

THE MILITANT

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

NEW WAR DANGER IN LEBANON

Israeli forces poised for aggression

As the *Militant* goes to press, the Zionist state of Israel is poised for renewed aggression in Lebanon.

Israeli gunboats reportedly shelled Palesti-

The Zionist propaganda machine is already busy churning out a justification for further moves.

An October 10 UPI dispatch from Beirut reported, "Israel's state radio charged that Syrian troops planned a major attack on the Israeli-armed Christian militiamen. The growing attention given the Lebanese situation by the Israeli media sparked fears among diplomats in Lebanon of possible Israeli intervention."

These Israeli trial balloons followed the breakdown of an October 7 ceasefire between the right-wing Christian militia and Syrian

troops stationed in Beirut. (For background on the fighting, see articles on pages 6 and 21.)

It takes little imagination to predict the human toll of a new Israeli invasion of Lebanon. Simply look at the whirlwind of death and destruction that trailed the Zionist occupation of southern Lebanon last March:

- 1,200 Lebanese and Palestinians dead;
- towns and villages reduced to rubble;
- 250,000 refugees.

"The bombardment seemed to have been indiscriminate, both from the air and ships offshore," reported Dean Breilis in the March

Continued on page 2

An editorial

nian refugee camps in Lebanon the night of October 9.

Four days earlier, the Israeli regime had dispatched three warships to shell Muslim neighborhoods in Beirut.

Women discuss next steps in battle for ERA 2,000 at NOW conference



Militant/Susan Ellis

WASHINGTON—Women cheer October 6 as Senate extends deadline for ERA ratification. Victory occurred as national NOW conference opened. See page 3.



KENTUCKY MINERS FIGHT FOR JUSTICE

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N.C. political prisoners : Interview with Charlotte 3 leader

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...Lebanon

Continued from front page

14 *Time* magazine. "... No military targets had been hit. What had been hit, and hard, was the civilian dwellings."

Moreover, the current Israeli threats pose a direct danger to Syria. And that could provoke a general Mideast war.

The current events in Lebanon came only a few days before the opening of talks in Washington that are supposed to put the finishing touches on the Camp David "peace accords." There could be no clearer proof of the *Militant's* assessment that far from assuring peace, the separate deal between Sadat and Begin increases the likelihood of Israeli aggression. Relieved of military pressure from Egypt, the Zionists have a freer hand to turn on Lebanon, Syria, and Jordan.

In fact, on October 10 Sadat gave the Israeli regime a green light in this regard. Placing the entire blame for the fighting in Lebanon on the Palestinians and Syrians, Sadat said, "I shall never place the destiny of Egypt or the Arab cause in the hands of . . . those murderers."

The message to Begin was clear: "Don't worry. Whatever you do in Lebanon, the Camp David accords won't be affected."

Sadat also gave up even a pretense that the pact will advance the goal of restoring the West Bank and other Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967. "Everything is negotiable except matters relating to Egyptian territory and sovereignty," Sadat said.

There will be no Mideast peace so long as the Zionist regime occupies Arab land and denies self-determination to the Palestinians, whose homeland was forcibly seized to make way for the Israeli state.

Washington, while publicly taking some distance from Israel's threats, clearly intends to continue its yearly \$2 billion aid to the Zionist warmakers.

As the events in Lebanon show, the road to peace in the Mideast neither starts nor ends at

Camp David. The task of those in this country who are really committed to peace is to demand:

End all U.S. aid to Israel!
Israel, hands off Lebanon!

Salt II hoax

SALT II—The second round of Strategic Arms Limitation Talks between Washington and Moscow—is in the news again. President Carter recently suggested that a SALT II agreement might be signed by the end of the year.

Although the prospect of a new SALT agreement is being played up as a big step toward peace, SALT is really a cruel and dangerous fraud. *Time* magazine reported October 9 that the basic framework for the new agreement is "limitation of total strategic missile systems to 2,250 for each side. . . ."

Strategic missile systems do not refer to the number of individual nuclear warheads each side will have. One missile can carry dozens of warheads, each of which can be aimed at a different city!

At the same time, the proposed SALT II pact will continue the tradition of building further escalation of the arms race into the deals that are touted as an answer to that deadly competition. Thus, Washington and Moscow, *Time* reports, "tentatively agreed that each could test at least one new land-launched missile."

To add insult to injury, Washington is pressing for a pact that will expire in December 1980! That way, Washington can incorporate the latest death-dealing technology into yet another "arms limitation" pact later.

Carter's real priorities were made clear October 5 when the Senate approved a 1979 military appropriation bill of \$116.3 billion. Although the Senate bill was \$3 billion below Carter's original request, Sen. John Stennis (D-Miss.) bragged that it was still "the largest appropriation bill considered by Congress in peacetime or wartime."

The truth is that the SALT talks and similar arms negotiations between American imperialism and the Stalinist bureaucracy serve only to distract attention from the preparations for war being carried out by the American ruling class. They help to lull the people of the world into the false belief that such negotiations can

avert the danger of nuclear annihilation.

Over the past year a growing antinuclear movement in this country has held a series of impressive demonstrations to demand of the United States government: "Zero nuclear weapons!" "Ban nuclear power!" "Stop the arms race!"

That movement, not Carter's diplomatic charade, points the way toward a world free from atomic peril.

That historic task, however, will not be secure so long as the profit-hungry rulers of this country can wield the Pentagon as a club against the oppressed and exploited around the world.

Only the American working class, in its fight for a workers government, can tie the hands of the warmakers and disarm them once and for all.

No on Calif. Prop. 6

All of us have a stake in defeating California ballot Proposition 6, introduced by right-wing State Sen. John Briggs.

If approved, Prop 6 would bar lesbians and gay men from teaching or holding other jobs in the state's school system.

In California, the movement against this reactionary assault on human rights is winning encouraging support, including from a number of unions.

Among these is the California Federation of Teachers, which recognizes that passage of the measure would open the door to wholesale witch-hunting in the schools. This would be a blow against teacher unionism, as well as gay rights.

According to recent polls, a majority of California voters are against Prop 6. A *Los Angeles Times* survey found 52 percent opposed and 38 percent in favor, with 10 percent undecided.

But that doesn't mean that opponents of Prop 6 can relax. The pro-6 gang are pouring big sums of money into a last-ditch media drive to stir up antigay prejudice.

The anti-6 forces may not be able to match the money of the Briggs people. But we can mobilize large numbers of activists in a massive, visible fight for human rights.

The goal must be an outpouring at the polls November 7 to vote no on 6!

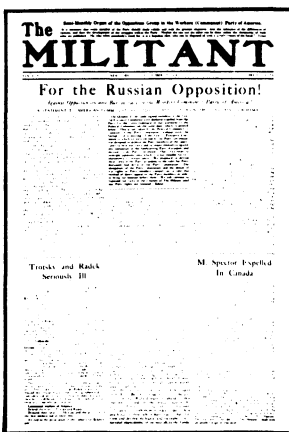
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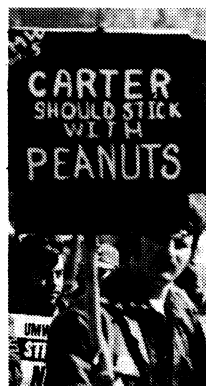
Héctor Marroquín in danger

Emergency protests needed to stop la migra's rush to judgment. **Page 5.**



'Class war' & union strategy

Corporate and government attacks spark discussion of labor political action. **Page 12.**



50 years of the 'Militant'

Veteran Trotskyist Max Goldman recalls the paper's first years and offers a birthday salute. **Page 16.**

The Militant

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Published weekly by the Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone Editorial Office (212) 243-6392; Business Office (212) 929-3486.

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

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

For subscriptions airmailed from New York and then posted from London directly to Britain and Ireland: £2.00 for ten issues, £4.50 for six months, £8.50 for one year. Posted from London to Continental Europe: £2.50 for ten issues, £6.00 for six months, £11.50 for one year. Send banker's draft or international postal order (payable to Pathfinder Press) to Pathfinder Press, 47 The Cut, London SE18LL, England. Inquire for air rates from London at the same address.

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

NOW discusses ERA strategy

By Cindy Jaquith

WASHINGTON—On the crest of victory for extension of the Equal Rights Amendment deadline, more than 2,000 women met here October 6-9 at the eleventh national conference of the National Organization for Women (NOW).

The weekend was an intense political discussion on the next steps for pushing the ERA through the last three unratified states. It was also a continuation of discussions begun at NOW's 1977 national conference on perspectives for building a mass feminist movement.

Central to that discussion were the questions of how to respond to the attacks on women's rights; what allies women should seek in this battle; the strategy of independent struggle versus dependence on Democratic and Republican politicians; and the role of democracy in the women's movement.

The conference was marked by a mood of confidence, enthusiasm, and heightened interest in political discussion on the part of women. This spirit stemmed in great part from the victory won the day the conference opened, when the Senate voted sixty to thirty-six to extend the ERA ratification deadline until June 1982.

NOW members had contributed decisively to that victory through organizing the July 9 ERA march of 100,000 that forced the House and Senate to act.

Many new, young NOW members attended the conference, and it was announced that the organization was rapidly approaching a membership of 100,000.

Extension victory celebration

Hundreds had poured into Washington early to be at the Senate when the extension vote took place on Friday. A victory rally of 500—the first of several over the weekend—took place immediately afterward.

Frequently during the next three days' proceedings, the conference was interrupted with chants of, "Three more states!" reflecting NOW members' belief that the time is ripe to press immediately for ratification of the ERA.

But there were two counterposed perspectives at the conference over how to do this: whether to continue the momentum of July 9 by carrying out

This is an initial report on the National Organization for Women (NOW) conference. Future issues of the 'Militant' will carry in-depth coverage of conference discussions on forced sterilization, the labor movement, and democracy in the women's movement.

more massive actions for the ERA, or whether to throw NOW's resources into one-to-one lobbying and the election of Democrats and Republicans who claim to be pro-ERA.

An ERA resolution introduced by NOW President Eleanor Smeal called for making the ERA NOW's "primary national focus." It urged a nationally coordinated ratification campaign, involving all states.

While there was general agreement with the idea of a national ERA drive, the resolution was very vague, with no specific proposals for how the campaign would be conducted. Helen Schiff, from New Jersey's Essex County NOW, attempted to amend the resolution.

Schiff urged delegates to add to the main proposal a call for national ERA actions next spring, preferably in unratified states in the East, Midwest, and West. The time and place would be decided by NOW's national board.

The proposed amendment had been passed at one



'Three more states!' was recurring chant throughout National Organization for Women conference.

Militant/Diane Wang

of the three ERA workshop sessions and been narrowly defeated at another. It combined the ideas of more than a dozen NOW chapters, which had submitted resolutions to the conference on the need for such an action call.

July 9 was the central reason extension was won, Schiff argued. "It showed the congressmen, the senators, and the people who run this country that there are hundreds of thousands of women and other people concerned about the ERA.

"American women and others are waiting for us to see what we decided at this NOW convention," she continued. "We want to be able to go back and say that we have called another mass demonstration, another march like July 9.

"We cannot give up now. We cannot rely on the Democratic and Republican politicians. We must rely on our own strength, on the women's movement and our allies."

Unfortunately, only twenty minutes of the plenary time was allotted for discussion of ERA strategy, the most important single issue confronting the conference. The amendment for a march was voted down before the delegates had a real chance to hear all the pro and con arguments. But a fuller debate over the need for another march had taken place in the ERA workshops.

Opponents of the amendment initially claimed they favored marches as an occasional tactic. But as the discussion proceeded, they began to more clearly counterpose work within the Democratic and Republican parties to independent action in the streets.

'Behind-the-scenes work'

A member of Washington's Capitol Hill NOW, for example, said that July 9 did not play the main role in winning extension. "It's the behind-the-scenes work that really got things done," she argued.

What "behind-the-scenes work" meant was spelled out by NOW staff member Christie Klein. She revealed in the workshops that NOW lobbyists had made a promise to the politicians. If they voted for extension, "we would support them in the elections for supporting us."

"Remember those friends," Klein pleaded. "It's the only way we can maintain our credibility."

Smeal also opposed the march proposal, announc-

ing in one workshop that she would personally take the floor to denounce the idea as an attempt to "tie NOW's hands" by setting an "arbitrary" time and place for action.

Smeal said it would be wrong for the conference to plan a march because "the date and place can only be developed in a small group, not in meetings where the [anti-ERA] opposition is probably sitting."

This argument was answered by other NOW members who pointed out that July 9 was publicized well in advance. This hardly helped the right wing—rather it helped ensure a massive turnout.

What actually lay behind the opposition to a march was a different strategy—one of "remembering our friends" on election day. This approach has led to defeat for the ERA, and it was never fully discussed during the conference.

At a news conference over the weekend, Smeal outlined the ERA strategy of the NOW leadership. According to the October 8 *Washington Post*, she said that "NOW would concentrate its political energies less on removing unfavorable politicians and more on changing their positions and actively helping politicians supportive of the women's movement."

This decision—evidently made in "a small group"—was never brought before the conference for delegates' approval.

But it explained why numerous Democratic and Republican politicians supposedly "supportive" of women were invited to address the conference, including an outspoken opponent of abortion, Massachusetts Sen. Edward Kennedy. He was the keynote speaker.

An editorial in the *National NOW Times* on the eve of the conference spelled out the strategy more clearly. This editorial made no mention of the powerful July 9 march. Rather, it focused on the need to "change the composition of the Senate" by using NOW's "finely honed political machine that has only begun to operate at full power."

This approach is also in line with the goals of the leadership conference of labor, Black, and women leaders called by United Auto Workers head Douglas Fraser. NOW has been invited to attend this meeting, whose purpose is to forge a "new alliance

Continued on next page

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NOW President Eleanor Smeal

Militant/Lou Howort

...NOW

Continued from preceding page

of progressive forces" to reform the Democratic Party.

The perspective of turning NOW into a well-oiled vote-catching machine is a dead-end strategy. It is based on the belief that capitalist politicians can and will give women their rights, rather than a perspective of an independent mobilization of women and their allies to force those changes.

Threat to democracy

The logic of transforming NOW into an electoral machine for the Democrats and Republicans is to turn away from a broad social movement and toward a highly centralized lobby where "small groups" do the bargaining with politicians and determine policy. This poses a serious threat to democracy in NOW.

This year's conference, however, was marked by the beginning of a political discussion of this problem. Several important victories were won against the attempt to erode NOW members' rights.

The broadest discussion took place around a proposed change in the constitution recommended by the NOW National Board. The change would have permitted the expulsion of NOW members who disagree with the "policies of NOW." The current constitution requires only that members support NOW's general purposes.

Many women recognized the danger of the vaguely worded policy stricture—which could be wielded against any member expressing a different viewpoint.

A delegate from Pittsburgh Campus NOW pointed out that the policy amendment would have a "chilling effect" on new women joining, particularly the thousands who marched on July 9.

"Especially when we are now in a position to move ahead and win ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment, we have to embrace this diverse, mammoth group of people who support our goals," she argued, to a big round of applause.

Connie Gilbert-Neiss spoke as a representative of

the New Jersey NOW Board of Directors.

"New Jersey feels that to add such a [policy] statement would be to open up our organization to a great deal of abuse of civil liberties," she announced.

Christine Jarosz, president of Dallas County NOW, also spoke against the policy proposal.

Seeing a groundswell of support for democratic rights, those who had pushed the policy statement retreated. Smeal announced from the platform that her "administration" had "no opinion at all" on the motion. When the vote was taken, the policy proposal was soundly defeated in a victory for democratic rights in NOW. The vote was then ruled unanimous.

Protection from discrimination

Another proposal, also backed by the national board, was to remove from the constitution a list of safeguards against discrimination in the organization. The provision stated that members may not be excluded because of race, sexual preference, income, or other reasons.

A counterproposal, originally submitted by the New York and New Jersey delegations, and many NOW chapters—argued for keeping the list and adding to it political affiliation. This proposal stemmed from opposition to a persistent witch-hunt in the organization against NOW members who also belong to the Socialist Workers Party and other members who agree with the socialists on some issues.

Seattle delegate Rita Shaw pointed out that the constitutional safeguards represent NOW's history.

"They were not always added to our bylaws easily," she explained on the floor. "They were areas that were fought for and then included as a way of showing we will not discriminate against any person in NOW on this basis."

Toni Carabillo, editor of the *National NOW Times*, argued for getting rid of the safeguards. She claimed, "We intend to exclude no one—except those who do not really support our purposes."

Carabillo went on to imply that members of the Socialist Workers Party do not support NOW's purposes and are not genuinely committed to the fight for gay rights or for the ERA.

In a thinly disguised bid to have socialists thrown out of NOW, Carabillo concluded: "It would be helpful if they would let us win those victories working in their own organization but not intervening in ours."

Thurston County, Washington, delegate Stephanie Coontz responded to the false charge that socialists are not really feminists. "I have been active in the feminist movement since 1964," she stated. "I am a committed feminist. I am also a socialist. I have found that I cannot reach my feminist goals without changing this society."

"I certainly have a right to those opinions, and those opinions come precisely because I am a feminist."

After a short debate, however, the list of safeguards was dropped and political affiliation was not added.

The elimination of the list of safeguards was a serious blow to NOW and its ability to unite women of different backgrounds, races, sexual preferences, and political views.

But protests were also raised against other restrictions on the rights of NOW members, restrictions that would change the character of NOW. This began with a fight against conference rules barring "non-NOW" materials from being distributed inside the conference. This rule was unfortunately upheld.

However, members succeeded in tabling a motion to allow the national office to collect all dues, which would severely limit the autonomy of local chapters.

Another resolution, would have taken away the right of NOW regional bodies to elect members of the nominating committee, which supervises the election of NOW officers. The resolution proposed that the national board appoint the committee instead. Fortunately, it was defeated.

These victories were a setback to those in NOW who have used slander campaigns and red-baiting against Socialist Workers Party members in NOW as a means of curtailing democracy for all members and stifling political discussion.

Throughout the conference, NOW members expressing views at odds with those of the leadership—or even attempting simply to take the floor in discussion—were branded "SWPers."

At the end of the conference a motion against political parties "using" NOW came up. Many members saw this as another attempt to introduce red-baiting and opposed it. But one speaker motivated the resolution by saying she favored women from all parties, including the SWP, working together in NOW. In the ensuing confusion, the motion passed.

But a significant number of delegates opposed it, reflecting an increased political understanding of the threat that red-baiting poses to NOW.

Labor, forced sterilization

In other action at the conference, delegates passed an important resolution on the labor movement, putting the organization on record in opposition to the *Weber* suit against affirmative action, for the repeal of right-to-work laws, and for the J.P. Stevens boycott. (See box.)

Delegates also began a discussion of the forced sterilization issue. A resolution to place NOW in opposition to this racist practice was never allowed to come to the floor at last year's conference. The debate this year focused around federal guidelines to require a thirty-day waiting period before sterilization to protect women from victimization. The minority women's workshop at the conference and several NOW chapters urged support for the waiting period. But debate was cut off abruptly, and a resolution for a campaign against sterilization abuse—but opposing the waiting period—passed. The vote was 263 to 188.

The conference also passed a motion to support the ratification drive to win representation in Congress for the District of Columbia.

The support for these resolutions reflected the increased awareness of NOW members and the women's movement as a whole of the importance of alliances with the labor and civil rights movement.

The discussion of what strategy is needed to forge that alliance and to win the battle for women's rights did not end with this NOW conference. It is a discussion that must continue in NOW and in the broader feminist movement in order to achieve victory.

NOW resolution on women & labor

The following resolution was passed overwhelmingly at the national NOW conference.

NOW's Committee on Labor Unions and Worksite Organizing proposed the resolution to strengthen NOW's alliance with the labor movement. It was discussed, amended, and unanimously adopted by a labor union workshop attended by some seventy-five women. During the discussion some participants said they would bring the resolution back to their local union meetings.

BE IT RESOLVED That the National Organization for Women will take the following steps toward closing the wage gap and improving the status of women in the workforce:

1. Continue to work cooperatively with the organized labor movement on our common goals and against our common enemies;
2. Take action to stimulate and support the organizing efforts of women and men workers into bona fide collective bargaining units;
3. Utilize, on the National level, materials carrying the union label, and urge our members,

local and state NOW organizations to do the same;

4. Actively work with organized labor to repeal section 14-B of the Taft-Hartley Act and to defeat efforts to pass "Right to Work for Less" legislation;

5. Work with the organized labor movement to renew and win the fight for labor law reform;

6. Pressure the EEOC and US Department of Labor to implement the concept of equal pay for work of comparable value and amend the 1963 Equal Pay Act to provide equal pay for work of equal value;

7. Make an immediate request to the leaders of the Senate-House Conference Committee to meet with our President to discuss the importance of passing Pregnancy Disability legislation in this session of Congress;

8. Endorse and support the WINN-DIXIE boycott in 14 states, thereby supporting the rights of their employees—over 50% female—to the benefits of unionization;

9. Support women who are fighting sexual discrimination within their unions and remain sensitive to their situation;

10. Urge local and state bodies to form Labor Task Forces;

11. Take an official position against Weber and file an *amicus curiae* (friend of the court) brief with the United Steelworkers of America in the Supreme Court and reaffirm our support of affirmative action as a method of overcoming the effects of past discrimination and immediately begin a national education campaign through articles in NOW Times and local NOW press on the Weber case and extend this campaign to programs, reports and public activities;

12. Plan and sponsor a national conference to be implemented in 1979 on Women in Unions and Worksite Organizing;

13. Continue to support and urge active participation in November 13 Silkwood Memorial Day Actions and the national rally in Oklahoma City, thereby upholding the right of workers to health and safety protection on the job and redress under the Civil Rights Act for severe harassment of union leaders;

14. Continue to support the Boycott against J.P. Stevens products and urge active participation in planned actions around the country against J.P. Stevens, the United States most notorious Labor Law Violator, on November 30.

Aims to block a fair hearing

INS rushes ruling on Marroquin asylum bid

By Roger Rudenstein

The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) has told Héctor Marroquin that it will rule on his petition for political asylum by October 27. This rush to judgment would violate Marroquin's right to a full review of the evidence before a decision is handed down. Such a review is guaranteed under the INS's own rules.

If the INS rules unfavorably on his asylum request, Marroquin will be faced with a deportation hearing in the very near future.

"La migra has apparently decided to make its move to bring my case to a rapid conclusion, paving the way to deport me," Marroquin explained. "I appeal to all of my friends and supporters to help block this attempt to deny me a fair hearing."

The Héctor Marroquin Defense Committee is asking supporters to send emergency telegrams and letters protesting the INS decision (see box). The defense committee has also issued an urgent appeal for funds to cover the cost of this fight.

Since Marroquin applied for political asylum almost a year ago, government agencies have refused to provide him with the documents he needs and is legally entitled to, to prepare his case:

The FBI has so far turned over only nineteen pages out of its extensive files on FBI disruption and spying on the Mexican student movement. Even these highly censored pages are enough to show that the FBI kept tabs on Marroquin since he was fifteen and may have been directly involved in framing him. An appeal under the Freedom of Information Act for the complete file on Marroquin is pending.

INS officials have asked the State Department for an "advisory opinion on the case." But Marroquin has not been given an opportunity to counter any unfavorable information passed on to the State Department by the INS. In fact, the record of correspondence between *la migra* and the State Department has been kept secret, despite repeated requests that Marroquin be given copies of this material so that he can rebut any false information.

The INS has refused to provide the defense with all the material in its own files on Marroquin, despite the legal requirement that it do so.

Marroquin is a twenty-five-year-old trade unionist and member of the Socialist Workers Party who is fighting to prevent his deportation to Mexico, where he was framed up on false



Marroquin with attorney Margaret Winter in Eagle Pass, Texas, jail shortly after arrest last year. Only national protests won his release at that time. Protests are urgently needed again as government steps up efforts to railroad Marroquin back to Mexico, where he faces torture and possible death.

charges of terrorism and "subversion." If he were returned to Mexico, he would be jailed, tortured, and probably killed.

The INS announced its intention to rule on the asylum petition just days after Marroquin boarded a plane for New Orleans to begin a nationwide speaking tour. He is traveling to more than thirty cities to win new support for his case and expose repression in Mexico. The INS's timing suggests that *la migra* wants to put the brakes on Marroquin's defense efforts. However, the tour will go on as scheduled.

In 1977, like hundreds of Mexican workers, Marroquin was picked up by *la migra* because his papers weren't in order. He was jailed in Eagle Pass, Texas, for more than three months.

INS officials then tried to throw Marroquin back across the border, despite the fact that he is a political exile and deportation could mean death. Only the intervention of Marroquin's attorneys and protests from people around the country prevented the INS from carrying out its plans.

Marroquin then applied for political asylum. Under INS rules he has the right to submit proof that he would be persecuted for his political beliefs if he were returned to Mexico.

"Our job is not easy," attorney Margaret Winter explained, "because

the Carter administration claims that there is no political repression in Mexico. They are trying to cover up the Mexican government's massacres of students, workers, and peasants; its kidnapping and murder of activists; and the fact that hundreds of political prisoners are languishing in jail."

To support Marroquin's case for asylum, the defense is collecting sworn testimony from political prisoners and the relatives of victims of repression in Mexico.

The defense is also compiling testimony proving Marroquin did not commit the acts of terrorism that the Mexican authorities have charged him with.

The Mexican cops claim that Marroquin conspired to kill a librarian on his campus, robbed a bakery, and shot two police officers. These fabricated charges were fed to the Mexican press and resulted in huge headlines and lurid stories portraying Marroquin and other student activists as dangerous criminals.

Despite the obvious witch-hunting nature of this operation, the INS apparently takes the word of the Mexican cops, no matter how absurd the charges. For example, Marroquin's attorneys have submitted documents showing that at the time he was supposedly robbing a Mexican bakery, he was actually in a Galveston, Texas, hospital under the name of "Zamora," recovering from a car accident.

Nevertheless, Joe Staley, the INS official who will rule on the asylum petition said he doubted that Marroquin and "Zamora" were the same person.

"In order to prove it to Staley," said Winter, "we had to get X-rays of Marroquin's leg. We're now trying to make Staley subpoena 'Zamora's' hospital records so an expert can compare the X-rays and show that they match."

"At a fair hearing," Winter said, "it would be clear why Marroquin's asylum request is more than justified. That's why it's so important to stop the INS from ramming through a decision before the facts are in."

Emergency appeal

The Héctor Marroquin Defense Committee is urging its supporters to redouble their efforts in response to the latest attempts by the INS to deny Marroquin his right to a fair hearing.

Protest messages should be sent to Leonel Castillo, Director, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington, D.C. 20536. Copies, along with urgently needed donations, should be sent to the defense committee at: Post Office Box 843, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003. Tele-

phone: (212) 691-3587.

Building the national speaking tour of Héctor Marroquin is another important way to answer the government's new harassment. The upcoming schedule is:

Oct. 9-11	Albuquerque/El Paso
Oct. 12-14	Phoenix
Oct. 15	Tucson
Oct. 16-17	Salt Lake City
Oct. 18-19	Denver
Oct. 21-26	New York City
Oct. 27-31	Philadelphia/ State College/ Newark, Delaware

Protests say: 'Drop charges against Leo Harris!'

By Lee Smith

MIAMI—Letters demanding the charges be dropped against Leo Harris have been arriving at the office of State Attorney Janet Reno and Miami Mayor Maurice Ferré from around the country.

Harris is a Black activist and member of the Socialist Workers Party who faces frame-up charges of disorderly conduct and criminal mischief.

Harris attended an August 8 picket line outside a Winn-Dixie store to protest statements by the store's manager and security guard that Haitians are "just like all niggers" and should be sprayed with deodorant before entering the store.

As he arrived at the protest, Harris was struck by a car driven by a Miami cop. Bleeding from his injury, Harris was first ignored by cops at the scene. But when Haitian organizers of the protest insisted he be given medical

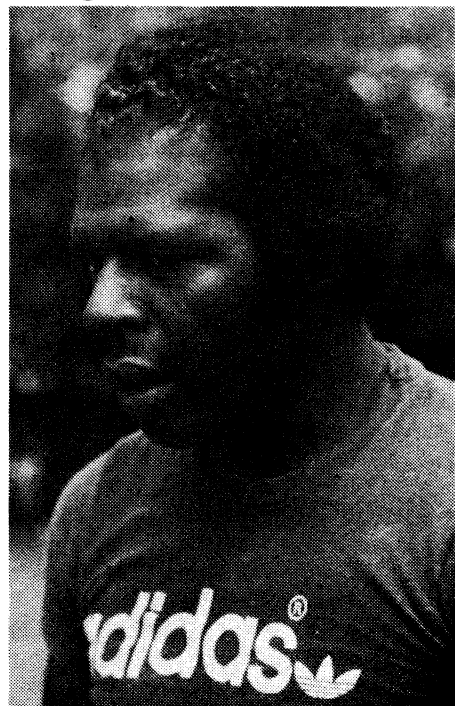
attention, the cops agreed to take him to the hospital.

Instead, they drove him to the police station and arrested him, holding him for several hours before he was taken to the hospital. He has had trouble with his injured leg since.

"The tactic of accusing the victim of brutality, be it by the police, anti-union scabs, or those who oppose human rights, is well known to those who have worked to extend full protection of constitutional rights to all people in this country," K.C. Ellis, president of Branch 2151, National Association of Letter Carriers, Naberth, Pennsylvania, wrote in a protest letter to State Attorney Reno.

"Human rights begin at home," said a telegram from Martha Pettit, shop steward, American Postal Workers Union in Kansas City.

One of the more moving protests came from Leon Carswell, an inmate at the Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, federal prison. In a letter to Miami Mayor



LEO HARRIS

Militant/Larry Seigle

Maurice Ferré, Carswell wrote, "How can you people advocate justice and openly defy the word itself? Do you still believe non-whites are actually deaf, dumb, and blind to the reality of life to the degree we will accept anything?"

"This Brother-Man Harris expressed concern for a society of people and he has been victimized for that concern. . . ."

Locally, support for the Leo Harris Defense Committee continues to grow.

Harris spoke to a meeting of Black students at North Dade Community College here October 4.

The Miami local of the United Faculty of Florida, an affiliate of the American Federation of Teachers, and the executive committee of the Miami YWCA have voted to send letters to Reno asking that charges against Harris be dropped. All People Inc., a local prisoners rights group, is also supporting the Harris defense.

A shaky truce, but no peace

Lebanon: Carter seeks greater U.S. role

By David Frankel

Bowing to intense pressure from Washington and threats of military action from Israel, the Syrian regime declared a unilateral ceasefire in Beirut October 7. But after a brief cessation of the battle, gunfire had broken out at an increasing pace only a few days later.

Fighting between the Syrian army and right-wing Christian militias had been raging for a week before the truce was declared, and much of Christian East Beirut has been left in ruins.

This latest round of fighting in Lebanon's on-again-off-again war was initiated by Christian rightists, who assaulted Syrian positions in East Beirut, according to correspondents on the scene.

The Syrian Army is occupying Lebanon in the name of the Arab Deterrent Force, which was charged by an Arab summit conference with the job of policing Lebanon in the wake of the 1975-76 civil war. Apparently the rightists hoped to provoke a crisis and prevent renewal of the Syrian mandate, which expires October 26.

Israel came to the aid of the right-wing militias. On October 5 the Israeli regime sent three warships to attack Muslim neighborhoods in West Beirut to indicate its displeasure with Syrian actions.

U.S. officials, with good reason, feared that the conflict could escalate into a war between Syria and Israel, possibly blowing up the Camp David accords engineered by President Carter. Carter himself took charge of U.S. diplomatic efforts regarding Lebanon. These included proposals for further imperialist intervention in Lebanon through the introduction of more French troops—either directly, or under the United Nations flag.

It was French imperialism that was responsible in the first place for institutionalizing the divisions between Muslims and Christians that have plagued Lebanon. The French carved Lebanon out of Syria in 1920 and built up a colonial apparatus in Lebanon that relied heavily on the Christian population.

Although the French were forced to withdraw from Lebanon in 1946, they continued their divide-and-rule policy. An unwritten constitutional agreement assured the Christian population a six-to-five majority in the Lebanese Parlia-



Smoke and flame rising from Beirut during artillery duels between Syrians and rightist militias

ment, and permanently reserved the posts of president and the head of the armed forces for Maronite Christians. (Today, at least two-thirds of Lebanon's population is Muslim.)

In the years since then, the imperialist powers have been able to count on the right-wing Maronite Christian establishment in Lebanon as a base for their maneuvers. It was Camille Chamoun, head of one of the main rightist militias, who called U.S. Marines into Beirut in 1958.

But in recent years the undemocratic character and reactionary social policies of the Maronite-dominated government have fueled demands for change. While hundreds of thousands of peasants swelled the slums of Beirut, the government refused to build new schools, low-cost housing, or clinics. Public expenditures for such projects—already miniscule—actually declined from 1969-73, while expenditures for the army and police rose to more than 25 percent of the national budget.

Civil war finally broke out in April 1975. During the civil war, the imperialists did not abandon their right-wing protégés. At the height of the civil war in 1976, the State Department licensed the commercial export of more than \$800,000 worth of ammunition

and other military equipment to Lebanon. Moreover, \$5 million worth of weapons, ammunition, and armored vehicles was sent to Lebanon through the U.S. government at a time when the Lebanese army had completely disintegrated. Virtually all this matériel was funneled to the right-wing forces.

But the rightist militias proved to be no match for the opposing Muslim-leftist-Palestinian alliance. Only foreign intervention could prevent a defeat for the rightists. So in June 1976 Syrian President Hafez al-Assad responded by launching a full-scale invasion of Lebanon.

By November 1976 Assad's troops—with the support of Washington and Tel Aviv—had occupied Beirut. But while both the U.S. and Israeli governments wanted Assad to hit the Palestinian and leftist forces, neither is willing to tolerate similar Syrian action against the Maronite rightists.

Thus, Assad is caught in a trap. On the one hand, he cannot break the power of the rightist militias for fear of Israeli intervention. On the other hand, to withdraw in defeat, or to remain in Lebanon with no solution in sight, are both courses that can only undermine the regime in Syria itself.

Meanwhile, discontent is spreading

in the Syrian army, according to a report by Jonathan Randal in the October 5 *Washington Post*. Randal estimates that Assad's forces have been taking six to eight casualties a day since February.

After two years of Syrian occupation, Washington may be looking for another solution in Lebanon. As the editors of the *Christian Science Monitor* pointed out October 3, "it will be hard to restrain the Palestinians [in Lebanon] if the political situation is not pulled together so that the central government can act from a strong unified position."

The Carter administration has already asked Congress for some \$75 million in military credits for the Lebanese government. The *Monitor* adds, "Suggestions that the United States should provide a small contingent of military officers and men to help train the Lebanese Army may be worth considering."

However, continued warring in Lebanon would probably tear apart along communal lines what little is left of the Lebanese Army. And—as the renewed fighting already shows—there is no reason to suppose that the current ceasefire in Beirut will prove any more durable than the dozens that have preceded it.

Urges vote for 'lesser evil'

Communist Party backs N.J. Democrat

By David Frankel

How many times over the past forty years has a procapitalist, Democratic Party candidate confronted a conservative Republican?

Sometimes the Democrat wins, sometimes the more openly right-wing candidate. But in either case, the working class and the oppressed around the world lose.

One of many such empty electoral contests is taking place right now in New Jersey. Republican Jeffrey Bell is opposing Democrat William Bradley in the U.S. Senate race there.

How has the Communist Party responded to this familiar charade? On September 30, the *Daily World* reported that "the Communist Party of New Jersey this week called for a massive voter turnout to defeat Republican Senatorial hopeful Jeffrey Bell because of his anti-people, anti-minorities, pro-big business program.

"The CP also called for maximum pressure on his only opponent, Bill Bradley, the Democratic candidate, to move in a more progressive direction."

To begin with, it should be pointed

out that Bell *does* have another opponent, the *Daily World* notwithstanding. Alice Conner is running against both big-business candidates on the Socialist Workers Party ticket.

The CP admits in its statement on the New Jersey election that "Bill Bradley supports the present size of the military budget. Unlike Carter, he has not even 'promised' to reduce it.

"Like Bell, he too is 'tough on crime,' advocating stiffer penalties, but presenting no meaningful programs to remove the basic causes of crime. . . .

"Meanwhile, he is silent on the question of injustice and repression against Black, Puerto Rican and other minorities, as well as against the labor movement."

This is the candidate that the CP wants to help with "a massive voter turnout"! The CP's rationale for supporting Bradley is that Bell would be even worse. "Clearly," the CP says, "the people of New Jersey have an immediate stake in defeating Jeff Bell."

But in capitalist politics, the choices are *always* between bad and worse. It's

set up that way to make us *think* we have a choice.

The whole point is that the working class and oppressed minorities need



Militant/Joanne Murphy
SWP candidate Alice Conner

their own political organization, a party that they control, instead of one controlled by big business.

While the CP admits that both the Democratic and Republican parties "are controlled by the big corporate and banking interests," and gives lip-service to promoting a break with them, when election time actually comes around, the CP is out there hustling votes for Democrats.

In contrast to the CP's doubletalk, SWP candidate Alice Conner means what she says about opposing big-business parties. She is campaigning for an end to government war spending; for taxes on the rich, not working people; for a shorter workweek to create jobs for the jobless; and for affirmative action to fight discrimination against Blacks and women.

So there is an alternative to the antilabor policies of Jeffrey Bell . . . and those of William Bradley too. When *Daily World* readers and other New Jersey voters go to the polls November 7, they should pull the lever for a socialist candidate—Alice Conner.

As Seabrook actions continue

100 arrested in antinuclear protests

By Arnold Weissberg

A series of anti-nuclear power demonstrations took place around the country over the weekend of October 6-8. Cops arrested nearly 100 people at the various protests.

At Seabrook, New Hampshire, forty-two people were arrested October 7 and charged with criminal trespass. Seabrook has been the focus of a major battle to prevent construction of twin nuclear reactors. Some 20,000 people demonstrated against nuclear power there last June 25.

A noon rally the same day, outside the construction site, drew between 200 and 300 people.

About twenty people were still in jail as the *Militant* went to press. They

refused to pay bail and demanded to be released on their own recognizance.

In a related action, antinuke activists in New York City picketed Manufacturers Hanover Bank on Wall Street October 6 demanding that the bank cease its financing of the Seabrook power plant. The action was sponsored by the Shad Alliance.

About 150 people demonstrated in Madison, Indiana, October 7 against plans to build twin nuclear reactors at nearby Marble Hill. The Marble Hill site is only thirty-one miles from Louisville, Kentucky. The plant is expected to cost \$1.85 billion. Thirty people were arrested and charged with trespassing at the Marble Hill construction site. The action was called by the Paddle-

wheel Alliance.

In Monroe, Michigan, seventy-five people picketed the Fermi II nuclear power plant construction site October 7. The Fermi I plant, also owned by Detroit Edison, is well known for nearly wiping out nearby Detroit in 1966 when the reactor almost escaped control.

The Fermi II protest was sponsored by the Arbor Alliance and the Detroit-based Safe Energy Coalition.

About 200 people rallied in Illinois Beach State Park in Zion, Illinois, October 7 against the Commonwealth Edison Zion nuclear power plant. Protesters also formed a fifty-car caravan.

After the rally, twenty-four people who sat down outside the plant fence were arrested and charged with trespassing. A *Militant* correspondent reports that about sixty cops in riot gear, and a large number of private cops similarly outfitted, were on hand.

750 at Critical Mass '78

WASHINGTON—Seven hundred fifty people gathered here October 6-8 for Critical Mass '78, a conference on nuclear power and safe energy alternatives. It was sponsored by Critical Mass Energy Project, an antinuke organization founded by Ralph Nader.

The weekend conference was devoted mainly to education on the dangers of nuclear energy and discussion of solar energy.

The conference opened with an address by Nader, who declared that the "progressive energy policies" advocated by Jimmy Carter as both candidate and president had been sabotaged by Energy Secretary James Schlesinger. Nader called for Schlesinger's resignation.

Also speaking at the opening session was Dr. Helen Caldicott, an Australian pediatrician now practicing in Boston. She spoke about the effects of radiation on children.

Another panel, devoted to the subject of jobs and energy, included Michael Olszanski, head of the environment committee of United Steelworkers District 31. District 31 opposes construction of a nuclear

power plant on the shores of Lake Michigan.

A luncheon debate October 7 pitted noted environmentalist Barry Commoner against a Department of Energy official on the subject, "Does the administration's energy policy serve the interests of the consumer?"

Commoner denounced the Carter administration's energy policies and explained that the natural gas price deregulation bill would mean less gas, not more, as the gas companies waited for the price to rise before releasing their reserves.

Participating in a panel discussion of solar energy was former SDS leader Tom Hayden. Hayden currently serves as an appointee on solar energy policy of California Gov. Jerry Brown. Hayden, who has endorsed Brown's reelection attempt, lauded the governor's efforts in the solar field and lashed out at Carter's. He announced he would make his decision on what candidate to back in the 1980 presidential race by comparing the candidates' records on solar energy.

Sen. Edward Kennedy also gave a brief address.

—A.W.



Protesters climb Seabrook Station fence. Cops arrested more than forty protesters.

FBI frames up Adelita Medina

By Leonard Manchester

NEW YORK—The FBI's relentless campaign to destroy the Puerto Rican and Chicano movements struck again last month.

The latest victim is twenty-eight-year-old Adelita Medina, a graduate student at Columbia University's journalism school. She is being forced to go to Albuquerque October 11 for arraignment on a charge of having mailed a pistol from New York to New Mexico in 1975.

On September 6, three FBI agents and two postal inspectors arrested Medina in New York City. During the three years since the alleged crime, no charges have been brought against her. The government took action only after she had enrolled as a full-time student, even though she has never made a secret of her whereabouts.

After her arrest, Assistant U.S. Attorney Thomas Engel tried to bully Medina into cooperating with a grand jury "investigation" into the so-called Puerto Rican Armed Forces for National Liberation (FALN). Although this grand jury witch-hunt is totally unrelated to the charges against Medina, Engel suggested that if she cooperated, she would not be taken to New Mexico for arraignment.

This crude attempt at turning Medina into an informer stems from her having been a representative to the Episcopal church's Hispanic Commission in New Mexico in 1974. Because members of the Hispanic Commission

have supported the Chicano movement and the Puerto Rican independence struggle, the government has harassed them and tried to link them to the FALN. In the past eighteen months several employees of the commission have been imprisoned for refusing to cooperate with grand juries.

Medina has refused to make any kind of deal with the government. If she is found guilty by a New Mexico court, she faces up to two years in prison.

For more information, contact: Adelita Defense Fund, c/o Apartment 2E, 446 Central Park West, New York, New York 10025.

Chicano Liberation and Socialism

By Miguel Pendás

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Kentucky miners fight

Last winter, miners turned back a union-busting drive by the coal industry with their courageous 110-day strike. But the battle in the coal fields continues. 'Militant' reporter Nancy Cole recently visited southern Kentucky to bring our readers news of two strikes there with significance for the entire labor movement.

Glenbrook

By Nancy Cole

EVARTS, Ky.—Harlan County. Scene of bloody union organizing battles in the 1930s. Brought to the attention of millions in Barbara Kopple's film on the 1973-74 Brookside miners' strike.

Harlan County. Once again the site of a life-and-death struggle between coal miner and coal operator.

When 160,000 miners walked off the job on December 6, 1977, in what became the biggest nationwide strike battle in decades, 130 union miners at the Jericol mine in nearby Glenbrook struck too.

When most members of the United Mine Workers returned to work 110 days later, the Glenbrook strikers remained on the picket line. And they're still there today.

Jericol Mining, Inc., is not part of the Bituminous Coal Operators Association. It refused to sign the agreement negotiated by the BCOA.

"They say they're not against the United Mine Workers, that they just want a separate contract," explains Gerald Cornette, president of UMWA Local 8771 at Glenbrook.

But this mine is the only *union* mine that Charles and James Sigmon—owners of Jericol Mining, Inc.—run. And the Glenbrook strikers know that their fight is a fight to save the union—not just at Glenbrook but throughout southeastern Kentucky.

As is generally the case in the coal fields, the strikers have come up against a solid front of the company, courts, and state police.

The Sigmons even introduced a new element in their union-busting drive: coal trucks converted into armored, battle-ready vehicles. These armored trucks carry thirty scabs—who "ride in the back like dogs," says Cornette—across the picket line each day.

The building used for the union's strike headquarters was set on fire August 30. Strikers and their families have received anonymous death threats.

It underlines how serious the company is in its drive to get rid of the UMWA. But the miners—on strike now for ten months—are equally determined.

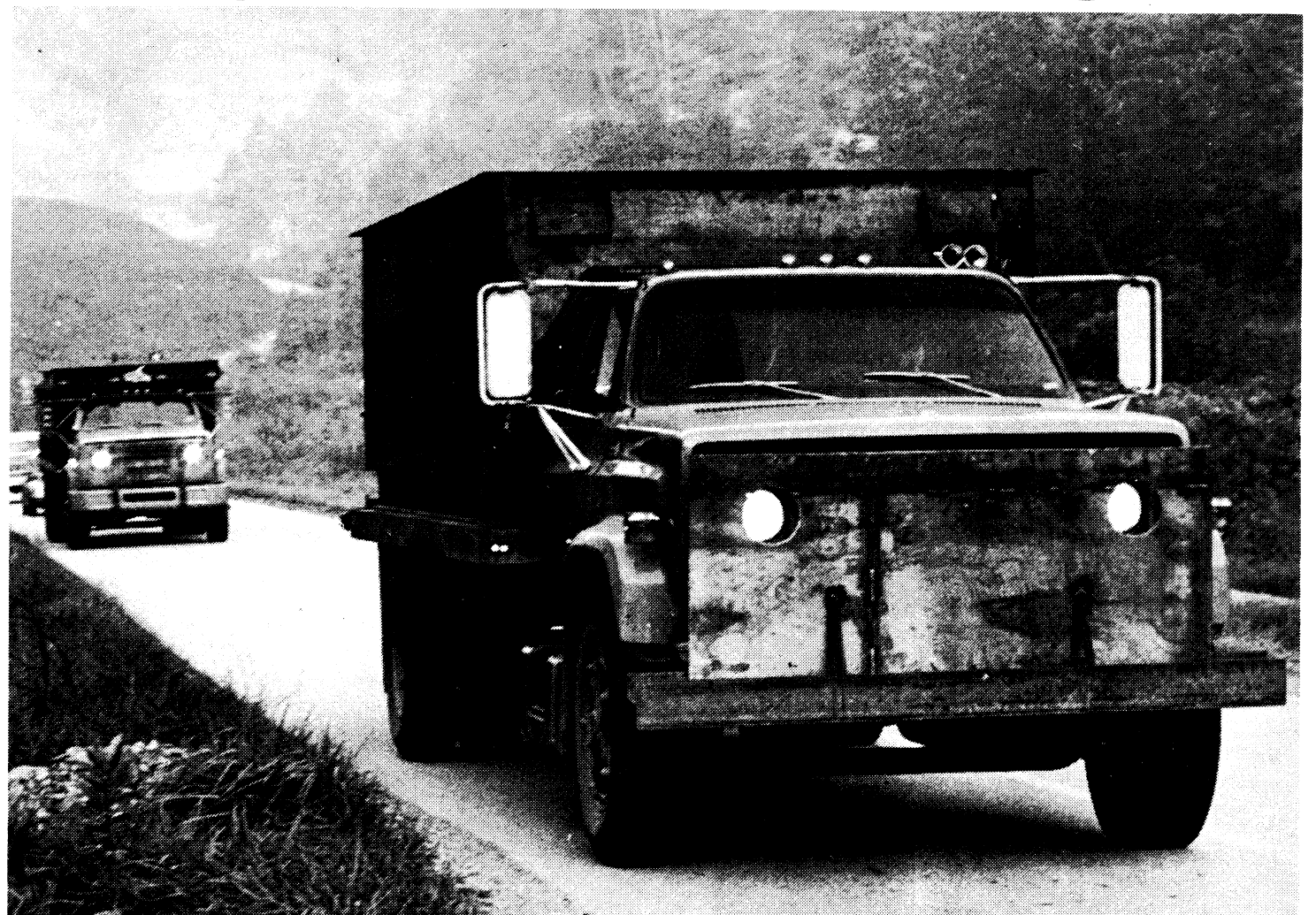
Jericol's offer

The contract Jericol is offering immediately spotlights what is at stake. As Cornette puts it, "About the only thing I can see that we agree with in that contract is the part that says there will be a pay day every week."

The contract's main provisions are as follows:

- **SAFETY.** The company would appoint the safety committee, which would make working conditions "as safe as feasible." In contrast, the UMWA contract provides for a union-controlled committee with the authority to shut down the mine or mine sections in the case of imminent danger.

- **PENSIONS.** Jericol wants to set up its own pension fund financed by



Armored trucks carry scabs across picket line at Glenbrook mine

payments of 3 percent of monthly wages. This is lower than UMWA pension royalties. But the major problem is that this plan would scrap any benefits for pensioners who retired before the Sigmons bought the Glenbrook mine in 1973.

- **PROBATIONARY PERIOD.**

For the first sixty days, the company wants the right to discharge an employee "without cause." The UMWA contract has no probationary period, so new hires are immediately accorded union rights.

- **JOB BIDDING.** Job openings would be posted only once a year, not as they become available. They would be awarded on the basis of seniority and the worker's "ability" to perform the job. Leading up to the yearly bidding, the company could fill openings with whomever it favors.

- **ABSENTEEISM.** There would be no paid sick days. Workers could be fired after more than two days missed without "valid excuse."

- **STRIKES.** Jericol's offer includes a no-strike clause. Such a provision was knocked out of the UMWA contract at the insistence of rank-and-file miners.

- **INCENTIVE PLAN.** There would be a production incentive plan, which miners have traditionally opposed as a serious threat to safety. The UMWA contract leaves the decision on incentive plans up to the union locals.

The contract is far worse than the first two contract offers dictated by the coal industry during the nationwide strike—offers soundly rejected by the UMWA ranks.

The Glenbrook mine has been UMWA since the 1940s. The Sigmons bought it in 1973, and they signed the BCOA agreement in 1974.

Cornette told the *Militant* that during the life of the contract the company had seemed willing to talk.

"I think it was all coming to this," he explains. "I think they just wanted to get through that 1974 contract."

Until November 1977, right before the nationwide strike began, there were no guards at the mine. Then Jericol brought in several from the Storm security firm—the same strike-breaking outfit that has laid siege to miners on strike for UMWA recognition in Stearns, Kentucky.

"They're trying to make another Stearns up here," warns Cornette.

A couple of months ago the company escalated its provocation with the armored trucks, complete with gun portals. Although the company claims the armed men in the trucks fired only when fired upon, the strikers contend the scab vehicles were shooting indiscriminately without warning.

Jericol hired former state troopers to drive the trucks. And the scab caravan assembles each morning at the state police post.

When school began this fall, parents in the area organized a student boycott, citing the danger posed by the armed trucks.

Circuit court Judge Sid Douglass had previously ordered the union pickets disarmed, threatening to bring in the national guard if necessary to end what he called a "private war." He also limited the line to twenty pickets.

'Union had no defense'

"The judge took the guns away from the pickets," says Cornette's wife Gayle. "These scabs are so brave though, they had to go to work in a truck like that. And then they got to carry guns too. The judge should have taken their guns away and left the union's because the union didn't have any defense at all."

After a week of the school boycott, Douglass revised his order, prohibiting guns in the scab trucks as well.

On Labor Day the Glenbrook miners sponsored a strike support rally here. Despite Judge Douglass's last-minute effort to sabotage it by convening a court hearing that day, 500 people attended.

Another rally is scheduled for October 28. Cornette hopes that miners and other supporters from all over will attend.

It's important for UMWA members and other unionists to understand what this strike and similar ones around here are all about, says the UMWA local president. "If we lose Glenbrook, they're closing the door a little further in southeastern Kentucky."

Stearns

By Nancy Cole

STEARNS, Ky.—Striking coal miners charge that scabs working under

a company-union contract at the Justus mine here have been seriously injured on the job in recent weeks.

Blue Diamond Coal Company is trying to keep news of the accidents under wraps. And despite the usual rush to report any "violence" that can be pinned on the striking miners, no news media anywhere in the state have reported Blue Diamond's violence in the mine.

The strikers say the accidents bolster their assertion that they are fighting for their lives by demanding a United Mine Workers contract with a union-controlled safety committee.

In a recent two-week period, miners here told the *Militant*, they observed at least five injured scabs being removed from the mine.

The word is that some of the accidents were serious. One scab's arm and ribs were broken. Another reportedly may be paralyzed.

But when strikers asked a federal mine inspector about the accidents, he claimed that none had been reported, as is required by law.

Mine Superintendent William "Doc" Coffey admitted to me that there had been three accidents at the mine. Two involved machinery "malfunctions," and one was a rock fall, he said. He insisted that none of the injuries were "serious."

The injured scabs were hospitalized, he conceded, but only for routine tests. He said he didn't know if any were still under hospital care.

Coffey contended that the accidents had all been reported to federal and state authorities.

One member of the Stearns Women's Club told the *Militant*, "They don't care about men, only machines. Machines cost money, but they can always go out and get another miner easy. They can always get another scab. We don't want our miners killed—we don't care about the money."

The rumor is that when Blue Diamond first started running scabs into the mine last year, they offered \$1,000 to anybody who could stick it out for a week.

The wages for the eighty scabs now crossing the picket line are up around union scale. But unsafe working conditions are the issue that has prompted 129 miners to stay on the picket line for twenty-seven months.

for justice

After refusing to even negotiate with the union for more than a year, Blue Diamond suddenly announced last May that it had signed a contract with the "Justus Employees Association." The contract with the scab union did not include a safety committee with the power to shut the mine. But it did include a no-strike clause.

The UMWA appealed to the National Labor Relations Board, charging the company had set up and continues to dominate the JEA. When the NLRB finally ruled in August, it found only that Blue Diamond acted illegally in recognizing the JEA.

Now a hearing before the NLRB is scheduled in Whitley City for October 30. It is expected that after each side presents its case to the public hearing, the NLRB administrative judge will call for a new representation election.

Then the question would be, who is eligible to vote? The fair way, of course, would be to allow only those who went on strike and are still on the picket line or in the mine to vote. That would line up as 129 pickets versus thirty-three scabs.

But the NLRB is not set up to make things fair for strikers. And the concern here is that the NLRB may let Blue Diamond get away with certifying its "new hires"—whose numbers could be inflated, if necessary—to vote.

Before the hearing, strikers will mark the first anniversary of the brutal state police assault here. On October 17, 1977, more than 100 people were arrested and several seriously injured when cops attacked a mobilization of strikers and supporters who were demanding that Blue Diamond stop running scabs.

To help

On October 28, the Glenbrook miners are holding a strike support rally at Louellen Lake. On October 30, Stearns miners go before the National Labor Relations Board in the Whitley City courthouse. They all need to know that working people across the nation are behind them in their fight.

Send messages of support or contributions to:

- **Stearns Miners Relief Fund**, c/o Freddie Wright, 303 Yoakum Circle, La Follette, Tennessee 37766.
- **Glenbrook Miners Relief Fund**, Box 119, Closplint, Kentucky 40927.

At the end of this month, probation for those arrested will be up. It has been like a precariously placed rock above their heads for a year.

"All I have to do is pick this up while a state trooper is driving by," says strike leader Darrell Vanover, lifting a brick from the ground. "And I'm locked up for six months."

So at least that pressure will be off. And there is the hope that the NLRB hearing will bring relief. But there's still a major struggle down the pike.

"The spirit of these strikers is amazing," UMWA organizer Lee Potter says.

"When you stay out for two years, you have to believe in something," explains a picket.

What these coal miners believe is that in the end they will win.

Socialist candidates support Ky. strikers

Louisville socialist Jim Burfeind—candidate for U.S. congress from the Third District—was part of the *Militant* reporting and sales team that recently traveled to southern Kentucky.

Rosalinda Flint, Socialist Workers Party senatorial candidate from West Virginia, joined the team in Harlan County.

Burfeind and Flint made the trip to express their solidarity with the coal miners' strikes in those areas. They now plan to get out the facts on the strikes while campaigning.

Asked what support the Stearns miners had received from Democratic and Republican politicians, striker Phil Tucker answered none. "Tim Lee Carter [Republican U.S. representative] showed up at the union hall one day and gave a speech. But we checked out his record later, and he's voted against labor all down the line."

It's not only that elected politicians have failed to support the strikers. Officials such as Kentucky Gov. Julian Carroll have openly aided the Blue Diamond Coal Company's strikebreaking.

"The United Mine Workers supported Carroll in the last election," noted Tucker. Carroll won't be running for reelection in 1979, but "you watch," Tucker added, "a month out of office, he'll take a job with a coal company."

Burfeind works at General Electric in Louisville and is a member of the International Association of Machinists. He explained that when his local went on strike for three months recently, the judge his union had endorsed the last election issued a strikebreaking injunction.

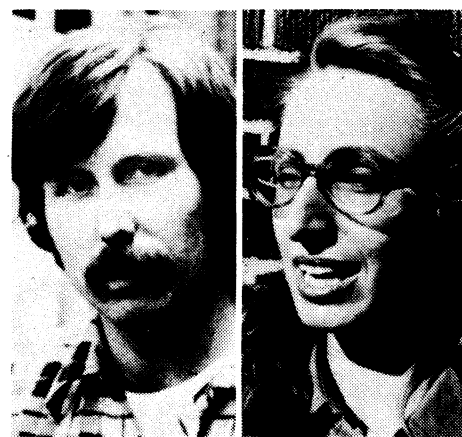
Burfeind suggested that miners, along with steelworkers, auto workers, and other unionists in the state, get together and run their own candidates so that labor wouldn't help put any more strikebreakers in office.

Of course, many of the Stearns miners are under indictment or on probation for strike-related charges, Tucker explained.

"Sound like good credentials for a labor candidate," Burfeind responded.

In Stearns, Burfeind was talking with John Bell, a retired sheetmetal worker, about the Democrats and Republicans.

Bell interrupted him to say, "What we need is a labor party. If you put the Democrats and Republicans and mix



BURFEIND (left), FLINT

them in a bag," he went on, "you couldn't tell the difference. They're all against poor people and Blacks."

In Harlan County, Flint said, someone asked her about West Virginia Gov. John D. Rockefeller IV because he had heard the millionaire governor was supposed to be on the side of the miners.

Flint explained that Rockefeller claimed to support working people in order to get elected. But during the nationwide UMWA strike, Rockefeller intervened to try to force a rotten contract down the miners' throats.

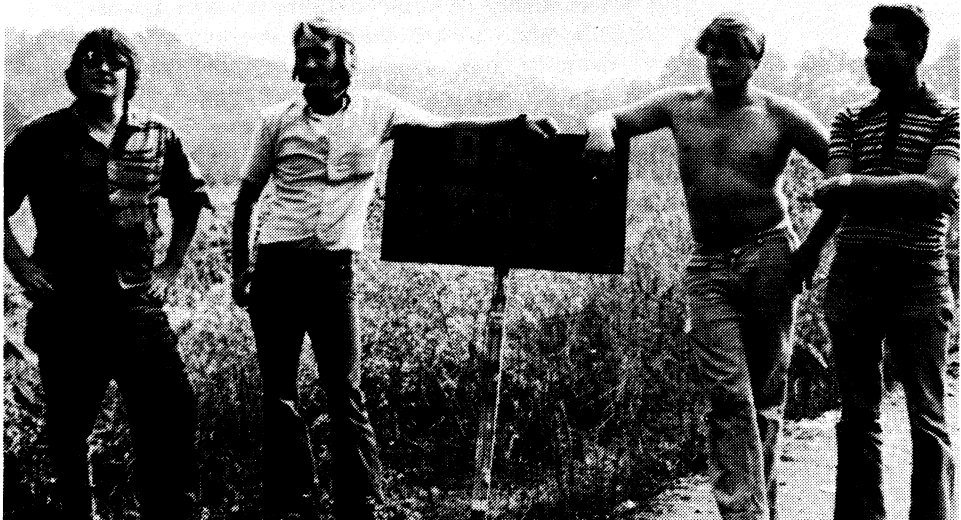
And despite his campaign pledge to curb strip-mining abuses, Rockefeller is now supporting challenges to federal strip-mining regulations.

Both Flint and Burfeind believe these miners' strikes in southern Kentucky are important for the entire labor movement.

"They have been fighting for justice for more than two years in Stearns and for ten months at Glenbrook," says Flint. "And they deserve the broadest possible show of labor solidarity to help them win."

"But these strikes have a significance beyond Kentucky's borders. The coal operators didn't fold up shop after failing to hand the United Mine Workers a major defeat during the nationwide strike. They still aim to tame those 'unruly' miners."

"One big way they believe they can weaken the UMWA," adds Burfeind, "is by preventing the union from organizing non-union mines, like at Stearns, and by actually busting the UMWA at other mines, like at Glenbrook. These strikes are rightly seen by mine workers as critically important to the future of the UMWA." —N.C.



Stearns miners: more than two years fighting for safe working conditions

In the courtroom: miners vs. company & cops

WILLIAMSBURG, Ky.—On one side sit fifty Stearns miners and their supporters, along with three young union lawyers—two of them women.

On the other, four Kentucky state troopers, State Police Commissioner Ken Brandenburg, the president and vice-president of Storm Security Systems, two Storm guards, Stearns mine superintendent William "Doc" Coffey, and three older male lawyers.

In the middle, a seemingly bored judge—J.B. Johnson, Jr.

Johnson has never been even arguably impartial in the two-year dispute between the Blue Diamond Coal Company and the Stearns strikers. The United Mine Workers has tried unsuccessfully to get him removed from the case. But he continues to dispense coalfield "justice."

Since March, the union has sought this September 28 hearing before Johnson. The UMWA lawyers are trying to show that Blue Diamond is violating the judge's court order limiting the number of Storm guards on duty and that the state police are

not enforcing his order against carrying weapons into the mine compound.

The union also wants the judge to lift or at least modify the limit on union pickets, now set at six for the main entrance and four for another.

A string of strikers take the witness stand to report the times they were threatened—even shot at—by armed scabs, sometimes in clear view of state police, who did nothing.

Others tell of times when on the picket line they saw vehicles drive into the mine compound with weapons in the back.

A tape cassette is entered into evidence. A striker has recorded one side of a radio-telephone conversation overheard on his radio. The conversation took place between a guard at the mine and the Storm Security office.

UMWA attorney Kay Guinane's request to play the recording in the courtroom is denied by Johnson. That is not necessary, he says. He will check it against the transcript later.

In the conversation, the guard explains his concern with violating the court order by being "over the quota" of guards. He also discusses how state police captain Leroy Faulkner and commissioner Brandenburg were both at the mine and gave the okay for bringing in weapons.

The transcript reads, "I talked to Captain, you know, of the State. And he turned around and as long as they're [weapons] in the trunk and they're not seen, it's permissible. But inside the car, with the man, it's not permissible. If they spot one, they can get in trouble."

The lawyers on the other side—one each for Blue Diamond, Storm Security, and the state police—try to discredit the evidence by alleging that interception of the conversation is illegal.

On the witness stand, the strikers are confident. Some are even cocky.

But Frank Sasco squirms—to the delight of those on the miners' side of the room. Sasco is in charge of the Storm gun thugs at the mine.

A striker behind me explains that

Sasco brags of having been part of the National Guard at Kent State in 1970 when four students were shot down and killed during an antiwar protest.

With every question from a UMWA attorney, Sasco turns to look at his lawyer for the answer. He mumbles, and Johnson has to tell him repeatedly to speak up.

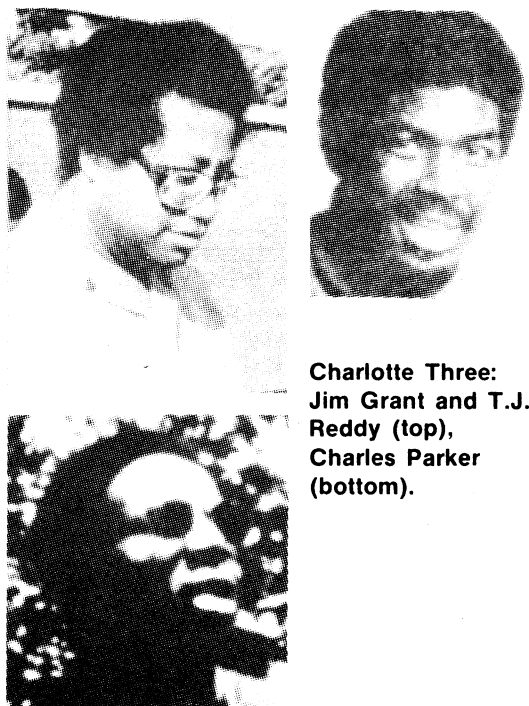
The court session ends. UMWA attorneys have two weeks to file briefs on the contempt charges. Those charged have another two weeks to answer. Then Johnson makes his decision.

Despite the overwhelming evidence in the strikers' favor, there is little hope that Judge Johnson will rule in their behalf. He never has before.

But the real fight against Blue Diamond and its hired thugs—of both the private and state police variety—has never been in the courtroom. It is on the picket line and with the working-class solidarity these determined coal miners have sparked across the country. —N.C.

Free the Charlotte Three

Interview with Jim Grant



Charlotte Three: Jim Grant and T.J. Reddy (top), Charles Parker (bottom).

Jim Grant, T.J. Reddy, and Charles Parker are three civil rights and antiwar activists who were framed up in 1972 on charges of having burned down a riding stable in Charlotte, North Carolina. On October 4, Jim Grant talked with the 'Militant' about the case of the Charlotte Three.

Question. What led to the frame-up of the Charlotte Three?

Answer. In 1967 a group of Blacks and whites—students from Johnson C. Smith University, some VISTA volunteers, and others—went to the Lazy B Stables to rent some horses.

The Lazy B Stables had a "whites only" policy at that time. When the group asked for horses to ride, they were refused.

The next day they went back again. This time they took TV and radio people, newspaper people, and representatives of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights with them.

The Lazy B manager decided that he was faced with too much. He allowed Charles Parker to ride the horses. T.J. Reddy was also in the group. The stable was officially integrated.

About one year later, the stable burned down. The city fire marshal stated that as far as he knew, it was an accidental blaze. There was no indication of arson. This was in 1968.

Four years later, in 1972, a secret grand jury handed down an indictment. It accused T.J. Reddy, Charles Parker, and myself of burning the Lazy B Stables.

Q. Why did the government choose you three?

A. The authorities had always wanted to get T.J., Charles, and me. All of us had been active in community struggles for civil rights, against the Vietnam War, and other causes.

Antiwar activities

The government seemed most interested, however, in our antiwar activities. Along with the American Friends Service Committee, we had initiated an information task force. Every morning we would go down to the induction center and pass out information to the potential inductees about how to avoid induction.

On several occasions the FBI would take pictures. We were harassed at our homes by agents, too.

We also organized against a Pentagon pilot project in Charlotte aimed at recruiting Black youth for the war in Vietnam. We would set up our own counter-tables next to recruiting tables the Pentagon would set up in the Black community. We were effective, by the way. Shortly after this, the government announced they were dropping this project.

Q. How did they choose the Lazy B fire as the basis for the frame-up? How did they construct the case against you personally?

A. They already knew that Charles and T.J. had helped integrate the Lazy B Stables. That's how they connected two of us.

I didn't come to Charlotte until after the stables had been integrated. But because the three of us worked together, and because the federal authorities were interested in my previous activities in other places, it was natural that they would try to hook us up.

No evidence

At the trial, the fire marshal stated that he really didn't have any evidence. All he had at the trial was a picture of a bottle that was allegedly filled with some inflammable liquid. He said the bottle itself had been found at the scene of the fire but was later lost. He also admitted later on that he hadn't really photographed the bottle then. He had taken it back to where he *thought* he had found it and taken a picture. This was no evidence whatsoever—a clear fabrication.

Q. So on what basis were you convicted, since there was no evidence?

A. On the basis of testimony by Washington and Hood.

Q. Who were they?

A. They were people in the community who had come to demonstrations we had had a couple of times.

Hood and Washington testified that both of them, along with T.J., Charles Parker, myself, and one other person, Clarence Harrison—who we had never

heard of—had all burned the stable.

Hood and Washington also claimed that we were part of a Black militant organization out to overthrow the city of Charlotte; and that we were communists. In fact, they accused us of doing some other things, including shooting a storekeeper. But the authorities never prosecuted us on these charges.

Harrison was given a five-month suspended sentence after pleading guilty. Hood and Washington were granted complete immunity from prosecution.

I was sentenced to twenty-five years; T.J. Reddy to twenty years; and Charles Parker to ten years.

Before we were sentenced, the judge stated that he felt he was sentencing us as revolutionaries, that he was not sentencing us so much for the crime we were accused of but because we were a danger to society.

The judge was Frank Snepp, whose son, Frank Snepp, Jr., is the former agent who spilled the beans on CIA operations in South Vietnam.

Government payoff

A year and a half after the trial, after a lot of people had raised their voices about our case and the *Charlotte Observer* launched an investigation—we found out that the federal government paid Hood and Washington at least \$15,000 each in living expenses. The government also paid them a \$4,000 cash bounty four days after we were convicted.

Vouchers and receipts have been released showing that the payments were made and authorized by former Justice Department officials Robert Mardian and Guy Goodwin of Watergate fame.

William Walden, an agent who was instrumental in framing up the Wilmington Ten, was also involved in our case.

Q. In 1975 you obtained your FBI files under the Freedom of Information Act. What else do these show about Washington's role in this frame-up?

A. All through the files there are memos stating, in effect, that they should try to find some kind of prosecutable offense to pin on me. I think this was because I was involved in a lot of activities related to the antiwar movement.

One memo in the files stated that I attended a meeting of the Progressive Labor Party in Williamsport, Pennsylvania, in 1965. It's true I was there.

It also stated that I had helped organize a demonstration at Penn State opposing a speaking engagement by Gen. Maxwell Taylor. This is also true.

And there were other things too, like my membership in SDS and the Penn State Socialist Club. So they had been watching me since at least late 1965.

Q. What has been the history of the appeals in the Charlotte Three case?

A. The North Carolina appeals courts upheld our conviction on all occasions. All this time we were in the Mecklenburg County jail on \$50,000 bond each.

After the *Charlotte Observer* exposed Washington and Hood, our attorneys appealed again, arguing that our rights during the trial had been violated because information in the hands of the prosecution had not been made available even though the defense had requested it.

The state stalled for almost ten more months before a hearing was finally held on this motion in December, 1974.

Then the court took nine more months to rule against us.

We appealed this decision to the North Carolina Court of Affirmation and lost.

Then we appealed to the federal district court. Judge McMillan ruled that our rights *had* been violated and let us out. That was in March 1976.

But the state appealed. The Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals reversed McMillan's ruling in October 1977. That's when we appealed our case to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Get the word out

Q. What do you think people can do to win freedom for the Charlotte Three and other innocent victims of government frame-ups?

A. The main thing now is to get the word out as to what happened. We need telegrams and petitions to North Carolina Gov. Jim Hunt, who has the legal power to pardon us or commute our sentences.

We also need a general educational campaign to show people that we were locked up because of our involvement in the struggle.

I think that what happened to us is illustrative of the kinds of things that the government will do to other activists who get in its way. The history of frame-ups against political activists in this country is long—not just in the South, but in the North as well.

Until the capitalist system is overthrown, we will continue to have this sort of thing.

Appeal denied

On October 3 the U.S. Supreme Court turned a deaf ear to the Charlotte Three's demand for justice. The court said it would not review the verdict of the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals, thereby exhausting the appeals process for the three.

The court's ruling means that Jim Grant and T.J. Reddy will soon have to return to prison. They have been free since their appeal of the original conviction was upheld by a federal district court judge.

Supporters of the Charlotte Three are now focusing their protests on North Carolina Gov. James Hunt. Demonstrations demanding that Hunt pardon the three frame-up victims have been called for October 13 in Charlotte and October 28 in Raleigh.

Messages supporting this demand should be sent to: Gov. James Hunt, Executive Mansion, 200 North Blount Street, Raleigh, North Carolina.

Copies of these messages and requests for information on how you can help should be sent to: Commission for Racial Justice, 14 West Hargett Street, Raleigh, North Carolina 27602. Telephone: (919) 833-3071.

Rally backs N.C. SWP campaign



Becky Finch addressing September 30 rally

Militant/Doug Clark

RALEIGH, N.C.—A rally here September 30 marked the first Socialist Workers Party senatorial campaign ever in North Carolina. Rebecca Finch, a thirty-three-year-old machine operator and member of the United Paperworkers of America, is the SWP candidate for U.S. Senate.

Jim Grant and Anne Sheppard Turner, defendants in the cases of the Charlotte Three and Wilmington Ten, addressed the rally and endorsed the socialist campaign.

Local television reports on the rally featured Finch and also Laura Kreiss, a railroad worker and SWP member who urged support for the rail strike then under way.

Following are excerpts from the rally speeches.

FINCH 'Helms and Ingram: no alternative'

Rebecca Finch,
SWP candidate for U.S. Senate

The greatest outrage of the present situation in North Carolina—our low wages, the low level of spending on social services, the infamous conditions in the prisons, the pathetic school system, and the scandalous effects of racial oppression—is that *it need not exist!*

North Carolina is not a poor state. It ranks eighth in the country in industrial development. The textiles, furniture, and other products produced by working people here generate profits that could be used to make us prosperous, and solve the inequalities created by racial and sexual discrimination.

Why isn't this being done? Why don't our elected officials advance practical programs for solving our problems?

Let's look at the election materials distributed by the two other candidates in this race.

In a letter that incumbent Republican Senator Jesse Helms recently sent out he appeals for reelection based on his support to so-called right-to-work laws, his fight to prevent reductions in war spending, and his opposition to women's right to abortion and ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

I guess it's pretty clear why we can't expect any real solutions to our problems from Jesse Helms.

But what about the Democratic Party candidate, John Ingram? His main campaign slogan is "Ingram—fighting for you!" What does this mean?

Ingram doesn't say it in his campaign materials, but he supports union-busting "right to work" laws too. It is Ingram's party, the Democratic Party, that has blocked ratification of the ERA in North Carolina. And it is

Ingram's cohort in the state house, Democratic Party Governor James Hunt, who is directly responsible for the continued persecution of the Wilmington Ten.

In election after election, the Democrats and Republicans propose the same solutions. "Vote for me. I'll solve your problems."

In this election we are treated to an old variant of this same theme—"Trust in the Democrats," say many Ingram supporters. "Ingram's not perfect, but we must beat that reactionary Helms."

But there's a problem with this solution. The Democrats have held a virtual monopoly over North Carolina's government since 1898. And their record is clear. They have no solutions to our problems, because they are tied hand and foot to the big textile interests, furniture manufacturers, and electronics corporations that create those problems.

So what can we do?

To be effective, we must fight independently of the employers, and of the employers' parties. We must take independent political action.

No matter how courageous the workers at J.P. Stevens, or fighters for ratification of the ERA, or defenders of freedom for the Wilmington Ten and the Charlotte Three are, our hands are tied behind our backs when we subordinate our own needs to those of the employers' parties.

One example of this was reported in a news article covering the state Democratic Party convention. It reported that there would be no plank in the state Democratic Party's platform supporting labor law reform, because party leaders didn't want to give Jesse Helms an opening to get at his opponent.

And this omission was not protested by labor delegates at the convention, who put their trust in John Ingram to represent their interests. Some representation they ended up with! Just a few months later Ingram refused a contribution from the national AFL-CIO—so that he wouldn't be accountable to the labor movement.

That's why we think working people need their own political party. The new militancy among the coal miners, postal workers, railroad workers, and steelworkers can help make the trade unions into a social and political move-

ment that fights 365 days a year for our interests.

A political party based on such a trade-union movement would unite all of us in the fight against right-to-work laws, for ratification of the ERA, and for full pardons and immediate freedom for Ben Chavis, Jim Grant, and all other political prisoners.

KREISS 'The strength of unions working together'

Laura Kreiss, member of the
Brotherhood of Railway and Air-
line Clerks

The rail strike has shown us the strength that lies in unions working together. Rail clerks have been hard hit. What's at stake—job security, safe working conditions, decent pay—are at stake for all rail workers.

So when we in the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks went out on strike, other rail unions not only honored our picket lines, they joined them. This kind of bonding together of the unions is what is needed in North Carolina to fight the strong antilabor drive here.

GRANT 'Why haven't socialists run before?'

Jim Grant of the Charlotte Three

I remember when Rebecca Finch came to town and said she was going to run for senator from the state of North Carolina. I thought that this was something I really had to look into.

I had heard of the Socialist Workers Party before, when I was in school. The SWP did a lot of work on the campuses.

But this was the first time, at least during the time I had been down here in North Carolina—and that goes back



ANNE SHEPPARD TURNER
Militant/Omari Musa

about eleven years—that I had ever heard of a socialist deciding to run for elective office in this state. And when you look at the situation here, you wonder how it is that socialists haven't decided to run before.

Here is a state that is fiftieth in wages—and if there was a fifty-first state, it would probably be number fifty-one. This is a state that talks about right-to-work laws as if they were something out of the Bible!

The situation in the prisons is unbelievable. A total of fifteen thousand people are jammed up in a prison system built for nine thousand. North Carolina is thirty-eighth in the nation in crime, but first in the number of people it incarcerates.

And today I attended a workshop and a panel where I learned some more good news about North Carolina. I found out that right at this moment they are shipping millions of dollars of military equipment to the shah of Iran, who is presently involved in a struggle to stay on his throne. And where do you suppose this equipment is being shipped from? Wilmington, North Carolina.

I'm sure you've heard of Wilmington before.

Even though I have some differences with Rebecca Finch and with the Socialist Workers Party, I feel that under the circumstances, working people, middle-class people, poor people, Black people, white people, all need to pull together and push folk like Jesse Helms and John Ingram out of the way and put some people in there who will represent ideas we need to be dealing with. We need to put folk in these positions who will represent our interests—the interests of working people.

I've got a platform here that Rebecca Finch has been passing out. As I read it, I can't find anything wrong with it. She speaks to the issues, and she has a program that's determined to deal with the issues that concern poor and working-class people.

So I'm going to urge everyone—and not just at this meeting, because I'm going to be talking to folk outside this meeting—to cast their vote for Rebecca Finch for U.S. Senate.

TURNER 'I'm tired of being lied to'

Anne Sheppard Turner, defendant,
Wilmington Ten

As ten people working for social and political change, my brothers and I dared to cry out against the denial of human rights to Black students. We actively supported the movement for desegregation in Wilmington, and we soon found ourselves singled out and persecuted for our efforts.

Over the last seven years, as the persecution of the Wilmington Ten has continued, support for our case has grown to include trade unionists, ministers, congresspersons, ambassadors, civil libertarians, students—tens of thousands of people—nationally and internationally.

What sense does it make to demonstrate and rally against persecution of the Wilmington Ten, or against the attacks on women's rights, and then turn around and vote for the same criminal politicians who are responsible for these? Our rights will never be won by relying on the Democrats and Republicans. They have lied to us for decades.

I am tired of being lied to. That is why we must have a socialist alternative.

Corporate 'class war'

What political strategy for labor?

By Andy Rose

A series of alarmed statements by top union officials—decrying the “class warfare” launched by big business—has opened the door for a long-overdue discussion on labor’s political strategy.

Gloomy talk of a political crisis now fills the pages of union newspapers—papers that less than two years ago were brimming with praise for candidate Jimmy Carter and promises of what Democrats in the White House and Congress would do for working people.

Union-endorsed candidates won big in 1976. But the unions lost.

Labor’s political “friends” have handed the union officials a string of humiliating defeats, scuttling such cherished legislation as labor law reform, the Humphrey-Hawkins bill, health insurance, common situs picketing, and cost-of-living adjustment of the minimum wage.

Meanwhile, as veteran labor reporter A.H. Raskin wrote in *The Nation* September 9: “Management, for its part, smells blood. To an extent without parallel since the violent struggles of the early New Deal . . . employers are on the attack in labor relations.”

Raskin cited escalating corporate demands for “givebacks” as well as assaults on the very existence of unions—such as the open-shop “Southern strategy” followed by General Motors and other giant corporations.

Angry rhetoric

Top union officials have reacted with shock, dismay, and some angry rhetoric—such as the statements on the facing page. In the process they have also acknowledged two propositions that ought to be the starting point of discussion throughout the unions:

- There is a deepgoing *class conflict* between workers and employers. The hoary myths of class harmony and common labor-management interests are being shattered by the right-wing,

antiunion, anti-Black, antiwoman offensive of the country’s most powerful corporations.

- Despite millions of dollars and decades of effort devoted to electing “friends of labor” from the Democratic and Republican parties, working people have *no political representation*. When push comes to shove, labor’s liberal “friends” either cave in to or line up with its avowed enemies.

It’s no wonder the union brass is stunned and dismayed. After all, as “responsible labor statesmen” they have made a career out of collaborating with the bosses to promote industrial peace and free enterprise.

They have loyally served to avoid strikes, increase productivity, and safe-

guard management rights. They have supported U.S. foreign policy and winked at racist and sexist discrimination. Because a few union officials are allowed to sit on some Democratic Party councils, they had the illusion they were political movers and shakers.

Now the partnership is being torn asunder—and not by them.

‘Fragile, unwritten compact’

As United Auto Workers President Douglas Fraser put it in his famous “one-sided class warfare” speech last July, business has broken its “fragile, unwritten compact” with the union officials, a pact based on “loyalty to an allegedly benign capitalism.”

Or as AFL-CIO President George Meany bitterly complained in his Labor Day message: “Why . . . would American business want to weaken the strongest anti-Communist workers’ movement in the world?”

One response to all this is Fraser’s call for a planning meeting October 17 in Detroit. He has invited unions, civil rights and women’s rights groups, environmentalists, consumer advocates, and others to send representatives.

The purpose, Fraser says, is “to discuss a reassessment and revitalization of the progressive community’s efforts to create a fair and decent society.”

Continued on page 14



Coal miners demonstrate during strike. Meany and Fraser voiced more outrage over defeat of labor law reform than over Carter’s Taft-Hartley strikebreaking.

Militant/Nancy Cole

Socialists urge mass action, labor party

The following statement was released by Robin Mace, John Gaige, and John Eriksen on behalf of the Socialist Workers National Campaign Committee. The three are members of the United Auto Workers and state candidates of the Socialist Workers Party for public office.

Mace, a member of UAW Local 900 in Detroit, is running for governor of Michigan.

Gaige, a member of UAW Local 12 in Toledo, is running for lieutenant governor of Ohio.

Eriksen, a member of UAW Local 59 in Chicago, is running for comptroller of Illinois.

Initiatives by the United Auto Workers to draw together unions, Black and Latino groups, women’s organizations, and other victims of corporate class warfare will be welcomed by union activists across the country.

We all stand to gain by overcoming the divisions among working people, the poor, and the oppressed.

We will all be stronger if we join together for action against our common enemies—the profit-greedy cor-

porations, those who perpetuate discrimination, and the Democratic and Republican politicians who do their bidding.

Labor, women, Blacks, and Latinos—those whose votes elected Carter and the Democratic majority in Congress—have gotten nothing in return except stepped-up attacks on our rights and living standards.

How can we fight back and defend ourselves?

What sort of political action can advance our interests?

These questions are on the minds of growing numbers of unionists and other working people. We need a discussion on political strategy at every level of our organizations—throughout the units, locals, and regions—not just statements by top leaders. The ranks have a right to discuss freely, decide democratically, and act in defense of working-class interests.

As a first step we propose that no candidates should receive union endorsement until the membership has had a chance to study their platforms and records and vote on who—if anyone—to support.

In twenty-six states and the District of Columbia, workers are run-

ning for office on the Socialist Workers Party ticket. They and their socialist program should have a hearing.

Mobilizing our numbers in the streets is one of our most powerful weapons. A good example was the July 9 March on Washington for the Equal Rights Amendment. That action, which we and many other UAW members participated in, led to victory in extending the deadline for ERA ratification.

We need more demonstrations like that—with the full power of the UAW and all labor behind them—to win the ERA and other urgent needs of working people. For example:

- A shorter workweek with no cut in pay to provide millions of jobs.
- Free, top-quality health care for all.
- An end to Washington’s military spending, to free billions of dollars for jobs and social services.
- Affirmative-action quotas throughout industry to assure equal access for minorities and women to all jobs.
- Tax reform that puts the burden on the rich, not workers.

UAW President Fraser has proposed that the top priority of a “new

alliance” of progressive forces should be reforming the Democratic Party.

All past experience, however, shows that is a dead-end trap for working people. Every gain we now enjoy—and seek to defend—was won through struggle *against* the employers and the politicians of both parties.

Decades of reliance on false “friends” in the two big-business parties has led the unions into their current political impasse. No matter how attractively packaged, a strategy of “transforming” the Democratic Party means more of the same—more treachery, more political defeats, more compromising of workers’ needs.

Such a strategy is a diversion from mobilizing the real power of working people, the power seen in the July 9 ERA action and in the heroic coal miners’ strike.

The way to carry that power into the political arena is for the unions to run *independent* labor candidates and to form an *independent* labor party, fighting against the Democrats and Republicans on a platform that puts workers’ needs first, not capitalist profits.

Top union officials complain of broken 'partnership'

Douglas Fraser President, United Auto Workers

On issue after issue in recent months, we have seen the tremendous power of a newly sophisticated right wing corporate alliance not only block our efforts to achieve political and economic justice, but also attempt to demolish what progress we have won in past struggles.

We believe most Americans want their government to help create a fair society with material well-being and personal dignity for all, not just for the super rich. But as the American political system now exists it does not and cannot respond to the people's needs and demands.

We ask you to join us on October 17 to consider formation of a new alliance aimed at transforming the American political system by making it more accountable, responsible and democratic.

America today functions by a set of rules virtually guaranteed to result in a now too familiar outcome—the "haves" take more, the "have-nots" get less. Those rules must change and we must develop a strategy to change them.

Enlightened by our failures, we propose an offensive on two related fronts: first, an effort to develop and pursue new approaches to the social and economic needs of the people; and second, an effort to improve the functioning of the American political system and our political parties.

For many of us, a crucial segment of this task involves the transformation of the Democratic Party into a genuinely progressive people's party. The strategy we propose aims to make the

'We propose to transform the Democratic Party into a genuinely progressive people's party.'

Democratic Party in fact what in principle it has proclaimed itself to be since the New Deal—a progressive party struggling against the reactionary capitalist money power of the Republicans to transform America into a fair and decent society.

Those of us who are Democrats are proud of much of what that party has stood for, but are dismayed that its members so often depart from positions held by their party. It is legitimate to ask why, with Democrats in control of more than two-thirds in the Congress and in the Executive Branch, has so little progress been made toward adoption of the Democratic platform the party worked so hard to develop?

(from September 19 letter inviting various organizations to October 17 meeting in Detroit.)

William Winpisinger President, International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers

Dear Mr. President:

For too long, now, the American trade union movement has spent its coin of credibility by supporting candidates whose thinking and conduct is permeated by a Nixonian ethic, which permits them to say whatever is required to get elected, then permits them to abandon platforms, principles, the national interest and the people's needs, when the public agenda is drawn up and put forward for a vote up or down.



Clockwise from top left: Fraser, Winpisinger, Kirkland, Gotbaum

Item: You ran on a platform committed to achieving a Full Employment economy. At the Machinists Union 29th Convention, on September 10, 1976, you asked, "How many of you in your family have had somebody laid off from work in the last three years?" Twenty percent of the Machinists raised their hands and you said, "We have got to have some basic changes in this country." But you have been instrumental in gutting Humphrey-Hawkins Balanced Growth and Economic Development bill.

Item: You targeted inflation as one of your macro-economic goals. At the Machinists Convention in 1976 you pointed out that the Nixon-Ford inflation rate was over 6 percent and under Presidents Truman, Kennedy and Johnson the average rate had been less than 2 percent. In fact, your anti-inflation program is merely a continuation of the Nixon-Ford labor scapegoating charade.

Item: At the Machinists 1976 Convention, you said, "We need a nationwide comprehensive health care system for our people," then caved-in to medical profession and insurance carrier vested interests, which brought forth a program destined to make still-born the prospect of decent health care as a matter of right for every American.

Item: At the Machinists 1976 Convention you proclaimed, "The basic thrust of the Labor Movement in this country, the basic thrust of the Democratic Party has been the same." We met your objections to a strong Labor Law Reform bill and sponsored a mild and weaker proposal, but your refusal to employ the parliamentary and presidential powers of persuasion in behalf of that measure, when it was before the Senate, was an omission of fatal consequences.

To sum-up, the Machinists Union is determined to take a stand against the chicanery and vacillation that infects the body politic today.

We will no longer contribute to our own demise—pay for votes against us. We will withdraw this support, even if it means isolation and defeat for some of our spotted friends, not to mention the wolves in sheep's clothing. There are alternatives.

In final analysis, Mr. President, all we have going for us in politics, is a

person's word. It is our aim to make your word, and the word of many members of Congress, good on the catalog of issues outlined above.

(from September 25 open letter to Carter)

In the U.S. Senate the long-cherished ideal of government of the people, by the people and for the people has been exposed as a fraud. It has been supplanted by government of corporations.

'The time to take up arms in the crusade for economic and social justice is right now.'

tions, by corporations and for corporations.

It's no wonder so many working people have lost faith in our political system. It's no wonder so many no longer bother to vote on election day. That, of course, is what the anti-democratic, radical right-wing forces want. And that's exactly what we must not do. Though we've lost this battle there are others to be fought. The time to take up arms in the never-ending crusade for economic and social justice in America is right now.

Though labor law reform has fallen victim to corporate power, our course is clear. We must now work harder than ever to rid the U.S. Senate of these corporate messenger boys.

(from September issue of 'The Machinist' newspaper)

Lane Kirkland AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer

There is a term for the kind of a campaign that American industry has launched to kill the hopes of the most oppressed and deserving workers in this country.

It is class warfare.

One needs a sense of paradox in these times. I have always believed that if socialism comes to this country, it will come at the hands of ultra-conservative politicians using the public treasury to bail out collapsing cor-

porate empires. Now, it seems class warfare has been launched by the most privileged and powerful in our society.

The pending issue of labor law reform may well mark a crossroad in the future of relations between labor and management in this country. Much progress has been made under a system of sometimes cooperative, sometimes adversary, encounters between parties with a shared set of values. Opportunities for further progress, for the good of all, abound.

Management is singularly fortunate in this country. Its role and status is not under serious attack by any ideology espoused by labor. The American worker is uniquely free of class consciousness or envy.

His organizations and spokesmen are not plotting the nationalization of your enterprises nor the occupation of the chairs on your side of the table.

(from May 30 speech to a group of business executives)

John Henning Executive Secretary-Treasurer, California Federation of Labor

Class war in its most sophisticated form came this year to the U.S. labor scene. Its origins were not the extremist left but the industrial right. We should have known.

All that rhetoric about labor and management sharing a common destiny died when the corporations killed the AFL-CIO's Labor reform proposals.

The new alliance between traditional conservatives and lost liberals leaves Labor facing a political crisis not known since the days before Franklin Roosevelt.

There are increasing signs that the nation's two-party system has become a one-party structure with respect to the needs of workers.

The new one-party conservatism has scorned labor's petitions for full employment, health insurance, progressive taxation, public housing and other tattered crusades.

Institutional changes come slowly in the labor movement but the present intolerable impositions cannot be long suffered. An independent political course is inevitable.

(from Labor Day message)

Victor Gotbaum

Executive Director,
AFSCME District Council 37

When I ask, "Whose Side Are You On?" I am not talking to workers, but rather to management.

I believe it imperative for the business community to understand that the active support of some of their colleagues for the far right is leading to a confrontation between the unions and management.

We are just now emerging from a fiscal crisis in New York City that taxed all of our energies and challenged all of our prejudices. We are participating in an alliance now being forged among the business community, the banks and the unions.

Our national economy—no more than New York City—cannot afford a head-to-head confrontation between the working people and the employers, led by the far right. We will all suffer, but the workers, the poor and the aged will suffer most. Our friends in business must recognize these facts of life. Ultimately, they too will take a hell of a beating if they continue to remain silent.

(from September 22 'Public Employees Press')

...labor political strategy

Continued from page 12

Fraser and other top officials have warned that "some leaders" are talking about a labor party.

Do these union officials' outraged denunciations of the "industrial right" and the "reactionary capitalist money power" signal a call for action to defend the unions?

Are they rallying labor's forces for a break with the treacherous Democrats and Republicans?

Far from it.

Appeal to employers

A careful reading of their statements makes it clear they are first and foremost appealing to the employers to repair and restore the old class-collaborationist partnership.

And they are warning that unless there is some letup in the antilabor offensive, some gesture of concession, the ranks of the unions—increasingly young and angry, more Black, Latino and female than ever before—may begin to respond in kind to the corporate class warfare.

The example set last winter by the coal miners, with "their defiance of their own leaders, the industry and the White House," Raskin noted, "is stirring rebellion in many other unions."

Workers are beginning to press for democratic control over their unions and a fighting stand against the employers. Black, Latino, and women workers are looking to their unions to join the fight against discrimination.

United Steelworkers President Lloyd McBride explains that the employers' unrelenting offensive "makes it extremely difficult for union leaders who support our economic system to continue to defend it, when we're under constant attack from the left."

It is this pressure from the rebellious union ranks that threatens a break with the two-party system. That's where Fraser's October 17 conference comes in.

'Progressive people's party'?

Fraser proposes to counter the right-wing offensive by transforming the Democratic Party into "a genuinely progressive people's party."

This is not a new idea. It was the stated policy of Walter Reuther during his quarter-century as UAW president. "Labor must seek a basic realignment of the two major political parties," Reuther said, "which would get all the reactionaries in the Republican Party where they belong and make the Democratic Party a truly liberal people's party."

The result? Today the Democratic Party is more openly antilabor than any time in more than forty years.

If, as Fraser implies, the core of Democratic Party policy and program is progressive, what explains its shift to the right? Computerized fund raising and snappy slogans?

Isn't it more sensible to look at fundamental economic and social causes? Faced with insoluble economic contradictions on a world scale, the capitalists can protect (and increase) their profits only by attacking the living standards of workers and crippling their organizations.

Election promises and paper platforms to the contrary, the real program of the Democratic Party—the same as that of the Republicans—is to defend capitalist profits and the profit system by any means necessary.

Class polarization

In a society divided into opposing classes, political parties cannot represent "all the people." Despite their claims to do so, they represent one class. Both the Democratic and Republican parties uphold the interests of the capitalist class—and they always have.

Thus the shift of both parties to the right does not reflect the success of some lunatic fringe, but rather the calculated decisions of the most power-

ful corporate interests in the country.

This capitalist offensive has provoked a growing class polarization in U.S. society. But the more ready the union ranks are to mobilize for a massive, independent struggle against the employers and their government, the less willing the union bureaucrats are to lead or even tolerate such a fight.

Instead they seek salvation in closer ties to the government apparatus, the Labor Department, mediators and arbitrators, and the whole employer-dominated political setup.

This explains why the union officials have voiced far more outrage at the defeat of labor law reform than at Carter's attempt to break the coal miners' strike with a Taft-Hartley injunction.

What has happened in real life is the opposite of Fraser's scenario. Instead of the Democratic Party being won to a prolabor political program, the union tops have restricted their demands to piddling reforms that they hope will be acceptable to the Democrats.

For the scourge of mass unemployment, the bureaucrats offer the Humphrey-Hawkins bill—an empty statement of intentions that will not create a single job.

For the open-shop offensive, their panacea is labor law reform—to strengthen the National Labor Relations Board, the most effective obstacle to union organizing.

For runaway inflation, they offer "equality of sacrifice"—the slogan under which Nixon held down wages from 1971-73 with the acquiescence of every top union official in the country.

For their part, the employers and capitalist politicians feel little pressure to come across with even these token concessions as long as the union bureaucracy continues to curb labor struggles and keep the ranks under control.

'Shared purpose & values'

Coming from Fraser, Meany, and Winpisinger, criticism of some Democrats and talk of a new course is a smokescreen, behind which they continue to support capitalist politics.

Raskin observed: "Behind all the bluster, the sense of shared purpose and values linking most union chiefs and their counterparts in industry is so pervasive that Meany shared the podium with some of the most active corporate foes of the [labor law] reform bill in a joint Congressional briefing on the need for textile and apparel import curbs. . . ."

As for Fraser, he held a news conference late last month to demonstratively voice support for Carter, saying he agreed with the president on 90 percent of legislative issues.

The recent angry statements by top union officials can help to open political discussion and legitimize proposals for a new, independent course.

But far from defending the unions against the corporate onslaught, their schemes to channel discontent into "transforming" the Democratic Party and supporting a new crop of "lesser evil" capitalist politicians can only disarm and demobilize the labor movement.

To defend and strengthen the unions will require a new policy, one that seeks not to bridge the class conflict between workers and employers, but to defend workers' interests regardless of the effect on profits and the profit system.

That kind of democratic, fighting labor movement will be built by an aroused rank and file taking over their unions and developing a new, class-struggle leadership.

And its political expression will not be reform of the Democratic Party but the forging of a mass, independent labor party to fight against the capitalist parties and put workers in control of the government.

Campaigning for socialism

Campaign finance reform?

A recent article in the *Wall Street Journal* reports that nearly \$29 million has been raised for campaigns from business sources since the beginning of last year.

Where's the "loophole" to allow this seeming violation of recent, highly touted campaign finance reforms?

It's called the Political Action Committee. PACs are supposedly separate from the corporations but are set up and run by them. They solicit hundreds of thousands of dollars from executives and stockholders.

General Electric's PAC, for example, has raised \$172,000; Standard Oil of Indiana, \$189,000; and the giant conglomerate LTV, some \$140,000—just since January 1977. The American Medical Association's PAC collected \$1.5 million.

Labor unions have used this form for years, but they can't come close to competing with the big corporations and trade associations.

The PAC can contribute \$5,000 per campaign per candidate. With the primary and general elections counted separately, that's \$10,000—about 12 percent of the average congressional campaign budget.

Where does this money go? Of course, nearly all the union money goes to Democrats. But more than 40 percent of corporate PAC contributions also go to Democrats. Most of them are incumbents.

As the *Journal* puts it, "Business usually prefers to play things safe with those holding power rather than invest 'risk capital' in the chancy candidacies of challengers. . . ."

Campaigning in Youngstown

September 19 was the first anniversary of the shutdown of Youngstown Sheet and Tube Campbell Works. Pat Wright, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Ohio, spent the day campaigning in Youngstown for a socialist alternative to the capitalist greed that wiped out 4,000 jobs there.

Wright talked with steelworkers at the headquarters of United Steelworkers Local 1462 at Youngstown Sheet and Tube's Brier Works. This plant is also threatened with shutdown, as YS&T seeks to "rationalize" production.

Workers there were very interested in what a socialist has to say about job security. Local Vice-president John Barbera invited Wright back to speak to the union later in October.

That evening Wright and her supporters attended a get-together organized for her by the president of Youngstown's chapter of the National Organization for Women.

Wright's visit to Youngstown was part of a one-week swing through northern Ohio's industrial belt. Campaign supporters distributed several thousand brochures and sold more than 100 copies of the *Militant* in Youngstown, Lorain, Akron, and the southern Ohio mining town of Bellaire.

Open the debates

The Minnesota League of Women Voters and Common Cause are trying to exclude Socialist Workers Party candidates from upcoming debates by the senatorial and gubernatorial candidates.

The debates are scheduled for late October. They will be televised on a network station from Macalester College in St. Paul.

The debates apparently replace the ones originally scheduled for St. Catherine's College. Those were canceled due to "scheduling difficulties"; SWP candidates had been invited to them.

Protest messages from Macalester faculty and student leaders have been sent to the league.

SWP candidate for governor Jill Lakowske promises that if the league doesn't open them up, "we will picket these rigged, phony debates." She points out that earlier this year 25 percent of the Macalester student vote went to the SWP candidate for mayor of St. Paul, Libby Moser. Moser polled 5 percent of the city-wide vote.

"Are these Macalester students who voted socialist in April to be cheated out of hearing from the same party they voted for in the mayor's race?" Lakowske asks.

NY public workers nix Dem. and Rep.

Despite a recommendation from its political action committee to endorse New York Gov. Hugh Carey for reelection, delegates to the September 18 statewide meeting of the Civil Service Employees Association decided not to endorse Carey or Republican Perry Duryea. It was the first time that the 300,000-member union—now affiliated with the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees—considered endorsement of a candidate for statewide office.

In an open letter distributed at the Albany meeting, Socialist Workers Party gubernatorial candidate Dianne Feeley pointed out that under the Carey administration the real wages of public employees have declined. "Claiming lack of funds for public employees, Carey has nevertheless given huge tax breaks to major corporations including a 17 million dollar tax break to Hooker Chemical Company, the company that is responsible for the widespread misery and death at the Love Canal." Duryea, she went on, has proposed nothing different.

The SWP, Feeley said, calls for an increase in wages, a full cost-of-living adjustment clause, the abolition of the antilabor Taylor Law, and the unconditional right of public employees to strike. "We need to organize ourselves and not rely on Carey or Duryea to defend our standard of living. We need our own party, a labor party, based on the trade unions and committed to a program that would defend our jobs, working conditions and standard of living."

—Bob Schwarz

Talks with markets stalled

Calif. Teamsters' strike: high stakes for labor

By Jack Conley

OAKLAND, Calif.—Negotiations remain at a stalemate in the strike and lockout battle between 4,000 northern California Teamsters and four major supermarket chains.

Led by Safeway, the food chains are intensifying the most vicious union-busting drive seen in this area for many years.

On October 5, a million-dollar lawsuit was filed against the leaders of Teamsters Local 70, charging them with complicity in the alleged injury of a Safeway security guard.

To date, close to 300 strikers have been arrested while picketing the stores.

Traveling goon squads of professional scabs, recruited in part from off-duty police and military personnel, are more frequently attacking strikers.

At the bargaining table, the employers are demanding the right to fire some 300 strikers. The union is demanding amnesty.

In addition, the employers have refused to negotiate any reduction in the killer speedup program instituted at the Richmond Safeway distribution center.

The Method Time Measure (MTM) plan, in which Safeway uses computers to speed up the work rate by more than 50 percent for grocery warehouse workers, was the major reason the strike began July 18.

While the strikers are holding firm, their bargaining position has been weakened by the directive from Andy Anderson of the Western Conference of Teamsters to pull pickets off distribution centers in Los Angeles, Denver, and the Northwest. This move was billed as a "good

faith" gesture to bring a settlement at the bargaining table.

Joe Williams, recording secretary of Teamsters Local 315, reports that 6,000 Teamsters were honoring picket lines in Los Angeles alone.

Frank Fitzsimmons, president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, has floated a threat to strike Safeway nationwide.

The strategy of the employers throughout this strike has included massive recruitment of scabs and goons, a barrage of newspaper and TV ads, and funneling millions of dollars into the northern California strikebreaking operation.

In taking on what has been one of the most powerful segments of the Teamsters, the employers are aiming to weaken the entire labor movement. They are trying to pave the way for an offensive against Teams-

ters nationwide when the Master Freight Agreement expires in April 1979.

"Good faith" gestures will not win this strike. Involving the ranks of those on strike in planning and organizing the fight is needed. Teamsters, 40,000 strong in the Bay Area, could be mobilized in massive support rallies and pickets.

Such a display of support could force the international to spread the strike nationwide.

An intensive outreach campaign is necessary to educate the public, as well as the Teamsters membership, about the issues of the strike and the stakes involved.

Many unionists here are becoming aware that a defeat for the Teamsters would be a defeat for all of labor. Their active support is needed to win this strike.

Canadian steelworkers shut down Inco mines

By Shelley Kramer

Nearly 12,000 striking steelworkers have shut down Inco's nickel mines and refining plants in Sudbury, Ontario—the largest mining complex in Canada—since September 16.

Because Inco is sitting on a 331-million-pound stockpile, supposedly a more than six-months' supply, the strikers are in for a long and difficult battle.

Business, government, and the news media have joined in denouncing the strike as "insane" and "hopeless" on this account. Unfortunately, top officials of the United Steelworkers have offered little encouragement to the militant miners of U.S.W.A. Local 6500.

USWA District 6 (Ontario) Director Stewart Cooke urged the local to accept

Inco's final offer. "I know of no way we could expect a change in the company's bargaining position for quite some time," he said.

That's not how the miners see it. "Everywhere, they're trying to take things away from the workers," said Dave Patterson, president of Local 1065. "It's got to stop."

The miners have learned that big stockpiles and depressed trade are the cards Inco plays every time it wants to take things away from them.

Inco's initial "offer" was a freeze on wages and cost-of-living adjustments. Now it proposes a four-cent-an-hour wage increase. Prices in Canada are going up 9.4 percent a year.

Inco is also demanding changes in the grievance procedure that would

weaken the power of shop stewards to represent the workers. The company is trying to "slice the union like an orange," said Ronald MacDonald, vice-president of Local 6500.

The miners have good reason to be skeptical about Inco's financial woes. Last year, singing the same melancholy tune, the company laid off more than 2,000 workers. It claimed it couldn't afford the \$40 million needed to avert the layoffs.

The union exposed the fact that Inco was getting a \$439 million subsidy from Canadian taxpayers through export loans and deferred taxes.

Local 6500 demanded that Inco be nationalized without compensation and placed under workers' control, so that the available work could be

spread to all—without layoffs or pay reductions.

This year, despite higher prices and profits, Inco is still using its big nickel stockpile to try to blackmail workers into accepting a lousy contract. Having forced the miners out on strike, the company now seeks to isolate and cripple the militant Sudbury local.

After four weeks on strike the miners become eligible for strike benefits of thirty dollars a week. This piddling aid from the international union is completely inadequate to enable the miners to hold out through a long winter battle.

The Sudbury miners need an outpouring of financial aid and visible solidarity actions from steelworkers and other working people across Canada and the United States.

Cleve. strikers defy judge

By Yipper Fitzgerald

CLEVELAND—Ten thousand school employees here are defying a back-to-work court order.

Judge Harry Hanna ordered the strikers to ratify the school board's contract offer October 4 or face a strikebreaking injunction October 5.

The school workers—including teachers, cafeteria workers, nurses, custodians, bus drivers, and others—said no to both.

The school workers, who have been working since 1976 with no pay raise, are demanding a 20 percent wage increase.

The board offered 8 percent if the State Controlling Board would agree to relax budget restrictions—the catch to its \$20 million loan to the Cleveland school system last August. The board also threw in a promise of another 6 percent later if a tax levy on the

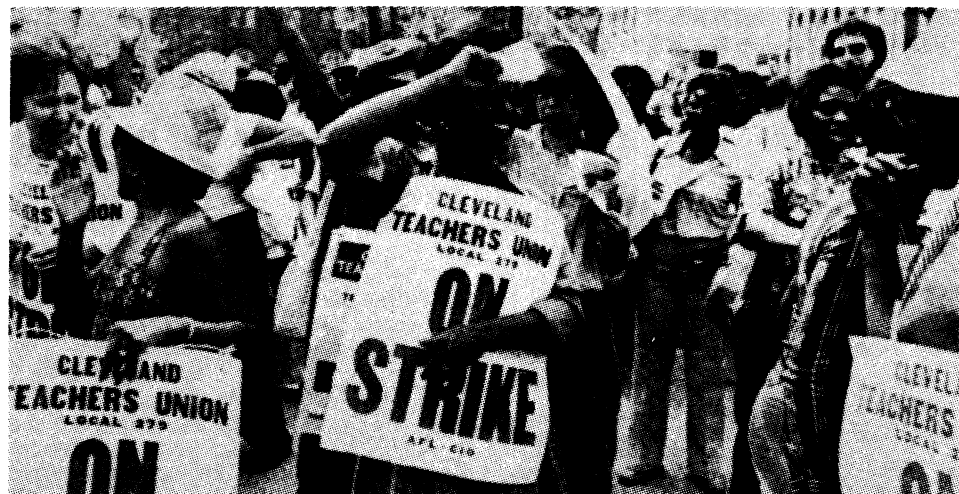
November ballot is approved. The same levy has been rejected by voters twice before.

After the contract rejection, the state superintendent of public instruction said he wouldn't recommend lifting the budget restrictions until the strikers approve the contract.

Judge Hanna says he may start ordering the arrest of strike leaders. As soon as he arrests just one, strikers on the picket line told the *Militant*, school employees will gather at the Justice Center and demand they all be arrested.

As the strike continues, support is growing among other unionists. On October 4, the Cuyahoga-Medina United Auto Workers CAP Council approved a resolution in solidarity with the strikers.

And in the auto plants there is discussion of collecting donations for the strikers.



School workers said no to back-to-work order

West Virginia socialists: old-fashioned soapboxing

By Margaret Coulter

OSAGE, W. Va.—"Meet the Socialist Candidates," invited leaflets posted in store windows and on telephone poles in this small mining community.

On the afternoon of September 23, a few campaign supporters of Rosalinda Flint and Brian Williams, Socialist Workers Party candidates for U.S. Senate and state house of delegates, arrived here to try some old-fashioned soapboxing.

Hesitation about where to set up for the rally ended when a man yelled, "Hey, over here. You promised everyone you'd meet right here next to my store." The old shopkeeper explained that he had been a miner for forty years and supported many of the demands of the SWP campaign. Like the majority of residents in Osage, he is Black.

"We've come here to introduce our candidates and our ideas," said Roland Shaun, beginning the rally atop a stool that passed for a soapbox.

"We are working people like yourselves, and we are running in this election because we think that the Republicans and Democrats present no alternative for working people of this state."

He continued, "Today Rosalinda Flint is in Charleston presenting a statement on mine safety to hearings going on down there. Many of you know her personally because she has campaigned here often."

"When was the last time Flint's opponent, Sen. Jennings Randolph, visited Osage?"

"Four years ago when he wanted our vote," shouted someone from the crowd, "and we haven't heard a thing from him since."

Next up to speak was Brian Williams, who asked, "Why can't everyone have a job?"

"Yeah, why can't I have a job," came a response.

"We propose measures to halt unemployment," Williams continued.

"We propose shortening of the workweek with no loss in pay to spread the jobs around."

Mary Zins, a coal miner, spoke next, describing the unsafe conditions where she works. "Miners should control the mines," she declared.

"How could miners control the mines?" mumbled one young man.

"Couldn't do any worse than the operators anyway," replied the guy next to him.

Then Carole Burke spoke, inviting everyone to participate in actions supporting the Equal Rights Amendment.

Shaun ended the rally by inviting everyone to look over the literature table. A woman who lives around the corner invited people over to her house, and someone else offered a keg of beer. For several more hours, the questions raised at the rally were discussed, and a date was set for a class on, "What Is Socialism?"

A birthday salute 'I bought my first Militant in 1928'

By Max Goldman

I bought my first *Militant* for five cents in 1928. It was the first issue put out by the "three generals without an army"—Cannon, Shachtman, and Abern—after their expulsion from the Communist Party. I still recall Max Shachtman standing with a bundle of *Militants* in front of the party's headquarters, then on New York's Union Square.

There weren't many friendly responses. It took courage to be out there hawking the paper in the face of such hostility.

It also took courage to defy the accusing stares to approach Shachtman and buy a *Militant*.

I wish I could report that, undaunted, I approached Max and paid my nickel for a *Militant*. But the truth is that I waited until he left, followed him down the block, and made my purchase. I believe many others did the same.

I also can't say that reading that copy of the *Militant* was a case of "love at first sight." But I was shaken up.

I was aware of the struggle in the Soviet Communist Party. The daily press had many accounts of Trotsky's Left Opposition and its struggle against the rising Stalinist bureaucracy.

But I was a relatively new member of the Young Communist League. I was disturbed by the fierce, long-standing factional struggles within the American party. But I wasn't really able to comprehend the political differences or the sharp polemics.

It was even more difficult for me to grasp the political meaning of the campaign being waged throughout the Communist International against Trotsky and the Left Opposition.

Moreover, it's difficult to accept the idea that the organization that you joined to fight for the liberation of the oppressed is bureaucratic and has developed false policies with counterrevolutionary implications.

True, when I bought my first *Militant* I had already begun to have doubts that the American CP and the Communist International would provide the program and leadership for a socialist world. But I was not ready to make a final judgment. I needed further study and further experience.

It wasn't simply theoretical clarification that finally led me to break with the CP and join the Trotskyist movement.

One experience: During the time I was still stealthily buying copies of the *Militant*, I was in the party headquarters. A hot dispute was going on among the leaders about a meeting of the Communist League of America, as the Trotskyists then called themselves.

Jim Cannon was slated to speak on the program of the Left Opposition.

The dispute about how to respond to the meeting was among adherents of two factions in the CP, one led by Jay Lovestone, the other by William Foster.

The Lovestoneites were trying to bait the Fosterites into joining a goon squad to break up the CLA meeting. (Before the expulsion, the Foster faction had been in a bloc with the Cannon faction and apparently had some reservations about such hoodlum tactics. Later they got over their scruples.)

To this day I still squirm with shame that I continued to be a member of an organization ready to use a goon squad for a violent attack on a political opponent.

Then, a while later, a meeting on Trotskyism was scheduled at my branch of the YCL in the Williamsburg section of Brooklyn. The big campaign was on to purge all Trotskyists—real or suspected.

There was a supporter of the Trotskyist position in my branch. His name was Joe Friedman, and during the 1930s he played a prominent role in the Trotskyist movement under the pen name of Joe Carter.

The meeting was called to inoculate the membership against "counterrevolutionary" Trotskyism and to expel Joe Friedman.

Again, I can't report a heroic role. When the vote

A veteran



Max Goldman at the time of the 1941 Minneapolis Smith Act Trial.

was taken after the report—on which there was no discussion except perhaps a few innocuous questions—I somehow left the room unobserved and returned after the vote.

Looking back on my irresolute conduct, which disturbed me for many years, I recall Jim Cannon's comments on this problem. He said that when the struggle against Trotsky first developed, he refused to join in. But he didn't fully understand the issues involved, and he held back from opposing it.

Serious doubts about the leadership and its program, he explained, are by themselves not a sufficient basis for action. Deeper political understand-

Introducing the

By Harry Ring

On September 15 the Philadelphia Socialist Workers Party held a party, including a few brief talks, to launch the *Militant* circulation drive then about to open.

One of the speakers was Mark Zola, the Socialist Workers nominee for governor of Pennsylvania. Zola described the important role played by this paper.

We think that after you read what he has to say, you will want to make a contribution to our Fiftieth Anniversary Fund. If so, simply clip the coupon and mail it in.

* * *

In spite of the obstacles, our campaign has reached a significant number of working people, students, women's rights activists, and people in the Black and Puerto Rican communities.

We've been successful in doing this because we know that our program—not the Democratic or Republican programs—is the most realistic in the election, the one that offers hard-hitting solutions to the problems faced by the working class.

This came home to me in a very forceful way during a trip I made with one of my campaigners to the coalfields about fifty miles south of Pittsburgh, along the Monongahela River.

Miners in this area, which is part of UMWA District 5, were among the most militant and determined during last winter's coal strike.

One miner, whom we had met during the coal strike, had arranged a meeting for me with a number of local union officers—miners who had

been part of the rank-and-file leadership of that strike.

This supporter has been reading the *Militant*, and he's been thinking about what he finds in it. He's been talking about it with other miners.

We met in a restaurant across from a coal preparation plant, and we talked for about four hours with some of the miners.

One was our friend who's the vice-president of his local. Another is an officer of a local now on strike. Another the head of the safety committee in his mine.

We talked about everything: our strategy in the union movement; women's rights; how miners had radicalized during the Vietnam War. We talked about the need for a labor party and about what socialism means.

A couple of tables away there was another discussion going on. These were miners discussing a strike then going on.

COUNT ME IN

Here's my contribution of ☐ \$5, ☐ \$10, ☐ \$25, ☐ \$50, ☐ \$100, ☐ \$500, ☐ other.

Name

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Send check or money order to: Militant 50th Anniversary Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

To All W. P. A. Workers and Relief Clients Mass Meeting Wednesday, July 12 7:30 P. M. SHARP at the Parade Grounds

Action has been taken by the Minneapolis Building and Construction Trades Council that the strike be kept in force on all W.P.A. jobs until trade union wages and conditions have been re-established for all men involved and that we request support from the entire trade union movement and accept support from all labor organizations on the basis of our program and urge all W.P.A. workers to pull off from their jobs and join the strike and urge all relief clients not to accept employment on any W.P.A. jobs until this fight is won.

Keep all W.P.A. jobs closed down until the fight against wage cuts is won for all W.P.A. workers.

United we will win this fight against wage cuts which affect the wage standards of all workers

Chairman: PETER MURK, President of the Minneapolis Building and Construction Trades Council, A. F. of L.

Speakers: ROY WEIR, Minneapolis Central Labor Union, A. F. of L.
WALTER FRANK, Chairman of W.P.A. Joint Committee of the Minneapolis Building and Construction Trades Council
MAX GOLDMAN, Federal Workers' Section No. 514
B. EASTMAN, State President C.I.O.
ROBERT WISHART, Workers Alliance
LOUIS BOERBACH, Member of W.P.A. Joint Committee

Inquiries of Minneapolis Building and Construction Trades Council and its W.P.A. Joint Committee, composed of Minneapolis Building and Construction Trades Council, and Workers Alliance and C.I.O. and Federal Workers' Section No. 514.

Leaflet for 1939 Minneapolis WPA strike. Max Goldman was jailed for his leading role in strike.

an recalls our founding years

When a paper celebrates its fiftieth birthday, it obviously can't point to too many readers who have stayed with it from the beginning. But the *Militant* does have several. One is Max Goldman, a lifelong fighter for socialism.

Goldman joined the revolutionary movement in 1927. He became a member of the Young Communist League, then the youth section of the Communist Party.

In 1928 Goldman was confronted with a political turning point in the Communist Party—the expulsion of three of its leaders for Trotskyism.

In the accompanying article, Goldman describes how he bought his first copy of the *Militant* and the political experiences that led him to break with the Communist Party and join the Trotskyists.

To fully appreciate Goldman's story, some political background is necessary. These are a few of the essential facts.

The three people who were expelled from the Communist Party were James P. Cannon, Max Shachtman, and Martin Abern. They went on to prepare the way for the Socialist Workers Party. Cannon was founding editor of the *Militant*.

As an early leader of the Communist Party, Cannon had become concerned with its mounting political errors and bureaucratic practices.

In 1928 he went to Moscow as a delegate to the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International, of which the Communist Party was the American section.

There, by accident, Cannon obtained a copy of a political document by Leon Trotsky, a leader of the Russian revolution who had been exiled by Stalin.

Trotsky's document—suppressed by Stalin—was entitled *A Criticism of the Draft Program of the Communist International*. It analyzed a proposed political program authored by Stalin and Nicolai Bukharin.

Trotsky argued that Stalin's new theory of "socialism in one country" represented a revision of Marxism and, when applied, would lead to disastrous defeats for the workers movement. He demonstrated that under Stalin's policies, the workers in a number of countries had already suffered needless defeats.

Cannon was persuaded that Trotsky's analysis was correct and that it explained many of the false political practices that had developed in the American Communist Party.

He returned to the U.S. and began seeking adherents to Trotsky's point of view.

On October 27, 1928, Cannon, Shachtman, and Abern were bureaucratically expelled from the Communist Party for Trotskyism. In early November 1928, they published Volume I, No. 1 of the *Militant*.

The beginnings were incredibly difficult. The early Trotskyist movement had so few adherents that the Communist Party leadership could cyni-

cally dub Cannon, Shachtman, and Abern as "three generals without an army."

With the Communist Party now becoming totally Stalinized, its leadership did a lot more than deride the new Trotskyist movement. They launched a scandalous campaign of intimidation, slander, and goon violence in an attempt to isolate and silence it.

Despite all this, the small new group persisted and won adherents.

Here we turn back to Max Goldman, who describes his initial experiences with Trotskyism.

In the period after he joined the Trotskyist movement, Goldman played an important role in the Minneapolis labor and socialist movements.

During the 1930s, when the Trotskyists were central leaders and organizers of the Teamsters union there, Goldman was a leader of the union's federal workers section, which included welfare recipients and those with jobs on WPA, the federal works project.

For his role in a 1939 WPA strike, Goldman was framed and sent to prison for eight months.

In 1944, he was among the eighteen leaders of the Socialist Workers Party railroaded to prison for their socialist ideas and opposition to war. This time Goldman drew sixteen months.

On his release, Goldman resumed his activity as a builder of the SWP. Now seventy-three, he lives in Los Angeles where he continues his membership in the party. —Harry Ring

ing is required. Serious people, he added, don't lightly join a revolutionary organization. And, by the same token, they don't lightly embark on a course that they know means a break with an organization that they still regard, even if mistakenly, as a revolutionary one.

Anyway, the memory of Joe Friedman's expulsion haunted me every time I passed him on the street near the party headquarters selling copies of Trotsky's *Criticism of the Draft Program*. The CLA had published it first as a serial in the *Militant*. Then they had managed to publish a book entitled *The Third International After Lenin* (a current

edition is available from Pathfinder Press for \$4.95).

I finally bought a copy, even though I sensed that the very act of buying it would be the end of the indecisiveness on my political course.

And so it proved. I read and reread that book—still so politically relevant today.

From it I learned of the false Stalinist policies that led to the tragic defeat and sacrifice of a generation of Communists in China during the 1925-27 period when the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek turned on the Communists who had followed Stalin's dictate and entered a political bloc with him.

I read about how the first efforts by the British Communist Party to promote "friendship" between the British rulers and the Kremlin contributed to the defeat of the 1926 British general strike.

And, above all, I read in this book about Stalin's reactionary concept of building socialism in one country. That is, of giving up the struggle for socialism elsewhere in the name of "defending" the Soviet republic.

I had already been convinced that the struggle for socialism was, and had to be, international. And I knew that unless and until the revolution was successfully extended to other countries, that first revolution remained in peril. And I knew it was utopian to talk about building a classless socialist society in a single country, and a terribly underdeveloped one at that.

The views outlined by Trotsky harmonized with all the beliefs that had led me to join the movement to begin with. I knew then I was a Trotskyist. In the winter of 1930, I formally joined the Communist League of America.

On this fiftieth anniversary of the *Militant*, my thoughts are of the forty-eight years I have been associated with it. This association comprises the major part of my activities in the class struggle.

The *Militant* set me on the road to understanding the need for a principled revolutionary socialist program as taught by Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Trotsky.

The *Militant* of today is surely a great advance from that skimpy first issue in 1928. Our forces have increased, and the *Militant* coverage is foremost among the papers of the left.

But above all, there is pride that the *program* that was presented in that first issue continues in the *Militant* of today.

I salute the *Militant* for its uncompromising struggle on behalf of the oppressed everywhere.

Militant to miners

Every so often, our friend would go from our discussion to the other table.

We had given a copy of the *Militant* to one of the miners we were talking with, and he had taken it over to the people at the other table. These miners were discussing some of the articles.

Our friend was pointing out the articles on Nicaragua and on the Peruvian miners. We could hear him patiently explaining why these Pennsylvania coal miners ought to be concerned about the fate of workers thousands of miles away.

After leaving the restaurant, we spent the rest of the night—til about 4:30 in the morning—continuing our conversation with our friend at his home. We talked about Zionism, Ireland, Stalinism, how to relate international issues to coal workers' problems.

We talked about our sales campaign, which he was very interested in. And we talked about the new opportunity opening up for socialists among the industrial workers.

The time has indeed come for our ideas. And these discussions were an inspiring confirmation of that.

This is a great time for campaigning for socialism. And the best campaigner for socialism that we have is the *Militant*. It's a year-round campaigner that can be everywhere at one time—unlike our candidates, who would like to be but can't.

The *Militant* gets inside the mines, into the steel mills. It gets into the homes of people in the Black and Puerto Rican communities. It gets into student dorm rooms. It gets read, discussed, and passed around, just like that issue was passed around by those coal miners. And it educates, organizes, and recruits to the socialist movement.

50th

Anniversary Fund

Goal=\$75,000

	\$60,000
	\$45,000
As of Oct. 10	\$30,000
\$28,426=38%	
	\$15,000

Recommended reading

These three books are key in studying the origins of American Trotskyism

The First Ten Years of American Communism

By James P. Cannon, paper \$5.45

The History of American Trotskyism

By James P. Cannon, paper \$4.45

The Third International After Lenin

By Leon Trotsky, paper \$4.95

Add 50 cents for postage (75 cents for two or more).

Pathfinder Press
410 West Street
New York, N.Y. 10014

Big sales success

'Tell the truth'—YS does

By Diane Wang

"Tell the truth about what is happening here," the *Young Socialist* quotes a Nicaraguan woman as pleading during the rebellion there. The paper goes on to explain, "The *Young Socialist* wants to tell the story of these young rebels—a story the big business newspapers are trying to suppress."

The October issue of the *Young Socialist* does just that in a special four-page feature about the revolutionary struggles going on in South Africa, Nicaragua, Peru, Iran and Mexico.

The feature includes an article by Héctor Marroquín, a leader of the Young Socialist Alliance who faces deportation to Mexico if denied political asylum in this country. Marroquín describes the 1968 massacre of students in Mexico City and the current campaign in defense of Mexican political prisoners.

Another article is by Parvin Najafi, a woman on the editorial board of *Payam Daneshjoo*, an anti-shah Persian-language magazine published in New York. Najafi explains why millions of people in Iran have taken to the streets against the shah even though they face martial law and death.

YSA chapters have ambitious plans to get out this issue with the true story of the new wave of struggles. Sales goals have jumped since September. The Miami YSA, for example, increased its bundle of papers 233 percent; Berkeley raised its goal 146 percent.

San Jose ordered another sixty-five copies after receiving the paper.

One reason for the enthusiasm to sell the October *Young Socialist* is the dramatic success of the newspaper's September sales drive. The YSA had planned to sell 4,000 copies. Instead, it sold more than 5,000.

So the October goal has been raised—to 5,000.

At the same time, YSA members are helping to sell the *Militant and Perspectiva Mundial*.

Most of the September *Young Socialists* were sold at college campuses, political meetings, and on the streets. But in Toledo, socialists sold one out of every four papers at high schools.

At-large YSA members trying to recruit other people on their campuses also took part in the drive. In Oberlin, Ohio, for example, at-large member Gale Conner sold fifteen copies.

The September *Young Socialist* feature on South Africa, and the movement to cut U.S. ties with that racist regime, proved so valuable that it has been reprinted as a four-page hand-out.

YSA members in Philadelphia have ordered 1,000 copies of the reprint to distribute when South African anti-apartheid figure Donald Woods speaks in that city. The Amherst, Atlanta, and St. Louis chapters have each ordered 500 copies of the reprint.

The reprint includes an invitation to the YSA national convention, scheduled for December 28 through January 1 in Pittsburgh.

To get a copy of the reprint on South Africa, of the *Young Socialist*, or other YSA material, use the coupon on this page.

Read the 'Young Socialist'

Read about the international wave of rebellion in the October issue of the 'Young Socialist.' Find out what students here are doing to defend the freedom struggles of their sisters and brothers around the world.

- ☐ Send me a copy of the *Young Socialist* (25¢ each, 20¢ each for bundles).
- ☐ Enclosed is \$1.00 for a six month subscription to the *Young Socialist*.
- ☐ Send me a free copy of the *Young Socialist* reprint on the campaign to end U.S. ties to South Africa (3¢ each for bundle orders).
- ☐ Send me the 'Divest Now!' button (50¢ each, 35¢ each for 10 or more).
- ☐ Send me more information about the Young Socialist Alliance and its December 28-January 1 convention.
- ☐ I want to join the Young Socialist Alliance.

Join the YSA

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip Code _____

YSA, Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003

Chicago cops ignore fire bombing of SWP

By Malik Miah

CHICAGO—More trade unionists and prominent activists here have joined in demanding the arrest and prosecution of right-wing terrorists who firebombed the Socialist Workers Party campaign office on October 2. (See box on this page.)

These public protests are necessary because Chicago cops have so far shown no intention of seriously pursuing the investigation.

The cops have not even given the SWP composite drawings of the two white thugs dressed in army fatigues seen by an elevator operator in the building where the socialists' office is.

After asking the elevator operator about the "commies," the two thugs went to the office, smashed down the door, stole files, and set fire to the office.

Later an anonymous man tele-

phoned both the cops and the socialists claiming responsibility on behalf of the Vietnam Veterans Against Communists. The caller warned that the arson attack was just a beginning and that SWP members would be machine gunned.

Yet when socialists have asked the police for reports on the case, messages go unanswered and calls are switched from one section to another.

On October 5 a cop who knew nothing about the case was finally sent to the SWP campaign office to persuade the socialists that everything possible was being done.

"Actually you people should realize you are receiving VIP treatment," the cop claimed. VIP treatment, he explained, was the arrival of police on the day of the crime itself, rather than two or three days later!

Bobbie Bagel, who works on the

SWP campaign, contrasted this no-action "VIP" treatment with that given an influential Democratic-machine alderman recently. When the alderman said he had been threatened over the phone by Croatian terrorists, his office and home were immediately placed under protection.

The socialists, on the other hand, haven't even been able to talk to the investigator in charge of the arson case.

"You should understand here that there are priorities," the cop said.

"We're quite familiar with some of the police priorities," Bagel told him. She cited a 1975 special grand jury report that verified cop complicity with right-wing attacks in Chicago.

For example, a former member of the right-wing Legion of Justice who had attacked the SWP testified that a Chicago squad car had served as lookout during one raid.

The police representative told Bagel he was unfamiliar with the Legion of Justice. He concluded by saying that only 5 percent of the city's crimes are solved.

Patricia Grogan, SWP candidate for the U.S. Senate from Illinois, issued an open letter urging a united response to the attacks.

Grogan recalled how the Legion of Justice terrorism in 1969 and 1970 was finally stopped. The legion had attacked not only the SWP but the Guild Bookstore, the Chicago Peace Council, members of the Black Panther Party, and two priests.

"The Legion of Justice was isolated and prevented from further disruptions by a broad campaign," Grogan wrote. "This campaign involved individuals and organizations with varying political viewpoints, who united in defense of basic civil liberties."

"The legion's activities were halted

by public pressure," Grogan continued, "but neither the legion members nor the police who cooperated with them were indicted or prosecuted as a result of that grand jury investigation."

"There is no question that this lack of activity on the part of the city officials has encouraged groups like the 'Vietnam Veterans Against Communists' to carry out violent attacks today. It emboldens hate groups like the Nazis in Marquette Park to attack Black residents."

"If these thugs can get away successfully with attacking one group, they can become emboldened to attack others."

Grogan urged people to call on city officials and the police to apprehend and prosecute the right-wing criminals. Letters demanding swift action can be sent to Chicago Mayor Michael Bilandic, Chicago City Hall, 161 North La Salle Street, Chicago, Illinois 60602. Copies should be sent to the Chicago SWP, 407 South Dearborn, Suite 1145, Chicago, Illinois 60605.



PAT GROGAN Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

Protest grows

Within twenty-four hours after the October 3 arson attack on the Socialist Workers Party campaign office in Chicago, more than two dozen individuals and groups signed a statement calling on the police department and city hall "to take whatever steps are necessary to apprehend those responsible."

The initial signers included Chicago Alderman Dick Simpson; Bob Howard, general counsel, Better Government Association; Quentin Young, director of medicine, Cook County Hospital; the Young Workers Liberation League; and the Southside New American Movement.

Since then, others have added their names to the appeal. These

include: State Sen. Richard Newhouse; Rev. Willie Barrow, Operation PUSH; Henry Bayer, AFSCME Council 101; Carl Schier, international representative, District 4, UAW; and Leo Draper, president, Chicago Local American Postal Workers Union.

Also, James Weinstein, editor, *In These Times*; Chicago Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression; CASA-HGT; Weng King, chair, Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks Lodge 346; Meca Sorrentini, zone secretary, Puerto Rican Socialist Party; Jack Spiegel, manager, United Shoenworkers Joint Council 25; and Tom Spiro, national secretary, Socialist Party.

Sales drive making good progress in 5th week

By Nelson Blackstock
This week we print the first scoreboard reporting cumulative standings of cities around the country in the push to sell 100,000 copies of the socialist press this fall.
More than 40,000 copies have been sold so far nationwide. This figure, which includes the results of the big national sales target week, indicates

that the drive is making good headway toward the goal.
Now in its fifth week, the drive opened September 1 and will end December 15.
The 100,000 drive marks an important anniversary for the *Militant*, which began publication fifty years ago this fall.
Socialists in more than forty cities

are reaching out to introduce tens of thousands of new readers to the paper.
The *Militant* provides a source of news unavailable elsewhere. Its reporters are activists in some of the most important trade unions, in the women's movement, in the movement for freedom in southern Africa, in the antinuclear movement, and elsewhere.
They bring you firsthand reports on the actions and issues, from the viewpoint of participants. Moreover, the *Militant* provides unique socialist analysis and solutions not available anywhere else.
Also included in the campaign is a focus on selling *Perspectiva Mundial*, the biweekly Spanish-language magazine.

The 100,000 will come from the total of all single-copy sales of both *PM* and the *Militant* over the course of the drive. It will also include all papers sold through introductory subscriptions, which bring readers ten copies of the *Militant*.
Top priority in the drive is on reaching industrial workers. Many of the new subscriptions were sold by socialists to their co-workers. For example, in Portland, Oregon, nineteen subscriptions were sold by socialists at a plant organized by the International Association of Machinists.
Other subscriptions were sold on campus by special teams visiting students where they live.
At the recent convention of the National Organization for Women in

Goals raised
Socialists in four cities this week have raised their weekly sales quotas for the fall drive.
Their decision is a reflection of the positive response the socialist press has been receiving among working people during the first weeks of the campaign.
The raises total 115. Washington, D.C., raised by 50, Tacoma by 25, Milwaukee by 25, and Albuquerque by 15.

Washington, D.C., thirty-six women came up to the table staffed by socialists and bought subscriptions to the *Militant*.
An updated version of the accompanying scoreboard will be run from time to time.
The great bulk of the papers has been sold through regular, weekly, single-copy sales. Also on this page is a chart showing the result of sales of issue number 37.
Featured on the back page of that issue was news of the national rail strike.
Albany reports sales of fifty-five to workers there who had been on strike. "One sales team sold twenty-two papers in twenty minutes," says sales director Pat Mayberry.

Special election issue

Socialists this fall are running state wide and/or local election campaigns in some twenty-six states and Washington, D.C. The 'Militant' is the best place to find out what these candidates stand for, what they are doing, and why you should support them.
The issue prior to election day will be a special one—devoted to extensive coverage of today's socialist campaigns.
Campaign supporters across the country will use that issue to reach out to thousands of potential supporters, campaigning for their candidates.
This will be the second week of expanded 'Militant' sales this fall. During the last week in September, some 14,500 people bought copies of the 'Militant' or 'Perspectiva Mundial.'

Initial reports indicate that some cities think they will be able to top by a considerable margin their sales success during the first week.
Sales of this special issue in many cities will begin on Saturday, October 28. In other cities, sales will begin somewhat later and will include an all-out sales effort on Saturday, November 4. The issue will be number 41 and will be dated November 3.
'Perspectiva Mundial' is also planning a special campaign issue for that week. This will be the first time 'PM' has put out such an issue. It will give Spanish-speaking readers good reasons why they should support the socialist candidates running in their area. —N.B.

Weekly sales goals

CITY	MILITANT		PM		TOTAL		
	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Percent
Miami	80	98	20	41	100	139	139.0
Kansas City, Mo.	100	126	5	6	105	132	125.7
Albuquerque	115	148	20	19	135	167	123.7
San Jose	115	128	10	26	125	154	123.2
Portland	90	103			90	103	114.4
Oakland	160	162	15	31	175	193	110.3
Gary, Ind.	50	55			50	55	110.0
San Antonio	75	75	25	35	100	110	110.0
Los Angeles	400	416	100	125	500	541	108.2
Salt Lake City	125	137	10	4	135	141	104.4
New Orleans	140	149	10	5	150	154	102.7
Minneapolis	135	138			135	138	102.2
Berkeley	135	149	15	4	150	153	102.0
San Francisco	250	244	25	35	275	279	101.5
Baltimore	120	125	5		125	125	100.0
Albany	105	107	5	1	110	108	98.2
Tucson	30	29			30	29	96.7
Louisville	100	96			100	96	96.0
San Diego	105	100	20	19	125	119	95.2
Indianapolis	115	109			115	109	94.8
Seattle	135	136	15	6	150	142	94.7
Cleveland	120	121	10	2	130	123	94.6
New York	650	635	100	69	750	704	93.9
Iron Range, Mn.	50	46			50	46	92.0
Morgantown	150	128		8	150	136	90.7
Raleigh	125	110			125	110	88.0
Milwaukee	120	98	5	11	125	109	87.2
Washington, D.C.	270	227	30	32	300	259	86.3
Tacoma	125	106			125	106	84.8
Atlanta	200	158		4	200	162	81.0
St. Paul	95	80	5		100	76	76.0
Cincinnati	100	76			100	76	76.0
Philadelphia	235	160	15	21	250	181	72.4
Toledo	115	84	5	2	120	86	71.7
Newark	140	100	10	6	150	106	70.7
St. Louis	140	100	10		150	100	66.7
Pittsburgh	145	93	5	4	150	97	64.7
Phoenix	110	70	15	10	125	80	64.0
Detroit	250	150			250	150	60.0
Dallas	125	71	15	6	140	77	55.0
Denver	120	64	20	11	140	75	53.6
Chicago	385	222	65	15	450	237	52.7
Houston	300	115	50	65	350	180	51.4
Boston	225	106	25	6	250	112	44.8
Totals	6975	5950	685	629	7660	6579	85.9

These figures are for issue 37 of the 'Militant' and the first week of sales of 'Perspectiva Mundial' issue 18.

Cumulative goals

CITY	SINGLE COPIES		SUBSCRIPTIONS*		TOTAL SALES*	
	Sold	Sold	Goal	Sold	Percent	
Albuquerque	1037	35	1900	1387	73.0	
Kansas City, Mo.	690	32	1500	1010	67.3	
Miami	746	10	1450	846	58.3	
Louisville	602	17	1450	772	53.2	
San Antonio	691	7	1450	761	52.5	
Newark	870	23	2200	1100	50.0	
Tucson	121	9	430	211	49.1	
New York	4279	107	11000	5349	48.6	
Baltimore	773	8	1800	853	47.4	
St. Louis	960	7	2200	1030	46.8	
Portland	436	24	1450	676	46.6	
Salt Lake City	746	13	1950	876	44.9	
New Orleans	737	22	2200	957	43.5	
San Diego	621	13	1800	711	41.7	
Cleveland	683	14	2000	823	41.2	
Morgantown	635	27	2200	905	41.1	
Berkeley	774	11	2200	884	40.2	
Milwaukee	570	15	1800	720	40.0	
San Jose	590	12	1800	710	39.4	
Detroit	1174	24	3600	1414	39.3	
Raleigh	590	11	1800	700	38.9	
Atlanta	934	19	2900	1124	38.8	
Cincinnati	470	9	1450	560	38.6	
San Francisco	1352	18	4000	1532	38.3	
Indianapolis	588	4	1650	628	38.1	
Minneapolis	436	30	1950	736	37.7	
Dallas	733	1	2000	743	37.2	
Iron Range, Mn.	207	6	720	267	37.1	
Seattle	719	9	2200	809	36.8	
Pittsburgh	739	6	2200	799	36.3	
Philadelphia	978	30	3600	1278	35.5	
Los Angeles	2171	26	7200	2431	33.8	
Washington, D.C.	1362	7	4250	1432	33.7	
Albany	421	16	1800	581	32.3	
Tacoma	470	9	1800	560	31.1	
Chicago	1781	45	7200	2231	31.0	
Houston	1340	21	5050	1550	30.7	
Toledo	434	7	1650	504	30.5	
Phoenix	486	6	1800	546	30.3	
Boston	730	26	3600	990	27.5	
Denver	458	9	2000	548	27.4	
Oakland	520	16	2500	680	27.2	
St. Paul	243	14	1450	383	26.4	
Gary, Ind.	114	3	720	144	20.0	
Miscellaneous		16		160		
TOTALS	36,011	794	100,000	43,951	44.0	

*10-week introductory subscriptions count as 10 towards total sales.

These totals include all single copy sales of the 'Militant' through issue 37 and through the first week of sales of 'Perspectiva Mundial' issue 18. They include all subscriptions received in the circulation office by October 11.

The railroads push west

By Dick Roberts

(Third in a series)

From their inception, American railroad companies were driven by a greed for profits perhaps unequaled in any other industry. Throughout the nineteenth century, nowhere else was there so much money for the taking.

And that attracted not only the leading financiers of the day but also the politicians—from lowly state legislators right on up to the pinnacles of power in Washington, D.C.

Abraham Lincoln's first major legal case was a railroad case in Rock Island, Illinois, in 1857. Lincoln represented the owners of the Farnam Railroad Bridge Company. They charged that some bargemen had blown away the first railroad bridge across the Mississippi. Lincoln won the case.

And that rebuilt bridge was a first step in the race of the railroads across the West. Following the Civil War, that race would capture the imagination of Americans for the next three decades.

The story is wonderfully told in a new book by Dee Brown, *Hear That Lonesome Whistle Blow*. The book was published by Holt, Rinehart, and Winston in 1977 and released in paperback by Bantam in May 1978. It is now available in most major bookstores.

Brown previously wrote *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*. Clearly his interest and support to Native Americans drew Brown into the study of railroads—and he tells us much that we need to know about the history of this industry.

For one thing, the railroads took land away from the Indians. In fact, Lieutenant-Colonel George Armstrong Custer's first expedition against Sitting Bull was to provide military support to a railroad surveying party for the Northern Pacific Railroad in 1873.

Sitting Bull's revenge along the Little Bighorn, three years later, is more well known!

In that decade, Brown writes, "an army of hide hunters had invaded the West to slay five million buffalo, almost bringing that native animal to extinction.

"During that same decade, regiments of blue-coated cavalymen had rounded up thousands of native Americans who were left helpless because of the slaughter of their basic source of food, shelter, and clothing. . . .

"Whenever the Northern Pacific's westward point came to Indian land, a signal went back to Washington, and there the bureaucrats would set a paperwork ritual into motion. Acting in silent collusion, the Office of Indian Affairs, the Secretary of the Interior, the Congress, and the President of the United States arranged for a hasty extinguishment of tribal titles to land."

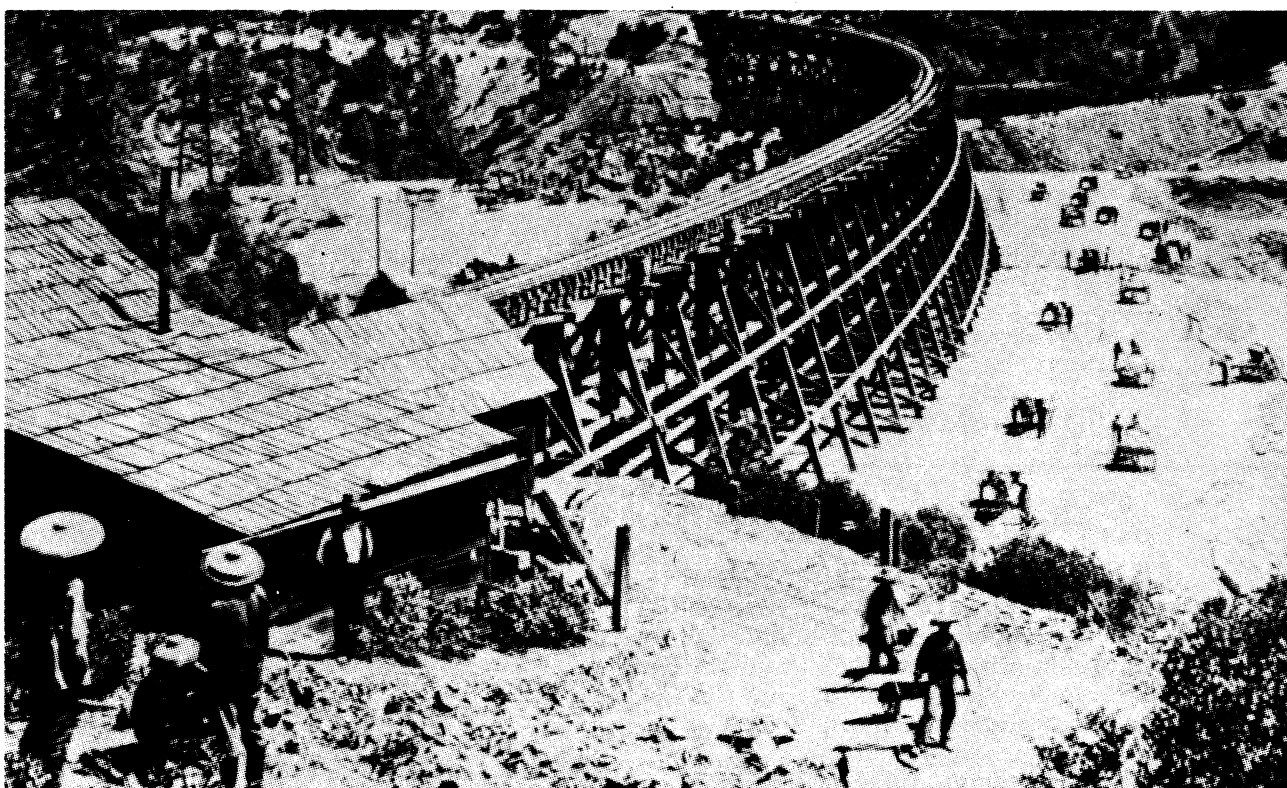
To build the railroads, the companies hired armies of the cheapest-paid, largely immigrant labor. Brown notes that the California-based Central Pacific "employed virtually every able-bodied Chinese in California."

These Chinese workers built the steep grades, trestles, and tunnels of the Central Pacific across the Sierras. "For several months during 1867 [there were] eight thousand Chinese tunnelers working in around-the-clock shifts seven days a week." Some 500 to 1,000 died in the effort, Brown estimates.

Another railroad, hurrying across the West from eastern Texas, was the Texas & Pacific. According to Brown, the Texas & Pacific used "Negro prisoners rented from the state of Texas for a few cents a day."

Land grants

All of this was made possible by Washington's enormous giveaways of land west of the Mississippi. We meet Abraham Lincoln a few more times. "On July 1, 1862, the day that his Army of the



Thousands of Chinese laborers, many brought over just for the job, worked around the clock to construct transcontinental railroads.

Potomac began retreating in Virginia after the Battle of Malvern Hill," writes Brown, "President Lincoln signed the act, creating the Union Pacific Railroad Company." This act granted the Union Pacific both federal funds and land westward from Iowa. The same act gave the Central Pacific the land from the Pacific Coast to the eastern boundary of California.

On March 3, 1863, Lincoln signed over 2,928,928 acres of Kansas to the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe. The charter to the Northern Pacific Railroad



Company granted it 25,600 acres per mile from Lake Superior to the Puget Sound.

The Union Pacific, Central Pacific land grant was enlarged in 1864 to give the railroad 12,800 acres of land per mile across the West. Further it granted "all iron and coal deposits under the land to the railroad, and permitted it to sell first-mortgage bonds to the public."

This grand steal was engineered by Union Pacific financier Thomas Durant and Collis Huntington of the Central Pacific. Durant "took \$437,000 of Union Pacific funds to Washington for lobbying expenses. . . .

"He also spent a great deal more than that distributing Union Pacific stock to congressmen in exchange for their votes. Even by present-day standards of governmental venality, the methods used by Durant and Huntington were exceptionally crude," Brown adds. Ultimately the Union Pacific got "19,000 square miles, a domain larger than the states of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Vermont combined."

But this was only the beginning. Much more was to come, from President Ulysses S. Grant and his successors. Finally, 155 million acres had been given to the railroads, "more than one fourth of the Louisiana Purchase, one ninth of what was then the nation's entire land area."

The Credit Mobilier

Without going into the economy of ancient Egypt, there nevertheless appears to be a law of economics that is as old as class society: Never is as much money spent on construction as is paid out to construction companies. And consequently it behooves the financially minded to own construction companies; the larger the project, the greater the rip-off.

The celebrated "construction scheme" was successfully carried out in mid-nineteenth century France by an outfit called the Société Générale de

Crédit Mobilier. This holding company siphoned off its profits from the construction of public works.

Durant and others saw that a similar scheme could be carried out in the construction of American railroads. They set up the Credit Mobilier of America to build the Union Pacific. An identical outfit was set up to rake off funds from the Central Pacific.

And a similar scheme was used over a century later to bilk the Penn Central.

While the Union Pacific itself would be a big, widely held corporation with many hundreds of stockholders, the construction firm would be a small, closely held company where the few owners could reap vast profits by overcharging the railroad.

The Credit Mobilier built 667 miles of Union Pacific track, charging about \$50,000 per mile for construction actually costing closer to \$30,000. This process nearly bankrupted the Union Pacific. It netted the Credit Mobilier somewhere between \$7 million and \$23 million, a staggering amount in those days.

Dee Brown quotes a contemporary description by Charles Francis Adams: "Who then constitutes the Credit Mobilier? It is but another name for the Pacific Railroad ring. The members of it are in Congress; they are trustees for the bondholders, they are directors, they are stockholders, they are contractors; in Washington they vote the subsidies, in New York they receive them, upon the Plains they expend them, and in the Credit Mobilier they divide them. . . . Under one name or another a ring of some seventy persons is struck at whatever point the Union Pacific is approached. As stockholders they own the road, as mortgagees they have a lien upon it, as directors they contract for its construction, and as members of the Credit Mobilier they build it."

Empires

In this and similar ways the greatest ruling-class fortunes of nineteenth-century America were built on the rails.

The vast wealth and power that could be made from the rails led to an equally vast *overbuilding of railroads*: "Whenever on a map two towns could be found with no railroad running between them," Brown writes, "some clever sharper would appear to organize a railroad company. . . . It did not matter whether the towns had anything to ship to each other. . . .

"Railroad construction became a mania in the 1880s with feeder lines, branch lines, and short lines running in all directions. . . .

"So much of the public's money was poured into unplanned and often unneeded railroads in the West that the inhabitants of the region were burdened with sharply rising taxes extending far into the future. For shouldering this debt they received poor service and high freight rates, which were another form of taxation. Westerners slowly began to perceive that the real purpose of the railroad builders was not to provide transportation for passengers and freight but to issue and manipulate railroad stocks and bonds."

(next: the great strike of 1877)

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World Outlook

News, analysis, and discussion of international political events

Camp David accords

A framework for war, not for peace

By David Frankel

U.S. policy in the Middle East, as everywhere else in the world, is intended to preserve and extend American economic and political power. Of course, President Carter didn't put it that way when he explained the Camp David accords on television. Instead, he insisted that the purpose of his Mideast policy is "to use our influence and efforts to advance the cause of peace."

Democratic and Republican Party politicians, and virtually every sector of the capitalist media, have given enthusiastic support to Carter's claims. The conservative *U.S. News & World Report* ran an editorial titled "End of a 30-Year War" in its October 9 issue, while the liberal *New Republic* declared on its front page September 30: "Historians will call it the Thirty Years War. . . . It ended with the signing of a peace treaty between Israel and Egypt in 1978."

Anybody who wants an idea of what is really going on in the Middle East today would be well advised to skip over Carter's rhetoric and the applause being orchestrated by the big-business media. The real meaning of the Camp David accords can only be understood by looking at the underlying interests that Washington is trying to defend.

Imperialist conquest

As a strategic crossroad between Africa, Asia, and Europe, the Middle East was always a prime target for imperialist expansion. The military and commercial importance of the region was increased with the completion of the Suez Canal in 1869. In 1882, British troops landed in Egypt. They were to remain there for the next seventy-four years.

With the increasing reliance of the industrialized countries on oil, another factor was introduced. As early as July 1914, the British Parliament heard Winston Churchill, then first lord of the admiralty, argue that "we must become the owners, or at any rate the controllers of the source, of at least a proportion of the supply of natural oil which we require."

World War I provided the British with the chance they were waiting for. The Ottoman Empire, which ruled most of the Middle East, sided with Germany in the war. In 1916, secret negotiations between Britain and France resulted in the Sykes-Picot Treaty. The two wartime allies agreed to divide up the spoils between them—Palestine, Iraq, and Jordan were to go to the British, and Syria and Lebanon were to go to the French.

What about the people living in

those countries? They were never consulted.

When the Arab peoples protested that they had been promised their independence by the British, and pointed to the allied slogans about a "war for democracy," they were answered with French and British armies.

Until World War II, British imperialism reigned supreme in the Middle East. In 1940, Britain controlled an estimated 72 percent of Mideast oil reserves, compared to a U.S. share of less than 10 percent. The very terms "Middle East" and "Far East" refer to the location of these areas in relation to Britain.

British decline

But World War II marked the turning point for the old colonial empires. In 1944, Churchill was to plaintively wire Franklin D. Roosevelt: "There is apprehension here that the United States has a desire to deprive us of our oil assets in the Middle East. . . ."

And indeed, by 1967 estimated British reserves had fallen to 29.3 percent of Mideastern oil, while U.S.-owned reserves had risen to 58.6 percent.

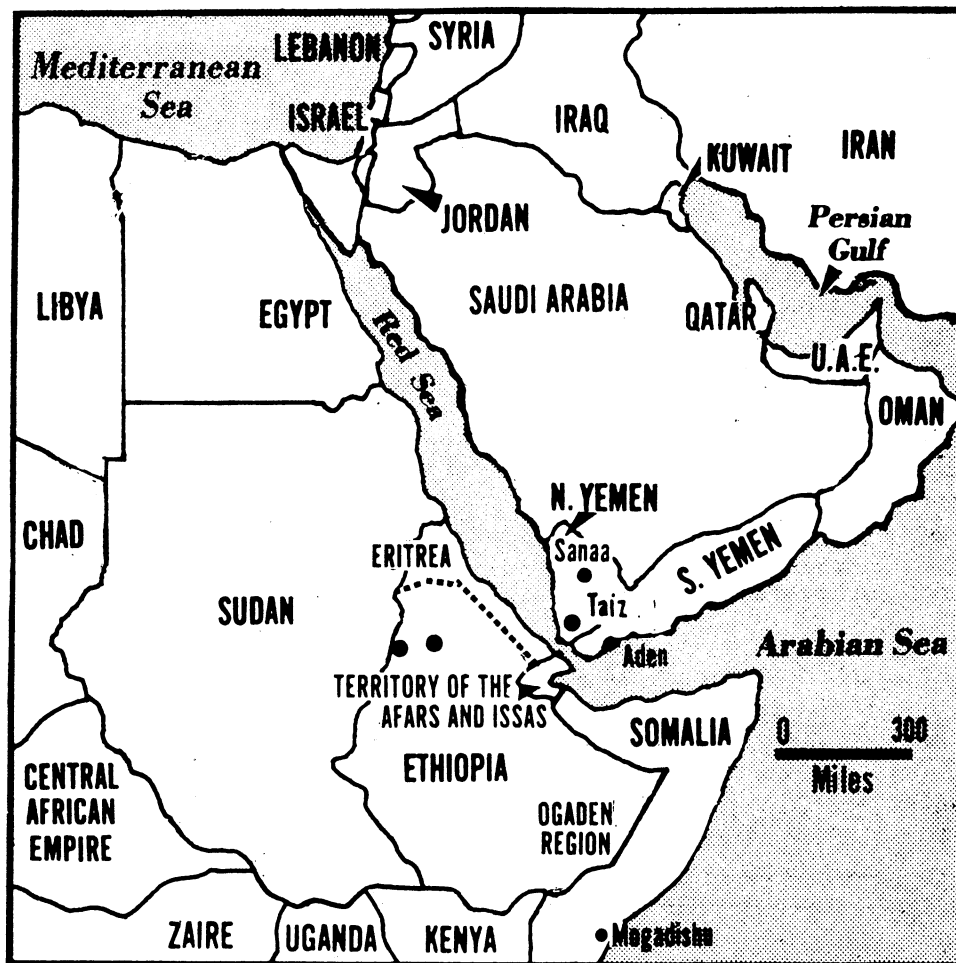
Following the 1973 oil embargo, the Arab regimes took over formal control of a large part of these reserves. But in practice, little has changed. The imperialist-controlled oil companies continue to manage the production of the oil, for a fee, take a guaranteed share for themselves, and buy most of the rest at a fixed price. Thus, production, refining, shipping, and marketing remain in the same hands.

Harold Haynes, chairman of Standard Oil of California, was quoted in the September 11 issue of *Time* magazine on the impact of the Saudi regime's takeover of 60 percent of Aramco. As Haynes put it, the main result is that "capital investment will be supplied by the Saudis. We are relieved of that responsibility."

Five of the eight largest industrial corporations in the United States are oil companies—Exxon, Mobil, Texaco, Standard Oil of California, and Gulf Oil. Together, these giant combines have assets of \$107 billion. Exxon's \$38 billion in assets was about equal to the Italian national budget last year.

In 1977, as in every one of the preceding twelve years, *Fortune* magazine found that the corporations engaged in mining and crude oil production on its list of the 500 largest industrials had the highest return on sales.

As far as Washington is concerned, the central question in the Middle East is how to maintain its hold on the region's oil, which accounts for 38



Washington hopes to strengthen its hold on oil-rich Middle East through Camp David agreement.

percent of U.S. petroleum imports, and 57 percent of Japan's and Western Europe's.

At the same time, the Arab world has become an increasingly important market for the imperialist countries, and a crucial area in the military competition between Washington and Moscow.

'Dangerous processes'

Zbigniew Brzezinski put his finger on Washington's main worry in an interview in the June 1976 *Bulletin of American Professors for Peace in the Middle East*. "There are certain dangerous processes at work in the region," Brzezinski said, ". . . in particular, the underlying process of the radicalization of the Arab masses."

Direct colonial control of the oil-producing areas has been ruled out precisely because of the struggles of the Arab masses, which Brzezinski seeks some way to control. A second method of imperialist control has been to support neocolonial regimes whose repressive policies are aimed at preventing any political movement among the masses.

Washington follows this policy in Saudi Arabia and the various Gulf States today. But the whole history of the Middle East since World War II is testimony to how brittle these regimes are.

The Egyptian monarchy was overthrown in 1952. When the Iraqi monarchy was overthrown in 1958, British paratroopers had to land in Jordan to stabilize King Hussein's regime, and U.S. Marines were sent into Lebanon. We have just recently seen a demonstration of how shaky the shah of Iran's hold is in that key country. Is there any reason to believe that the Saudi monarchy won't be faced with similar mass opposition in the future?

Even the most flexible Arab regimes are caught between the pressure of imperialism and the demands of their own people. Even the most stable must contend with the radicalization of the masses and the possibility of popular insurrection. It is this that explains the link between Washington and Israel.

Counterrevolutionary base

No State Department official or brass hat at the Pentagon can say what type of regime will be in power in

Egypt or Saudi Arabia five years from now. But there is one thing in the Middle East that they can be certain of: As long as the Israeli state exists, it will always side with American imperialism against the threat of social revolution in the Arab world.

Because Israel was established at the expense of the Arab masses and over their opposition, it must maintain its military superiority over the Arab countries. But these countries have far greater populations and resources than Israel. Therefore, the Zionist regime must depend on aid from its imperialist allies, and on maintaining the Arab states in a weakened and backward condition.

Any revolution that inspires and unifies the Arab masses, and pushes forward the modernization and economic development of the Arab countries, automatically threatens the Israeli state.

U.S. policymakers are thus able to rely on a counterrevolutionary army with 400,000 troops in the heart of the Arab world. When it appeared, for example, as if King Hussein might be overthrown during the September 1971 civil war in Jordan, Tel Aviv and Washington agreed on a plan for a joint invasion.

Moreover, Israel has been able to have an effect far beyond the Middle East. It exported \$102 million in arms in 1976 (compared to only \$2 million in 1967), and is now the fifth-biggest arms seller in the capitalist world. Following the recent civil war in Nicaragua, *Washington Post* correspondent Karen DeYoung reported that "the bulk of recent rearmament [by the Somoza regime] has come from Israel, which has shipped at least 500 Uzi submachine guns, 500 Galil assault rifles, and four armed patrol boats, as well as ammunition."

A new Baghdad Pact?

From Washington's point of view, support to reactionary Arab regimes and its alliance with Israel are two sides of the same coin. Both policies are aimed at preventing the Arab masses from taking control of their destiny.

At the same time, Israeli aggression is one of the factors continually under-

Continued on next page

...Camp David accords: framework for war

Continued from preceding page

mining the stability of the proimperialist Arab regimes. The Zionist state—like the imperialist system itself—constantly generates anger and opposition among the peoples who are victimized by it.

For the past five years—ever since the October 1973 war and the Arab oil embargo—U.S. policymakers have been seeking a way to more effectively integrate the two pillars of Washington's Mideast policy. The Camp David accords, which provide for a formal treaty between Egypt and Israel, represent an important success for this imperialist effort.

In fact, it seems as if Washington is trying to revive the idea of a Mideastern NATO. During the cold war such an alliance, known as the Baghdad Pact, was actually set up. But the only Arab government that joined was Iraq, and after the overthrow of the monarchy there Iraq pulled out. Attempts to include the Lebanese and Jordanian regimes in the Baghdad Pact were scuttled by mass protests in those countries.

If Washington could bring Jordan and Saudi Arabia into the Camp David framework, it would have a more powerful counterrevolutionary alliance in the Mideast than ever before. Certainly, the governments involved have already begun to discuss the possibilities.

After the Camp David summit, *Washington Post* correspondent Jim Hoagland reported in a September 24 article: "Details now emerging from extensive post-mortems of the secret talks indicate that a shared assessment by Carter, Sadat and Begin of a growing Soviet and Cuban threat in Africa and the Red Sea region played a role in getting the movement needed for a peace treaty. . . ."

'Framework for peace'?

Right after the Ethiopian-Somalian war had focused attention on revolutionary developments in the Horn of Africa, the March 26 *New York Times*, quoting "qualified allied sources," reported that the U.S. Air Force has been using the Israeli base at Etzion, in the Sinai, for "long-range surveillance flights over the Red Sea, the Gulf of Aden, the Persian Gulf and the western areas of the Indian Ocean."

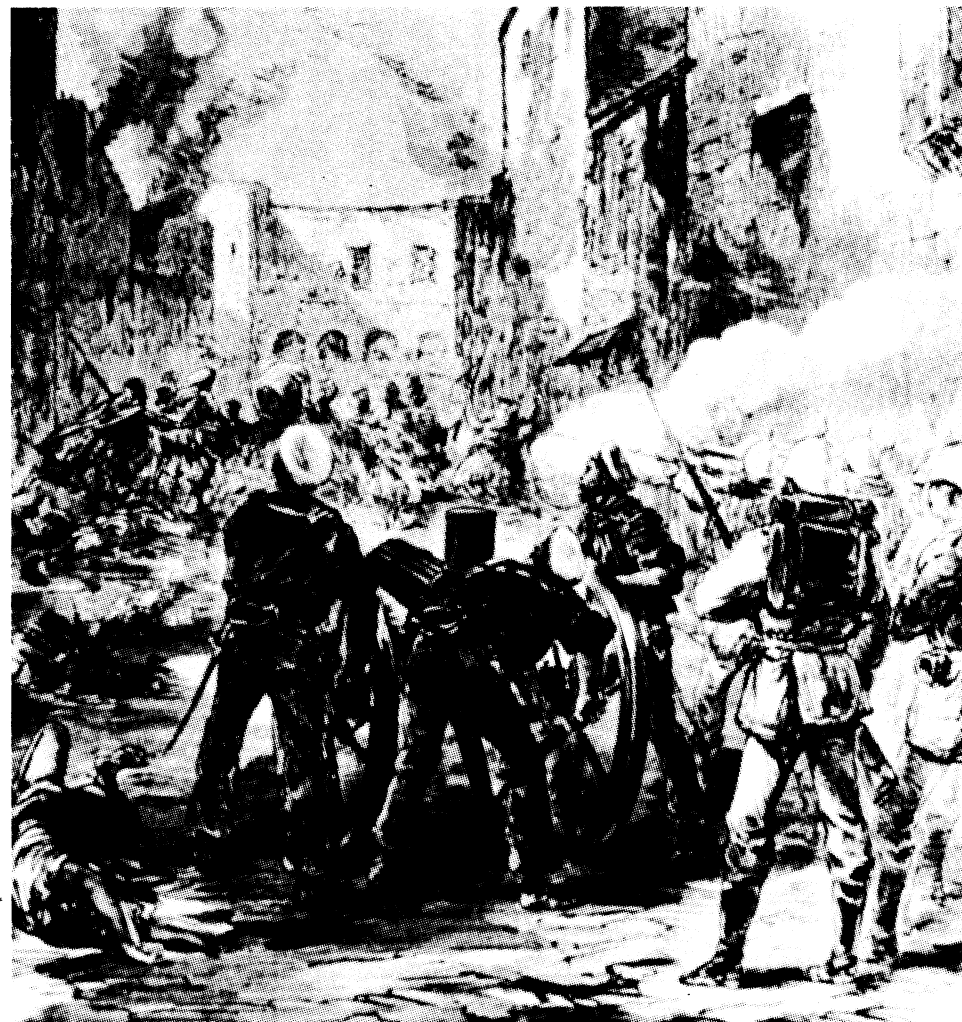
The *Times* noted that Washington expected to continue such flights whether the base remained under Israeli control or was returned to Egypt.

As for Saudi Arabia, *U.S. News & World Report* correspondent Dennis Mullin pointed out October 2: "It has become an American aircraft carrier, with warplanes and other military equipment already in place, provided, maintained and manned by Americans. Those planes could be used by Americans if the need arises. Fly in some American pilots, and you've got, in effect, an American base."

"U.S. involvement on a military level in that area would assure the security of oil supplies as well as guarantee the security of Israel and of Egypt."

This is Carter's *real* "framework for peace in the Middle East."

When Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin appeared on television with Carter and Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat to announce the Camp David accords, he went so far as to compare the summit to the Congress of Vienna in 1815. It was at that congress that the counterrevolutionary "Holy Alliance" of Russia, Prussia, and Aus-



British troops landed in Egypt in 1882. After World War II, United States replaced Britain as main imperialist power in Mideast.

tria was established—an alliance that stood against the democratic revolution in Europe for more than thirty years.

Nothing that Carter manages to set up in the Middle East will survive for thirty years. But insofar as its aim will be to oppose the struggles of the Arab and African masses for national liberation and social progress, Begin's comparison was apt indeed.

No Israeli concessions

Although the Saudi and Jordanian regimes are eager to participate in this type of counterrevolutionary alliance, they had hoped that part of such a deal would be Israeli agreement to withdraw from the Arab territory occupied in the 1967 Mideast war.

However, the Camp David accords have increased Begin's leverage in this regard, and the Carter administration has made it plainer than ever that it prefers the continuation of the Israeli occupation in the West Bank and Gaza to any other solution.

Washington Post correspondent Don Oberdorfer, in a September 23 article, quoted a high U.S. official, who Oberdorfer made clear was Secretary of State Cyrus Vance. "Asked if it were true that the United States at Camp David agreed to back Israeli demands that its troops remain in West Bank garrisons after the five year 'transitional' period, the official replied, 'If it appeared it was necessary, the answer is yes, we would.'"

"Another U.S. official who participated in the meetings said both the United States and Egypt had agreed that Israel has a 'good cause' for stationing its troops on the West Bank indefinitely for security reasons."

When U.S. and Israeli officials talk about "security," what they are really referring to are the measures that can most effectively suppress the Arab masses. Looked at from this point of view, the editors of the *Wall Street Journal* commented September 22, continuation of the Israeli occupation would benefit King Hussein.

As the *Journal* put it, "it is not easy to see what kind of West Bank 'settlement' would serve his own interests better than the de facto status quo. . . . Does he want to incorporate the West Bank into Jordan, leaving his Hashemite kingdom ruling a nation with a Palestinian majority? After all, he fought a war to expel the PLO. Does King Hussein, any more than the Israelis, want a neighbor ruled by the PLO and supported by the Soviet Union?"

Moscow frozen out

It is hardly surprising that Moscow has reacted angrily to being frozen out of the Mideast negotiations and to the prospect of a new anti-Soviet alliance in the region under Washington's leadership. Immediately after the Camp David accords were made public, the Soviet news agency, Tass, condemned them as "a plot against Arabs" and denounced Sadat's "betrayal of the

cause of the Arab people of Palestine."

But the truth is that it was precisely the Kremlin's policy of détente with American imperialism that helped prepare the way for Carter's diplomatic triumph.

The first Nixon-Brezhnev summit meeting took place in May 1972. David Hirst reported in the June 29, 1972, *Washington Post* that shortly before the summit "high-ranking Soviet officials" had explained to a delegation of Syrian Communists "that the Soviet Union will not support the Arabs in actions that could lead to confrontation between Russia and the United States."

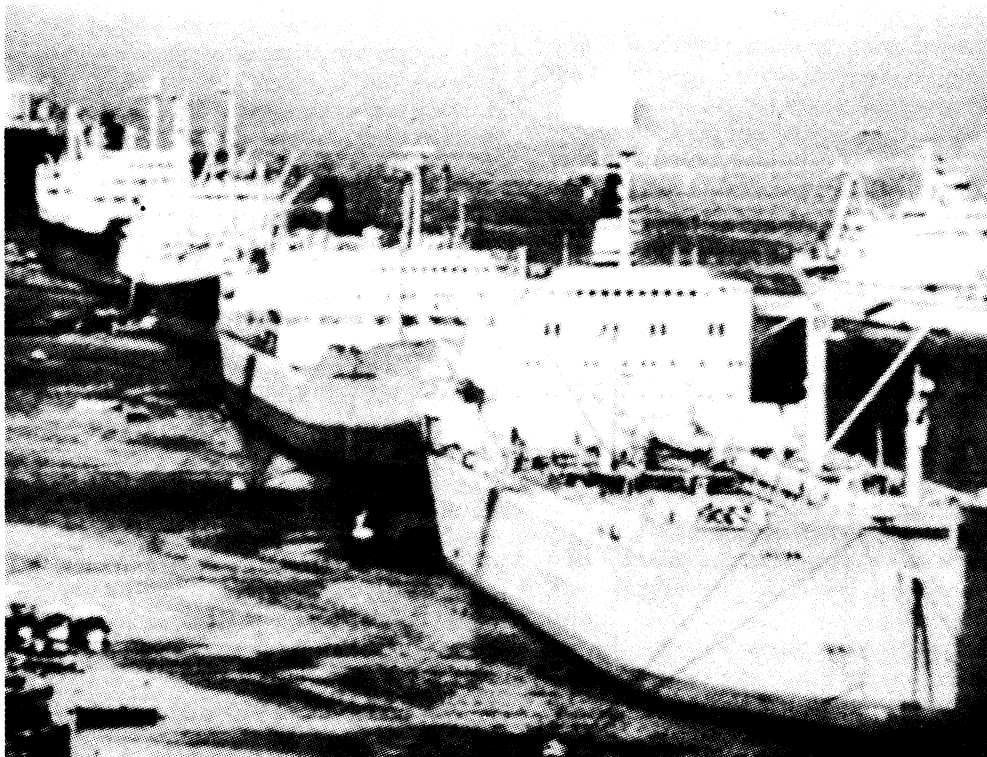
When Brezhnev met with Nixon again in June 1973, the Middle East was listed by the Soviet leader right after Vietnam as one of the "hotbeds of dangerous tension in the world." The Kremlin chiefs agreed to pressure the Arab regimes to recognize Israel as part of a Mideast settlement.

Spartak Beglov, a Soviet commentator, arrogantly explained in the June 29, 1973, *New York Times*: "The two most powerful countries have clearly given the world to understand that they expect other major and smaller countries . . . to follow their example by adhering to certain rules of conduct. . . ."

But Brezhnev thought the "rules of conduct" would include the maintenance of Soviet and U.S. spheres of influence. On that basis, he was happy to sacrifice the rights of the Palestinian people and the interests of the Arab masses as a whole to the search for "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism.

However, things did not work out as Brezhnev planned. As this writer explained in an article in the May 3, 1974, *Militant*: "In practice, much to the chagrin of the Soviet bureaucrats, the blows struck against the Palestinian liberation movement and the more militant anti-imperialist forces in the Arab world have resulted in a shift to the right in Mideastern politics that has begun to threaten the Soviet position in the whole area. There has been a dramatic strengthening of proimperialist currents and a whittling down of Soviet bargaining power."

The Kremlin's policy, which made it easier for Sadat to turn to Washington, also contributed to the defeat of the Palestinian and leftist forces in the Lebanese civil war. Moscow refused to jeopardize its friendly diplomatic rela-



Oil tankers line up for passage through the Suez Canal



Israeli state provides Washington with a counterrevolutionary army 400,000 strong in the heart of the Arab world.

tions with the Syrian regime, even though the Syrian army intervened in behalf of the rightist forces in Lebanon.

While the Kremlin stood by and tried to play both sides against the middle, the defeat of the Palestinians in Lebanon helped establish the political atmosphere that enabled Sadat to make this trip to Jerusalem.

Crisis in Lebanon

There is no doubt that American imperialism has made substantial gains in the Middle East over the past five years—gains that have been formalized in the Camp David accords.

On the other hand, it is already clear that the Camp David accords will not lead to peace. They will not even lead to the stable imperialist domination that is Washington's vision of "peace." The crisis in Lebanon is the most obvious example. It threatens to blow up the summit accords even before Sadat and Begin sign a treaty. And if an Israeli-Egyptian treaty is signed, it will make it easier for the Zionist regime to embark on adventures in Lebanon or against Syria—adventures that could easily spark an all-out war.

Nor is the Lebanese crisis going to disappear. The pressures generated by Israeli attempts to smash the struggles of the Palestinian population there, by the attempts of the Maronite minority to maintain its privileged position, and by the other aspects of the class strug-

gle within Lebanon will continue to convulse the country.

Insofar as the Palestinians are concerned, the Camp David accords were a faithful reflection of Washington's attitude. There will continue to be plenty of vague promises and rhetoric, but on the central issues, Washington will continue to back the Israeli regime down the line.

It must do so, because the Zionist state remains imperialism's most powerful and dependable bulwark against the Arab revolution, and maintaining the dispersal of the Palestinians and preventing the establishment of a Palestinian state is crucial to Israel's stability.

Washington's inability to offer even the most modest concessions to 1.5 million Palestinians living under Israeli rule, and to nearly 2 million Palestinian refugees who were deprived of their land and their homes by the Zionist state, ensures that the Arab-Israeli conflict will continue unabated.

The Palestinians will continue to struggle against their oppression, Israel will continue to strike out at the Palestinian population in the surrounding countries, arousing anger and indignation throughout the Arab world, and the Arab regimes will continue to be caught between Israeli threats and the demands of the masses

Continued on next page

World news notes

Upsurge continues in Iran

More demonstrations and strikes are taking place in Iran this month, continuing the upsurge that began in that country in August. A dispatch from Tehran reported October 8 that "security forces broke up antigovernment demonstrations in nine Iranian cities after a clash between soldiers and protesters in the Caspian Sea city of Bobol reportedly left one person dead and many injured."

A report the next day said that a strike of government and industrial workers involved "tens of thousands." The strike was for wage increases and other benefits. The same dispatch said that police had fired on demonstrators in two towns on October 8, killing several people. Another person was reported killed the following day.

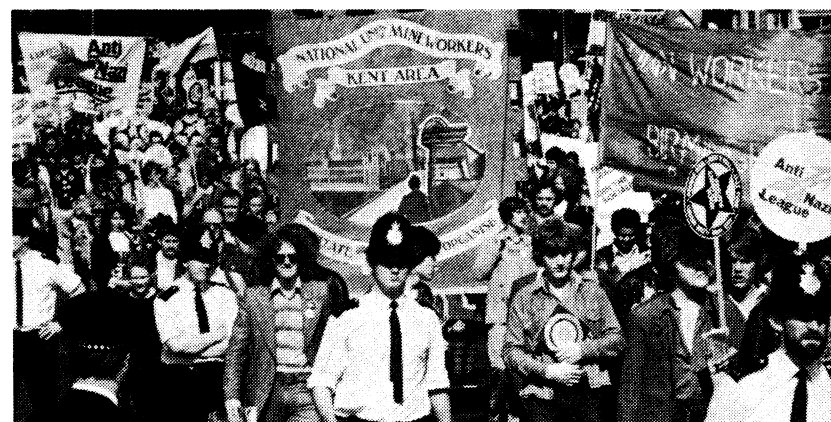
Swedish gov't falls over nuke

The capitalist party coalition government of Sweden fell October 5, brought down by mass opposition to nuclear power.

Before his election, Premier Thorbjorn Falldin had campaigned vigorously against extending Sweden's dependence on nuclear power. The country at that time had five nukes operating. Falldin said he was against turning on any others and added that he would turn off one of the five.

But in almost his first act after replacing the previous pronuclear Social Democratic government, Falldin turned on plant number six. A few weeks ago he announced the completion of two more plants.

This announcement sparked a raging debate between opponents and supporters of nuclear power. Caught in the middle, and after the failure of several attempts at compromise, Falldin resigned.



Militant/Alice Snipper

Part of September 24 demonstration against racism in London

Thousands march against racism in Britain

One hundred thousand people took part in the second Carnival Against Racism on September 24.

The marchers mobilized against the neo-fascists of the National Front, which has campaigned against Black, Indian, and Asian immigration to Britain.

The carnival was initiated by the Anti Nazi League, which has organized a number of similar actions over the past year.

Just before the carnival, word was received by its organizers that the Nazis were planning a march in Brick Lane on London's East Side. The organizers mobilized East Side residents to counterdemonstrate. Some 1,000 people responded to their call.

Also that weekend, conferences of teachers and railway workers were held to discuss the fight against the National Front.

Czech dissident arrested

Dissident sources in Czechoslovakia report that Jaroslav Sabata, a spokesperson for the Charter 77 movement in that country, has been arrested. Sabata will be tried on charges of violent resistance to the state, the sources said.

According to the sources, Sabata was arrested shortly after returning from Poland, where he met with Polish opposition leaders. Two other men were arrested with him.

Charter 77, a petition demanding democratic rights in Czechoslovakia, has gained hundreds of signatures since it was first circulated in January 1977. A number of its supporters have previously been arrested by the Czech government.

More blood on South Africa's hands

"JOHANNESBURG—A South African magistrate ruled yesterday that no one bears criminal responsibility for the death of a young black man who plunged from a fifth-floor window while in the custody of security police last July.

"The man, Lungile Tabalaza, 19, was in the same Port Elizabeth police station in which Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko was being held when he was fatally injured in September 1977. Tabalaza was the 23rd person to die while in the custody of South African security police since 1976. . . .

"Magistrate J.A. Coetzee said he could not determine from the evidence why Tabalaza jumped from the window but said two policemen who had been questioning him could not be held responsible." —*Washington Post*, October 4.

—Peter Archer

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...Camp David accords

Continued from preceding page

for action against Zionist aggression. What about Egypt? Will the signing of a Sadat-Begin pact at least lead to peace and stability on that front?

It may be that Sadat will succeed for a time in separating Egypt from the rest of the Arab regimes forced into confrontation with Israel. But that will hardly solve his problems in Egypt.

In a speech to the Egyptian People's Assembly October 2, Sadat promised that "we are on the way to peace and on the way to prosperity." But Sadat's



SADAT

imperialist supporters know very well that Egypt is not on the way to prosperity, and they are afraid that his promises will backfire.

On the same day as Sadat's speech, an article by Thomas Lippman in the *Washington Post* described an Egyptian worker observing Cairo's chaotic and antiquated transportation system. Those workers who are lucky enough not to be among Egypt's 1 million unemployed spend hours traveling to and from work every day.

"After peace comes, no more of that," the worker told Lippman. "Everything will be all right."

Lippman went on to say:

"Similar vignettes can be found all across Egypt, variations on the theme that peace will bring prosperity. The 40 million people of an exhausted and poverty-stricken country are looking forward to peace in the belief it will quickly bring them a better life.

"They are likely to be disappointed.

"Economists, bankers, businessmen and political leaders agree that peace with Israel will mean little immediate relief for the Egyptian masses."

Egypt has a foreign debt of more than \$13 billion. If the U.S. economy were laboring under a similar burden, the equivalent would be a debt of about \$2 trillion.

Sadat was no doubt promised considerable U.S. aid as part of the negotia-



Sadat had to call out army to break up protests against his regime in January 1977. Imperialists are demanding new austerity measures.

tions leading up to the Camp David accords. But there is no way that he will get the type of aid that would be necessary to get the Egyptian economy out of debt.

Austerity measures urged on Sadat by the International Monetary Fund resulted in massive riots in January 1977. The average Egyptian worker makes less than two dollars a day, and is heavily dependent on government subsidies that keep down the price of food, cooking oil, and other necessities.

"But donors and lenders, including the United States," Lippman reports, "are pressing for further reductions in the budget deficit, estimated at \$1.3 billion this year, and in the balance of trade deficit, which could be \$2 billion. . . ."

Hunger and speedup. That is the perspective offered the Egyptian people by imperialism. It is not a recipe for social stability.

From this point of view, it is necessary to ask what will be the reaction of Washington and Tel Aviv if Sadat is threatened with revolution in Egypt? After all, the imperialists were prepared to invade Jordan in a similar situation.

The fact is that the deeper Washington gets involved in the Middle East, and the more elaborate and far-reaching its investments—both economic and political—the greater is the danger of U.S. military intervention, and with it, of World War III.

That is the real meaning of the Camp David accords.

German woman framed as terrorist by FBI

When twenty-eight-year-old Kristina Berster was arrested near the U.S.-Canada border July 16, she was charged with attempting to enter the United States illegally. But the newspaper headlines indicted her for something more serious than passport violations.

"Terrorist Held After Attempt to Enter U.S." screamed the *Rutland [Vermont] Herald*. Other newspapers accused her of being a member of the Baader-Meinhof "gang," and an FBI press officer bragged that her arrest "marked the first time a member of the notorious urban gang has been apprehended trying to enter this country." The U.S. Attorney in Burlington, Vermont, called Berster one of the thirty-four most wanted people in the world.

Even though the West German embassy denied that Berster was a member of the Baader-Meinhof group, the FBI continued to make the most of having captured a "terrorist." After all, the fight against international "terrorism" is one of the bureau's few remaining rationalizations for its infiltration and harassment of political dissidents.

Berster is being held in an Albany, New York, jail. Her bail was originally set at half a million dollars, the largest ever for a border charge.

If convicted, Berster could be sent-

enced to twenty years in prison. If extradited back to West Germany she could suffer the same fate as other alleged "terrorists." She has applied for political asylum in the United States.

In 1971 Kristina Berster was active in the student movement in Heidelberg, West Germany, helping to build demonstrations for prison reform. A police informer, pressed to provide the name of everyone involved in radical activity, fingered her to the cops. She was charged with having "built up a criminal association" and spent six months in pretrial detention.

In the witch-hunt atmosphere that prevailed, Berster and some of her friends became convinced they could never get a fair trial. In 1973 she went underground, a step she now thinks might have been a mistake.

A Berster Defense Committee has been formed in Burlington and is attempting to show that the terrorist smears in the press have made it impossible for Berster to receive a fair trial. Local feminists have also come to her defense. Her supporters are fighting not only a hostile press but also an FBI that wants to use Berster's attempt to enter the U.S. to whip up a "terrorist" scare.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

France: 15,000 march against nuclear plant



Rouge

Between fifteen and twenty thousand persons marched through Brest, France, on September 23 to protest plans for construction of a nuclear power plant in Plogoff, a small village nearby.

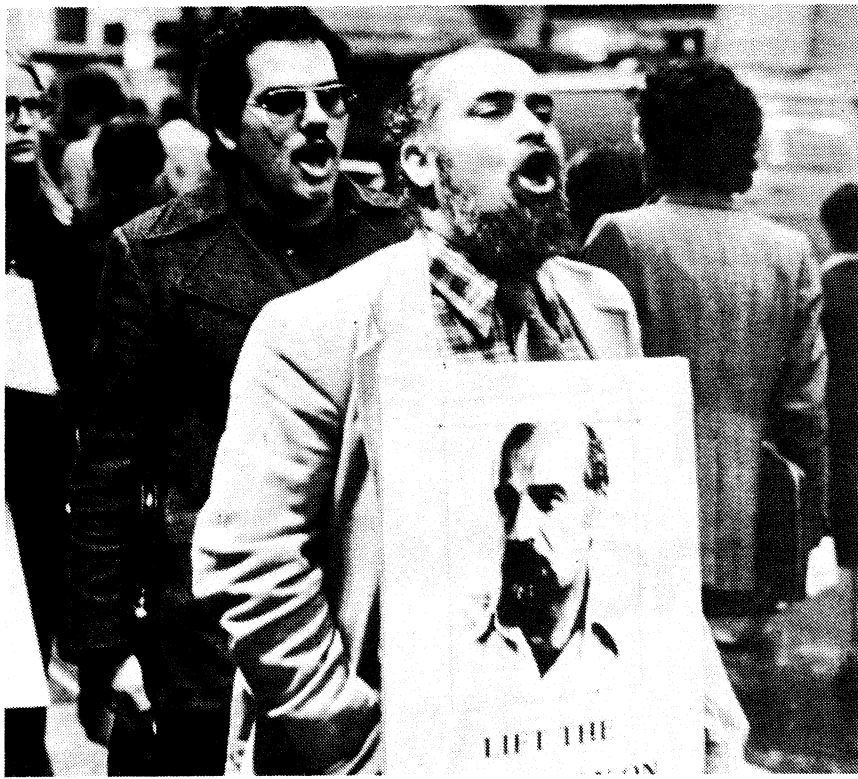
The demonstration had been planned for some time by the *Comités Locaux d'Information sur le Nucleaire* (CLIN—Local Nuclear Information Committees).

On September 17, 5,000 persons

rallied at Feunteul Aod against the Plogoff plant. Soon thereafter, a coalition of twenty-three organizations was initiated by the Unified Socialist Party to help build support for the CLIN's September 23 march.

The coalition included the union federations CGT and CFTD, the teachers union FEN, the student organization UNEF, the Communist and Socialist parties, and the Revolutionary Communist League.

CAIFI hits martial law in Iran



Reza Baraheni (right) at New York CAIFI picket line Militant/Rich Robohm

NEW YORK—One hundred fifty people picketed the Iranian consulate in midtown Manhattan October 4 to demand the lifting of martial law in Iran.

Called by the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI), the protest attracted considerable attention, and several passersby joined the picket line. In addition to demanding that martial law be ended, picketers chanted, "Stop the massacre in Iran!" "Stop U.S. aid to the shah!" "Free all political prisoners!" and "Lift the travel ban on Dr. Seyyed-Javadi!"

Seyyed-Javadi, a prominent intellectual and a leader of the movement for democratic rights in Iran, was forced into hiding after the shah's bloody crackdown on September 8. In view of the bloody record of the shah's secret police, it is clear that Seyyed-Javadi's life is in danger and that only international protests can secure his safety.

Dr. Reza Baraheni, Iranian poet and honorary chairperson of CAIFI, and Marxist scholar George Novack addressed a brief rally after the picket.

...Smith

Continued from back page

an embarrassing position. This is particularly so, since Smith has recently stepped up his repression against the Zimbabwean freedom fighters. Rhodesian bombers have also been pounding refugee camps and guerrilla bases in neighboring Mozambique and Zambia, in clear violation of the sovereignty of these Black African countries.

In an attempt to take the White House off the spot, Carter has tried to palm off Smith's visit as a chance to get new talks going that could lead to a peaceful settlement of the Rhodesian conflict.

Secretary of State Cyrus Vance met with Smith October 9. Both Vance and Smith said afterwards that no progress had been made toward settling their differences. But since the talks were—as always—held behind closed doors, the real character of the discussions remains a secret.

The truth is that Carter wants to keep Smith afloat, at least until a negotiated settlement can be worked out with leaders of the Zimbabwean nationalist forces that are steadily eating away at the Smith regime.

The last thing Washington wants is for Smith to be overthrown by a massive Black upsurge.

At best that would lead to a Black government that—under intense mass pressure—would not be a reliable defender of imperialist interests in Zimbabwe.

At worst, the struggle against Smith could escape the control of more moderate nationalist leaders, directly threatening imperialist domination of Zimbabwe.

Moreover, a revolutionary development in Zimbabwe would send tremors through Washington's staunchest ally in Africa—the apartheid regime of South Africa.

Given this specter, Washington would prefer to see a negotiated settle-

ment that undercuts the nationalist struggle to the greatest possible extent. It apparently believes that the internal settlement falls short of this, and that a broader layer of Black leaders could potentially be brought to terms that Washington finds acceptable.

But the demonstrations during Smith's visit to the United States can impress upon Carter that the American people will have no part of his schemes. That sentiment was best expressed in one of the slogans that has been raised in the protests:

"U.S. Hands Off Zimbabwe!"

New York Socialist Workers Campaign Rally

Sat. October 21.
7:00 p.m. reception
8:00 p.m. rally
10:00 p.m. party

Millbank Chapel, Columbia Teachers College 525 W. 120th St. at Broadway (IRT local @ 116th St.)

Speakers:

Sharon Grant, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress, 14th District;

Héctor Marroquín, seeking political asylum in U.S.;

Dianne Feeley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor; **others.**

Donation \$3.00 (rally and party) \$1.50 for unemployed and high school students.

For more information: (212) 982-5963.

A copy of our report is filed with the Federal Election Commission and is available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C., Chairman: Catarino Garza. Treasurer: Gale Shangold.

African solidarity notes



Koka challenges racists in Louisville

The U.S. tour of South African trade unionist and Black rights fighter Drake Koka is off to a good start.

In Louisville, 160 people—including many foreign students—attended the meeting where Koka spoke. A white South African family repeatedly interrupted Koka, calling him a terrorist. Koka explained that the real terrorist in South Africa is the white supremacist government.

The racists also claimed that the apartheid regime's "homelands" policy is good for both Blacks and whites. (Under this policy, Blacks are citizens of one of several reservations—called Bantustans—which are supposedly Black-ruled. Outside these reservations, Blacks have no rights—even on paper.)

Several Africans in the audience, including a woman from the Transkei (a Bantustan declared "independent" by South Africa) answered the racists.

Endorsers of the meeting included: Kentucky Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression; African Peoples Socialist Party; Young Socialist Alliance; University of Louisville Pan African Studies Department; Black American Law Students Association; University of Louisville Sociology Department; Socialist Workers Party; Amelia House, an exiled South African poet; and Kentucky Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee.

Koka in Ohio and Indiana

In Toledo, Ohio, Koka spoke to a meeting, attended mostly by Black auto workers, at the United Auto Workers Local 1058 hall. The local, an endorser of the tour, provided the hall free of charge.

Representatives of the Toledo chapter of Amnesty International attended both the 1058 meeting and Koka's engagement at Toledo University.

Koka also received a warm welcome at the University of Cincinnati. Among the sponsors there were Southern Christian Leadership Conference leader Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth and the local NAACP chapter.

Two hundred students came out to hear Koka at Indiana University in Bloomington and the Purdue University extension at Indianapolis.

Donald Woods endorses Koka tour. . .

The Drake Koka Tour Committee has announced that exiled South African journalist Donald Woods has endorsed the Koka tour.

Woods, who is white, is the former editor of the East London *Daily Dispatch*. He was banned in October 1977 by the South African government for his opposition to apartheid.

Woods later escaped to Lesotho then to Britain, and is now living in the United States. He has written a widely acclaimed book on the life of Steve Biko, a founder of the Black Consciousness Movement who was murdered by South African police while in custody September 12, 1977.



DRAKE KOKA



DONALD WOODS

...and NYU conference on South Africa

Woods is also a new endorser of the conference on South Africa called by the North East Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa (NECLSA). The conference is slated for New York University on November 17-19.

Want to get involved?

For more information on the Koka tour contact: Drake Koka Tour Committee, c/o Greenwich Village-Chelsea NAACP, 42 Grove Street, New York, New York. Phone: (212) 243-1650.

For information on the upcoming conference on Southern Africa contact: NECLSA, c/o American Committee on Africa, 305 East Forty-sixth Street, New York, New York 10017; and Divestiture Working Group, 1570 Oak Street #215, Evanston, Illinois 60201. Phone (312) 492-3122. (The DWG conference will be held October 20-22 at Northwestern University in Evanston.)

—Omari Musa



Carter offers peanuts to the oppressed, at home and abroad.

Who will develop the colonial world?

Michael Harrington's
'The Vast Majority'



Cuban workers and peasants demonstrate in support of radical measures taken by Castro government after fall of Batista.

The Vast Majority: A Journey to the World's Poor. By Michael Harrington. Simon and Schuster, New York. 1977. 281 pages. \$9.95.

In *The Vast Majority* Michael Harrington, national chairperson of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC), describes how the advanced capitalist countries, preeminently the United States, block the progress of the semicolonial countries and perpetuate their poverty.

Explosive events now taking place in Peru, Nicaragua, Iran, and Africa highlight the potential value of such

velop the semicolonial countries.

Such measures would require the native capitalists to mobilize the power of the colonial masses against imperialism. But given this choice, the native capitalists always end up in an alliance with imperialism *against* the masses. This is because the native capitalists prefer backwardness to mass mobilizations—which tend to grow over into socialist revolutions that would put them out of business along with the imperialists.

As a result, Trotsky explained, only the working class, in the leadership of the peasant masses in a revolutionary struggle against capitalism, can bring genuine social progress in the colonial and semicolonial countries.

The facts in *The Vast Majority* confirm Trotsky's thesis, although Harrington recoils from Trotsky's revolutionary political conclusions.

The metropolitan nations, Harrington shows, do not want industrialized competitors in the colonial world. And in the absence of a strong domestic market, local mercantile capital in these countries does not invest in industry. Instead it imports luxury goods from abroad.

The artisans displaced by the cheap manufactured goods from the world market cannot find jobs in industry. This contributes to the flow of a huge mass of unemployed into the cities.

Many members of this "surplus population" go as underpaid "guest workers" to the European countries or as "illegals" to the United States, reproducing the international caste system in the very centers of the "advanced" countries.

'Green revolution'?

Foreign capital brings only enclaves of modernity without transforming colonial society. There is no agricultural revolution such as antedated the industrial revolution in the West. Agriculture produces predominantly export crops for the world market. Subsistence agriculture is destroyed. Large landowners become rich by selling to the wealthy nations, while most children are undernourished.

The "Green Revolution," for which such hopes were held, cannot be effective without vast outlays for fertilizer, irrigation, storage facilities, and transportation—that is, without an industrial revolution, which the struc-

ture of the society prevents.

As the American Nobel laureate economist Wassily Leontiev put it in a study he made for the United Nations, the elimination of hunger in underdeveloped countries through an agricultural revolution and industrialization is "physically possible." But this is dependent "to a large extent on land reform and other social and institutional changes."

These diplomatically restrained words express the need for social revolution.

Harrington, however, is cowed by the enormity of the tasks posed by the need for socialist revolution.

He is also repulsed by the ugliness of the bureaucratic features of the Maoist and post-Maoist regimes of China (although he refers to these features without analyzing the social revolution that freed China from colonial exploitation—a serious weakness in his book).

So although he expresses skepticism about the schemes put forward by many current leaders of semicolonial countries to develop their countries in collaboration with imperialism, Harrington ends by accepting their prescriptions as the best possible cures for the ills of this part of the world.

For example, he counsels Washington that a shrewd sense of self-interest would result in a decision to "spend considerable moneys in helping the Third World out of its debt."

Earlier in the book, however, he points out that such governmental action would do no more than rescue private banks from the threat of default on their debts by bankrupt semicolonial regimes.

Moreover, imperialist lenders such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank impose intolerable "austerity" measures directed against the masses (as in Peru, Egypt, and Zaïre) in exchange for their "favors." While Harrington concedes the reactionary role of these agencies, he offers only the forlorn hope that they will do better under more enlightened management.

Advanced countries

Harrington is as despairing of hope for social revolution in the industrialized countries as he is for the semicolonial ones.

"The worst thing that could happen

in the Third World in the next twenty-five or fifty years," he writes, "would be a catastrophic collapse of Western capitalism. . . . [This] would, in the future as in the thirties, weaken the Left and open up a road to power toward the Right."

According to this mechanistic and pessimistic way of thinking, Hitler's rise to power during the crisis of German capitalism in the thirties signifies that the right wing must win in all capitalist crises—regardless of the policies of its opponents in the working-class movement.

But Hitler's triumph resulted from the betrayal of the masses by leaders of the Socialist and Communist parties—not from the unwillingness or inability of the masses to make a socialist revolution. Harrington ignores this.

The fear of "a catastrophic collapse of Western capitalism" is what has made Social Democrats such as Harrington accept the role of custodial administrators of capitalist states such as Great Britain, West Germany, and Denmark. They rationalize that they are "managing the crisis to protect democracy against reaction."

It is also this kind of thinking that underlies Harrington's support for the Democratic Party and his opposition to the struggle for the political independence of the working class. In the 1976 elections, for example, he embraced Carter—using finely calibrated instruments to measure the millimeters of difference between the Democrat and his Republican rival Gerald Ford.

The theory of permanent revolution cuts through the Social Democrats' theoretical fetters on the working class.

For Trotsky, revolution is an uneven, worldwide process in which victory in one country *contributes* to victory in others.

The victory of revolution in the major industrial countries will mean that international socialist planning can replace the anarchy of the capitalist world market.

This is a mighty task fraught with difficulties. But it is far from being merely a dream held by "romantics," as Harrington says. It is, as his own book shows, really the only way out for the semicolonies—as it is, indeed, for all capitalist countries.

—Paul Siegel

Books

an investigation. Unfortunately, Harrington's book fails to offer solutions to the difficult social problems he describes.

Harrington demonstrates how foreign capital in the semicolonial countries results in "the development of underdevelopment," the lopsided growth of a society as malformed as its children are malnourished.

But he claims that "up to World War II, it was still possible to believe—as both Marxists and neoclassical economists did—that capitalist expansion would develop the Third World. . . . Since World War II, it has become clear to a number of serious thinkers that this is not the case."

Contrary to Harrington, this was not a discovery made by post-World War II "serious thinkers."

Colonial capitalist class

Much earlier, Leon Trotsky had explained in his theory of permanent revolution that "capitalist expansion" could not develop the colonial countries. The imperialists want only three things out of the colonial world: cheap labor, profitable sources of raw materials, and markets for their manufactured goods.

The native capitalist class is far too dependent on its counterparts in the industrialized countries to carry out the genuine land reform and sweeping struggle against imperialist-imposed backwardness that are needed to de-



South Africa gets a new HRIC

Beginning this week staff writer Omari Musa takes over from John Hawkins as our regular columnist.

South Africa's ruling National Party has chosen a new HRIC (Head Racist In Charge) to replace Prime Minister John Vorster. His name is Pieter W. ("P.W.") Botha, the regime's defense minister since 1966.

Botha is also affectionately known as Pete Weapons. Some dub him Pete the Gun.

As he strode out of the National Party caucus, Pete the Gun told a crowd, "I intend to carry out the policy of my party with all its consequences. We will not bend our knees before Marxism or revolution."

Pete the Gun is a serious white supremacist. During his assignment as defense minister, he was responsible for organizing the apartheid regime's war machine.

He went to work to obtain the most modern weapons available in the United States, Israel, France, and West Germany. He also began building up a self-sufficient domestic arms industry, including the capacity to produce nuclear weapons.

In the past five years the South African military budget has quadrupled. It now stands at \$2.18 billion—about 20 percent of the total budget.

Pete and his fellow racists showed what their

military hardware was for in 1975-76 when they invaded Angola after getting the nod from Washington.

The MPLA, with Cuban military assistance, hung a stinging defeat on the white supremacists.

Pete the Gun has pledged to continue the regime's efforts to establish a puppet government in Namibia. Part of this effort is to pound away militarily at the independence fighters there. Another part is to prop up Black house slaves and their white overseers in the phony elections called by former Prime Minister Vorster.

Pete has also pledged to carry out the regime's



internal policy. This includes trying to drive Africans deemed "superfluous" out of so-called white areas onto Bantustans, as well as maintaining an iron fist over Blacks in townships like Soweto.

But Pete's job as HRIC won't be easy.

Ian Smith, his top ally, while not down for the count yet, is taking some heavy blows. Both the Zimbabwean guerrillas and urban masses have stepped up their activity against Smith's government.

In South Africa itself, the spirit of revolt is spreading to all layers of the Black population. High Black unemployment, jailings, arrests, and murders are fueling this spirit of rebellion.

Internationally, a movement to demand strong economic sanctions against South Africa is growing. Many are beginning to identify with the aspirations of the Black masses for Black majority rule.

Like his fellow white supremacists, Pete the Gun thinks he is destined by god to rule. And to complement their divine authority, they depend on force, whether a slaver's whip or machine gun.

But the tide is moving against white minority rule.

And more and more Blacks in South Africa are coming to realize that it is their organized mass strength that has the power to disarm Pete the Gun and all his partners.

Women in Revolt

Defending the right to choose

The twelve men in black who sit on the Supreme Court presided over a grisly debate early this month. They heard arguments on a Pennsylvania law that sensationalizes late-term abortions in order to restrict them and intimidate women and doctors.

The Pennsylvania law, and ones like it in other states, insist that if an abortion is done late in a pregnancy the doctor must try to "save" the fetus.

This focus on late-term abortions is one of the more vicious anti-abortion attacks against women.

Antichoice bigots like to focus on this issue because it feeds their false propaganda about abortion being murder.

So they push for laws such as Pennsylvania's. And they rally around prosecution of doctors who perform late-term abortions, such as Dr. Kenneth Edelin in Boston or Dr. William Waddill in California.

(Waddill, like Edelin, was found innocent. But he will be tried a second time for "strangling" a fetus that supposedly survived an abortion. With nasty irony, the trial has been slated to begin on January

22, the sixth anniversary of the Supreme Court decision that legalized abortion.)

While holding up pictures and screaming "murder," the anti-abortionists obscure the facts. Actually, according to U.S. Public Health Service statistics, fewer than 9,000 out of 1 million abortions are done after the twentieth week of pregnancy. That means *less than 1 percent* of the abortions done are performed for women who are more than twenty weeks pregnant.

The reason is simple. Abortion during the first twelve weeks of pregnancy is much safer and costs less. Women only get late abortions when forced to do so.

And it is the anti-abortionists who often force that choice on women by making early abortions unavailable. After the Hyde amendment took away Medicaid funding for poor women's abortions, for example, more women were forced to wait, putting off the abortion while they saved money for it.

Studies of late-term abortions have shown that the women involved tend to be young and poor. They are often pregnant for the first time.

Diane Wang



Typical was Marla Pitchford, the Kentucky woman recently acquitted of charges of self-abortioning. She had been denied an abortion at a clinic and in desperation used a knitting needle on herself.

The Supreme Court is weighing a lot of legal and medical arguments about when a fetus is "viable." But it takes no expertise in legal or medical jargon to understand the overriding issue:

A woman is a "viable," living human being. No matter what her reason for seeking an abortion, even when forced to do so later in her pregnancy, her right to decide must be defended.

An opinion poll done by Associated Press and NBC-TV last August showed that support for women's right to choose abortion is increasing. Now 56 percent favor abortion on demand, compared with 53 percent last March.

Women need to rally that support behind efforts to defend the right to choose. Or the next thing we know, the courts will be debating whether or not doctors can be required to save the lives of women who survive self-induced and back-alley abortions.

The American Way of Life

Where there's smoke...

In the past few years smoke detectors have been installed in approximately 30 million homes and apartments as an early warning against fire.

Smoke detectors are also possible sources of radiation poisoning.

Eighty percent of all detectors now in use are ionization detectors, which use a radioactive substance called Americium-241. This is a powerful cancer-causing agent with a half-life of 458 years. It can retain potentially lethal properties even longer.

Smoke detectors using Americium-241 operate on electricity produced from its radioactive emissions. The electricity flow is constant until smoke enters, reducing the current. This reduction trips the alarm.

While danger is small when the unit is in use, the hazard develops when the detector is discarded at the end of its usual five-year life span.

The risk is great that Americium-241 from some of the 6 million detectors thrown away every year will poison the air, the water, and eventually the food we eat.

In fact, the U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission insists that the detectors must be sent back to the manufacturers for disposal. The likelihood of this happening is minimal at best, and badly worded warning labels make it even less likely. On some units, the cover must be pried off in order to see the warning!

Smoke detection need not be so dangerous. The photoelectric detector, comparable in price and performance, has none of the dangers of the ionization type. These detectors account for about 20 percent of sales (though I have recently noticed ionization detectors on sale at half-price).

If a safer method exists, why are ionization detectors still produced and sold in the United States? (They have been banned in Japan.) Because if they were banned here, the corporations would have to recall them and dispose of them. That would cost the manufacturers a lot of money.

Saving people from fire is fine—as long as it doesn't cut into profits.

—Dave Jerome

TEXAS POLICE VIOLENCE

More incidents of police brutality in Texas have brought protests from Chicanos. More

than fifty people demonstrated in the Rio Grande Valley town of Weslaco September 9, according to *El Cuhamil*, the

newspaper of the Texas Farm Workers Union.

The incident occurred September 1, when police beat up two Chicano youths while arresting them at a church dance. When other youths came to their rescue, more cops were called, resulting in the beating and arrest of eight more Chicanos.

Within a few hours, more than 100 youths and parents arrived on the scene in protest. Police Chief Gerald Keown called on the fire department to disperse the crowd with fire hoses.

HOUSE COMMITTEE KILLS SON OF S.1

Sen. Edward Kennedy and other sponsors of the repressive criminal code bill approved by the Senate suffered a setback when the measure was killed in a House committee October 4. However, the measure can be reintroduced into the House at its January session.

The House Judiciary Committee voted unanimously that there was not sufficient time to act on the bill.

Originally authored by John "Watergate" Mitchell, and first known as S. 1, the measure purports to "modernize" the criminal code. In fact, it would impose dangerous new curbs on the right to demonstrate, strike, and other civil liberties.

Kennedy and Sen. John McClellan of Arkansas rammed the measure through the Senate, but mounting public opposition apparently gave the House reason to pause.

In a telephone interview, David Landau, staff attorney for the American Civil Liberties Union in Washington, said the House action does not mean the measure is dead. He noted that Kennedy announced immediately after the House action that he would press for passage next year.

IRANIANS, SUPPORTERS CONVICTED IN KY.

Ten Iranian and U.S. students and a professor were convicted in Lexington, Kentucky, on charges of disrupting a public meeting. The September 28 conviction stemmed from a protest outside a University of Kentucky lecture last April by CIA Director Adm. Stansfield Turner.

Militant correspondent Bronson Rozier reports that the ten received maximum fines of \$250, and nine of them were given jail terms ranging from forty-five to ninety days.

The protesters were convicted for holding signs protesting the CIA role in Iran and displaying anti-shah banners.

During the trial the tiny courtroom was filled with sup-

porters. Others gathered outside, and there were protest marches and rallies.

Those convicted included members of the Iranian Student Association, the Organization of Iranian Moslem Students, and American supporters.

After the trial, the Americans were released on their own recognizance pending appeal. The Iranians had to post \$4,000 bond apiece.

OK TO WHISTLE WHILE YOU WORK

The National Labor Relations Board ruled it's OK to whistle while you work, even if what you whistle is a labor song that gets management uptight.

The ruling resulted from a complaint by the Graphics Arts International Union against a Memphis printing plant. Management had ordered its employees "not to whistle, hum, or sing" after workers were heard doing stanzas of such labor songs as "Solidarity Forever."

CHICANO ACTIVIST JAILED IN EL PASO

An El Paso Chicano activist was remanded to prison September 12 on charges of violating probation by driving drunk.

Ramon Arroyos, a leader of

Selective prosecution?

Rep. Charles Diggs (D-Mich.) says he expects to be reelected even though he was convicted October 7 of padding his congressional payroll for his own benefit.

If the Black Detroit-area representative is reelected, it will reflect a wide belief that he was the victim of selective racist prosecution.

It's hard to believe otherwise, even if he's guilty.

If the government prosecuted every member of Congress who has dipped a hand in the till, they'd have to elect a whole new Congress.

Similarly with Sen. Edward Brooke (R-Mass.) The lone Black member of the Senate, he is being hassled for allegedly understating under oath his assets in a divorce proceeding—a practice that could be described as not the most uncommon.

The most clear-cut case of selective racist prosecution is the recommendation by a House subcommittee that

Rep. Edward Roybal (D-Calif.) be censured for his denial under oath that he took cash from Tongsun Park, the South Korean influence peddler.

Two Anglo Democrats from California had the same charge against them, but the committee recommended a lesser penalty.

A number of Chicano groups, including the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), vigorously protested.

LULAC President Eduardo Peña charged that Roybal's defense was "dismissed out of hand, and yet similar statements by Anglo congressmen were accepted at face value."

Moreover, Park testified that he had handed out cash and other favors to scores of congressmembers, yet action has been taken against only three—with the only severe penalty directed against a Chicano.

What's Going On

CALIFORNIA SAN FRANCISCO

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RECEPTION AND PARTY. Speaker: Sylvia Weinstein, Socialist Workers Party candidate for board of education; entertainment by women's jazz combo, and singer Kip Harvey. Sat., Oct. 14, 7 p.m. Daisy's Deli, 1114 Bryant. Aup: Weinstein for Board of Education Campaign Committee. For more information call (415) 824-1992.

COLORADO BOULDER

HECTOR MARROQUIN SPEAKS ON HIS FIGHT FOR POLITICAL ASYLUM. Other Speakers: Antonia Sandoval; Abelardo Delgado. Wed., Oct. 18, 7:30 p.m. Univ. of Colo. campus, room to be announced. Aup: United Mexican American Students. For more information call (303) 492-6571.

DENVER

HECTOR MARROQUIN SPEAKS ON HIS FIGHT FOR POLITICAL ASYLUM. Thurs., Oct. 19, noon. Auraria Student Activities Center, Room 330. 9th & Lawrence sts. Aup: Community College Denver Student Activities Board. For more information call (303) 534-8954.

HECTOR MARROQUIN SPEAKS ON HIS FIGHT FOR POLITICAL ASYLUM. Other speakers: Phillip Herrera, president, Independent Municipal Employees

Federation; others. Thurs., Oct. 19, 7:30 p.m. Denver Labor Center, Room 3. 360 Acoma. For more information call (303) 534-8954.

FLORIDA MIAMI

THREE MORE STATES... ON TO VICTORY FOR THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT. Speakers: Cathy Hillery, Socialist Workers Party; others. Fri., Oct. 20, 8 p.m. 7623 NE 2nd Ave. Donation \$1.25. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (305) 756-8358.

RALLY TO DEFEND LEO HARRIS. Speakers to be announced. Sun., Oct. 22, 7:30 p.m. Miami Dade Community College North Campus, Room 1121. NW 110th St. & 27th Ave. Aup: Leo Harris Defense Committee. For more information call (305) 756-8358

GEORGIA ATLANTA

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY CAMPAIGN RALLY. 'THE WORKING CLASS KEEPS THE COUNTRY RUNNING; THE WORKING CLASS SHOULD RUN THE COUNTRY.' Speaker: Don Davis, SWP candidate for governor. Sat., Oct. 21, reception 7 p.m.; rally 8 p.m. 509 Peachtree St. NE. Aup: SWP campaign. For more information call (404) 872-7229.

KENTUCKY LOUISVILLE

ABORTION RIGHTS UNDER ATTACK. Speakers: Beth Thrush, Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights; Cathy Ford, Louisville National Organization for Women; Liz Jayko, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Oct. 15, 7 p.m. 1505 W. Broadway. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

LOUISIANA NEW ORLEANS

FIGHT FOR THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT. A report back from the National Organization for Women national conference. Speakers: Rachel Knapik, Socialist Workers Party; others. Fri., Oct. 20, 8 p.m. 3319 S. Carrollton. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (504) 486-8048.

MASSACHUSETTS BOSTON

THREE YEARS OF BUSING—IS IT WORKING? THE CURRENT STATE OF SCHOOL DESEGREGATION IN BOSTON. Speaker: Brenda Franklin, was monitor at S. Boston High School in 1975, member of NAACP, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress, 9th District. Fri., Oct. 20, 8 p.m. 510

Commonwealth Ave. (at Kenmore Sq.). Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

MINNESOTA MESABI IRON RANGE

SHOULD THE CONSTITUTION RESTRICT A WOMAN'S RIGHT TO CHOOSE ABORTION? A DEBATE. Speakers: Mickey Scholtus, Abortion Rights Council; Bob McCoy, Midwestern Women's Health Center, National Abortion Rights Action League; Jean Weir, Mary Lou Halunen, Minnesota Concerned Citizens for Life. Fri., Oct. 20, 7 p.m. Northern Electric Coop Association, 1500 165th St. S., Virginia. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (218) 741-4968.

NEW JERSEY NEWARK

THE 'TAX REFORM' MOVEMENT IN NEW JERSEY: BOOM OR BUST FOR WORKING PEOPLE? A DEBATE. Speakers: Dr. John Donato, Fiscal Sanity of Newark; Andy Farrand, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Oct. 20, 8 p.m. 11-A Central. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK NEW YORK CITY

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: Sharon Grant, SWP candidate for Congress, 14th C.D.; Hé-

ctor Marroquin, seeking political asylum in the United States; Dianne Feeley, SWP candidate for governor; others. Sat., Oct. 21, reception 7 p.m.; rally 8 p.m.; party 10 p.m. Millbank Chapel, Columbia Teachers College, 525 W. 120th St. at Broadway (IRT located at 116th). Donation: \$3. Aup: Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (212) 982-5963.

WASHINGTON TACOMA

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RECEPTION. Speaker: Mary Smith, SWP candidate for Congress. Sat., Oct. 28, 8 p.m. 902 S. 8th. Aup: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (206) 627-0432.

WISCONSIN MILWAUKEE

WOMEN'S RIGHTS: A REPORT FROM THE NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR WOMEN NATIONAL CONFERENCE. Speaker: Adrienne Kaplan, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor. Fri., Oct. 20, 8 p.m. 3901 N. 27th St. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

U.S. POSTAL SERVICE STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION (Required by 39 U.S.C. 3685)

- Title of publication: *The Militant*.
- Publication No. 349040.
- Date of filing: September 30, 1978.
- Frequency of issue: Weekly. (A) No. of issues published annually: 49. (B) Annual subscription price: \$15.00.
- Location of known office of publication: 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.
- Location of the headquarters or general business office of the publishers: 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.
- Names and complete addresses of publisher, editor and managing editor: Publisher: The Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Editor: Mary-Alice Waters, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Managing Editor: Stephen P. Clark, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.
- Owner (If owned by a corporation,

its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, its name and address, as well as that of each individual must be given.) 408 Printing & Publishing Corp., 408 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Joel Britton, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Thomas Kerry, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Allan Hansen, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Elizabeth Stone, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Barbara Matson, 407 S. Dearborn #1145, Chicago, Ill. 60605. Gus Horowitz, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Caroline Lund, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Jack Barnes, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Peter Camejo, 1250 Wilshire Blvd. #404, Los Angeles, Ca. 90017. Doug Jenness, 410

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8. Known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of the total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities (if there are none, so state). None.

9. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at special rates. Does not apply.

10. Extent and nature of circulation. Average no. copies each issue during preceding 12 months. A. Total no. copies printed (net press run), 19,452. B. Paid Circulation (1) Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales, 7,177. (2) Mail subscrip-

tions, 10,587. C. Total paid circulation (Sum of 10B1 and 10B2), 17,764. D. Free distribution by mail, carrier or other means, samples, complimentary and other free copies, 217. E. Total distribution (Sum of C and D), 17,981. F. Copies not distributed (1) Office use, left over, unaccounted, spoiled after printing, 1,394. (2) Returns from news agents, 77. G. Total (Sum of E, F1, and 2—should equal net press run shown in A), 19,452.

Actual no. of copies of single issues published nearest to filing date: A. Total no. copies printed (net press run), 24,600. B. Paid circulation (1) Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales, 17,250. (2) Mail subscriptions, 5,650. C. Total paid circulation (Sum of 10B1 and 10B2), 22,900. D. Free distribution by mail, carrier or other means, samples complimentary and other free copies, 123. E. Total distribution (Sum of C and D), 23,023. F. Copies not distributed (1) Office use, left over, unaccounted, spoiled after printing, 1,513. (2) returns from news agents, 64.

G. Total (Sum of E, F1, and 2—should equal net press run shown in A), 24,600.

11. I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.

(signed)

Andrea Baron
Business Manager

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Chicanos Unidos, had been convicted in 1976 of participating in the fire bombing of a department store, a charge he vigorously denied. He was given five years' probation.

Last March police stopped his car and charged him with being drunk. Arroyos says that the drunkenness test was improperly administered. He has produced medical records showing he has a congenital deformity that causes his foot to turn outward under stress.

The assistant district attorney denied politics were involved in jailing Arroyos, but sought to grill him about the goals of Chicanos Unidos.

THE MILITANT GETS AROUND (I)

Omar Musa's September 29 article on repression in South Africa was reproduced in the Charlotte, South Carolina, Black weekly, the *Chronicle*.

Now the regular author of our column, "By Any Means Necessary," Musa's column of September 9 on the anniversary of the Attica rebellion was reprinted in *UMOJA*, the magazine published by the Albany, New York, State University Black Alliance.

THE MILITANT GETS AROUND (II)

The September 30 issue of *An Phoblacht*, paper of the Provisional Sinn Fein movement in Ireland, reprinted our report of August 4 on the House of Representatives whitewash of members involved in the Ko-

Quote unquote

"I don't imagine myself in any sort of elected office again."
—Richard Nixon

reagate scandal. This included majority leader Thomas "Tip" O'Neill, who was guest of honor at lavish parties thrown by Tongsun Park, the Korean influence peddler.

The Irish paper was undoubtedly interested in the facts of O'Neill's irregular conduct, since he was one of the leading Irish-American politicians to righteously denounce "terrorism" by Irish revolutionaries and to urge Irish people here to stop supporting the freedom movement in Ireland.

BY YOUR SPECIAL GUM-SHOED REPORTER

Testifying before a Senate subcommittee allegedly considering legislation to curb the FBI, the agency director William Webster said that the FBI has "about four informants who are connected with the news media in various ways."

He took a dim view of proposals to bar use of journalists, clergymembers, etc., from functioning as secret gumshoes.

He assured that FBI plants on newspapers are "in no way connected with editorial policy," apparently suggesting they don't need to pay anyone to write those editorials.

S.F. Irish protest British fleet



Militant/Wendy Moscano

By Joe Cole

SAN FRANCISCO—This city's largest protest ever against British troops in Ireland brought 1,000 pickets to the dock where Britain's visiting Pacific fleet is moored.

Sponsoring the October 1 action were the Irish Action Committee and the Irish Republican Committee.

Given the large Irish community here, the planned demonstration sparked a controversy that made news for a week prior to the event. Billboards and bus posters proclaiming, "Ireland is England's Vietnam," evoked editorials in both major dailies. The editorials sought to smear the demonstrators with a terrorist brush.

However, Britain's eleven warships and a nuclear sub

were met at Fisherman's Wharf by a peaceful demonstration whose demands were, "British out" and "Stop the torture."

Three women from Northern Ireland were present to draw attention to the miserable plight of Irish political prisoners.

Also on hand was a contingent of Nicaraguans with a banner held high: "Nicaragua/Ireland International Solidarity."

The British Navy showed its true colors. When the public was invited for a tour of the ships, leaflets were illegally stripped away from visitors by British officers.

KPIX-TV, which filmed the episode, reported in outraged tones that not since the Revolutionary War have British troops confiscated literature on American soil!

The Great Society

Harry Ring



Just to the civilized ones—We don't know the disposition, but this spring a congressional committee was considering an amendment to the foreign-aid bill forbidding the export of thumb-screws, leg irons, shackles, electric shock batons, dart guns, and so on, to the security forces of governments "engaged in gross violations of human rights."

Dog is no pig—A German shepherd was retired from the Bellvue, Washington, police force because he couldn't stomach the work. Officials acted on the recommendation of a vet who said the dog "would actually get sick to his stomach when the blue lights and sirens were activated, signaling he would soon be tracking a criminal."

Most credible testimony of the week—In its closing session, the House Assassinations Committee heard from former CIA Director Richard Helms, who made three points: 1) He much regretted not having told the Warren Commission about CIA efforts to assassinate Castro. 2) There was no truth to the rumor that

Oswald once worked for the CIA. 3) He could not explain why thirty-seven pages were missing from the CIA's file on Oswald.

Saps the bodily juices too—This column's new antinicotinic ally, the Chinese government, recently advised through the *People's Daily*, that students who smoked were generally less disciplined and productive and their minds were easily led astray by enemies of the workers.

Requires college education?—Apparently regarding it as news, the *Christian Science Monitor* reports how "a resourceful young professional woman" decided to "attack rising food prices directly." It's quite novel. She uses cents-off coupons, shops for specials, buys smaller, cheaper cuts of meat, and makes more casseroles and soups.

Altruism runs rampant—To promote better health, the President's Council on Physical Fitness is cosponsoring "Walking Tours of America." The other cosponsor? The Kinney Shoe Corporation.

Union Talk

Profit—a dirty word

This week's column is reprinted from the '09 Express,' newsletter of United Steelworkers Local 2609 at Sparrows Point near Baltimore. It was written by Local 2609 President David Wilson.

July 23rd, 1978—Time, 1:30 P.M. Temperature 101 degrees.

Pleasant Sharpe, aged 53, headed toward his car. "Lord it's hot", he thought to himself as he climbed in and hit the starter. "I'll be glad when this turn's done."

At about the same time Dunlap Johnson, aged 56, struggled down his front steps. "Damn this arthritis", he thought, as the pain in his right knee sent shock waves all the way to the back of his head. "I'll be glad when I can retire; can't take much more as hot as it is."

Johnson and Sharpe were two of approximately one thousand people headed toward Sparrows Point on that hot Sunday afternoon.

Both were looking forward to the end of their shifts, even before they got to work. They were both, at times, preoccupied with the bittersweet thought of retiring. They both looked forward to returning home that night just as did the rest of the people headed to work that afternoon. But fate, with an assist from Bethlehem, did not intend to let their plans be fulfilled.

At about 6:30 P.M., Sharpe started to feel like he was going to throw up. The heat had started to bother him earlier in the day, but he kept going. He told the foreman he was sick and wanted to go to the dispensary. The foreman told him to sit down and made a call for the company ambulance.

At about 7:00 P.M., he arrived at the dispensary and gave the medical assistant his history. He started to faint. They laid him on a bed. Next thing he knew, he was falling, everything was going black, he had to get up, he struggled. "No, No, No," his mind screamed, "Let me get up." He felt hands holding him, uniforms, police.

"You don't understand", he screamed; but no words came out. They just stared.

"Hold him, hold him down!", he heard them yell, and he struggled more violently, until, at last, six policemen

subdued him. He lapsed into blissful unconsciousness.

Meanwhile, totally unaware of the drama taking place at the dispensary, Johnson continued to work. He felt bad when he started, and gradually got worse. He gritted his teeth. "I'll make the turn", he thought—pushing, always evermore, pushing—something he'd learned to do over ten years earlier when his arthritis got bad.

At about 7:30, he felt dizzy. He looked at his hands, "Damn, I've stopped sweating, what the ___?". Before he could finish his thought, he fell to the floor unconscious. He died on July 26th. Sharpe, at this writing, has suffered a cardiac arrest and may also die.

Both men had a heat stroke, caused by the tremendously hot work environment. Johnson becomes the fourth fatality at the Sparrows Point Plant this year.

We're not in a war. We're not fighting for God, glory and country. We're working people, just trying to make a living. This is the United States. The law says we're entitled to a healthy place to work.

What's wrong? What's wrong is that the company, in their obscene search for *more profit*, considers the workers as the most easily replaceable commodity they have, plentiful and cheap.

That, to me, makes profit a dirty word.

The story is the same in every Bethlehem plant—more work, less people—forced overtime—don't train. Look at Goldschmidt in the 56" Cold Mill, penalizes men for not working doubles, or for going to the dispensary, while he waddles home from his air-conditioned office, right on time every day.

On July 23rd, (before Sharpe and Johnson), there were four cases of heat prostration treated at the plant dispensary. Corporate policy would not allow local supervision to give additional relief, more break time, or may be even shut a unit down. Corporate policy, to this day, has rejected these ideas.

So, we must learn from the misfortune of Johnson and Sharpe—when it's hot slow down! Don't work overtime! If you feel bad, go to the dispensary, don't "push yourself". To your family, yourself and to me, you are one hundred percent irreplaceable. Handle yourself with care—the Co. doesn't.

Socialist defense policy

On July 15, 1941, a federal grand jury handed down indictments of twenty-eight leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and members of Teamsters Local 544 in Minneapolis on charges of "conspiracy to overthrow the government by force and violence."

The trial was the first use of the notorious Smith "Gag" Act, passed by Congress the year before.

The Civil Rights Defense Committee was formed to fight this attack on civil liberties. The committee gained support from 150 unions, representing more than 5 million members, as well as from hundreds of individuals and organizations.

The trial began on October 27 and lasted a little more than a month. Eighteen of the defendants were found guilty and railroaded to federal prison for up to sixteen months.

Shortly after the trial, James P. Cannon, national secretary of the SWP and one of those imprisoned, wrote an explanation of the SWP's defense strategy. Excerpts are printed below.

In the Minneapolis "sedition" trial, as in the months-long trade-union battle which preceded and led up to it, the American Trotskyists were put to the test and compelled to show what stuff they are made of. In both instances they conducted themselves in a manner befitting disciples of Trotsky and met the test in all respects.

In the fight with the trade-union bureaucracy, which attracted national attention, it was clearly shown who the real leaders of militant labor, the real men of principle, really are. In the trial before the bourgeois court the party, by the conduct of all its members involved, earned the right to the confidence of the revolutionary workers. The two struggles, which in reality were two sides of one and the same struggle, marked a climactic point in the activity of the American movement which had developed in a restricted circle since its inception thirteen years before.

At the trial we had the opportunity, for the first time, to speak to the masses—to the people of the United States. We seized upon the opportunity and made the most of it. Since then the movement in the United States stands on higher ground.

The prosecution was designed to outlaw the party and deprive it, perhaps for a long time, of the active services of a number of its most experienced leaders. At the same time it was obvious that the mass trial, properly handled on our part,

could give us our first real opportunity to make the party and its principles known to wide circles of workers and to gain a sympathetic hearing from them.

Our strategy, from the beginning, took both sides of the problem into account. Naturally, we decided to utilize to the fullest extent each and every legal protection, technicality and resource available to us under the law and the Constitution. A party leadership hesitating or neglecting to do this would frivolously jeopardize the legality of the party and show a very wasteful attitude indeed toward party cadres.

On the other hand, we planned to conduct our defense in court not as a "criminal" defense but as a propaganda offensive. Without foolishly disregarding or provoking the jury or needlessly helping the prosecutor, it was our aim to use the courtroom as a forum to popularize the principles of our movement. We saw in this second proposition our main duty and opportunity and never for a moment intended to let purely legalistic considerations take precedence over it. Therefore we sternly rejected the repeated advice of attorneys . . . to leave the defense policy to the lawyers.

From the rather unhappy experiences of past trials of militants in the courts of the United States we knew what following such advice would mean: Deny or keep quiet about the revolutionary principles of the movement; permit the lawyers to disavow and ridicule the defendants, and pass them off as somewhat foolish people belonging to a party which is not to be taken seriously.

The October plenum-conference of the party unanimously endorsed the National Committee's recommendations on courtroom policy. The resolution of the conference laid down the policy as follows:

"The policy of the party in defending itself in court, obligatory for all party members under indictment, can only be one that is worthy of our movement and our tradition; no attempt to water down or evade our revolutionary doctrine, but, on the contrary, to defend it militantly. At the same time we maintain that we have a legal right under the Bill of Rights to propagate our principles."

We think it can be safely said that the policy has been amply vindicated by the results. Our principles were widely popularized, a hundred or a thousand times better than ever before, and our conduct before the court has met with approval and sympathy from the militant workers who followed the trial and read the testimony.

'Explain it'

When I started reading the *Militant* almost two years ago, one thing that bothered me was the level of rhetoric. In particular, I thought the terms "racist" and "sexist" were often bandied about indiscriminately—better to explain *why* something is racist or sexist than to just label it as such.

Something similar jarred me a bit in the September 29 issue. The following two quotes were used as closing sentences in two articles: "All labor has a stake in the California Teamsters' fight" and "An ILGWU victory . . . would be a victory . . . for all working people . . ." (from the articles "Calif. Teamsters' strike firm in third month" and "Garment union sues 'la Migra'"). While both are true statements, neither was developed in the text. They are presented in such a way that many people

American Telephone and Telegraph consent decree, which set quotas for affirmative action for minorities and women.

In response to the local's suit, the membership overwhelmingly passed a motion that the local sponsor a panel discussion on the issue of affirmative action in hiring and promotions, with both pro and con speakers.

Nationally, CWA has given lip service to affirmative action, but refused to include an affirmative-action plan in the recent contract. The union has consistently counterposed the "sanctity" of the seniority system to affirmative action. Local 2336 leadership says they are opposed to affirmative action in promotions, but not in hiring, which would guarantee that minorities and women be kept in the lowest-paying, most menial jobs.

In motivating the motion for a panel discussion on



Gain for free speech, unions

The following letter was recently released by supporters of the Socialist Workers Party election campaigns present at the United Steelworkers convention in Atlantic City, September 18-22.

The letter was sent to a number of individuals who responded to an appeal for messages to the USWA officialdom protesting harassment and intimidation of SWP campaign supporters distributing literature at the gathering.

Among those who received the letter are: Pyotr Grigorenko, exiled Soviet dissident; I.F. Stone; Edith Tiger, National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee; Henry Foner, president, Fur, Leather, and Machine Workers Joint Board; Joseph Rauh; and Aryeh Neier, outgoing executive director, American Civil Liberties Union.

Dear friends,

Thank you for speaking up in defense of the rights of supporters of the Socialist Workers Party election campaigns who were harassed, and in one instance physically attacked, while distributing campaign literature at the recent United Steelworkers convention in Atlantic City.

Your telegrams and messages, and discussions with USWA officials, helped make it possible for SWP campaign supporters and others to distribute literature freely outside the convention on the boardwalk.

This was a victory in defense of free speech and civil liberties and a victory for all those who favor a militant, democratic trade-union movement in order to defend and advance the interests of working people.

In solidarity,
John Hawkins,
Dick McBride,
Evan Seigle,
for SWP campaign supporters attending the USWA convention

will just dismiss them as sectarian rhetoric.

Can't we stop making these last-sentence generalizations? If it's important to say, it's important to *explain* it. We want people to believe it, not just read it.

M. Gutekanst
Louisville, Kentucky

Job quotas

At the last membership meeting of Communication Workers of America, Local 2336 in Washington, D.C., president Pete Cattuchi

announced that he had just filed a class action suit on behalf of the local against the affirmative action, a woman unionist told members that "attacks on affirmative action in both hiring and promotions are attacks on the union. One of the meanest tricks corporations like the phone company have is to divide the work force—keep us separated on the job and hope we don't see the problems we all have in common. Discrimination is an attack on all of us because it is meant to keep us weak and divided. This lawsuit weakens

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the union because it would lead to reinstitution of discriminatory practices that have divided us for decades in the past."

Marcie Kuzeja
Washington, D.C.

Busing goes well

The first two days of desegregation went peacefully in Wilmington, Delaware. The racist antibusing organization, the Positive Action Committee, which had boasted of its 5,000 members, managed to muster a grand total of six pickets on these two days. At Claymont High, where the local PAC bigots had threatened to burn buses, there was no opposition—not a picket, not a sign, no graffiti. What I took to be racist thugs at the main entrance turned out to be plainclothes state police.

Although there was some minor violence—crosses were burned at three schools and a ticket booth was set on fire—it's nothing like Boston. The racists here are in full retreat. Unlike in Boston, the politicians, media, school bureaucracy, and police here all emphasized that busing would be peaceful, that disrupters would be jailed. Every politician said they opposed busing, but that if the courts ordered busing they would make sure it went peacefully.

Why would the reactionary DuPont-controlled city government carry out their legal responsibilities? Why didn't they behave like the Boston city government and use their official positions to disrupt the schools? Part of the answer was supplied by assistant school superintendent Carey during an "interfaith integration service." The theme of the speech was, "We don't want another Boston here."

I think that's the main thing. The struggle in Wilmington was decided two or three years ago on the streets of Boston. The victory of the Black community and the civil rights movement in the Battle of Boston won the victory here in Wilmington as well.

Roy Chyler
Wilmington, Delaware

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

Many *Militant* readers received copies of the October 13 issue with an incorrect photograph on page 2. In the "Militant Highlights" section, the second item, on the San Diego plane crash, should have been accompanied with a photo of the descending plane. Unfortunately, the error was noticed only after many copies had been printed.

More and more, members of the Socialist Workers Party are finding jobs in industry. Participating along with their co-workers in struggles to defend their living standards and rights, these class-conscious workers confront a question troubling hundreds of thousands of organized workers:

How can we make our unions effective fighters against the threat of unemployment, bad working conditions, declining living standards, racism, sexism, the arms race, and the threat of war?

Of course, there is no blueprint for establishing membership control of the unions or for successfully defending working people against the employers' antilabor offensive. However, one book that should be studied closely by workers who are looking for a strategy to achieve this goal is *The Transitional Program for Socialist Revolution*, by Leon Trotsky.

The National Education Department of the Socialist Workers Party is recommending that branches of the SWP hold classes on Trotsky's book. It has prepared a study guide to facilitate this. (The study guide is available on request from the SWP National Education Department, 14 Charles Lane, New York, 10014.)

The Transitional Program was adopted by the Founding Conference of the Fourth International in September 1938. The resolution proposed a method by which socialists can advance the day-to-day struggles of working people, while winning them to a mass revolutionary socialist party.

The Transitional Program starts from the recognition that capitalist decay—evidenced in world economic crises and wars—makes socialism a necessity for the survival and progress of humanity. It adds, "The orientation of the masses is determined first by the objective conditions of decaying capitalism and second by the treacherous politics of the old workers' organizations."

In the United States, for instance, the unions have been crippled by pro-employer policies imposed by a privileged layer of officials. These policies—above all support to the capitalist Democratic Party—are the main reason why the employers and their government have gotten away with laying off workers, reducing real wages, and cutting back needed public services of all kinds.

Trotsky proposed a strategy for working-class fighters trying to resolve the leadership problem: "It is necessary to help the masses in the process of daily struggle to find the bridge between present demands and the socialist program of revolution. This bridge should include a system of *transitional demands*, stemming from today's conditions and from today's consciousness of wide layers of the working class and unalterably leading to one final conclusion: the conquest of power by the proletariat."

Examples of such demands are the fight to win or retain effective cost-of-living provisions; for a thirty-hour week with no pay cut, to reduce unemployment; for workers'

control of industry to assure safe working conditions; and for a break by the unions with the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties and formation of their own labor party.

The Transitional Program also explains that labor needs and can win powerful allies by supporting the struggles of women, youth, working farmers, and oppressed nationalities, such as Blacks and Chicanos in this country.

The study outline prepared by the SWP's National Education Department on *The Transitional Program for Socialist Revolution* divides the topic into six classes. It suggests additional reading and poses questions for consideration and discussion by readers and study groups.

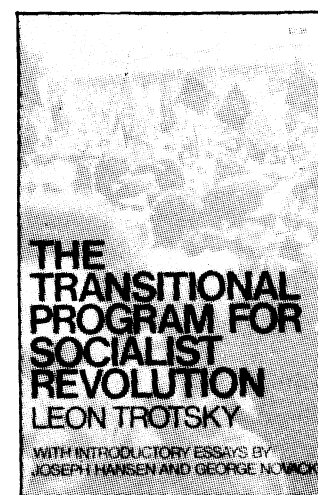
One class, for example, centers on the importance of demands for democratic rights in the working-class struggle. As George Novack writes in his introductory essay to the book:

"For us, democratic slogans are viewed in the same light, and directed toward the same ends, as the other elements of the Transitional Program. They're levers for the mobilization of the masses with the aim of improving their situation and at the same time opposing and combating the capitalist state. . . ."

Another class outlined in the study guide takes up the reasons why workers need a labor party and how socialists seek to win the unions to this perspective.

The final section brings together the key lessons of the whole book. Entitled, "A Socialist Strategy for Labor," it draws on the concepts developed in the "Afterword" to *Teamster Bureaucracy* by Farrell Dobbs. This section focuses on the new opportunities to use the method explained in the Transitional Program to defeat antilabor moves by the employers and win historic new victories for American workers.

—Paul Montauk



The Transitional Program for Socialist Revolution

Includes useful material by Trotsky on the application of the transitional approach, and introductory essays by George Novack and Joseph Hansen.

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MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, Room 4321, Michigan Union, U of M. Zip: 48109. Detroit: SWP, YSA, 1310 Broadway. Zip: 48226. Tel: (313) 961-5675. Mt. Pleasant: YSA, Box 51 Warriner Hall, Central Mich. Univ. Zip: 48859.

MINNESOTA: Mesabi Iron Range: SWP, P.O. Box 343, Eveleth, Minn. Zip: 55734. Tel: (218) 741-4968. Minneapolis: SWP, YSA, 23 E. Lake St. Zip: 55408. Tel: (612) 825-6663. St. Paul: SWP, 373 University Ave. Zip: 55103. Tel: (612) 222-8929.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. St. Louis: SWP, YSA, 6223 Delmar Blvd. Zip: 63130. Tel: (314) 725-1570.

NEBRASKA: Omaha: YSA, c/o Hugh Wilcox, 521 4th St., Council Bluffs, Iowa. 51501.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: SWP, 11-A Central Ave. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

NEW MEXICO: Albuquerque: SWP, 108 Morning-side Dr. NE. Zip: 87108. Tel: (505) 255-6869.

NEW YORK: Binghamton: YSA, c/o Andy Towbin, Box 7120, SUNY-Binghamton. Zip: 13901. Capital District (Albany): SWP, YSA, 103 Central Avenue. Zip: 12206. Tel: (518) 463-0072. 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, Lower Manhattan: 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, 711 NW Everett. Zip: 97209. Tel: (503) 222-7225.

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.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Dallas: SWP, YSA, 5442 E. Grand. Zip: 75223. Tel: (214) 826-4711. Houston: SWP, YSA, 6412-C N. Main St. Zip: 77009. Tel: (713) 861-9960. San Antonio: SWP, YSA, 112 Fredericksburg Rd. Zip: 78201. Tel: (512) 735-3141.

UTAH: Logan: YSA, P.O. Box 1233, Utah State University. Zip: 84322. Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. P.O. Box 461. Zip: 84110. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699.

WASHINGTON: Seattle: SWP, YSA, 4868 Rainier Ave., South Seattle. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330. Spokane: SWP, P.O. Box 672. Zip: 99210. Tel: (509) 535-6244. Tacoma: SWP, 1022 S. J St. Zip: 98405. Tel: (206) 627-0432.

WEST VIRGINIA: Morgantown: SWP, 957 S. University Ave. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

WISCONSIN: Madison: YSA, P.O. Box 1442. Zip: 53701. Tel: (608) 255-4733. Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 3901 N. 27th St. Zip: 53216. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

'Don't welcome killers' Protests hit visit by Rhodesian racist

By Ernest Harsch
and Omari Musa

"Hell no—Smith must go!"

"Zimbabwe must be free!"

Those were two of the chants as 1,000 people picketed the White House October 9 to protest Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith's trip to the United States.

"We don't welcome killers" and "Carter courts criminals" were the placards on the line.

Smith is in this country to drum up support for the so-called internal settlement in Rhodesia—a scheme to preserve white domination over the Black Zimbabwean majority.

The Washington demonstration was sponsored by the Coalition for a Just Solution in Southern Africa. After picketing the White House, protesters moved to Lafayette Park for a rally. Speakers included Randall Robinson, executive director of TransAfrica, a Black lobbying group; Tony Monteiro, National Anti-Imperialist Movement in Solidarity with African Liberation; Marion Barry, Democratic Party candidate for mayor of D.C.; and a representative of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU).

Pointing to the complicity of the U.S. government with the Smith regime, the ZAPU representative told the rally:

"Ian Smith has friends in this country—people like S.I. Hayakawa and Jesse Helms. But we have friends here too—in New York, California, around the country, who will greet him too."

Two days earlier, 150 people had participated in a rally in New York near the United Nations. That action was called by the Ad-Hoc Committee to Oppose U.S. Intervention in Zimbabwe. Further protests are scheduled to greet Smith as he visits other U.S. cities.

Smith was invited to the United States by a group of twenty-seven

conservative senators, including Harry Byrd, Barry Goldwater, S.I. Hayakawa, and Jesse Helms. The purpose of the invitation, they said, was to allow Smith to present his case to the American people.

Smith will certainly take full advantage of his trip to try to confuse the American people about the internal settlement. That agreement was signed last spring with three prominent Black figures—including Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole, who is accompanying Smith on his U.S. trip.

The settlement promised to lead to Black majority rule by the end of December. Actually, however, it seeks to perpetuate white dominance for years to come. For example, white members of Parliament are to have veto power over all constitutional amendments for at least ten years. And white property rights are guaranteed against nationalization "without prompt compensation."

(Whites own 49 percent of the land in Rhodesia—including the most fertile and valuable—while comprising only 4 percent of the population.)

Smith's plans have met with increasing resistance from the Zimbabwean masses. In recent months they have escalated their struggle for real Black majority rule, scoring significant military gains outside the capital city of Salisbury, and winning mass support among the urban Black population.

A number of right-wing U.S. politicians have openly declared support for Smith's settlement. They are pressuring Carter to follow suit.

Because of the widespread international opposition to the Rhodesian government's racist policies, however, Carter has publicly kept his distance from Smith. He has carefully refrained from openly backing the internal settlement.

The invitation to Smith by Hayakawa and other senators put Carter in

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Washington, D.C., demonstrator speaks out against Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith. Militant/Diane Wang

Alabama rape trial: a new Scottsboro?

By Peter Seidman

Justice doesn't wear a blindfold in Cullman, Alabama. It wears the white hood of the Ku Klux Klan.

That's the picture emerging since the trial of Tommy Lee Hines opened there October 3.

Hines, a Black man, is accused of raping three white women.

But those who know the twenty-five-year-old defendant say he could not possibly be guilty.

Hines is mentally retarded. He is incapable of some of the things he is accused of doing—including driving his alleged victims' cars.

In the opening days of the trial, a University of Alabama psychologist testified that Hines has the mental capacity of a four-and-a-half-to-six-year-old child. He could not possibly have understood his rights as read to him by police, or the confession he gave them after his arrest on May 23.

The police arrested Hines in Decatur, Alabama, where he lives. They had received complaints that he had been loitering.

After a few hours, Decatur cops—under pressure to solve several local

crimes—got Hines to confess that he raped two women earlier in the year. Later, a third rape charge was added.

Police also released Hines's picture to the papers, thereby ensuring that prosecution witnesses would be able to "identify" him in court.

Because of these violations of Hines's rights, his attorney, Henry Mims, asked that the trial be moved from Decatur.

Mims's request was granted. But the judge ordered the trial moved to Cullman, a town with only 120 Blacks out of a population of 36,000. An all-white jury is hearing the case.

The trial judge in Cullman has already made it clear that he is ready to join in the frame-up. He overruled a defense motion to prevent District Attorney Mike Moebes from presenting Hines's meaningless but damaging confession to the all-white jury.

On the first day of the trial, Rosemary Harris testified that she could positively identify Hines as the man who raped her, even though she said he had worn a garbage bag over his head.

The Black community in Decatur

began protesting the frame-up of Tommy Lee Hines the day after his arrest.

Over the summer, the Ku Klux Klan began a series of demonstrations to "give support to the judicial system of Decatur and Morgan County."

These mobilizations and countermobilizations broke into the national news media October 2. The night before, a mob of 1,000-2,000 Klan members and sympathizers gathered at the Decatur city limits and succeeded in turning back a march to Cullman scheduled to coincide with the opening of the trial. State troopers on the scene said they couldn't guarantee the safety of the Black demonstrators.

Undaunted, some 100 demonstrators set out again the next morning.

"Even though they moved Tommy Lee's trial from the Black community, we were determined to let them know that the Black community had not moved from Tommy Lee Hines," Joseph Lowery, national president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, told the *Militant*.

"The Klan tried to stop us twice on the march," Lowery said. "Once on the

highway they threatened to attack us with sticks and lead pipes. And then again at the city limits. They had guns in their belts, which we could see. But neither the troopers nor the city police arrested any Klansmen."

Instead, the police arrested Lowery, along with SCLC Southeast Regional Director John Nettles and twenty-one other demonstrators.

Decatur has already been the scene of one well-known racist outrage. During the infamous Scottsboro Boys case in the 1930s, nine Black men accused of raping two white women were convicted in a retrial there—even though one of the women stated that no rapes had taken place.

The SCLC hopes national publicity and protests can help make sure that Tommy Lee Hines does not become another victim of Scottsboro-style injustice.

Protest messages should be sent to: John Nettles, 401 River Street, Anniston, Alabama 36201. Donations to help with legal expenses should be made out to: SCLC—Tommy Lee Hines Defense Fund, 334 Auburn Avenue, Atlanta, Georgia 30303.