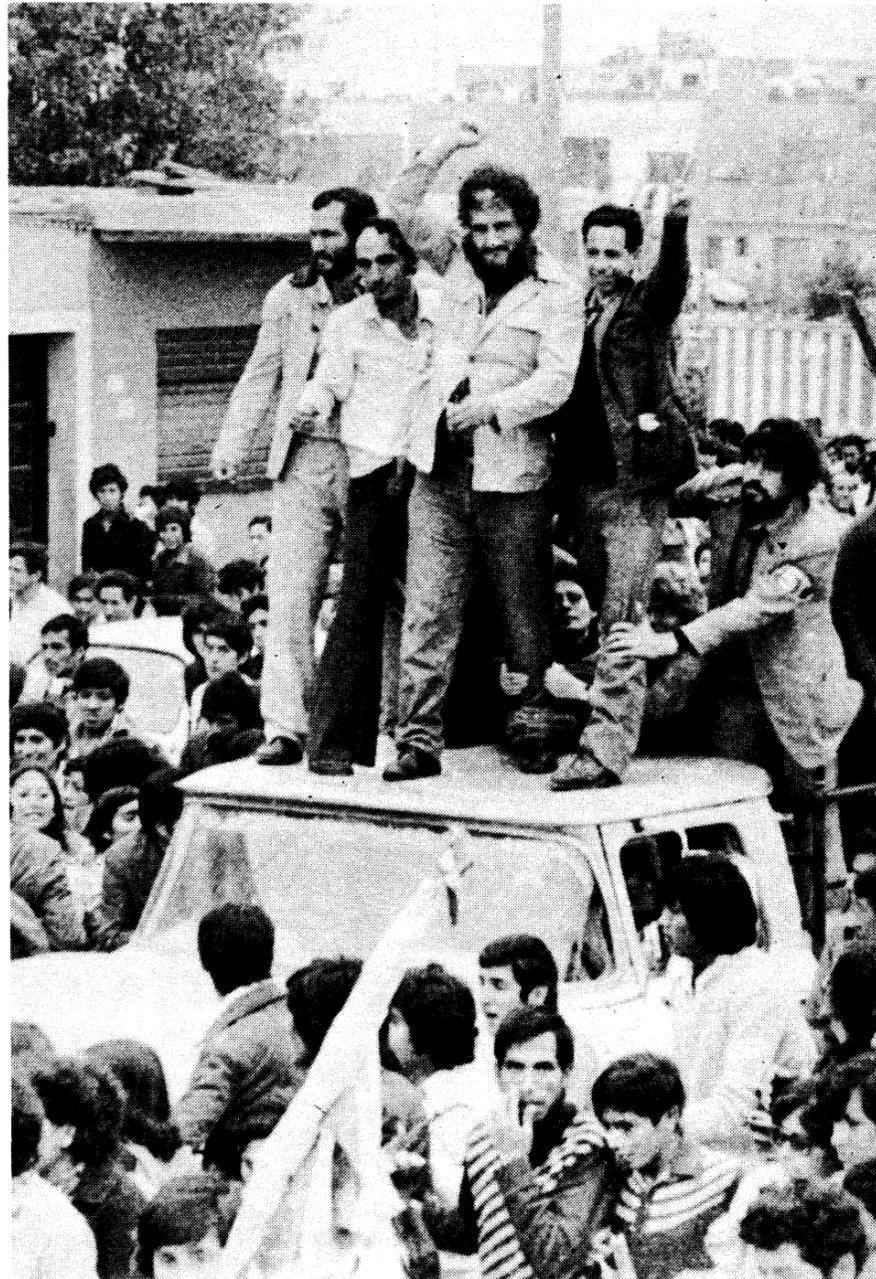
There would be no justification for our being in the Constituent Assembly if we didn't use our presence there to support the struggles being waged day after day by the workers in the factories, in the shantytowns, in the countryside, and in the streets. If we can use our position in the Constituent Assembly for this purpose, then we are doing something. If not, then being in the Constituent Assembly accomplishes nothing. [Shouts of "Bravo!" Applause.] Because we are not going to convince Señor Bedoya Reyes and Señor Haya de la Torre.⁴ [Shouts of "Down with them."] If he doesn't learn now, he never will. There's no point in trying to argue with corpses. What's important is that we use our position there to promote the struggles of the masses.

We are not interested in what they say up there. What interests us is what the people are interested in, what they are struggling for. Let all these gentlemen keep on cooking up their deals, keep on with their card tricks, keep on plotting. What we should do is concentrate on organizing the struggles of the masses and on working openly among the masses to achieve the unity of the left. We shouldn't work behind closed doors as the others do. [Shouts of "Bravo!" Prolonged applause, chants of "The people united will never be defeated."]

We are not going to unite so that we can divide up posts, or offices, or that sort of thing. We are going to unite to give impetus to the struggles of the masses. That should be very clear.

There have been some discussions among the deported compañeros. We could begin by proposing a presiding committee. (I don't know what they call that damned thing, the arrangement they have, a preliminary slate.) What's happening is that they are going to propose a presiding committee

4. Leader of the Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana (APRA—American People's Revolutionary Alliance). This is an old anti-imperialist formation that has turned right-wing and proimperialist. It has connections with the Social Democracy internationally.



Hugo Blanco (center)

Fred Murphy/Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

for the Constituent Assembly. [Laughter.]

Of course, Haya de la Torre's going to preside over it. [Laughter. Shouts of "That creep should drop dead!"] He's going to run for chairman (let Bedoya take note). We were talking it over with the compañeros and we thought that it would be a good idea to run an opposition slate. Of course, it would lose. But this would show that we have nothing to do with them and that we are completely opposed to them. It would be an opposition slate made up of compañeros on the left.

We had only one little problem here. It was over the PSR.⁵ As you probably know, the compañeros of the UDP were in favor of including them in the left. We were opposed to this. But now there is no problem any more, since "Chango" had a fight with his generals.⁶ [Loud laughter, applause.] So, now the argument about whether the PSR was left or right is over. We found out that the PSR was left and right.

5. Partido Socialista Revolucionario (Revolutionary Socialist Party, a formation that represented the left wing of the military government). When it was formed it included a number of generals and others who held high positions in the government of General Velasco Alvarado. It also included a number of leftists who went into the mass organizations of the military regime, which were supposed to mobilize the masses to carry through the government's reform program.

6. Antonio "Chango" Aragón was a leader of the Peruvian Trotskyist movement during the 1962-63 peasant struggles. He headed the wing of the PSR that split July 5 from the party of the so-called progressive ex-military officers. Aragón's PSR includes the bulk of the party's trade-union and peasant leaders.

The right has gone off in one direction, and the left in the other.

So, such a left opposition slate gives us a way to begin to demonstrate to those gentlemen and to the people that we are a completely different thing, that we aren't going to get involved in any wheeling and dealing, any fancy card tricks, or any damned thing like that. Putting up an opposition slate doesn't have any importance in itself, but it is important to show the people that they shouldn't have any illusions in this Constituent Assembly circus. [Laughter.]

You know what a farce this whole thing has been. The crowning touch was when they arrested Leonidas Rodríguez⁷ as he was going to vote. (He is not a man of the left, but I respect him and I respect his democratic rights.) That's already enough to make a joke of this Constituent Assembly. This is the way the government has made a mockery of the Constituent Assembly, the way it has trampled on it.

The government trampled on it by deporting candidates and sending them off like prisoners of war to a foreign army. The government trampled on it by canceling UDP and FOCEP broadcasts whenever it felt like it, when the other gentlemen were allowed to campaign even at football games, in news broadcasts, and all the rest. What is more, they let these gentlemen hold a rally to conclude the campaign and didn't let us do it.

So, this Constituent Assembly is a farce through and through. And despite all this, we saw what kind of vote the left got. Do you remember, compañeros, those cartoons that were run in all the magazines, and the rest,

Continued on next page

7. The chairman of the PSR.

1. A leader of the Partido Popular Cristiano (PPC—Christian People's Party, the Peruvian Christian Democrats), a rightist formation that claimed to oppose the military government. It got 27% of the vote in the June elections.

2. Frente Obrero, Campesino, Estudiantil, y Popular (Workers, Peasants, Students, and People's Front, the electoral slate for which Blanco was a candidate).

3. Unión Democrática Popular (Democratic People's Union, an electoral front that includes the majority of the miners federation leadership, Maoists, and some Trotskyists. Maoists were the dominant force.

...Blanco

Continued from preceding page

portraying me as the odd man out because I rejected deals with any section of the bourgeoisie.

I was crazy because I called for a workers government. I was crazy because I called for disavowing Peru's foreign debt, its debts to the International Monetary Fund, to the banks, and other imperialist agencies like these. Total disavowal of debts, nationalization without compensation, workers management—these proposals aroused laughter on the right, but they won us the support of the masses.

So, you will understand that we have to keep our promises to the *compañeros* who voted for the program of a workers government and socialism. That is why we have to wage a consistent struggle for a workers government and for socialism. If we were not consistent in this, we would be betraying the half million people who voted for us. [Applause.]

On these points, we have some differences with the *compañeros* of the UDP. I don't know about the *compañeros* in the PSR who remain. We will have to have some new discussions with "El Chango" about this. But in any case, we know that although there are differences on this point, although they are not for a workers government today, although today they are not for socialism here and now, there are still many things that unite us.

Basis for unity

For example, we can come together in this rally. We all fight for a general strike. We all support the fight for the reinstatement of those who have been fired. We oppose the law on instability in employment. We are all for the rescinding of the sentences and the release of all the prisoners. We are all for the success of the SUTEP strike,⁸ which is the most important thing at the moment. There are many other examples.

On all these points, there is no question, no doubt whatever that we are going to stand together with the *compañeros* of the UDP and with the *compañeros* of the PSR. That goes without saying. What is more, we are already doing so. And this shows that such unity already exists.

There can be unity on many other points. It already exists, for example, because *Compañero* Luna Vargas is part of the executive committee of the CCP.⁹ This unity already existed between the forces in FOCEP and the UDP before these formations existed. So, *compañeros*, we don't have to say that we are for unity with the UDP. We have united, we are uniting, we are working together in practice. We are for unity with the PSR, now that the problem has been cleared up.

We also appeal to the *compañeros* of the Communist Party to unite with us, because we aren't sectarians. The fact that their leaders are more interested in unity with Morales Bermúdez, well, that's another problem. But if they won't unite with us, it's not because we aren't calling for it. What's happening is that on the other side Morales Bermúdez is also beckoning to them, and they prefer unity with him. [Laughter.] In any case we appeal to the *compañeros* of the Communist Party, we remind them that they are a left party and that their place is with the

8. Since May 8, the vast majority of Peru's 140,000 public high-school teachers have been on strike, demanding a 100 percent wage hike, better working conditions, and recognition of their union, SUTEP, as their bargaining agent. The union leadership is predominantly Maoist.

9. Confederación Campesina del Perú (Peruvian Peasant Federation).



Fred Murphy/Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

Thousands of Peruvians turned out to greet Hugo Blanco when he returned from exile to take his seat in the Constituent Assembly.

workers and not with the military government. [Applause, shouts of "Bravo!"]

But these are not all the forces you have to unite with. We can't be electoralists. We can't think that the left is only those who chose to participate in the elections. There are some *compañeros* who thought that it was a mistake to participate in the elections. And these *compañeros* were not represented on the slates or anything like that. But they are *compañeros* who are with us in the struggle. And so, unity has to include them too. Whether it was correct to take part in the elections is now a matter for historical debate. We can continue the discussions as historians.

Close ranks

But in the meantime, in the struggles we face here and now, what we have to do to move forward is to close ranks. The SUTEP struggle is an example. Those *compañeros* are for the SUTEP struggle. We are for the SUTEP struggle. We are all for support to the teachers. And we are all for a general strike to solve the problems of the teachers—and that is the only thing that can solve them, not the Constituent Assembly, or anything like it. [Applause, shouts of "Bravo!"]

And since we are talking about unity, there is another little problem that has to do with unity. [Chants of "Hugo Blanco supports the SUTEP strike!"] Well, even if he didn't support it, the Peruvian people support it. [Laughter.] OK, *compañeros*, since we are talking about unity, there is another little problem here, a more internal problem.

The *compañeros* of FIR-POC,¹⁰ one of whom just spoke, were one of the groups that fought shoulder to shoulder with the PST¹¹ and the other *compañeros* in the Fourth International. If we want to talk about unity, if we Trotskyists want to talk about unity of the left, the first thing we are going to have to do is unite ourselves. If we don't do that, we won't have any authority to talk about unity of the left. [Shouts, applause, cries of "Long live the socialist revolution!"]

10. Frente de la Izquierda Revolucionaria—Partido de Obreros y Campesinos (Front of the Revolutionary Left—Workers and Peasants Party, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International).

11. Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores, Socialist Workers Party, the Trotskyist organization of which Hugo Blanco is a member.

Besides, we Trotskyists who were in the FOCEP and the Trotskyists who were in the UDP have been taught a lesson by the Peruvian people. When we proposed an election program calling for a workers government and for socialism, we thought that the people were not ready to support this. We thought that the people were going to be for intermediate, halfway solutions. We thought that they were not going to vote for us but for other kinds of candidates. We thought that we were going to get a minimal vote, but that we had to run the kind of campaign we did to educate the masses.

We started educating the masses, but it was the masses who completed our education. They showed us that they were in favor of our program. Because that's what was shown by the vote we got, that the masses agreed with our program, and that they did not see a workers government as something fantastic, something out of science fiction.

This is what we Peruvian Trotskyists learned in this last period from the Peruvian masses. And so we know that there are hundreds of thousands of workers who are ready to struggle for a workers government and for socialism. And so, the immediate task of those of us who said we were fighting for that is to begin to organize these masses. That must be the immediate basis of a unification of the Trotskyists. [Applause, shouts of "Trotskyists united to build the party!"]

I repeat, these are internal problems among Trotskyists. The fact that I am talking about them here in front of you shows the honesty with which we confront these problems. This is a commitment made before you to unify the Trotskyist movement so that we can speak with authority about the need to unite the left.

I have also learned that the comrades of the PSR, Vanguardia Revolucionaria, and other currents are involved in processes of unification. I think that's wonderful.

There is another little problem we have to take up. The respectable gentlemen in the Constituent Assembly, not us, but the respectable ones, are discussing together with all of the right, including the section that is not in the Constituent Assembly, like Belaúnde,¹² for instance. They are plot-

12. A former president, deposed by the military coup that installed the Velasco Alvarado government. He opposed calling elections for a Constituent Assembly.

ting among themselves to see how they can set up a *Ménage à trois* [laughter] between the APRA, the PPC, and the government. What is Señor Bedoya going to tell the masses who voted for him. They voted for him because he said all sorts of bad things about the military.

So, *compañeros*, he is going to have to do a lot of wiggling to explain to the masses who voted for him why he is going into a coalition government now—because that is what he is going to do. You don't need a crystal ball to see that; you don't even have to be particularly clever. There is going to be a coalition government including the APRA, the PPC, and Morales Bermúdez.

Of course, Bedoya could say anything he liked against the military, and be very bold about it too, because he owns them. So, how could they deport him. [Laughter.] But now the people can see that they were cheated when they thought they were voting for the APRA and for the PPC as a way of voting against the military government. These parties are going to form a single government together with the military dictators that they attacked.

When the people see that this marriage is being consummated in order to continue the policy of the IMF, which is the most hated enemy of the Peruvian people, then we will see where the masses who voted for the PPC and for APRA go. They are going to swell our ranks. [Applause, shouts of "Bravo!"]

'Hugo Blanco phenomenon'

Among the matters that these gentlemen are discussing is the "Hugo Blanco phenomenon." [Laughter.] That is, they can't put him in prison for very long, because the masses protest; and if they deport him, he comes back like a yoyo. [Laughter.] So, what can be done about him? Maybe the solution is to kill him. They eliminate him, and then the left is done for.

Well, *compañeros*, we have to talk about this question. But we should do so in a political way and not an emotional one. Specifically, what we have to do is to take steps so that even if they eliminate me, the unity of the left will not be wrecked. I am absolutely confident that this can be done, because out of the last sixteen years, I have spent only twenty months free and in Peru. And despite this the

Peruvian people keep fighting. So, it's not Hugo Blanco that's doing the fighting, it's the Peruvian masses. [Applause.]

So, let's look at the little problem they have here in this farce that they staged to fool us, and which ended up fooling them. If they keep me out of the Constituent Assembly by doing me in, then they are going to show the masses what their democracy is like. They are going to convince the masses that parliamentarism leads nowhere—that they are the ones who cannot live with democracy and not we. And in doing this they are going to show the masses the real road to their liberation. If my blood is spilled, the people should see the color of the road that leads to their liberation. [Applause, shouts of "Bravo!"]

As the members of FOCEP who are here know, I have gotten a mandate from the chairman of the front. This has to do with a general problem. It is a tragedy that there are only a few hundred organized members of the FOCEP, and a half million who voted for the slate. This cannot be. A few hundred persons cannot make decisions for a half a million. It is this half million people who must decide on the future steps to be taken by the FOCEP, and not the 500 persons in the FOCEP organization now.

Here is a letter of authorization that I would like a FOCEP member to read.

FOCEP member: "In view of the need to begin immediately to organize the masses who voted for the FOCEP in the June 18 elections and in view of his excellent qualifications as an organizer, Compañero Hugo Blanco Galdos is designated organizational secretary for the national leadership of the FOCEP and has the responsibility to report to this body. [Applause.] Signed by the national chairman, Genaro Ledesma, July 14, 1978." [Applause.]

Lies from rightists

OK, compañeros, this has an importance for the question of the unity, or division of FOCEP. The right is chortling, saying, "The chairman of the slate is Genaro Ledesma, and the one who got the most votes is Hugo Blanco. So, a power struggle is already on." [Laughter.] This is all lies. Genaro Ledesma remains the head, and I am an activist who holds the post of organizational secretary. [Applause.] Genaro Ledesma will continue, of course, to be chairman of FOCEP.

The right has also thought that there was going to be a power struggle in the CCP, as a result of the vote, between Vargas, who is the chairman of the organization and me, who is a lower-ranking member. This other so-called

power struggle is not going to take place either. Because I am a trade-union activist, and I will continue carrying out my duties there when I don't have to be occupied with the foolishness in the Constituent Assembly. I will continue carrying out my duties in the leadership of the CCP, since it is the organization that is going to solve the problems of Peru and not the Constituent Assembly. [Shouts of "Bravo!" Applause.]

So, compañeros, to come back to the tragedy that is constituted by the fact that only a few hundred organized persons are representing a half million people, this means that we have to organize this half million people as soon as possible. The task of FOCEP members today is to go out immediately to every neighborhood, to every factory, to every peasant union, and organize a local committee of the front. [Shouts of "Bravo!" Applause.]

Since we aren't bureaucrats, no signature or stamp from the organizational secretary is needed to organize these committees. The only thing that is needed is for the people in the local areas to want to form a FOCEP committee. [Applause. Shouts of "Bravo!"] And then they will be the ones who in their meetings and congresses will decide how the line of the FOCEP will be carried forward, how FOCEP will fight for a workers government and socialism.

Therefore, compañeros, the task is not mine alone. It is the duty of all of us, all members of the FOCEP, to begin to build local committees of the front. Compañeros, don't worry about the form in which these committees should be organized. Organize them any way you like. No committee can function unless it is set up, and these questions can't be decided in advance. The organizational task today, compañeros, is to organize supporters of the FOCEP throughout Lima and throughout Peru! [Applause, shouts of "Land or death!"]

The Chair: "Compañeros, we said in the beginning that we should greet Compañero Hugo Blanco with shouts of 'Land or death!' Today, the revolutionary slogan can only be 'Socialism or death!' [The audience takes up the chant.]

"Compañeros, all out to the Plaza de Mayo on July 19 to commemorate the heroic national strike of July 19, 1977."¹³

13. In this strike, which was touched off by a 50% increase in the prices of basic necessities, at least six persons were reported killed. Some 300 union leaders were arrested, and more than 5,000 union activists were fired from their jobs.

World news notes

Strikes sweep Peru

A series of strikes have swept across Peru in recent weeks. Thirty-five thousand health workers are presently on strike, as well as 5,000 railroad workers in southern Peru.

On August 14 a march of 10,000 striking miners occurred in Lima. The march was prevented by the cops from converging on the presidential palace. Instead, it blocked the side streets and major avenues for hours.

Juan Cornejo, a delegate of the Workers, Peasants, Students and Poor People's Front (FOCEP) to the Constituent Assembly, addressed the marchers. He called on all trade unions, left organizations, and religious figures to support the miners' struggle.

U.S. troops to Rhodesia?

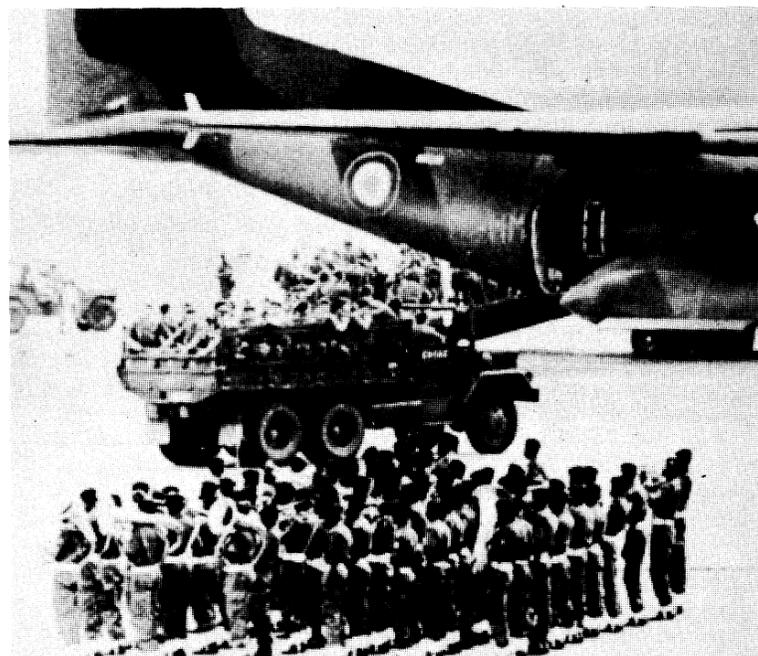
Evidently nervous about the stability of the Black-white "coalition" regime in Rhodesia, the British and U.S. governments have begun discussing "evacuation" plans should things get out of hand.

Roy Reed reported in the August 6 issue of the *New York Times* that "there are a number of rescue plans on paper, but they are mostly theoretical military exercises on the technical problems of how to meet various emergencies. They deal with such operations as airlifts and moving people to safety by highway."

"Airlift" is an imperialist code word for military intervention. The most recent case of this doublespeak was in Zaïre, where, using the excuse of "protecting civilians," Belgian and French paratroopers were airlifted to Africa to gun down rebel forces in Shaba province.

Reed reported that there has also been speculation within the Carter administration that South Africa might start its own "rescue" operation in Rhodesia in the event of a revolutionary upsurge there. Such an operation would involve "whatever troops it thought necessary, should white Rhodesians be seriously threatened."

Unable to quash the Black struggle through its phony "coalition" scheme, the white-dominated Rhodesian government has resorted to and more to open repression. On August 15, police opened fire on a crowd of 3,000 striking miners at the Mangula copper mine. Four miners were killed and five wounded. The miners had been striking for wage increases.



French foreign legionnaires during Zaïre "airlift"

Army harasses Irish Trotskyists

On Wednesday, August 2, the British Army raided the Connolly Bookshop in Andersonstown, Belfast. Allegedly, the purpose of the raid was to find a connection to a cache of arms "discovered" behind the store.

John McNulty, a member of People's Democracy, and John McGeown, a member of the Movement for a Socialist Republic, were taken to the army barracks, held for four hours, and then released. The entire contents of the shop, including books, files, and copies of the PD-MSR joint newspaper *Socialist Republic*, were confiscated by the troops.

The MSR is the Irish section of the Fourth International. Currently, it and PD are in the process of fusing into a single organization.

In a joint press statement following the raid, the two organizations said, "The real purpose of the raid was harassment of PD/MSR and its newspaper. The British Army are perfectly well aware of this themselves because they made no attempt to pursue their 'enquiries' about the 'arms cache'. In fact all they questioned John McGeown and John McNulty about was what they thought of Marxism. . . ."

The groups intend to lodge complaints with the British Army and with the RUC, the Irish police force. "We see this raid as an attack on our democratic rights," their statement continued, "and do not believe that the British Army would have been so quick to back down had it not been for the extensive publicity given to the incident in Belfast."

—Peter Archer

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Growing union support for ERA helped pressure House into extending deadline

Militant/Lou Howort

...ERA

Continued from page 4

"3. It was another successful, perfectly timed, and politically effective action in the series of effective actions for the ERA that NOW's leadership has initiated.

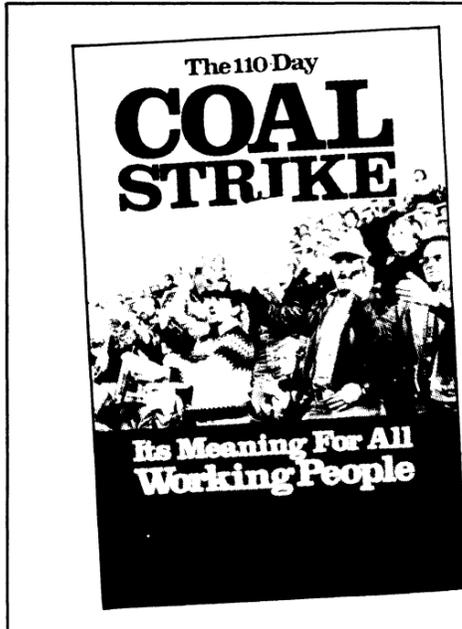
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More information about the NOW

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...Czech 1968

Continued from page 18

progress. Thus, the August 22, 1968, issue of *Pravda* declared:

"The Czechoslovak press willingly opened their columns to writings of outright adversaries of Marxism-Leninism. It is enough to recall the publication in many Czechoslovak periodicals of articles by the well-known Trotskyite Isaac Deutscher, as well as excerpts from his book."

However, the real fear of the Kremlin rulers was that the ideas of genuine Marxism, which began to take root among the Czechoslovak masses, would spread to the rest of Eastern Europe and eventually to the Soviet Union itself.

A public-opinion poll carried out by the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences and reported in the May 19, 1968, issue of *Canadian Tribune*—the newspaper of the Canadian CP—reflected the actual desires of the Czechoslovak people. That poll found only 1.5 percent of the people questioned thought that political conditions in their country would be improved through a restoration of capitalism. On the other hand, 91 percent wanted to see the rehabilitation of the tens of thousands of citizens victimized during the Stalinist purges of the 1950s. Fifty-eight percent wanted to see the bureaucrats responsible for such injustices brought to trial.

That was the "counterrevolution" that drove the Kremlin and its hangers-on into a frenzy.

Immediately after the Soviet invasion, the Fourth International, the world Trotskyist organization,

issued a statement. "What the Soviet bureaucracy demonstrated in fact by its military intervention, . . ." the statement said, "is the incompatibility of its dictatorship, power and privileges with any form of workers democracy. . . ."

"The abolition of the censorship, the revival of open political discussion, the participation of the working masses in political life, the proposed adoption of statutes in the Czech Communist party sustaining the right of minorities to present their platforms to the party congress and to defend their positions inside the party—this is danger No. 1 to the Kremlin."

Under the mantle of "proletarian internationalism," the Kremlin denied the right of the Czechoslovak people to choose their own Communist leadership. In this regard, the Fourth International's statement noted that "the imperialists are shedding crocodile tears over the violation of the right of the Czechoslovak people to determine their own destiny, but they rain napalm and poison gas on the Vietnamese people to prevent them from setting up the kind of government and social regime they want."

The Trotskyists demanded:

"Withdraw all occupation troops from Czechoslovakia!

"Send Soviet tanks to Vietnam!"

The Soviet occupation forces were met by a united population. Underground printing presses and clandestine radio stations continued to operate for months after the invasion. *Pravda* fumed in its September 1, 1968, issue that *Literární Listy*, the

banned magazine of the Writers Union, was "continuing to play its evil role as one of the chief ideological centers of the counterrevolution" and was "carrying on just as though nothing had happened."

In November 1968 protests throughout the country coincided with a meeting of the CP Central Committee in Prague. More than 100,000 students participated in a three-day strike against the restrictions imposed by the Soviet occupation. Workers at the Skoda automobile plant in Pilsen held a week-end protest meeting; delegates representing 22,000 workers at the Kladno steel mill demanded that pro-Moscow figures be removed from the leadership of the party; and plants in Bratislava passed similar resolutions.

It took the purge of 500,000 members of the Czechoslovak CP, the firing of hundreds of thousands of workers from their jobs, and the imprisonment of thousands more, to achieve what the Kremlin's puppet regime in Czechoslovakia calls "normalization."

U.S. Stalinist Erik Bert brags in the *Daily World* that "in the decade that has elapsed since the crisis erupted and was resolved socialism has been consolidated in Czechoslovakia and the fundamental questions, the neglect of which was the cause of the crisis, have been resolved."

The truth is that nothing is resolved nor can be until the bureaucratic dictatorship is overthrown. It is only a matter of time until the Czechoslovak people attempt once again to settle accounts with the universally hated parasites who run their country for the benefit of a reactionary, privileged caste.

...scab

Continued from back page

negotiate working conditions—particularly the fate of the MTM speed-up plan.

But with growing support for their strike, Local 315 members are optimistic about the prospects of forging a fighting unity. "Everyone is cooperating now," said secretary-treasurer Loren Thompson. "I presume there will be a new spirit. I expect that the strike will be much more effective. And we're going to work together 100 percent."

The West Coast supermarket strike is shaping up into a major test of strength between the bosses and the

Teamsters union. Its outcome will have an impact on the upcoming Master Freight Agreement negotiations—one of the biggest and most important union contracts in 1979.

To defeat the well-organized employer assault, the striking Teamsters need the active support of all Teamster locals and the entire labor movement.

On August 20, 55,000 retail clerks in southern California struck major supermarkets over statewide wage disparities. They offer the northern strikers a ready ally in their common fight against the supermarket chains.

Support the supermarket strikers!

Protest company violence!

Boycott all struck stores!

...energy

Continued from page 17

Capitol Hill," the *Wall Street Journal* reported August 21.

Thus, what Congress is pressing forward today is closer to the oil companies' hopes than Carter's initial bill. On one hand, Congress is undoubtedly emboldened by the success it has had in passing one antilabor measure after the next since Carter took office. Except for the coal strike, there has been no organized, union resistance to the antilabor offensive.

On the other hand, many legislators probably feel that the "energy crisis" campaign has been successful in snowing the public with misleading ideas about what is really at stake in the oil companies' profit grab. They think

they can pull a fast one.

In any event, the senators plan a new shift in the forthcoming debate. During the debate senators directly representing oil companies will pretend to oppose the bill because it doesn't go far enough: 1985 is not next year!

The majority of senators will pretend that they are struggling for a compromise with the oil trusts and are attempting to get the best the public can expect.

And a few Democrats—Senators James Abourezk (D-S.D.) and Howard Metzenbaum (D-Ohio)—have promised a filibuster. Previously both have—for their own reasons—gone far to reveal the truth about the "energy crisis." It will be interesting to see what facts about the energy ripoff may leak out as the Senate debate unfolds.

IQ: Pseudoscience & mental ability



Pseudoscience and Mental Ability: The Origins and Fallacies of the IQ Controversy. By Jeffrey M. Blum. Monthly Review Press, New York and London. 1078. 240 pp. \$13.95.

Pseudoscience and Mental Ability is based on a closely reasoned and exhaustive study of the vast literature on intelligence testing. It amply demonstrates the falsity of the notions that "intelligence" tests measure mental ability or prove that this ability is inherited or indicate it is greater in some races than in others.

The book does considerably more. It also demonstrates that these false notions are not merely mistakes such as ordinarily occur in the history of science. Blum shows there were strong *social forces* at the end of the nineteenth century that impelled the scientists who put forward these conclusions to make flagrant errors of reasoning, disregard obvious alternative explanations, and unconsciously (or even sometimes consciously) falsify data to an extraordinary degree.

Eugenics, a theory that was used to link social problems to the genetic inferiority of the underprivileged, flour-

ished as a rationale for the brutalities of Victorian capitalism. Eugenists tried to shift the blame for the social problems that attended the urbanization of capitalist society at this time—poverty, crime, contagious diseases—onto the victims of the afflictions.

This approach appealed to the class and race prejudices of *laissez-faire* advocates and middle-class reformers alike.

The ideas of Herbert Spencer, a British philosopher of this time, also helped form the ideological backdrop to the initial popularization of IQ tests.

Social Darwinism

Spencer propounded the theory of "social Darwinism." Just as Darwin proved there is a struggle for "the survival of the fittest" between different species, Spencer claimed, there is also such a struggle within human society.

The complexity of the nervous system determines intellectual ability, Spencer said. This is stronger in the rich than in the poor. It explains, Spencer asserted, why the wealthy triumph in the social struggle to get ahead.

If poverty did not raise the death

rate among the poor, Spencer argued, the human species would inevitably degenerate. Attempts at social reform, consequently, can only do damage to humanity.

Although Spencer formulated his ideas as scientific laws, he made no attempt to verify them empirically.

However, Sir Francis Galton, the founder of eugenics, did. Galton sought to construct a science of individual, hereditarily derived differences, including intelligence.

At first Galton cited *eminence* as a measure of intelligence. Tracing family tables of the famous, he discovered that people with eminent relatives were far more likely to become eminent themselves. From this he concluded that talents were inherited.

Galton's disciple, Karl Pearson, used similar "reasoning" to deduce from an elaborate study that the children of Jewish immigrants in England were innately dirtier than English children of native stock—and that this was why they lived in slums.

Family environment, early training, parental example, the leisure and means made possible by affluence—to say nothing of access to high position through social connections—were disregarded in such "proofs."

Galton set up a laboratory to "prove" his theory. There, he sought to measure innate capacities, using tuning forks and color charts to determine indications of musical and artistic ability. As a result, he came to be known as "the father of the mental test."

Eugenists seized upon subsequent standardized tests published in 1908 by the French psychologist Alfred Binet as new evidence for their theory.

Binet

Binet developed these tests to predict how well children would do in school. He found that by giving children simple problems similar to those they did at school he could make such predictions with a fair degree of accuracy. He did *not* regard his tests as measuring innate intelligence. He advocated special training to improve the performance of the children who made low scores.

The American translators, promoters, and elaborators of Binet's tests regarded them, however, as providing an "intelligence quotient," an innate and constant index of intelligence—and drew racist conclusions from them.

Lewis Terman, the author of the influential Stanford-Binet revision and a great admirer of Galton, warned, for example, that given existing differential birth rates, the descendants of 1,000 "Harvard graduates" would be outnumbered in 200 years by the descendants of 1,000 "South Italians" by 2,000 to 1—a statistical projection that "threatens the very existence of civilization."

The IQ tests were given to nearly 2 million soldiers in the United States Army during World War I. A well-publicized finding was that Blacks scored on the average fifteen points less than whites. A less well-publicized finding was that Polish, Italian, and Russian immigrants, Native Americans, and Chicanos did almost as poorly as Blacks and that those of northern European origin did appreciably better than those of southern and eastern European origin. Yet Galton's followers used these scores to confirm their theories.

IQ test undermined

But the claims for the IQ test, widely accepted after World War I, were undermined soon enough. No doubt an important underlying factor was the Great Depression—which impover-

ished many of the middle class and made it difficult to depict poverty, as the eugenists had done, as caused by low intelligence.

Then a closer analysis of the data from the army IQ tests showed that Blacks in northern states with relatively good educational systems scored higher on the average than whites in southern states with poor educational systems. This showed clearly that lower scores were due not to racial factors but to poorer education.

Subsequent studies have shown conclusively that changes in environment make a great difference in the results of IQ tests. Also, the tests have a cultural bias in favor of white, middle-class persons. And the test scores, while predicting scholastic achievement with fair accuracy, are of *no value* in predicting performance after schooling is completed.

Moreover, eugenic concepts of racial superiority have come under strong attack from anthropologists such as Franz Boas and outstanding geneticists such as J.B.S. Haldane and Hermann Muller. These theories were further discredited when they were proclaimed by the Nazis before and during World War II.

As a result, IQ tests came to be recognized in scientific circles as measures of test-taking abilities—not guides to general intelligence.

Theories rise again

Nonetheless, racist forces continue to use the tests and promote the irrational theories behind them.

The tests continue to be used as a means to "track" students—thereby reproducing in the public schools the inequalities of society as a whole.

And at the end of the 1960s, a group of educational psychologists led by Arthur Jensen used test results to try and revive the theory of racial superiority. They based their theories on what they claimed—without looking at the continuance of institutional racism in the schools and in society at large—were the lack of dramatic results from the educational reforms won as a result of the civil rights movement.

The work of Jensen and others of his type coincided with new attacks by conservative policy makers on gains in Black education and, although Blum does not point this out, also on a stepped-up offensive against school desegregation.

Jensen and the others put forth the old idea that schools are "proving grounds" for intelligence, disregarding the evidence to the contrary. They accept the validity of claims that new, reformed tests are "culture-fair"—even though less obviously biased tests, as Blum shows, may, in fact, be just as biased as others. They ignore the evidence that the testing situation itself discriminates against minority children.

In this and other ways they contribute to and elaborate upon a body of pseudoscience.

Reading Blum's book, one recalls the belief of the ancient Roman historian Tacitus that the blue-painted savages of the country known today as England were fit only to be slaves. Centuries later, those descendants of blue-painted savages who became masters of the British Empire looked upon the natives of countries in their imperial domain the same way as had the historian of the Roman Empire who looked upon their ancestors.

Some descendants of these same savages now living in the United States are dusting off racist, eugenicist theories again. Such are the shabby "theories" the ideologists of the ruling classes of dominant countries use to rationalize their dominance.

—Paul Siegel

NLRB rules in Stearns case



Blue Diamond Coal Company's recognition of a company union in Stearns, Kentucky, was illegal, says the National Labor Relations Board.

It is the first official ruling of any kind to go the Stearns miners' way since they went on strike for a United Mine Workers contract more than two years ago.

Blue Diamond refused to bargain with the UMWA. Then suddenly in May of this year, the company announced it had signed a contract with the "Justus Employees Association." The contract with eighty-five scabs includes pay on a par with UMWA wages, but it bars strikes and includes no union safety committee with the power to shut down unsafe mines—the main demand of the strikers.

The UMWA filed charges

with the NLRB, contending Blue Diamond set the company union up to break the strike.

The NLRB claims not to have found evidence to substantiate that charge. It decided only that Blue Diamond acted improperly when it began dealing with the company union.

If the company still refuses to bargain with the UMWA, the NLRB will hold hearings. Another representation election at the mine could result. One question is who the government board would judge eligible to vote.

The NLRB's ruling—weak as it was—lifted the spirits of the miners in Stearns, who have had a long, hard struggle for safe working conditions.

"We're still holding our own," striker Mahan Vanover told the *Militant*. "We can't quit now."

GOV'T BACKS OFF IN ITT CASE

The Justice Department has dropped three of the six counts in its felony charge against an International Telephone and Telegraph official, for fear there will be more exposure of the U.S. government's role in the overthrow of the Chilean government of Salvador Allende.

A federal prosecutor told the court that the charges were being withdrawn against Edward Gerrity, a top ITT official, because evidence essential to the case could not be divulged without impairing "national security."

Gerrity is accused of lying to a Senate committee about the role of his firm in financing opposition to the Allende government.

It was later established that in doing so, ITT had acted in complicity with the CIA.

The evidence the government

declines to use obviously would indict it even more than the information already disclosed.

THE GOLDEN YEARS

A federal survey of the nation's homes for the elderly and the disabled confirmed that these institutions provide little in the way of medical care.

The Census Bureau reported that there are 23,606 such long-term-care homes in the country. Only 40 percent of these claim to have full- or part-time doctors on the premises.

And, says Rep. Claude Pepper, that figure is undoubtedly inflated since the institutions can answer the census questionnaires as they wish.

LAPD CHIEF ADMITS ANTIGAY REPORT FALSE

Sgt. Lloyd Martin of the Los Angeles Police Department made big news when he claimed that 70 percent of the children molested in that city

were male—the victims of gay men. This bit of "fact" was used by the bigots pushing the antigay Briggs amendment in California.

But LAPD Chief Daryl Gates has admitted that Martin lied. The 1976 statistics show that 78 percent of the children victimized by molesters were female—the victims of heterosexual attacks.

The Gay Rights Chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union forced Gates to make the correction and a public apology for the antigay slander.

MILITARY MODIFIES GAY DISCHARGES

In an unpublicized guideline issued last March, the Pentagon said that while homosexuals should still be dismissed from the armed services, they should not be automatically given less-than-honorable discharges.

For the thousands already ousted, this offers the possibility of having the discharges upgraded.

The ruling also provided that a fifteen-year limitation on applying for discharge reviews be lifted until January 1, 1980.

The Defense Department directed that the type of discharge given homosexuals be based on their service record and "circumstances" (?) surrounding the serviceperson's homosexuality.

The army and air force have not yet issued guidelines in conformity with the new policy.

The navy did issue a directive that homosexuals separated from the service "normally" should be given an honorable discharge.

Gay rights lawyers attributed the policy revision to pending lawsuits by gays and to a congressional directive that the Pentagon issue specific guidelines for discharge and review.

VICTIM WINS RIGHT TO (HIGH) BAIL

A federal judge ruled that pending appeal, Ronald Humphrey may be released on bond—if he can raise \$150,000.

Humphrey, a former U.S. Information Agency employee, was convicted early this summer on trumped-up spy charges along with David Truong, a Vietnamese who lives in the United States.

The same bail was set for Humphrey when he was first arrested, and he was then unable to post it.

Truong has been freed on \$250,000 bail.

HISPANICS IN U.S. NOT FARING WELL

A recent Census Bureau study confirms that economic discrimination against Latinos is deepgoing.

The report, completed in March, estimates there are 12 million people of Hispanic origin in the United States.

The study found that 9.7 percent of Hispanic families have an income of \$25,000 or more. That's compared to 23 percent for the general population.

At the other end of the scale, 21 percent of Hispanic families were said to be living below the official poverty level, compared with 9 percent for the rest of the population.

According to the Census Bureau, women of Hispanic origin

do better than the men in terms of jobs. The study said about half the women held white-collar jobs, as against one-quarter of the men. The report didn't say what the jobs paid.

FREE THREE MORE OF WILMINGTON TEN

Responding to continuing pressure, North Carolina officials freed three more of the Wilmington Ten at the end of July.

Of the remaining five still jailed, four are eligible for parole this year. But Rev. Ben Chavis, leader of the group, will not be eligible until January 1, 1980. He has applied for study-release privileges to attend divinity school.

The three released are James McKoy, Willie Earl Vereen, and Jerry Jacobs.

The ten were railroaded to prison after being falsely charged with the 1971 fire bombing of a grocery store during a vigilante attack on Wilmington's Black community. Key witnesses against them later admitted their testimony had been obtained by bribery and intimidation.

PUT AND TAKE

With the exodus to the suburbs, the poor—mainly Black and Brown—were left in the deteriorating inner cities.

The government, of course, could do nothing about the housing blight brought on by rent-gouging slumlords.

But now a growing number of whites have decided to come back and, for them, there is instant renewal—provided at a price, by real estate sharks.

Meanwhile, the poor who are being driven out by the spiraling rents of suddenly "choice" neighborhoods, have no suburbs to flee to.

A National Urban Coalition study found the process to be nationwide and saw those being squeezed out as displaced "urban nomads."

Commented one prosperous Washington, D.C., developer: "They all moved voluntarily. I can't tell you what happened to these people . . . I'm not saying it's without cost to someone. But I think we're improving the quality of this city."

SOCIALISTS ON TEXAS, MO. BALLOTS

Socialist Workers Party candidates have qualified for the

ballot in Texas and Missouri.

In Missouri, it's a first for socialists in forty years. The SWP ticket includes Jim Levitt in Kansas City's Fifth Congressional District and Mary Pritchard in St. Louis's First C.D.

Also running in St. Louis are Renita Alexander for state senator in the Fourth District and Glenn White for state representative in the Seventy-ninth District.

The Texas slate is headed by Miguel Pendás for U.S. Senate and Sara Jean Johnston for governor.

SENATE VOTES CURB ON SAFETY COVERAGE

If the House of Representatives concurs, nearly 10 million workers employed by small businesses will be excluded from coverage under the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA).

The Senate voted August 2 to exempt more than 2 million small businesses from OSHA regulation. Businesses with ten or less workers, and an illness-injury rate of less than 7 percent, would no longer be subject to safety and health inspections by the agency.

This would include such sectors as the garment industry, which meets the 7 percent requirement. OSHA reported that last year one garment worker in twelve was injured seriously enough to require time off.

Since it's only workers involved, that apparently is a statistically insignificant figure.

SUIT FILED OVER RADIATION EXPOSURE

An ex-GI who was among hundreds of soldiers ordered to stand near an atomic bomb explosion in 1953 has sued the government for \$13 million. Stanley Jaffee, now forty-seven, developed inoperable cancer in 1977. He says his forced exposure to the nuclear radiation was the cause.

SEEK TO INDICT FBI-KLAN KILLER

The district attorney in Lowndes County, Alabama, said August 5 he would ask a grand jury to indict Gary Rowe for the 1965 murder of Viola Gregg Liuzzo, a white civil rights activist.

Rowe was a paid FBI plant

Support for right to choose

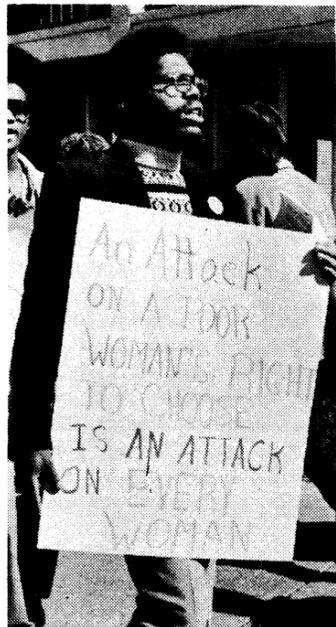
An increased number of Americans support the right to abortion on demand, and there are now more supporters than opponents of the right of poor women to federally funded abortions.

Interviews conducted by the Associated Press-NBC News poll August 7-8 showed that 56 percent of the public favors abortion on demand. Last March it was 53 percent.

The present poll found 39 percent opposed and 5 percent not sure.

Nearly half—49 percent—now favor the right of the poor to federally funded abortions, compared to a year ago, when 47 percent said they were opposed.

Now the number opposed has dropped to 43 percent, with 8 percent not sure.



Militant/Pat Hayes

LIBROS EN ESPANOL

¿Qué Hacer? by V.I. Lenin	\$1.50
Democracia y Revolución by George Novack	3.50
Introducción a la Lógica Dialéctica by George Novack	1.75
Reforma o Revolución by Rosa Luxemburg	1.50
En Defensa del Marxismo by Leon Trotsky	2.75
Sobre la Liberación Nacional by Leon Trotsky	2.60
La Dialéctica Actual de la Revolución Mundial, edited by Will Reissner	3.45

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014

in the Ku Klux Klan who recently admitted he killed at least one Black in an Alabama ghetto rebellion. He is also believed to have been involved in bombing the Birmingham Black church where four children were killed.

In the killing of Liuzzo, of which Rowe is now accused, three other Klan members were tried unsuccessfully for murder. Then, on the basis of Rowe's testimony, they were convicted on federal charges of violating Liuzzo's civil rights.

The district attorney says he now has two witnesses to corroborate the charge of Klan members that Rowe was the actual killer.

Quote unquote

"The whole concept of community-owned facilities is the same as communism—particularly where the profit of a facility will go for the social benefit of the people. This is communism."

—Edgar Speer, chairman of U.S. Steel Corporation, denouncing efforts for community ownership of closed-down steel mills in Youngstown, Ohio.



When the four Black children died in the 1963 Birmingham church bombing, the FBI declared an all-out effort to apprehend the killers. Apparently it didn't look close enough to home. Current information links Gary Rowe, the FBI's man in the KKK, to the murder.

CARTER RATING: LOW BUT DWINDLING

According to the Gallup Poll, Carter's popularity has "drifted downward" over the past twelve months. The extent of the "drift"? From 67 percent in July 1977 to 39 percent this July.

This included a proportionate downward drift in the number of "enthusiastic" supporters. Since last March, from 42 percent to 11 percent.

The sorest points with the electorate, reports Dr. George Gallup, are inflation and jobs.

If the president is wounded by these findings, Gallup offers solace.

"In assessing the president's current popularity ratings," he ventures, "it should also be borne in mind that Carter, like previous chief executives, is to a considerable extent a victim of his times."

The point might have been more persuasive if he had said, "a victim of a bankrupt system."

NEW YORK

AN HERSTORIC EVENT. The future of the women's movement. Speakers: Ti-Grace Atkinson, Midge Costanza, Dianne Feeley, Judith Levy, Kate Millet, Robin Morgan, Jean O'Leary, Betty Powell, Elizabeth Shanklin, Gloria Steinem, Merlin Stone, others. Sat., Sept. 16, 1 p.m. to 5 p.m. P.S. 41 in Manhattan. Donation: \$5. Ausp: Foundation for Matriarchy. Tickets available to women only. For tickets and more information write Foundation for Matriarchy, P.O. Box 271 Pratt Station, Brooklyn, New York 11205. Also available at Djuna Books, 154 W. 10th St., and WomanBooks.

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The Great Society



Harry Ring

Nonsectarian—The Vatican's international financial empire is currently valued as high as \$12 billion. Holdings are broadly diversified, including, for instance, a substantial interest in Instituto Farmacologico Sero, an early producer of birth control pills.

"You've come a long way..."—Women in the armed services are legally banned from combat units. But the Air Force decided this was no bar to assigning five women officers and "airmen" to the underground silos from which nuclear warheads will be launched on *der Tag*.

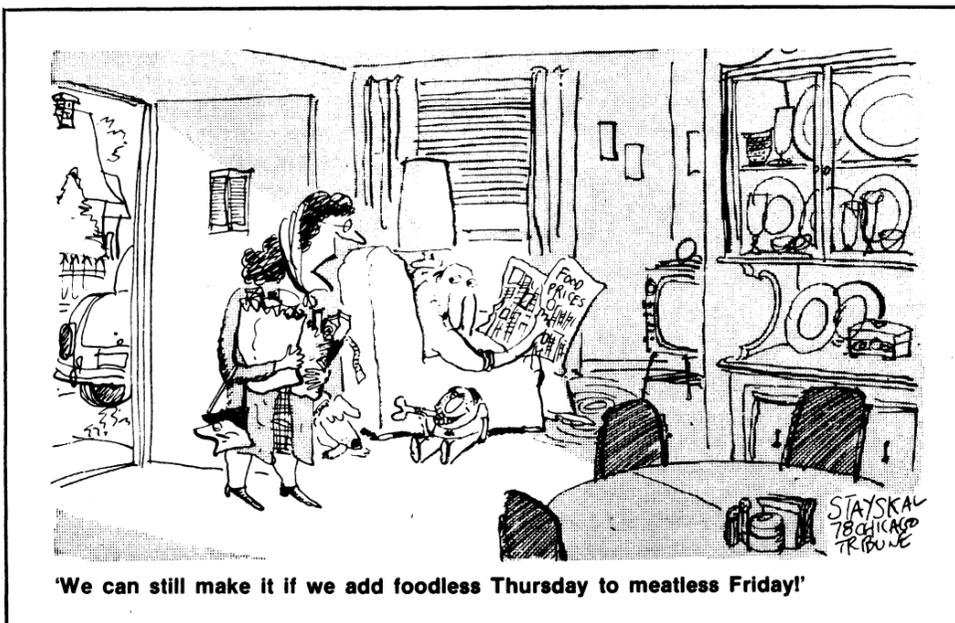
Deliberate speed—A federally funded study found that 24 percent of the rats fed sodium nitrate developed cancer or a precancerous condition. Undeterred by an American Meat Institute response that the report was "inconclusive," the FDA announced it was giving a "high priority" to removing the deadly chemical from the nation's food supply. Beginning sometime next year, there will be a "gradual phase-

out" over a period of "several years."

Not to worry—The Québec government confirmed that soil containing radioactive waste was used for landfill near the city of Québec. Officials, however, characterized reports of possible danger as "premature and alarmist."

Tight situation—We're a bit late in reporting it, but the Navy is brooding over what to do about the \$1.2 billion Trident submarine being built at General Dynamics's Connecticut shipyard. The mammoth vessel is longer than the Washington Monument. And, apparently, deeper than the river in which it's supposed to be launched.

The golden years—The Federal Trade Commission reports that insurance companies do a lucrative business selling old people coverage they don't need. "Goose lists" are circulated among agents, giving the names and addresses of ill or mentally confused senior citizens who will "buy any insurance policy offered them."



Women in Revolt

A tsar of reaction

The following guest column is by Matilde Zimmermann.

There was an interesting papal obituary in the newspaper of the American Communist Party. Under the headline "Pope Paul VI: Reflected Desire for Peace," the *Daily World* of August 8 praises the church patriarch's "efforts for world peace" and paints him up to be a longtime fighter against the war in Vietnam. The obit notes some of the trips taken by the world's first flying pope, and remarks that "he did a lot of work for normalization of relations with socialist countries."

Pope Paul will actually be remembered not as a crusader for peace but as a hardliner in the Catholic church's fight against women's rights. He was the author of the 1968 encyclical, "Of Human Life," reaffirming the church's absolute ban on contraceptive devices and abortion. Millions of Catholic women have simply decided in practice that they have more right than the pope to decide what to do with their lives.

Paul fought to the end against the legalization of divorce and expressed "pro-

found suffering" when the Italian parliament passed a divorce reform law in 1970. He vetoed the ordination of female priests, declaring such an innovation unthinkable on the grounds that women do not look like Jesus. He railed against the new feminist movement, which he feared would lead to "either masculinizing or depersonalizing women." Paul's church is today on an all-out campaign to sabotage Italy's new abortion reform law and make sure that Italian women continue to be denied safe, legal abortions.

More than 100 old men will soon go into top-secret session to choose one of themselves to take up Paul's mantle. The only deviation in procedure from centuries past is that the chambers are now carefully searched for electronic snooping devices.

When the smoke has cleared and all the mumbo-jumbo is over, there will be a new pope. Leaders of the Italian Communist Party will undoubtedly be standing in line to embrace him. But neither they nor the *Daily World* will ever make a pope into anything except the tsar of one of the world's most reactionary institutions.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

August 26, 1970

On August 26, 1970, thousands upon thousands of women marched through the streets of major U.S. cities in a Women's Strike for Equality called by the National Organization for Women (NOW).

In New York City, some 40,000 marched down Fifth Avenue to a rally at Bryant Park.

One of the speakers at the rally was Ruthann Miller, a central organizer of the demonstration and the candidate for New York State comptroller on the Socialist Workers Party ticket. The September 11, 1970, 'Militant' carried major excerpts from Miller's speech.

Sisters, we have come here today to make history, to begin a new era in American and world history. We come from many different backgrounds, different political outlooks, different generations—but what is important today is the things we have in common, the things that have brought us together and will, if we continue to build our movement, bring together the millions of our sisters throughout the country who are not yet active in the women's liberation movement.

What we share is a growing awareness of our oppression as women, and a determination to break the chains which keep all women oppressed. Specifically, we are united on the three demands of this demonstration: free abortion on demand—no forced sterilization; free 24-hour child-care centers controlled by those who use them; equal access to educational and employment opportunities.

What we see here today is the power of united struggle of thousands of women organized in our own movement, independent of the Democratic and Republican Party politicians, a movement controlled by us.

We have seen in the past few months the power of our independent women's movement. And we are winning concessions because the people who rule this country know that we are speaking for millions of women in this country, who will raise hell if they aren't satisfied.

We have succeeded in striking down the reactionary abortion law in New York. And although we still have a long way to go to make abortions available to all women, this change was certainly a victory and a sign of our power to win further victories if we continue to organize independently.

And our power has even forced the men in the government to move toward including women in the United States Constitution for the first time in history. The Equal Rights Amendment is another sign of our power.

What we are saying is that things like the care of children, medical care, the



right of women to free abortions if they want one, housing, food and clothing—all these things should be rights of each individual in this society.

Each child has the right to the best possible care, food and education that this society with all its riches can offer. Each woman has the right to control her body, the right to information on contraception and the right to a free abortion if she so desires, no matter how little money she makes, and the right to as much education as she wants and in any field that interests her.

These demands that women are raising will shake this country to its roots.

In order for these demands to be completely met, it will be necessary to win control over the great wealth of this country, rather than, as is the case now, going into the pockets of a handful of billionaires. These billionaires control the big wealth of this country, they decide that billions of dollars go into producing bombs and napalm and germ warfare methods. They decide on putting billions into killing Vietnamese and Cambodians and American GIs. And they are the ones who do not put the wealth of this country into schools and hospitals and who will not spend any of their profits on keeping their filthy gases out of the air we must breathe. And they will not give women equal pay because it is unprofitable.

That is why I am a socialist. I think that in order to create the basis for the liberation of women we must put the wealth of this country under the control of all the people, rather than a few people who own the industries.

We have to continue our struggle until our goals are met, and that means that we have to be prepared to fight the mightiest enemy in history—the capitalists who now run the United States. And that if we keep organizing as an independent movement, if we draw all of our sisters into struggle with us, that we can, and will, win.

Viva la 'Militant!'

Just recently my six-month subscription to the *Militant* ended.

When reading the paper during that time I had mixed reactions to it. I had the feeling prevalent among Democratic Socialists (reformists). I felt that it was too "unified" in its program, too much a "revolutionary" paper, too much a working-class paper in its appeal.

Since that time I have made an in-depth study of the socialist movement. I have seen how reformist parties are disunited to the point where they are inactive as organs for the workers, to the point where they have no idea of their function as a party. I have seen that Social Democrats of all sorts, through their endless fantasy of "peaceful, parliamentary revolution" have always ended up in collapse (as in America) or in being bought by the bosses (as in Great Britain).

I have concluded that only a revolutionary party of the Leninist mold can be effective for socialism.

Through my experiences, I can say now: Viva la *Militant!* Viva la Socialist Workers Party!

I can proclaim now, looking back, that the *Militant* is a highly accurate, effective, revolutionary organ for the socialists in this country.
Mark Bergeron
New Britain, Connecticut

Sold itself!

I asked my downstairs neighbors to watch my mail while I was on vacation. They started reading my *Militants* and liked them so much that they decided to subscribe. This *Militant* subscription sold itself.

Judy Kleinberg
Brooklyn, New York

Auto trades' strike

Seattle's auto trades' strike is over. The employers have successfully busted the unions. At the height of the strike, more than 1,100 workers, represented by the Auto Machinists (IAM), Teamsters, Painters, and Sheet Metal Workers, were out.

The strike lasted fifteen months. It ended when the auto dealers, represented by the King County Automobile Dealers Association, filed a petition to the NLRB seeking a decertification election. On July 28, the unions filed disclaimers saying they no longer represented the workers, and pulled down their picket lines.

This strike was widely viewed as a test of strength between Seattle trade unions and the employers. Before the strike ended, union negotiators had agreed to every demand of management except one. The sticking point was the dealers' demand for an open shop.

During the fifteen-month strike, the King County Labor Council and an all-union Auto Trades Strike Support Committee sponsored mass picket lines and demonstrations. Members of

other unions walked auto trades picket lines on Saturdays. On May 13, the demonstrations of labor solidarity culminated when more than 1,000 trade unionists rallied in downtown Seattle.

Despite these actions the strike was lost. For years, Seattle's union misleadership has encouraged members to rely primarily on their officials, union staff, Democratic and Republican party politicians, and government agencies to win battles for them.

This practice of business unionism—encouraging workers to ignore social issues and downplaying union solidarity—has crippled Seattle unions. In the final analysis, the auto trades were unable to mobilize enough support, either from their fellow workers or the public, to win this strike.

The auto trades' strike defeat will encourage other Seattle employers to step up their attacks on our unions. But this defeat is only temporary. Without a union, the auto mechanics and other auto workers will soon see a deterioration of their wages and working conditions. Worker dissatisfaction will give rise to new struggles with the bosses.

We can win this fight, but only if we win our unions to a policy of working-class independence—reliance on our own organized strength. This means mobilizing the ranks of our unions for mass picket lines and demonstrations. And it means a political party of our own, a labor party, based on the trade unions and with a program in the interests of all the oppressed.

Harold Schlechtweg
Member of United Steelworkers Local 3112 in Seattle, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress in the Seventh District

Some suggestions

I've been reading your paper for several years. I find it to be an indispensable tool for the study of world and national events from a working-class perspective. There are several subjects that I would be interested to see dealt with in some depth by your staff. They are:

A history and analysis of Albania and its mouthpiece organization in the United States, the Central Committee of Marxist-Leninists;

Economic theory. More comment on original works on economics by Marx, Rosa Luxemburg, Ernest Mandel, and others, along with current analysis of patterns and cycles of capitalist development;

The Socialist Workers Party's position on a feminist or women's political party;

Commentary on the various works of Alexandra Kollontai; Pathfinder Press distributes books by Wilhelm Reich—specifically *Sex-Pol* and *The Sexual Revolution*. Yet I've never seen analysis or criticism of his work in the *Militant*. I think it would provide ample material for comment, especially vis-à-vis the politics of women's liberation and gay liberation.

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What is the Fourth International?

What's happening in Cambodia. The meaning of the conflict between the two workers states of Cambodia and Vietnam;

A review of the writing and political work of Antonio Gramsci;

An update on Sri Lanka since the right-wing governmental takeover.

I hope you can touch on some of the items at some point in the future. In any case, keep giving us the fine reporting that the *Militant* has always provided its readers.

Annette Gagne
Central Falls, Rhode Island

Prisoners unite!

Political oppression, demeaning and derogatory psychological harassment, combined with the underlying attitudes of administrative reactionism, all packaged together in a neat form of rhetoric called punishment. American prisoners are still subject to these oppressive controls by the ruling bourgeois class.

The real judgment of a society is not in its technological advancements but in its prison system. And the prison system of a capitalist society is a good indication of how far we've progressed from the Middle Ages. Not far. This technological emphasis is only a material scale on which to measure social progress by the government.

But the power to change this inhumane system lies not only in society, but in the prisoners themselves. Prisoners are the most powerless people and the most severely governed. American prisoners unite!

A prisoner
Utah

'Hooked'

Ok, you win, I'm hooked. Please extend my subscription. I don't agree with all you say, but you offer the best damn coverage of the women's movement and women's/human issues available on a weekly basis in the U.S. today. Thank you, C.G.N.
South Orange, New Jersey

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

An error appeared in the August 11 issue of the *Militant*. On page 24, in the article "Struggle in Chile: what strategy for victory," the sentence reading, "According to Garza, Allende consistently sought to demobilize the Chilean ruling class, . . ." should have read, "According to Garza, Allende consistently sought to demobilize the Chilean working class. . . ."

Readers of the *Militant* frequently see references in our pages to the Fourth International and may be led to ask: What is this organization?

The Fourth International is the worldwide party of socialist revolution. It currently includes sister organizations of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party in some sixty countries.

The SWP participated as a member in the founding conference of the Fourth International in 1938, but shortly thereafter the American Trotskyists were barred from formal affiliation by reactionary legislation passed in Washington. Since that time, the SWP has remained in active solidarity with the Fourth International and its revolutionary socialist program.

Readers unfamiliar with the international working-class movement will profit from a brief history of how the Fourth International developed and why the SWP attaches so much importance to its present work and future growth.

The Fourth International is the continuation of a 130-year heritage of working-class struggles. Since Karl Marx and Frederick Engels drafted the Communist Manifesto in 1848, the movement they founded for the transformation from capitalism to socialism has sought organizational expression through an international party. This aspiration was grounded in the Marxist understanding that capitalist exploitation touches every corner of the globe and that while working-class revolutions will triumph in individual countries, socialism can only be constructed through worldwide cooperation.

From the *Communist Manifesto* to today, "Workers of the world unite!" has been the battle cry of revolutionary socialism.

In 1864 Marx helped found the International Workingmen's Association, later to become known as the First International. Unable to survive the reactionary years that followed the bloody crushing of the Paris Commune in 1871, the IWA was finally dissolved in 1876.

The resurgent labor and socialist movements of Europe and America founded the Second International in 1889. Engels helped guide its work until his death in 1895.

In the early days of the twentieth century it continued to influence the union movements of the advanced capitalist countries, and its political power seemed to grow as more and more socialist delegates were elected to the parliaments of the imperialist countries prior to World War I.

But the test of war proved that the leaders of the International had abandoned the class-struggle program of Marxism. They deserted the needs of the world's workers to support the national interests of the employing classes in their respective countries. World War I destroyed the Second International.

The victory of the Russian workers and peasants in October 1917 established the first viable workers government. What the Paris Commune failed to do was accomplished by the Petrograd Soviets under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party.

In 1919 the Bolsheviks called for the formation of a Third (Communist) International to be constructed on the program of the *Communist Manifesto*. The first four congresses of the Third International (1919-1922) were conducted under the guidance of Lenin and Trotsky, leaving the programmatic heritage of Bolshevism for the modern labor movement.

The Third International was snuffed out by the rise of Stalinism in the Soviet Union, finally demonstrating its impotence when it failed to arouse the millions of workers under its influence against the victory of Hitler in Germany in 1933.

At that moment in history Trotsky, exiled five years earlier by Stalin, called for the formation of the Fourth International. The Third International was dead.

The Fourth International was founded in 1938. It represents the programmatic heritage and historical experience of the Marxist movement as developed and applied by Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Trotsky.

At the 1938 founding conference of the Fourth International, the delegates adopted its fundamental political document, titled *The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International*, commonly referred to as "The Transitional Program." It was designed to arm the workers in all countries with a system of democratic and transitional demands that would develop a new generation of working-class leaders and mobilize the exploited masses to establish workers governments and replace the outmoded capitalist economy with productive enterprises under workers' control and management.

This document, after forty years, remains the basic strategic guide to action of the Fourth International for our epoch of economic crises and social revolutions. It was prepared originally in advance of the impending Second World War and was intended to arm the working classes of all countries against the social and political ravages of that war.

There was a split in the world party in 1954 and a reunification of forces in 1963. Since that time, the Fourth International has experienced impressive growth. As the crises of world capitalism and Stalinism deepen, the Fourth International is in a better position than ever before to win the radicalizing generation of young workers and students to its ranks and its revolutionary program.

—Frank Lovell

If You Like This Paper, Look Us Up

Where to find the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and socialist books and pamphlets

ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 314 E. Taylor. Zip: 85004. Tel: (602) 255-0450. Tucson: YSA, SUPO 20965. Zip: 85720. Tel: (602) 795-2053.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley: SWP, YSA, 3264 Adeline St. Zip: 94703. Tel: (415) 653-7156. East Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 1237 S. Atlantic Blvd. Zip: 90022. Tel: (213) 265-1347. Los Angeles, Crenshaw District: SWP, YSA, 2167 W. Washington Blvd. Zip: 90018. Tel: (213) 732-8196. Los Angeles: City-wide SWP, YSA, 1250 Wilshire Blvd., Room 404. Zip: 90017. Tel: (213) 482-1820. Los Angeles, Southeast: SWP, YSA, 2554 Saturn Ave., Huntington Park, 90255. Tel: (213) 582-1975. Oakland: SWP, YSA, 1467 Fruitvale Ave. Zip: 94601. Tel: (415) 261-1210. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 942 E. Santa Clara St. Zip: 95112. Tel: (408) 295-8342.

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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: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

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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, 841 Classon Ave. Zip: 11238. Tel: (212) 783-2135. New York, Chelsea: SWP, 200 1/2 W. 24th St. Zip: 10011. Tel: (212) 989-2731. New York, Lower East Side: SWP, YSA, 7 Clinton St. Zip: 10002. Tel: (212) 260-6400. 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) 991-5030. 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: 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 Jack Craypo, 132 Keller St. 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: City-wide SWP, YSA, 6412-C N. Main St. Zip: 77009. Tel: (713) 861-9960. North Houston: SWP, 6412-C N. Main St. Zip: 77009. Tel: (713) 861-9842. Houston, South-Central: SWP, 4987 Martin Luther King Blvd. Zip: 77023. Tel: (713) 643-0005. San Antonio: SWP, YSA, 112 Fredericksburg Rd. Zip: 78201. Tel: (512) 735-3141.

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WEST VIRGINIA: Morgantown: SWP, 957 S. University Ave. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

WISCONSIN: Madison: SWP, P.O. Box 1442. Zip: 53701. Tel: (608) 255-4733. Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 3901 N. 27th St. Zip: 53216. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

Brutal cop attack

Phila. protest hits assault on Blacks

By Newton Brown
and Jon Hillson

PHILADELPHIA—"We're fired up, we can't take no more," was the chant of nearly 3,000 marchers who jammed the courtyard of City Hall plaza August 17.

The mostly young, Black demonstrators were fired up over the savage police assault August 8 on MOVE, a Black collective. The cops totally wiped out MOVE's communal home.

The attack was ordered by Mayor Frank Rizzo, a rabid racist. It was the most extreme outbreak of police brutality yet, in a city notorious for its escalating cop war against minorities.

The MOVE compound was located in a multiracial area near the center of the West Philadelphia Black community.

At the protest rally, Black community leaders, including local NAACP president Alphonso Deal, scored Rizzo and blasted police violence against MOVE members, to the cheers of the angry gathering.

The outpouring was the largest of its kind since media exposés of epidemic police brutality began more than a year ago.

The demonstration was a response to the whole pattern of racist cop terror here. One banner demanded, "Justice for Winston Hood," a Black killed by cops in July while lying on his back, handcuffed.

As the marchers took to the streets, U.S. Attorney General Griffin Bell felt the need to meet with a delegation of Black community leaders. He then announced a federal investigation of the events surrounding the police showdown with MOVE as part of a general probe of the Philadelphia cops on other brutality-related charges.

The bloody attack came after a long, increasingly tense standoff between Rizzo's cops and MOVE that began nearly fifteen months ago, when police were unsuccessful in attempting to serve arrest warrants on MOVE members.

Hundreds of residents of the area—rightly fearing a police bloodbath—had then surrounded the commune, chanting, "Leave MOVE alone."

They successfully blocked the police from entering.



Philadelphia cop (left) about to let loose with helmet against Delbert Africa, a leader of MOVE, after he surrendered unarmed.

Then, under Rizzo's orders, a massive police occupation was established, giving the neighborhood around the MOVE site the appearance of an armed camp.

In May, after surviving a police blockade designed to starve them out, MOVE agreed, under duress, to vacate by August 1.

A week after that deadline, several hours before sunrise, the police moved in for the kill.

Tear gas guns were made ready. More than 300 cops, backed by snipers and mounted police, were poised for action.

At a signal, they began battering the house down. A crane smashed out windows.

Twelve MOVE adults and eleven children, including infants, were barricaded in the basement. High-powered hoses flooded the basement to flush them out like animals.

Suddenly, the cops opened fire.

They claimed a shot had been fired from the house. But some eyewitnesses insisted the first shot had come from a different direction.

When the smoke cleared, shortly after 8 a.m., one policeman was dead and seven cops and six firemen injured. Two MOVE members and three of their sympathizers were also injured.

All the MOVE adults were arrested and held on \$280,000 bail each, for the death of the policemen.

MOVE leader Delbert Africa, who may lose sight in one eye, was the target of special brutality.

Surrendering unarmed, he was smashed in the face with a police helmet, dragged by the hair through debris, and kicked in the head until unconscious.

Later in the morning, police repeatedly charged crowds of onlookers, arresting thirty-eight in club-wielding forays.

Rizzo praised his cops and bellowed for restoration of the death penalty so he could be "the first one to throw the switch."

The judge who handled the MOVE case over the past year declared with fine judicial impartiality that "the vicious scum" had got what they deserved.

The cops moved fast to cover their tracks. Within hours, the MOVE house was completely gone. Even the trees that had shaded the commune were pulled up by the roots.

Police Commissioner Joseph O'Neil, however, felt there was no destruction of evidence. Asked if, in hindsight, things ought to have been done differently, Rizzo's right-hand man responded, "No, exactly the same."

Scab kills Teamster picket in Calif. strike

By Jack Conley

OAKLAND, Calif.—On the night of August 21, Randy Hill, a Teamster on strike at Lucky Supermarket in Vacaville, was run over and killed by a scab-driven car. Another striker, Robert Lovingier, was seriously injured as he went to Hill's aid.

This cold-blooded killing follows weeks of company violence against supermarket strikers along the California coast.

The Food Employers Council—representing all the major chain stores—has thrown scabs, armed guards, and goon squads against the striking Teamsters. Dozens of strikers have been beaten and arrested.

One victim was Bob Rodstad, who was worked over by Safeway goons. He ended up with a broken arm, broken collar bone, and his face beaten to a pulp. Then, after the beating he was tightly handcuffed by the cops—broken bones and all—while his assailants went free.

The strike now encompasses 3,500 Teamsters from eight different locals and is being honored by thousands of

retail clerks and other market workers. It began July 8 when 1,100 members of Teamster Local 315 walked out of Safeway Markets. On August 8 they were joined by Local 287, representing warehouse workers in San Jose and Milpitas. The Food Employers Council—declaring "a strike against one is a strike against all"—proceeded to lock out Teamster drivers and warehouse workers at Lucky (and Safeway) markets August 9.

Leaders of the striking Teamster locals, and the Western Conference of Teamsters, say they will spread sanctioned Teamster pickets to markets, warehouses, and stores along the entire West Coast and as far east as Denver to cut off company supplies.

The issue that triggered Local 315's walkout was Safeway's introduction of a hated computerized speedup plan—MTM ("Methods Time Measurement").

Safeway's Richmond distribution center services 198 stores in the Bay Area. Under the new MTM plan, workers receive a computerized print-out specifying the amount of time they are allowed to handle each ship-

ment. Consistent failure to perform at the computerized speed leads to dismissal.

According to the union, new production standards are up more than 50 percent. Workers are allotted all of 4.8 minutes to go to the bathroom. So far, 86 Safeway employees have been given disability layoffs due to accidents suffered trying to make production. More than fifty others have been suspended or fired.

Securing international sanction for their strike was an uphill battle for Local 315 members. On July 27 the officers of Joint Council 7 in the Bay Area—under pressure from President Fitzsimmons and conference director Bill Grami—rescinded their previous sanction of the Local 315 strike. Fitzsimmons threatened the local with "serious consequences"—implying receivership—if the strike continued in defiance of his dictates. This sabotage by the Fitzsimmons bureaucracy crippled Local 315's ability to rally support from other union locals at struck stores.

But the leaders and members of

Local 315 refused to buckle. They continued their strike and stepped up efforts to win solidarity within the Teamsters union. And their efforts paid off.

On August 1, 150 local Teamster leaders from ninety northern California locals—the delegates to IBT Joint Council 7—overturned the executive board's decision and restored full strike sanctions to Local 315. This decision reflected the popularity of Local 315's fight in an industry where speedup and contract violations are on the rise.

With this victory under their belts, Local 315 members voted August 3 to join in Bay Area unit bargaining over wages and other grievances. The Western Conference of Teamsters bargains with the area's principal supermarket chains as a unit.

While such regional bargaining would theoretically increase Local 315's power, the local initially refused to take part because of its distrust of international negotiators. Even now, Local 315 retains the sole right to

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