

Carter's demagoguery on South Africa unmasked

U.S. vetoes—slap in face to 49 African nations

By JOYCE CHEDIAK BETRIES
NEW YORK, Nov. 2—The U.S. stood against all of Black Africa here yesterday when it vetoed three separate resolutions raised before the United Nations Security Council by a bloc of 49 Black

African nations. The resolutions called for sweeping economic and military sanctions against the fascist South African regime.

The U.S. veto was backed up by vetoes cast by its imperialist buddies, Britain (which has \$7

billion invested in South Africa) and France (one of the major suppliers of heavy arms to the Vorster settler regime). Canada and West Germany also voted against the resolutions.

Both China and the Soviet

Union, as well as Benin, Libya, Venezuela, India, Rumania, Panama, Mauritius, and Pakistan voted for the sanctions.

The resolutions were a response to recent fascist crackdowns by the apartheid regime. Last week, in the most severe repressive move in 20 years, the Vorster racists arrested at least 200 prominent opponents of the settler government, closed the two leading Black-read newspapers, and outlawed 19 anti-apartheid organizations.

IRRECONCILABLE LINES

What the UN vote has exposed is that the Black African countries and the U.S. have completely divergent and irreconcilable lines towards the racist South African regime. The Carter administration, ever concerned with protecting U.S. economic investments in the land of apartheid, is emphasizing ways to find a

peaceful road to reconciliation with the racist government there. On the other hand, the Black African countries have the perspective of destroying the apartheid regime itself. Even the Black moderates are united on this.

These two diametrically opposed lines clashed on another front on Oct. 29 when talks between Britain and Zimbabwe guerrilla leaders broke up after Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo, leaders of the Patriotic Front, rejected a U.S.-British proposal to give exclusive power to a British resident commissioner.

Nkomo said that under the plan arrived at by these two imperialist powers, the commissioner would have "powers no person on this globe ever had." He added that the Front wanted the post of commissioner, "but we wanted it for decolonization, not recolonization."

The vetoed UN proposals called for a ban on foreign investments and credits for South Africa, a prohibition on arms sales and a revocation of licenses to manufacture weapons, as well as an end of cooperation in nuclear development, and a move towards punitive measures. The U.S. was not willing to go along with any of these, as their implementation really might topple the fascist Pretoria regime.

A milder substitute resolution calling for a permanent arms embargo was introduced after the vetoes through the connivance of Canada and West Germany.

U.S. COSMETIC SANCTION

The U.S. had originally proposed in the Security Council a mere cosmetic sanction—a six-month arms embargo. However, the Black African countries would not accept this.

The South African fascists are now so well armed by the imperialists that a half-year weapons

(Continued on p. 11)



Demanding freedom for Puerto Rico and for the Nationalist prisoners, 1,000 rallied in front of the White House on Oct. 30. [See article, page 5.]
WW photo: Bill Hackwell

Miners out over union recognition, safety

Stearns strikers begin six-month jail terms

By JAQUI O'SHAUGHNESSY
WILLIAMSBURG, Ky., Oct. 26—Today 11 of 78 striking miners arrested at Stearns, Ky., on Oct. 17 began serving six-month jail terms.

The miners were sentenced by Judge J.B. Johnson here on charges of breaking a court order which limits to six the number of pickets at the Stearns mine, which has been the scene of a bitter strike for nearly 16 months. The remaining 67 miners got a year's probation and must post \$100 bond each or face jail themselves.

The 160 Stearns miners have struck the Justice Mine, owned by the Blue Diamond Coal Co. to win a United Mine Workers (UMW) contract, a safety committee in the mine made up of miners themselves, health and welfare benefits, and a decent pension plan.

At this morning's hearing, miners' supporters, numbering well over 100 relatives and retired miners, were forced to wait outside the court. Only the miners charged were permitted into the courtroom, which was lined with 31 State Troopers.

Judge Johnson, who handed out the harsh sentence to the strikers today, is the same judge who freed Duke Power foreman Billy Brunner on charges of murdering UMW picket Lawrence Jones in 1974 during a strike in Brookside, Ky.

Twenty-four women supporters of the miners' struggle were also

arrested on the Oct. 17 picket and will face Judge Johnson on Nov. 28. These women were among a group of 39 women who aided the miners in stopping scabs from entering the mine and were beaten by the police. The cops claimed the women had damaged police cars.

"We got so mad at what the police were doing, that we didn't have time to get scared," one miner's wife explained, commenting on the arrests.

The Stearns Miners' Women's Club was organized in March and has been actively supporting the miners' fight for a UMW contract. The Women's Club is actively raising money to aid the strike effort and has worked to correct false or inaccurate media coverage.

Miners representing UMW mines in Lynch, Ky.; Corbin, Ky.; and Tacketts Creek, Tenn., were also at the picket line on Oct. 17 to show their solidarity with the struggle at Stearns.

Additional support was shown for the miners last night when nearly 700 people came from surrounding areas to see a film made of the Oct. 17 action and the bloody police attack and mass arrests. The crowd cheered enthusiastically at the miners' resistance.

As Mahan Vanover, president of the UMW local at Stearns who suffered a broken arm and head injuries from the attack, said, "They're trying to scare people, but it's only made people mad.

And now we (miners) have more support than ever from people all over the County and the Union." Vanover is among the 11 who received the six-month sentence.

COAL BOSSES PLUS COURT EQUALS COURT ORDER

The court order the miners were convicted of having violated is clearly calculated to force the miners back to work in the mines under dangerous conditions or face losing their jobs. Before the strike began, there were over 100 health and safety violations against the Justus mine at Stearns, and the mine had three separate closure orders on ventilation. Where were the courts with their orders and injunctions then?

Where they've always been. As one striking miner put it, "The coal operators, the courts, and the state police are all on one side."

This collusion was underlined in testimony by Stearns superintendent William Coffee this morning who admitted that state police have been "used to escort strikebreakers in and out of the mine."

"SAFETY IS WHAT IT'S ALL ABOUT"

The Blue Diamond Coal Company also owns the Scotia mine, where last March, 26 miners and safety inspectors lost their lives in an explosion resulting from company negligence.

Even though all the Stearns miners fully support the UMW,

Blue Diamond refuses to recognize the UMW but has agreed to sign a contract with the Southern Labor Union (SLU). The SLU is widely notorious in the coalfields as a company union. Contract negotiations with the UMW broke down over the company's staunch refusal to accept a safety committee made up of miners.

Before court this morning, one miner who has worked at Stearns for 18 years emphasized that the issue is safety.

"People don't know what we've been through. It's poor safety is what it's all about," he said. "Money's got nothin' to do with it. When you have to walk in a place

(Continued on p. 3)

STATEWIDE TEXAS MARCH FOR JUSTICE

A statewide March for Justice demanding that the murders of Chicano people be avenged will take place in Austin, Texas, on Saturday, November 12.

Called by the Texas Brown Berets, the march will draw people from all over Texas to protest the recent death of Jose Campos Torres, a Chicano beaten and then drowned by Houston police—who were then "punished" with a fine of one dollar! The march will also protest the earlier killings of Joe Sedillo (Austin), Ricardo Morales (Castroville), Santos Rodriguez (Dallas), David Navarro (Waco), and Luis Martinez (Denver, Colorado).

Marchers will assemble at the Sanchez Elementary School at 1 p.m. and march to the State Capitol.

INDEX

Vol. 19, No. 42
Nov. 4, 1977

- 1—U.S. vetoes UN anti-apartheid steps; Stearns
- 2—Food Stamp hearing; Milw. poor confront budget-makers
- 3—Social Security; Money dispute; UMW and wildcats
- 4—Black worker acquitted; NYC cops admit coverup; Chicago top cop's new job; Anti-repression suit
- 5—White House protest for PR liberation; Arizona undocumented workers strike; Anti-Bakke protest in Atlanta
- 6—General Dynamics strike; Bosses' on-the-job benefits
- 7—Bethlehem losses; Politicians on steel crisis; Steel retirees
- 8—International Women's Year; Rochester women picket; Protest against govt. attacks on abortion
- pg. i-iv—WORKERS WORLD FEATURES—Sam Marcy: New phase in U.S.-USSR relations
- 9—Detroit hospital takeover plan; Cancer detection; Gay rights under attack
- 10—Egypt's Soviet debt; French alert troops for Africa intervention; Iranians attacked
- 11—Winnie Mandela; Biko murder
- 12—Editorials: Crisis in Israel, UAE; Helms verdict; Letter
- 13—Jovanka Tito; W. Germany repression; Nazi in U.S.
- 14—120 killed in Ecuador; S. Korea
- 15—Political Prisoners
- 16—Buffalo utility protest; Gas company shut-offs

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Poor come from Mississippi, Tennessee, and Alabama Speak out at food stamp hearing

JACKSON, MISS., Oct. 18—About 300 persons appeared at a public hearing held at the Admiral Benbow Airport Inn in Memphis Tenn. today, where U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) officials heard testimony about the proposed new food stamp program.

The cry and demand was for action now, not later. Speakers demanded that the free food stamp part of the program begin Jan. 1 rather than July 1, and protested the fact that the food stamp program does not go far enough in meeting the needs of poor people. Many protested that the USDA hearing was just window-dressing.

The meeting had originally been set for Booneville, Miss., but was later cancelled. Protests prompted the government to schedule a hearing in Memphis. The USDA was even forced to furnish free transportation and lodging for some of the poor from Mississippi. These details were worked out by Rick Abraham of the Mississippi Hunger Coalition and Rims Barber of the Children's Defense Fund.

Abraham told the officials at today's hearing that caseworkers

"work to keep people off food stamps" and used the term "outright racist" to describe the attitude of workers dealing with Black people.

Ernestine Hummer of the Hunger Coalition said she believes harassment will increase with the new law.

One speaker, McArthur Hibbler, objected to the microphone for handicapped and persons in wheelchairs being placed in the back of the room. He said he and others should be treated no different from anyone else and speak from the podium at the front. Later, the microphone was moved and Hibbler made his presentation from the front of the room.

"PUT THE PROGRAM IN HANDS OF GRASS-ROOTS ORGANIZATIONS"

Eddie Sandifer spoke for the Jackson, Gray Panthers and stated that elderly people were doing without proper food—uncalled for in a country that lets the rich get richer and where people who are so wealthy have enough control over the Congress that they can continue to make millions without paying taxes. He recommended that the program be placed in the hands of local grass roots persons

and organizations who have more warmth and feeling for their fellow human beings than those who have been charged with this duty thus far. Sandifer also suggested redistribution of the wealth and agreed with other speakers that capitalism had failed and that socialism would be a better alternative.

Abdel Rshmann Abd Raheem Mohammad stated that these hearings were not made convenient to the people—they were convenient to the hearers, not the "supposedly heard." People attended from all over Mississippi, Tennessee, and even some from Alabama, but the hearing was held at a motel at the Memphis airport—very convenient for the hearers.

Others speaking at the hearing included Lillie Mae Ervin representing Welfare Rights of Jackson; Cleo Smith for the Simpson County Welfare Rights Organization; Rims Barber for the Children's Defense Fund; Dr. Earlene Strickland; Ernestine Scott of the Home Start Program; Bill Haley of MANNA; Minnie Huntley, president of the Martin Luther King Center for Economic Development; and others.

Milwaukee cutbacks draw fire

Overflow crowd berates budget-makers

By SUSAN BLUESTONE

MILWAUKEE, Oct. 24—An angry crowd of over 250 people, demanding an end to cutbacks in abortion, jobs, and welfare, attended a budget hearing of the Milwaukee County Board of Supervisors here tonight.

The large group of women and men, carrying signs that read, "Free safe abortion is a right of all women" and "Forced sterilization is genocide" condemned a recent County Board decision to stop all funding for elective abortions.

The Supervisors planned to hold this hearing in a small room and were unprepared to deal with this massive protest by the poor and working people of this city.

Ellen Miller, representing the Committee for Abortion Rights, was scheduled to be the first speaker. Instead of reading a prepared statement for abortion rights, Miller demanded that the hearing be moved to a larger room so that all of the people who attended could be heard.

"There are county workers here concerned about the closing of the Children's Home and women who are angry about the cutbacks in



"We have shown tonight that we will no longer tolerate these cutbacks. . . ." Angry crowd confronts Milwaukee County Board of Supervisors at budget hearing.

abortion who can't even get into this room," Miller charged.

MOVE THE ROOM

The crowd then began chanting, "move the room." Reluctantly, the Supervisors were forced to move to a larger hearing room and open the meeting to more speakers.

When the hearing reconvened, Miller exposed the attempt by the

federal, state, and county governments to make abortion inaccessible to poor and oppressed women. On behalf of the abortion rights group, she demanded that the County Board immediately allocate funds for abortion and seek out whatever state and federal monies are available to insure that all women have access to abortion. Miller blasted the local

Correction

In an article headlined "Black vet fights racist brass" in the Oct. 21 issue of *Workers World*, there were some factual inaccuracies.

In 1971, Black GIs in south Korea launched a militant and organized resistance to the rampant racism on U.S. bases there. On May 19 of that year, Malcolm X Day, 400 to 500 Black enlisted men staged a rally at Yongsan Military Reservation to present their grievances to the brass. The commanding general at Yongsan refused to meet even a small representative group.

In July, shortly afterward, there was a rebellion outside Camp Humphreys in south Korea. The protest was directed at a segregated nightclub, which offered a cash bounty to south Korean Green Berets for each Black person they would beat up. Marty Dixon, a Black GI known for his opposition to the Army's racism, was labelled as the leader and charged on several counts. He was later given a dishonorable discharge and served 18 months at hard labor at Ft. Leavenworth.

Dixon and another court-martialled GI, Johnny McRae, have now filed a legal petition with the Army demanding that their discharges be upgraded to honorable and are publicizing their case because the same conditions that existed with their frame-up in 1971 persist today and must be exposed.

politicians for holding a secret meeting at which they decided that no county funds would be used for abortion and that Milwaukee County Hospital would no longer perform elective abortions. She accused the County Board of sanctioning illegal forced sterilizations of poor women, while denying these same women the right to abortion.

Members of AFSCME Council 48 protested the proposed closing of the Children's Home, a residential center for teenage women. County workers will lose their jobs if this center is closed.

Several workers spoke out against the county work fare program which forces welfare and general assistance recipients to take the jobs at below the minimum wage. This group demanded union jobs at union wages for all.

Judy Greenspan, a member of Youth Against War & Fascism, demanded that the County Board respond immediately to all of the demands of the poor and working people in the room. "We have shown tonight that we will no longer tolerate the cutbacks that are being forced upon us," she said.



Will his defense be that his hat's in the ring?

New York Times, Oct. 26:

"A former executive vice president of the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company was indicted in Manhattan yesterday for allegedly stealing most of \$1 million in corporate money that was supposedly being used for illegal political campaign contributions.

"The 40-count Federal indictment named Robert P. Beasley, who earned more than \$200,000 a year as executive vice president for finance and vice chairman of the board of directors before he resigned from

Firestone last year. He is 63 years old and lives in Akron, Ohio.

"In effect, Mr. Beasley was accused of cheating his company by taking money for himself instead of using it for illegal political contributions."

Why they're called pigs

New York Times, Oct. 6:

ANN ARBOR, Oct. 5 (UPI)—"A University of Michigan coed was cited for contempt of court and spent 90 minutes in handcuffs yesterday for refusing to tell a judge how she voted in this year's mayoral election.

"The incident occurred at a trial seeking

to void the mayoral election, which was decided last April 5 by one vote.

"I have always been brought up and told all my life that my vote was a private thing and that I'd never have to tell anybody how I voted," said Susan Vanhattum, 21 years old.

"She was warned by Circuit Judge James Kelley that she would be held in contempt if she refused to disclose how she voted. After being held handcuffed in the judge's chambers, she was released.

"Three other voters disclosed their choices when questioned by Judge Kelley.

"Mrs. Vanhattum is one of 20 voters who allegedly voted illegally—but unaware of the illegality—because they were residents of Ann Arbor Township rather than of the City of Ann Arbor.

"According to testimony this week, the boundaries between the city and the township often are unclear and a mixup apparently resulted through errors made by election officials."

Every worker's right yet,

Social Security tax increase to fall heaviest on lowest paid

By P. MEISNER

NEW YORK, Nov. 1—The House of Representatives passed a bill last week that calls for a substantial Social Security tax increase for all working people. The bill will increase every employee's tax rate, regardless of income, from 5.85% to 6.05% in 1978, to 6.55% in 1981, to 6.95% in 1985, and to 7.55% in 1990.

This means that a worker earning only \$10,000 a year would be taxed \$585, \$605, \$655, \$695, and \$755 for each of the above years, respectively.

BENEFITS TOO MEAGER

Social Security was first established by the U.S. government in 1935 as a compulsory payroll tax program to provide

retired workers a minimum income, since employers were not then and are still not now required to provide any pension benefits whatsoever. Not only are benefits today too meager for persons to live on, but they are constantly eroded by inflation, despite periodic price index adjustments.

Moreover, the financing of the Social Security system falls heaviest on the lowest paid workers, since the tax is one of the most regressive taxes levied against working people. Employers only contribute a matching tax, or only half of the total tax. Also, the tax rate is applied only to an employee's first \$16,500 of wages and salaries (under the House bill to be increased to \$19,900 in 1978). This means that a company executive earning

\$80,000 in 1977 will pay the same tax—\$965—as a worker making \$16,500.

The House bill, still to go before the Senate and the White House, was passed in a near panic atmosphere, as Social Security Administration officials warned that Social Security funds earmarked for benefit payments might be depleted by 1983. The "crisis" is largely the result of the high unemployment (not projected by government officials in their calculations) which in turn caused substantial losses in Social

Security tax revenues.

The "crisis" in Social Security is entirely the fault of the capitalist bosses who still refuse to provide a living retirement income to all their employees. Workers, already hit with large income and sales taxes, should not be further burdened by such an extremely regressive tax as the Social Security tax.

Instead of giving oil companies billions of dollars in oil depletion allowances, or \$250 million handouts to save companies like Lockheed Aircraft, or to pump

more tax monies into an escalating "defense" budget already up to \$120 billion annually, the U.S. government should see to it that the corporations are fully taxed for the cost of an adequate Social Security system. And any deficits caused by unemployment should be made up by general government funds.

Workers have sweated all their lives for the profits of the bosses, and it is time that the bosses pour some of those profits back into retirement funds that rightly belong to the workers.

'Easy money' or 'tight money'—no choice for working people

By BILL DEL VECCHIO

NEW YORK, Oct. 31—As is their custom in times of trouble, different factions of the ruling class are currently fighting over whether to follow an "easy money" or "tight-money" policy, with Federal Reserve Board Chairman Arthur Burns publicly defending "tight money" and Carter publicly countering him.

What is this fight really about? Is Arthur Burns upset about the way higher prices are eroding poor and working people's standard of living, while "Jimmy" is more concerned about "putting America back to work"?

Of course it's nothing like that. Carter and Burns represent differing views about how to best use the Federal Reserve to manipulate the economy out of its deepening stagnation in order to increase profits for the capitalists, not to ease the suffering of the masses.

Burns, a Nixon appointee, and his fellow bankers on the Federal Reserve's board of governors, have taken actions recently which pushed up interest rates on short-term loans in an attempt to slow the growth of the money supply and supposedly reduce inflation.

While the effectiveness of pushing up interest rates in order to reduce inflation is questionable, its effect on increasing unemployment is more certain. In 1974 Nixon and later, Ford, together with Burns, took similar action on a bigger scale, and that policy fueled the waves of layoffs during that year.

On the other hand, the Carter administration leans towards allowing the rapid growth of the money supply in order to give the weakening economy a shot in the arm (of narcotics!). But this is no more effective a device, since "easy money" policies have a questionable ability to reduce unemployment, but their record in aggravating inflation is well known.

Partially at the root of this struggle is a fight by Carter to bring the independent Federal Reserve more in line with the administration's economic policy. Arthur Burns' term as chairman expires on Jan. 31.

The Federal Reserve, a highly powerful government agency, is under the control of a board of bankers, who, after they are appointed by the President to their ten-year terms, can do pretty much what they please. In most imperialist countries, the central bank is under the control of the political regime, but in the U.S., finance capital is so powerful that over the years it has wrested direct control of this institution which, since the Great Depression of the 1930s, has played a key role in manipulating the economy.

Although bourgeois politicians in the Democratic Party and the top ranks of the labor bureaucracy have attacked the policies of the Federal Reserve, they have never contested the right of the bankers to rule over this powerful institution. Elections and the facade of democracy are all right for the less important posts, but when it

comes to the money supply and the military, the ruling class has no time to waste with charades.

Motivating the contesting factions in the ruling class is a fight over plunder as much as it is over policy. Both "easy money" and "tight money" are applied selectively, and the different financial interests are battling over who will get the bigger flow of the poor and working people's tax money in the federal treasuries.

"TRICKLE DOWN" FALLACY

The most vocal supporter of "easy money" policies at the present time is the labor bureaucracy, which believes that the benefits of low interest rates will "trickle down" in the form of increased production and jobs. But experience has shown that the trickle invariably gets soaked up at the top.

Lower interest rates aren't what makes a manufacturer decide to increase production; it takes increased demand. Sure, corporations would be for a lower interest rate to finance their operations, but they'd just pocket the difference.

The only way working people have ever gotten anything has been by fighting, not cooperating, with the class enemy. Working people need lower interest rates, but not for their bosses. They need it for affordable mortgages, home improvement loans, or loans to finance low-cost housing. To hell with trickling down, workers need relief now. Lower interest rates for the bosses are the bosses' problem.



UMWA members from Consolidation Coal Company's Tackett Creek mine in Tennessee join Stearns strikers on picket line. The strike is in its 16th month. Photo: UMW Journal

—Stearns strikers

(Continued from p. 1)

with the top about to fall in, they say get in there or you've got no job."

The issues at Stearns are basically the same issues facing miners and the UMW all over the country: mine safety and the necessity to organize non-UMW mineworkers into the union.

WHAT THE MINERS NEED

The UMW leadership has so far been reluctant to mobilize large numbers of rank-and-file miners from UMW locals to support the Stearns miners who are so courageously standing up to the coal operators, the hired gun thugs, the courts, and the police.

Certainly the UMW rank-and-file across the country have displayed a determination to fight the bosses' attacks on their health benefits. This was evidenced last summer when for 10 weeks, up to 90,000 miners conducted a militant wildcat to show their opposition to the company's cutback on their health and welfare plan. Such a show of solidarity with the miners at Stearns would strengthen the local struggle there as well as the UMW itself at the negotiating table for the national contract.

The miners at Stearns are fighting not only for their jobs and survival now but for the future, and ultimately for the survival and strength of the UMW. Bill Worthington, a Black retired miner from Harlan, Ky., and past president of the National Black

Lung Association, said of the Stearns strikers: "The men here were really within their rights (in protecting their jobs by picketing). Even though they had an injunction against the men, that was mostly in favor of the coal company."

Worthington also pointed out, "The spirit of the miners is really high. The wives are giving them moral support and physical support. I think that this incident will only serve to give them more outside support. The miners will stay out and will keep fighting. They are determined to win."

Financial contributions to the Stearns miners can be sent to: Stearns Miners' Women's Club, c/o Irene Vanover, Route 1, Whitley City, Ky.

Editor's note: the 11 miners sentenced to six-month jail terms are now in jail pending appeal. A number of these men, injured by the police attack on Oct. 17, were visited Oct. 31 by UMW President Arnold Miller. A petition is being circulated in the Williamsburg, Ky., area to demand that all the charges against the miners be dropped, and that those still in jail be released immediately.

Telegrams of protest demanding the immediate release of the eleven jailed Stearns miners and in support of the miners' right to safe working conditions as determined by the miners themselves, should be sent to: Judge J.B. Johnson, Whitley County Courthouse, Williamsburg, Ky.

Mineworker union officials back down on strike pledge

By JESSE LEE

NEW YORK, Oct. 28—"No strike Oct. 23" headlines the latest edition of the United Mine Workers Journal. On the inside, details are given of this position taken by UMW President Arnold Miller and the International Executive Board (IEB).

Two months ago, there was a growing wildcat strike against a vicious company-forced cut in union health benefits. These cuts have endangered the lives of many miners, especially retired miners.

In a heavy-handed, bureaucratic move, the IEB forced the union miners back to work without any guarantees from the companies. The IEB promised a strike in 60 days if all medical benefits were not restored. Now, these over-paid officials have reneged on their strike promise. And the companies have gotten away with another

attack on the miners.

Three decades ago, the companies pulled a similar trick, but the union took a militant position against the owners—and won. At that time, the companies were holding back payments to the union's health and welfare plan totalling \$30 million! (Sound familiar?)

On March 15, 1948, a wildcat began. A week later, UMW President John L. Lewis pointed out that the mine owners had "dishonored" and "defaulted" on the contract. Within 24 hours, all 400,000 miners were out on strike demanding full payment of the health and welfare funds.

On April 3, the companies got a court injunction against the strike and ordered Lewis to tell the miners to go back to work.

Lewis refused.

He explained that he hadn't

called a strike. He had only said that the mine operators' actions were illegal. Of course, the miners themselves were not willing to work when the companies had "dishonored" the contract.

The mine workers ignored the judge's order. Four days later the operators capitulated. A new Board of Trustees was brought in for the health and welfare fund. A full pension was guaranteed, and royalty payments to the fund were doubled as a result of the strike.

Arnold Miller and the IEB would do better to support this tradition of united labor action. But it is ultimately rank-and-file union militancy that is key to winning the struggle against the operators. Only the pressure of the ranks will force the union leadership to fight in the same spirit as that exhibited in the 1948 strike.

Black worker was victim of cop attack, frameup**Co-worker support frees Bennie Lenard**

By JOHN LOMBARDO

CHICAGO, Oct. 21—At 10:15 this evening, a predominantly white jury here turned in a verdict of "not guilty" in favor of Bennie Lenard, a Black worker at International Harvester, on all misdemeanor charges except one (carrying an open can of beer in his car).

Last January Lenard found himself the victim of one of the most vicious police attacks to occur in this city. He was involved in a minor auto accident in which the driver and passenger of the other car were white women.

What should have been a routine matter turned into a nightmare. Lenard was handcuffed, beaten mercilessly, hospitalized, and charged with nine misdemeanors, including drunken driving, unlawful possession of a firearm, resisting arrest, and battery. He faced prison and

permanent damage to his eye.

UNION, CO-WORKERS RALLY IN SUPPORT

The United Auto Workers of which he is a member, immediately got behind Lenard, and a Defense Committee was formed. Right after the police attack, a multi-million dollar civil rights suit was filed against the police who assaulted Lenard. His lawyers demanded that State's Attorney Bernard Carey prosecute the police officers involved.

TRIAL ATMOSPHERE WAS RACIST

State's Attorney Carey refused to prosecute police, claiming that to prosecute both parties at the same time would be a "conflict of interest." Instead, Carey, an ex-FBI man, turned over the "investigation" of the police to the FBI, who in turn did their best to cover up the incident.

The prosecution's zeal in attempting to convict Lenard was in marked contrast to the State's Attorney cover-up of the police. "Expert" fire-arms and alcohol witnesses were flown in from Washington, D.C., while investigators were sent to Arkansas, where Lenard used to live, to try to get incriminating background information. The overt racism of the judge was manifest throughout the trial.

SUPPORT FOR LENARD REMAINED SOLID

In spite of the kangaroo trial atmosphere, Lenard's supporters never let him down. This solid support came primarily from the mostly Black co-workers at Harvester and from the Black community. Even school children were allowed out of class to attend the trial. The courtroom was packed every day by workers who sacrificed their wages to attend

and show solidarity.

Since the judge refused to admit Lenard's beating by police as evidence, and since prosecution evidence was so conflicting, the defense rested without putting one witness on the stand.

Val Klink, one of Bennie Lenard's lawyers, said after the trial victory, "It's really only started." He emphasized to

should never have been brought to trial at all, and that the suit against the police is going to be one instrument for putting the real criminals on trial. But even more than that, Klink said, Lenard will be demanding that a special prosecutor and special grand jury be empanelled to investigate State's Attorney Carey for obstruction of justice and conspiracy. Klink stressed the importance of continued support.



**FREE
PUERTO
RICO**

Rafael Cancel Miranda, Irvin Flores, Oscar Collazo, and Lolita Lebron [pictured clockwise]. Between them they have served 96 years in U.S. prisons. Their crime? Fighting for Puerto Rican independence.

N.Y. cops admit they lied to cover up murdering Israel Rodriguez

By PRESTON WOOD

NEW YORK, Oct. 31—Sergeant Richard Riccio, a New York City cop, admitted on Oct. 27 in Bronx Supreme Court that he watched while Thomas Ryan, another police sergeant, kicked and beat to death Israel Rodriguez on June 12, 1975.

The murder of Israel Rodriguez, who was 25 years old and a resident of the South Bronx, was committed in cold blood by Sgt. Ryan. Rodriguez' wife, who was pregnant at the time, has described how two cops, one of whom has been identified by many witnesses as Ryan, broke down the door to the Rodriguez family's apartment. With neither a search warrant nor a warrant for anyone's arrest, they began beating Rodriguez.

Later, Rodriguez was taken to the station-house, and it was there that he was beaten and kicked to death.

The cause of death, according to the medical examiner at Morrisania Hospital, was "a fracture of his ribs, rib cage, laceration of the spleen, internal bleeding and multiple concussions."

COPS COVER UP CRIMES

In Bronx court this week, Riccio admitted that he had lied to help Ryan get off the hook for this racist and cold-blooded murder. He added that the cops always lie to cover up their crimes and that he himself had lied many times for his "buddies."

Riccio is the fourth cop to admit that he lied to a grand jury which was investigating the murder of Israel Rodriguez. Under cross-examination on Oct. 27, Riccio said that "the case didn't seem like a big thing at the time."

In other words, the murder of innocent people in the South Bronx by racist cops is not rare.

Attacks by the police against Black and Latin people occur often.

ANGRY COMMUNITY DEMANDS JUSTICE

The recent revelations of what really happened to Israel Rodriguez are the result of the persistent demands for justice of the people who live in the South Bronx. The anger of two years ago, when Rodriguez was murdered, has not subsided, and the demands of the community for justice have forced the courts to reopen the investigation into this case.

The racist violence which goes on every day in the oppressed communities, is rarely reported in the capitalist media and racist cops are hardly ever tried for their crimes. Only the organized anger of the poor and oppressed against police violence will bring killers such as Thomas Ryan to justice.

Law, order... and pinball machines

By JOHN HUTTON

CHICAGO, Oct. 20—As Chicago's top cop, Police Superintendent James Rochford has always stressed his "tough, law and order" stance. Of course, "law and order" to Rochford meant a policy of brutal armed occupation of the Black and Latin communities, police infiltration and spying on progressive and community organizations, and repression of dissent. Whenever a problem came up—from rebellions in the oppressed communities to the most minimal community struggles—the bosses in Chicago could always count on Rochford and his thugs to wade in and crack a few heads.

On Oct. 11, Rochford announced ("with a lump in my throat and a very heavy heart...") that he was resigning as Police Superintendent, after four years. Now Rochford has a new job, an "executive position" with Bally Manufacturing Company, the world's largest manufacturer of pinball and slot machines.

And what is "law and order" Rochford's task with this esteemed

firm? Well, it seems that in the past the Bally Company has had a scrape or two with the law. In fact, several of its "officers" seem to have been local mob figures; and recently the state of Nevada found the company guilty of violating an order forbidding it from doing business with people convicted of crimes "relating to gambling, moral turpitude or corruption of public officials." Now that the Bally Company is preparing to take over gambling facilities in Atlantic City (slated to be the East Coast answer to Reno and Las Vegas), the directors must have thought that having a former police chief in charge of the New Jersey operation might grease the wheels a little bit.

Rochford, of course, says he sees "nothing improper or immoral" in his new job, which combines "the challenge of the business community and law enforcement..."

This isn't surprising. After four years of repression, police spying, unprovoked murder by his cops of countless Black and Latin people, the violent crushing of at least one major rebellion in the Latin community, and day-to-day

contact with Chicago's corrupt ruling class, it would be surprising if Rochford found anything "improper or immoral." After years of Daley, the machine, and the Chicago bankers, local members of organized crime must seem like pikers.

Chicago anti-repression suit dropped

By P. KIMBALL

CHICAGO, Oct. 20—A class-action suit filed here by members of the Puerto Rican community of West Town against the U.S. Justice Department was dropped today.

"The government was able to use the suit to further intimidate the people," attorney Michael Deutsch explained to spectators after today's court hearing. "They wanted to go to everyone who was listed as a plaintiff and ask for information on their political beliefs, who they knew, and so on. It would be like a little Grand Jury."

The suit had been directed

against an FBI/Grand Jury campaign which has been waged against Chicago's Puerto Rican community for nearly a year now, particularly the independence movement.

An FBI-controlled Grand Jury has jailed the activists subpoenaed before it who have refused to give information to be used against the Puerto Rican liberation struggle. Still in jail here are Jose Lopez and Roberto Caldero, Puerto Rican activists from Chicago, and Pedro Archuleta, a Chicano activist from New Mexico. FBI harassment of the Puerto Rican community continues.

Students and staff of the

Lumumba-Jackson Community Learning Center, a newly organized alternative high school in the Black community were among supporters in the courtroom today. They discussed future means of showing solidarity with the Puerto Rican struggle, such as attending an Oct. 30 demonstration at the Federal Prison at Marion, Ill. to free the Puerto Rican nationalist prisoners.

Future actions can be expected in Chicago to free Jose, Pedro, Roberto, and all victims of Grand Jury repression in the U.S. and to support the liberation struggle which will eventually free Puerto Rico completely from U.S. imperialism.

1000 demonstrators at White House demand

'Free the Four, Free Puerto Rico!'

By RAY RAMOS

WASHINGTON, D.C., Oct. 30—Over 1,000 people attended a rally and a picket line today in front of the White House demanding freedom for Puerto Rico and the four remaining Puerto Rican Nationalist prisoners—Lolita Lebron, Irvin Flores, Rafael Cancel Miranda, and Oscar Collazo. A fifth, Andres Figueroa Cordero was very recently released from prison suffering from terminal cancer.

Collazo, now incarcerated for 27 years, is the longest-held prisoner in the Western Hemisphere. Collazo was arrested in 1950 for his attack on the residence of Harry Truman following the brutal suppression of the Nationalist rebellion in Puerto Rico. The other Nationalists' prison terms stem from an attack on the U.S. Congress in 1954 to call attention to the enslavement of Puerto Rico.

MESSAGE FROM FIGUEROA TO TODAY'S RALLY

At today's rally, Emilio Soler, a lawyer for the four, said that Figueroa is now visiting all the corners of the island delivering the revolutionary message of liberation of Puerto Rico.

The lawyer also delivered a message from Figueroa. The message read, "I thank the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee

(PRSC) and other organizations for the work they have been doing to free myself and the other four prisoners. I find great resistance to colonialism in Puerto Rico.

"If President Carter really believes in human rights, his first action should be to release all political prisoners," the message continued, "Seeing the spirit of all our comrades in struggle, I think I will live 50 more years."

Solidarity messages from other organizations were also read.

After the rally ended, a huge picket line was formed in front of the White House, covering the whole block. Demonstrators chanted slogans such as "Free Puerto Rico, free the Four" and "Como Cuba y Vietnam, Puerto Rico vencera" (Like Cuba and Vietnam, Puerto Rico will win). The demonstrators condemned the role of the transnational corporations in robbing Puerto Rico, and demanded the freedom of the remaining Four Nationalist Prisoners.

ANNIVERSARY OF JAYUYA

The demonstration was called to commemorate the 27th anniversary of the Jayuya uprising in Puerto Rico on Oct. 30, when the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico briefly took over the town of Jayuya and proclaimed the Republic of Puerto Rico, and called for the unconditional

release of the Four remaining Puerto Rican Nationalists.

Today's rally and demonstration was called by the PRSC. Participating organizations included

Movimiento Anti-Imperialista por el Socialismo en Argentina (MASA), Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP), El Comité-MINP, students of Hostos Community

College, Iranian Students Association of the U.S. (World Confederation), Workers World Party, Youth Against War & Fascism, and many others.



Sending Carter a message: U.S. out of Puerto Rico!

WW photo: G. Dunkel



AUSTIN, Texas, Oct. 22—Forty-five people, mostly Chicago, attended a meeting here today sponsored by Cooperacion, an organization that helps ex-prisoners, and by the Prisoners Solidarity Committee of Workers World Party. Two former prisoners described the horrible conditions inside Texas penal institutions while other speakers talked about the struggles of undocumented workers, the brutal police murder of Jose Campos Torres, and the historic significance of the heroic Attica prison rebellion. Above: the meeting's speakers [left to right]: Tom, Juan, Julius, Salvador, Lola, and Alex.

WW photo: Patricia C.

Anti-racists give Bakke lawyer a hot reception in Atlanta

By BRUCE SMITH

ATLANTA, Oct. 27—After police blocked their entrance to a press conference called by Reynold Colvin, lawyer for Allen Bakke, 20 anti-racist protesters marched through Atlanta's Omni International complex today chanting, "Down with racism, Bakke must go!"

Unable to confront Colvin inside, the protesters rejoined more than 60 protesters outside the Omni who picketed and chanted for more than two hours and held their own press conference on the sidewalk.

SUIT AGAINST AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

Allen Bakke is a racist who claims that he was denied admission to the University of California medical school at Davis because he is white. Because some Black students admitted to the

school had test scores lower than his (as did 36 other white students who were also admitted) Bakke has brought a court suit against affirmative action programs designed to help women and Black, Brown, Asian, and Native American people overcome hundreds of years of discrimination. The case is now before the Supreme Court.

Colvin was in Atlanta seeking endorsement by the Executive Council of the American Jewish Committee for Bakke. He had the audacity to tell the press today that the Bakke decision will affect "no one but Alan Bakke." He claimed that only "quotas" will be affected by the decision and no damage will be done to anyone's civil rights. The anti-racist chants and signs carried by the protesters at the demonstration, which was organized by the Atlanta Committee to Reverse the Bakke Decision, drew the attention of

hundreds of Omni patrons, security guards, and members of the executive council.

BAKKE CASE A FRONT FOR RIGHTIST OFFENSIVE

One picket told *Workers World* that the "Bakke case is just the legal front for a general right-wing, racist offensive in the U.S. aimed at reversing gains made by the civil rights movement and rebellions of poor and oppressed people over the last 20 years."

The anti-Bakke pickets carried a banner with the slogan, "Down with racism and sexism, Jobs and education for all, Reverse the Bakke decision." The pickets were Black, Latin, Asian, and white, gay and straight, women and men, and students and workers. They represented the unified effort of all progressive forces to reverse the Bakke decision and demand quality education and decent jobs for all working and oppressed people.

Undocumented workers on strike at Arizona groves

By JESSE LEE

NEW YORK, Oct. 31—A "warlike atmosphere" between growers and workers exists in the citrus groves of Arizona, according to the Maricopa County Organizing Project (MCOP).

Nearly 300 undocumented workers have been on strike for a month now in Maricopa County in central Arizona. Organized by the MCOP, most of the strikers are employed at the giant Glendale Arrowhead ranch.

The ranch is owned by Goldmar, Inc., a corporation with large land holdings which is partly owned by Robert Goldwater, brother of ultra-rightist Senator Barry Goldwater. Recent investigations into the slaying of Phoenix newspaper reporter Don Bolles, who was murdered after exposing mob activities in Arizona, have revealed that the Goldwater family is intimately connected with the Las Vegas crime syndicate.

The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) acted almost immediately after the job action began to try to help the owners break the strike.

"Since Oct. 3 a total of 240 citrus workers at the ranches with disputes have been picked up by the Immigration and Naturalization Service in these retaliatory raids," the MCOP charges.

INS officials have long been known to accept a bribe to look the other way when a grower wants to exploit the workers, but if the

undocumented workers demand their rights, the INS moves in right away to use its power of deportation.

The Arizona strike was forced by working conditions similar to those that existed on slave plantations in the 1800s. The citrus workers have no toilets in the fields where they work, no showers, and there is no medical care of any kind available. They are given no warning before the orchards are sprayed with potentially lethal pesticides.

Hourly workers receive only \$2.20 an hour, below the legal minimum wage. Many workers however, must use the hated piece-work system, often receiving less than \$5 a day. Hourly workers are frequently paid less than the hours they actually worked because the supervisors lie on the work records. These same thieving supervisors are even more ruthless in shorting workers paid on the per bag rate.

Citrus workers cannot get housing at the ranches where they work and must erect their own make-shift shelters to live in during the working season. Food at highly inflated prices is hawked to these workers, who live far from any supermarkets, by the rich ranchers.

These barbaric conditions explain why the citrus workers have so bravely gone on strike. A victory in Maricopa County will help to insure decent pay and working conditions for all workers.

The Gay Question: A Marxist Appraisal

By BOB McCUBBIN

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General Dynamics uses workers as pawns in haggle with Navy

By CONNIE HARRIS

NEW YORK, Nov. 1—Three to four thousand employees at the Electric Boat Company in Groton, Connecticut, are being laid off as a result of a dispute between that company and the U.S. Navy.

Seven hundred workers at Electric Boat in Quonset Point, Rhode Island, will also be laid off.

Electric Boat, a division of the General Dynamics Corporation, is involved in a clash with the Navy over the price of 18 submarines being built at the shipyard. The company, whose Groton shipyard makes Tridents and Class 688 fast-attack submarines for the Navy, claimed that the cost of producing the submarines will run \$544 million more than the contracted price of \$1.4 billion.

Company spokesmen say that the additional money was requested from the Navy last December, and that, although the Navy at the time agreed to respond to the request, it has not done so.

What raises this beyond an

ordinary contract dispute between a corporation and its customer is the fact that Electric Boat is callously using its employees as pawns.

EMPLOYEES PAWN IN CORPORATE GAME

A Washington, D.C. Congressional source reported that General Dynamics officials have visited different legislators in the past few weeks and tried to use the threat of mass layoffs to force the Navy to pay the money in question.

Electric Boat has tried to conceal this extortionist tactic by citing a reduced need for workers like designers, engineers, programmers, and others as the reason for the layoffs; but this explanation has failed to satisfy even U.S. congressmen.

Senator Lowell Weicker of Connecticut, for example, has flatly stated, "I don't believe it. . . . Why should I believe them when they lied to us last week?" (He was referring to Electric

Boat's promise, made just one

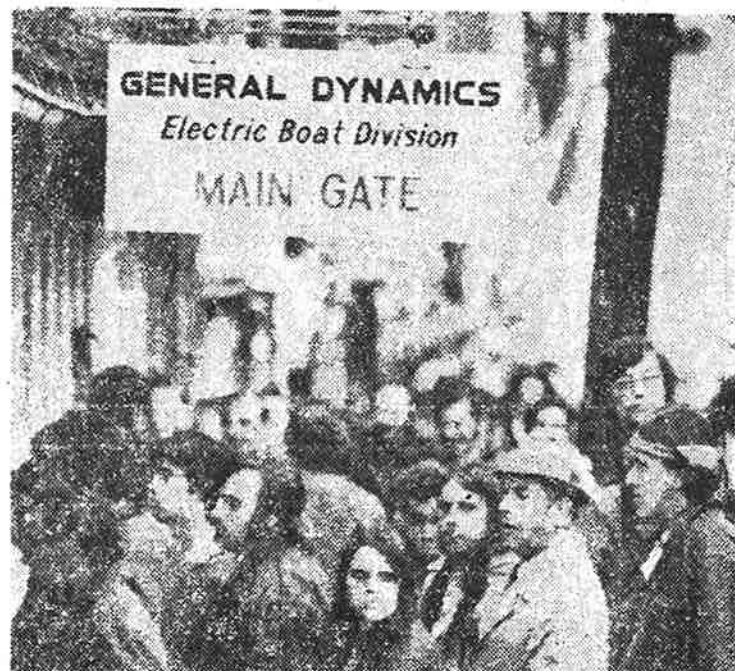
week prior to the layoffs, that there would be no layoffs.)

The Navy, meanwhile, refused to respond to the plight of the workers. A spokesman said, "It's their business if there are layoffs. Our only concern is the delivery of the submarine."

This bourgeois power-play, will hurt neither Electric Boat nor the U.S. Navy. As is usually the case in disputes over money between sectors of the ruling class, the ones who are made to suffer are the workers.

(Of course, the interests of the working class as a whole are only harmed by increased spending on behalf of the military-industrial complex. Not only is the chance of war promoted by a bloated war budget, not only are vital goods and services denied to working people by war spending, but it is also true that dollar for dollar, Defense Department spending generates the fewest jobs of any other form of government outlay.)

Electric Boat, employing 28,000



Four thousand workers face layoffs at General Dynamics Electric Boat division in Connecticut. Shrugging off the mass dismissals, a company spokesman said, "Our only concern is the delivery of submarines."

workers, is the second largest employer in Connecticut and the largest employer in Rhode Island. By cutting its workforce by more than 10%, it bears full responsibility for raising unemployment in the area from .9 to 8%, according to the New York Times. Also, this huge layoff is sure to affect the economy of the area, thus leading to even more layoffs.

AFTER 19 YEARS: TWO WEEKS' PAY

Forty-five-year-old Richard Herbert, a computer programmer, was one of those laid off. For 19 years of work for Electric Boat, his "reward" was two weeks severance pay and a vague promise that he may be re-hired at some future date.

The contemptuous action of Electric Boat clearly illustrates how little big business cares about the welfare of its workers. Whenever it suits their interests, they will abandon workers on the scrapheap of unemployment as readily as they dispose of polluting industrial wastes—without a care

for the results of their acts.

THE REAL HOSTAGES

It is ironic that when, two weeks ago, West German radicals hijacked a plane and held its passengers hostage in order to demand the release of 11 West German political prisoners, the entire capitalist world reacted with frenzied outrage (and vicious reprisals).

Electric Boat is, in essence, holding the lives of 3,000 people hostage in a maneuver designed, not to free unjustly imprisoned people, but simply to increase its profits. Where are the appropriate cries of outrage to protest such an act?

The protests will come—but not from the U.S. ruling class which protests such acts only when they oppose their class interests.

It will be the workers, not just at Electric Boat, but wherever the bosses display their inhuman disregard for people's lives, who will make their voices heard and their power felt as they demand an end to all layoffs.

Postal workers want hassle-free sick leave



CHICAGO, Oct. 21—Over 100 postal workers picketed the Main Post Office here today to protest the intense harassment by postal management of employees on sick leave. Postal workers are faced with grueling speed-up, since the Postal Service is constantly reducing its workforce while demanding that those who remain work twice as fast. The demonstration was called by the American Postal Workers Union and "People's Choice," a progressive electoral slate in the Mail-handlers Union.

WW photo: Jeff S.

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Negotiating a new contract? Why not...

Get what the bosses get

By JESSE LEE

NEW YORK, Oct. 20—Negotiating a new contract in the shop? Planning to ask the boss for something more than minimum wage?

Why not ask for what the top executives get?

According to Hay & Associates, a Philadelphia management-consulting firm, a big businessman, doing no productive labor, and making \$100,000 a year, gets about \$30,000 a year in non-cash compensation.

To get in on this big money, the first demand could be that all the workers get a free lunch in a restaurant of their own choice. Just as in the well-known businessman's lunch, the workers can bring along anyone they want, and the company will pay for them, too.

For health benefits, workers could always follow the example of the Chessie System (a giant railroad conglomerate) and 80 other corporations:

"Executives are required to take a free physical examination every year at Greenbrier resort in White Sulphur Springs, W. Va. The executives undergo two or three days of poking and testing at the Greenbrier Clinic. Well, actually, the testing is only in the mornings. Afternoons can be spent on the resort's 700 acres of golf courses, riding trails, tennis courts and swimming pools, at company

expense." (Wall Street Journal, Oct. 19, 1977)

Management at the auto companies get a free car. Officials at Ford Motor Co. insist that getting a free car is really extra work, not compensation. Every three months, the executives must write an evaluation of the car which might take "a couple of hours" of the bosses' time. This is "extra work" that most workers would welcome. In a union contract that includes a car for every worker, it could be negotiated whether these "couple of hours" will be paid as regular time or overtime!

OTHER BENEFITS BOSSES GET

This is only a small sample of what the top bosses get. A survey of the lucrative benefits that 468 big businesses pay to the top fat cats shows that 83% give fancy physical examinations, 62% provide company cars, 53% pay for country club memberships, 55% buy luncheon club memberships, 25% let the executives use the company plane for personal trips, and 22% provide company-owned apartments.

Before the boss starts to scream "no" when the negotiating committee asks for all of this, and before the boss makes his usual cry of "poverty," be sure to point out that the best part of all of this is that it's all tax deductible!

Bethlehem losses biggest in U.S. corporate history, but

Plight of unemployed steel workers ignored

By ROBERT DOBROW
NEW YORK, Oct. 31—Bethlehem Steel Corporation announced on Wednesday a loss of \$477 million for its third quarter earnings—the largest corporate loss in U.S. history. The losses are larger than those reported by Penn Central for the entire year of 1970, a few months before it went bankrupt.

Bethlehem Steel is the thirty-third largest industrial corporation and second largest steel producer in the U.S., according to Fortune magazine's list of the top 500. It employed, before the recent wave of layoffs, 105,000 workers.

WORKERS OR BOSSES: WHO WILL SUFFER?

While the capitalists and their press are sobbing for their friends at Bethlehem Steel, they have been silent about the plight of the steel workers. Where are the "understanding" and "sympathetic" reports about how workers who have been thrown onto the streets are going to survive or provide for their families? Bethlehem's profits make front-page news, but an unemployed worker's income never makes the news at all.

Bourgeois economists are fond of explaining how a "corporation" is really just "people." But the "people" who own Bethlehem Steel will hardly be affected personally by the huge losses of their company. The six- and seven-digit salaries of the Board of Trustees will stay the same. The limousines and padded expense accounts for the executives will remain. The luxuries for the bosses will continue.

Those who will be affected are the ones who always suffer when there is a crisis in the system: the workers—Black, Brown, and white. Already, thousands of Bethlehem workers, and many more steel workers generally, have been laid off. Whole communities and even cities face extinction by the plant closings. Of the workers who remain, six-day weeks and back-breaking speed-ups have been instituted, as the bosses claim that productivity will increase despite the layoffs!

The Wall Street Journal of Oct. 27 reports that the company is now contesting whether workers who lost their jobs after Aug. 1—that is the bulk of those laid-off—will be



While large numbers of steelworkers have been laid off, others are being put on an exhausting 6-day work week, even in hazardous jobs like this open-hearth furnace work.

eligible to claim pensions under a new "Rule of 65" pension plan, a major gain of the recent three-year union contract signed last April. The union has filed a grievance over this issue.

PROFIT LOSS SHOWS SYSTEM IN CRISIS

Today's New York Times financial news section reports that corporate profits as a whole are expected to decline slightly from \$100 billion earlier this year to \$97.99 billion for this quarter. Bethlehem's losses, which are subject to all sorts of financial manipulation such as tax write-offs and tax credits, is a big factor in depressing the overall profit figures. Others, such as Citicorp (formerly First National City) showed an 11% decline representing a break from the usual upward profit trend of the biggest banks.

Of course, thousands of corporations are showing fabulous profits and many more are deliberately downplaying their gains for political reasons, and this is especially true of the steel monopolies, which are trying to force the Administration to grant their special demands. But the Bethlehem losses do reveal that

stagnation is deep-rooted and structural to the system. There has been no genuine upturn or genuine recovery—that is putting all the factories back into production—for capitalism. If anything, there is now widespread fear in the summits of the ruling class of a recurrence of the extreme recession of a few years ago.

Nevertheless, for the workers—without whom nothing could be produced—it continues to mean layoffs, speed-ups, inflation, and cuts in their living standards. The Bethlehem bosses and the steel

bosses in general, have shown that they are thoroughly incapable of running the plants without

continual crisis. It's time for those who make the steel to take a crack at it.



by
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Retired steelworkers call for conference on layoff crisis

By a retired steelworker
YOUNGSTOWN, Oct. 11—United Steel Workers (USW) Local 1330 Retirees met this afternoon and endorsed the proposal by the Local for a district-wide conference of steelworkers to deal with the serious steel crisis. The Retirees added that there should

be an area-wide conference for the retirees, also, to discuss their special problems in light of the crisis.

The Retirees felt that their pensions will be affected when the steelworkers union is weakened because of the steel shutdowns.

John Ausnehmer, president of

the Retirees group, stated to the members that "we were on the picket lines in 1946, 1949 and 1959. We fought and got these pensions, and if there is a lot of unemployment, our pensions will be affected because our union will be weaker. So if we have a district rally, we should all be there."

Senator admits closed plant should be employee owned

CLEVELAND, Oct. 23—U.S. Senator Howard Metzenbaum of Ohio joined the chorus of state, federal, and local politicians, corporation heads, and other big-business-minded people, as well as union leaders, with new ideas of what to do in the steel crisis in Youngstown. He proposed that the Campbell Works, to be shut down by Youngstown Sheet and Tube be "employee-owned."

Metzenbaum suggested that monies be obtained from the Federal government, from the banks, and from lower wages. Of course, he reiterated that such an idea may be improbable, but said that it should at least be thought about.

The idea of worker-ownership of the mills is certainly a very good one, since the workers built the mills in the first place and have kept them running. But to have bankers get their hands into it would negate all the good that would come out from worker-ownership. The proposals for wage

cuts to help finance the venture is out and out anti-labor.

But this proposal is quite different from the ideas brought forth by the business corporations and their political lackies, who all were just calling for things to help the companies, and only incidentally, the workers.

Can Metzenbaum's proposal work? He cannot make it work, he's only a politician, carrying out the policies of the real rulers, the corporations. Only if the workers themselves accept the idea that they should own the plants, and then do something about it themselves, would workers' control be a reality.

Why did Metzenbaum make this suggestion? He is undoubtedly in great fear of the workers and what they might do. He, like all the rest, fears the direct intervention of the masses and wants to have a way to subvert it. They all fear that the workers may demand too much from the bosses.

Boeing workers line up for unemployment



NEW YORK, Nov. 1—Lining up for payment of strike benefits, 17,000 workers in Seattle who have shut down Boeing Aircraft are prepared for a hard fight with the company. Boeing, anti-labor to the core, is also a corporation at the heart of the notorious military-industrial complex.

International Women's Year Conference, Houston**Progressive women mobilizing to halt rightists**

By KATHY DURKIN

NEW YORK, Oct. 31—Scores of women from around the country are mobilizing to go to the Houston International Women's Year (IWY) Conference from November 18-21 to actively support women's rights. The hall is expected to hold 11,000 people—1,500 delegates, 400 delegates at large, 1,000 "honored" guests and members of the press, and 7,000 or more observers. Non-delegates won't have voting status nor will the 10,000 to 20,000 observers who are expected to attend workshops.

State delegates are bringing resolutions in support of child

care, equal employment and education, the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), health care, single-parent families, the right to abortion, and the right to housing. The rights of minority women, older women, lesbians, women in labor unions, and handicapped women will also be addressed in many resolutions.

Although IWY is a U.S. State Department-sponsored conference, many of the 1,442 delegates elected from state IWY conferences represent progressive forces. For instance, 20 of the 58 delegates elected at the Texas state IWY Conference are Chicana, and

four are lesbians.

In every state conference where rank-and-file working women, Black, Latin, Asian, Native American, Chicana women, and lesbians were elected as delegates, it was the result of a struggle against the official government-selected slate and, often, against ultra-rightists who tried to disrupt the conferences. The ultra-right, which is focusing on the women's movement as a chief adversary, packed many state conferences, based in fresh reinforcements from other states, and got 15-20% of the delegates seats to Houston through the use of storm-trooper

tactics.

The John Birch Society, Ku Klux Klan, Nazis, Phyllis Schlafly, and Anita Bryant forces have sought to break up the women's movement through the IWY conferences, to block every gain for women and, to turn back every right won by women and poor and oppressed people. In many states, these right-wingers came out against free kindergartens, gay rights, the right to abortion, "unisex" education, legislation against child abuse, and even Social Security. In Utah, a resolution even reached the floor of the conference calling for a repeal of women's right to vote!

As part of a national campaign to wipe out women's rights, chief racist KKK goon, Robert Shelton told the *Detroit News* that the Klan plans to disrupt the Houston IWY meeting, and said that hundreds of his members tried to disrupt state IWY meetings, but admitted that they had not been "fully effective."

Nationally, thousands of women—Third World and white, young and old, gay and straight—united against these neo-fascists in great shows of strength, state by state. They confronted the rightists on every issue; and in most instances, were able to win delegates and resolutions to Houston in support of women's, gay and minority rights. Many women fought tremendous battles against the ultra-right at state conferences, even where they were overwhelmed in numbers.

In Hawaii, one woman held the plenary session microphone for two-and-a-half hours so that so-called Right-to-Lifers who outnumbered progressives, couldn't pass any anti-woman resolutions.

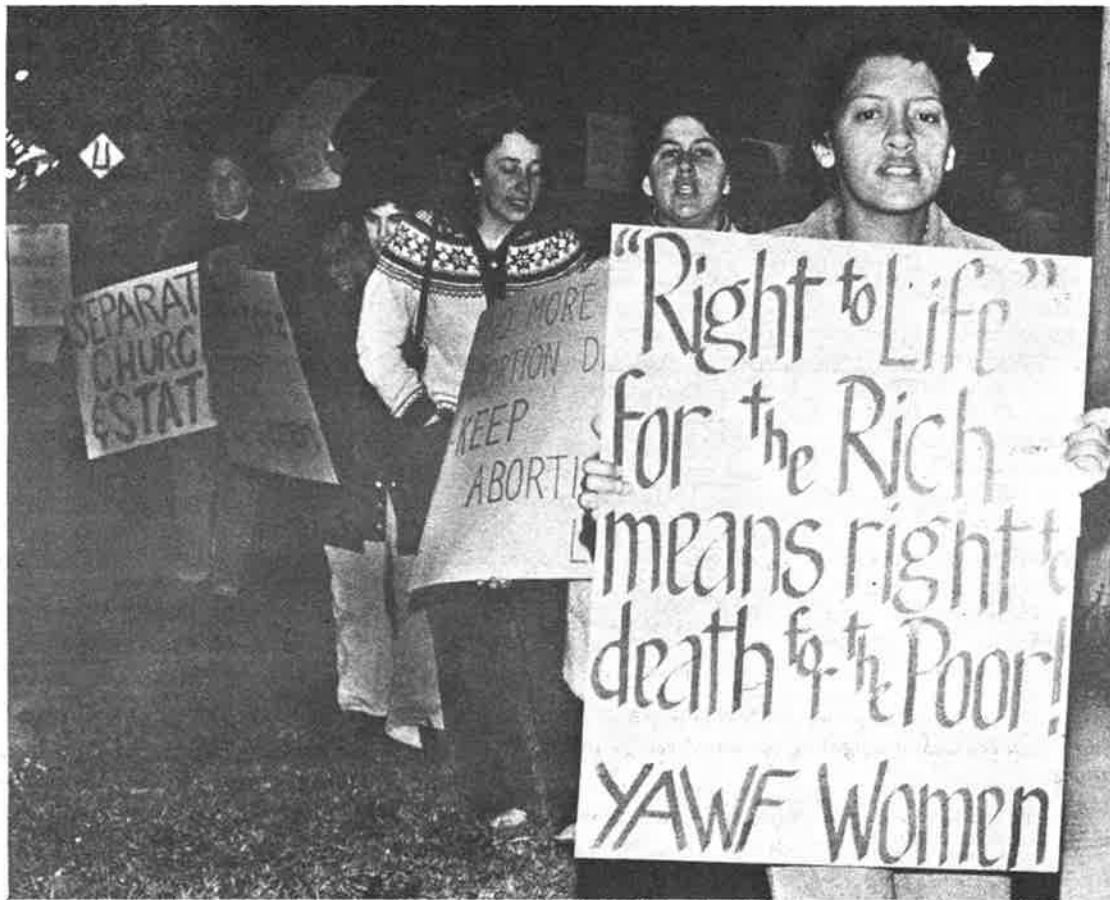
MOBILIZING TO DEFEAT THE REACTIONARIES

Women nationwide, and particularly on the West Coast, are organizing for a showdown with the ultra-right at the upcoming conference. Many women's, lesbian and radical organizations have issued calls to the women's movement, lesbian and oppressed communities, and to working women to come to Houston and mobilize to defeat the right-wing and to stop any anti-woman, anti-gay, anti-poor, or racist resolution from getting passed at the conference.

The blatant storm-trooper tactics of the ultra-right have angered many women who are determined to go to Houston and stop them in their tracks—inside and outside of the conference.

It is in the interests of all progressive women to fight racism, sexism, and anti-gay bigotry, and to unite against the forces of reaction to protect their hard-won rights.

For women in the New York area who want to go to Houston, seats are available on the Grass Roots Women's Coalition's plane. Call 690-9041 or 361-0120.



Opposing a meeting called by anti-abortion fanatics, Rochester demonstrators chant, "Not the church, not the state, women will decide their fate." WW photo

Rochester women turn out to protest anti-abortion meeting

By JEAN CARROLL

ROCHESTER, Oct. 18—Nearly 50 women gathered outside Cardinal Mooney High School here this evening to protest a meeting organized by the so-called right-to-lifers—reactionaries who oppose women's right to choose whether or not to have safe, legal abortions.

On a mere two day notice, several area women's groups were mobilized to confront the opponents of abortion on demand with chants of "Not the church, not the state, women will decide their fate" and "Free, safe, legal abortions—no forced sterilizations."

The "right-to-lifers" sponsored Dr. Mildred Jefferson, who spoke against abortion. The opponents of abortion preach the sanctity of life and the "rights" of the unborn fetus, but where is their concern for poor women who are forcibly sterilized? Where is the concern of these right-wingers when working mothers have no adequate daycare facilities for their children? Where is their compassion for Black, Latin, and white women forced to live on welfare with barely enough money to feed and clothe their children? What about those children's right to life?

What the "right-to-lifers"

represent is not only opposition to women's rights and abortion, but the general right-wing mobilization against most of the gains won by poor and working women during the last decade. The success of today's demonstration,

despite differences in the women's movement here, showed the necessity of all those who support women's right to choose safe, legal abortions joining together in militant action to uphold that right.

Oppose anti-abortion policies**Coalition to picket HEW boss in NYC Nov. 12**

By SUE DAVIS

NEW YORK, Oct. 31—Joseph Califano, Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW), is slated to receive an award on Dean's Day at New York University (NYU) Law School on Saturday, Nov. 12. But an ad hoc coalition of various women's, gay, legal, civil liberties, labor, church, and community groups has other plans that day for Califano, who is the most outspoken opponent of abortion in the Carter administration.

The coalition is calling a picket line and a rally to demonstrate against the government attacks on abortion rights, in the form of Medicaid cutbacks on funds for abortions; to stop forced sterilization; and to end all HEW cutbacks in healthcare and childcare.

According to Karen Lieberman, one of the organizers of the demonstration and a member of the Coalition for Abortion Rights and Against Sterilization Abuse (CARASA), "We picked Califano as a target since he is the person responsible for carrying out the government's policy on abortion. At this time we see this as an attempt to begin a movement to make all abortions illegal. We must stop this now; we must protect all our hard-won gains and move forward from there."

The government policy Lieberman is referring to is the recent Supreme Court ruling and the 1977 Hyde Amendment that bar the use of federal funds for Medicaid abortions. Estimates are that of the 300,000 women who depended on such funds last year and who will now be forced to go to

back-alley abortionists, 85 will be hospitalized and 5 will die each week as a result of illegal abortions. Most of these victims will be poor, teenagers, and Black, Latin, Asian, and Native American women—those who already are most often subject to sterilization abuse. Since HEW pays 90% of the cost of Medicaid sterilizations and has drastically reduced its funding for healthcare and childcare, the government's policy is clearly an all-out attack on the rights of poor women to determine for themselves the number of children they want as well as provide adequate care for them.

Behind this racist assault on the poor are rightwing, reactionary forces, which count these steps limiting abortion as the first on the road to outlawing abortion entirely. Carter is known to sym-

pathize with this position and has even publicly revealed his contempt for poor women with his comment on the recent measures that "some things in life are unfair."

The organizers of the Nov. 12 demonstration have adopted the slogan, "All women must have the right to choose," to expose the reactionary nature of the anti-abortion measures as well as the discrimination against poor women on the basis of class and race. The demonstration will be the first time that Califano or the Carter administration will be confronted on these issues in New York City. The picket line will begin at 1 p.m. in front of NYU Law School on Washington Square South and the rally will be held there at 3 p.m.

Poster sized calender featuring quotes from Harriet Tubman

Available from Women's Caucus of Youth Against War & Fascism, 46 W. 21 Street, N.Y., N.Y. 10010 \$1.

Behind Detroit General takeover plan

Another attack on poor people's health care

By a Detroit AFSCME city worker
DETROIT, Oct. 28—A rich and powerful bloc of private interests is trying to take over Detroit's only public hospital and turn it into a lucrative private operation at the expense of the health of poor people here.

If the scheme, which is slated to come before the Detroit City Council in the near future, succeeds, well over 70,000 poor and elderly people who have no health insurance, and many more who have Medicaid but have difficulty getting adequate care at private hospitals, will be left without guaranteed care. In addition, jobs, seniority, and wage and benefit levels of city workers employed at the hospital will be seriously threatened.

WHAT THE TAKEOVER WOULD MEAN

Next year, Detroit General is scheduled to move into a new building in the central city Medical Center, a complex of private hospitals run by the Medical Center Corporation. In their move to wrest control of Detroit General away from the city, the Medical Center directors say they want to see the hospital become a "public benefit corporation," a hypocritical term covering the fact that the hospital would become a private money-making operation, which would have its new building and any deficit paid for out of city tax dollars, yet would be subject only to the control of the Medical Center and the Wayne State Medical School, which they are also trying to take over.

The Medical Center directors have stated that the same policy of providing care to indigent patients which now exists in the Medical Center would prevail at a private Detroit General. But most people here who have gone to Medical Center hospitals with no insurance or ready cash know that this policy is a farce: if they are not outright turned away, they are given only inadequate care.

Who are the people involved in the move to take over Detroit Medical? The Medical Center Corporation includes in its interlocking boards-of-directors J.L. Hudson, owner of the largest chain of department stores here; Max Fisher, auto and oil magnate; Martin S. Hayden, managing editor of the Detroit News; R.E. Semple, president of Wyandotte Chemical Corporation; and various bank and utility executives, among others.

Even if the move for an outright takeover of the hospital does not succeed, Wayne State is already planning to take over the hospital's outpatient clinics, and the Medical Center is trying to get all of Detroit General's services except emergency and trauma moved into its private hospitals, where indigent patients receiving care would be financed by the city and would surely face discriminatory treatment as "charity patients."

CUTBACK IN CARE

The new Detroit General will have only 325 beds as compared to 410 in the old hospital, and private doctors will be allowed to admit private patients for the first time, further limiting beds available to the poor. In addition, an intensive staff cutback has been underway at the hospital, with the administration not replacing those who retire or transfer and forcing the employees left to do double and triple their old work loads. The administration is refusing

to reveal its plans for the jobs of the remaining employees, many of whom have worked for the hospital for 20 years and more, and will give them no guarantee that they will have jobs at the new Detroit General. In addition, if Detroit General goes out of city control, there will almost certainly be a move to cut back the wage and benefit levels of its employees,

which are considerably above the low salaries, made by private hospital employees in the Medical Center.

What is happening at Detroit General is part of a nationwide move against public health services which has resulted in the outright closing or transfer to private control of city and county hospitals from California to

Chicago to Philadelphia to New York. Several factors are responsible for these attacks.

First of all, recent federal cutbacks in Medicaid funding and the erosion of city tax bases have made less and less money available for the funding of local public hospitals. This is partly because city taxes don't tap the real reservoirs of local wealth in the

first place: the big corporations and the banks.

The crisis of the cities themselves is also responsible. During this current period of capitalist economic crisis, U.S. banks are increasingly putting a stranglehold on city finances, with ever-increasing interest rates on bond issues and with imperious

(Continued on p. 12)

Study of women's cancer surgery reveals doctors' deceit and callousness

By BEVERLY SLAPIN

NEW YORK, Oct. 28—At least 66 women participating in a recent federal cancer detection study needlessly underwent breast surgery for cancers that did not exist, officials of the National Cancer Institute (NCI) admitted this month.

But despite this admission, a doctor-dominated federal advisory committee proposed two weeks ago that the doctors involved should not be required to inform their patients of the mistaken diagnoses.

The Cancer Control and Rehabilitation Advisory Committee, the group that made the recommendations, said that the women's doctors should only "consider" discussing the findings with their patients.

At issue are the cases of 66 women who took part in a \$54.6 million federal breast cancer detection project in 1973-76. The project, funded by the American Cancer Society and the NCI, took place in 19 hospitals and clinics nationwide. All the women underwent X-ray or mammography screening.

The results showed shadows of cancers that were less than half an inch in diameter, and were determined to have malignant potential. The findings were turned over to the women's doctors, and as a result, the women underwent breast surgery—in most cases, radical mastectomies.

But in a tissue review done last summer of 506 cases originally diagnosed as "minimal" cancers,

expert pathologists discovered that some of the tiny growths had been benign, and that 66 women apparently had breasts removed for noncancerous conditions.

On Sept. 16, at a National Institute of Health Breast Cancer Consensus Meeting, a review panel recommended that these 66 women—as well as the more than 1,800 others who had undergone breast surgery as a result of the screening program—be notified about the accuracy of the

diagnoses.

CRUCIAL INFORMATION FOR WOMEN, FAMILIES

Dr. Diane Fink, NCI's cancer control director, told *Workers World* today that "the women have to know because it's crucial for them and their families, especially their female relatives, to be aware of the situation." She said that NCI officials have firmly decided to notify the women, desirably by their own doctors, but

by other means if necessary.

But the doctor's committee, keeping an ever-vigilant eye on their bankbooks, urged that only the women's surgeons be informed. That way, the surgeons would then have the option of not telling their patients that a mistake had been made.

This is just another example of how the medical profession feels more responsibility to their malpractice insurance companies than to their patients.



DETROIT, Oct. 19—Members of Equidare, the Gay Caucus of Youth Against War & Fascism, and others demand an end to gay oppression and the passage of the city's Omnibus Human Rights Bill in a determined picket line outside the City-County Building today. WW photo

With Supreme Court blessing

Gay rights under attack nationwide

By CONNIE HARRIS

NEW YORK, Oct. 31—On Sept. 6, Wichita, Kansas, became the second U.S. city to pass gay civil rights legislation since the repeal of such legislation in Dade County, Fla. The legislation, which banned discrimination in housing, employment, and public accommodations on the basis of "sexual or affectional preference," is now being challenged by a right-wing drive to repeal it.

These reactionary forces have begun a drive to collect signatures to bring the issue to a public referendum in August, 1978. Ten thousand signatures are needed. Catholic Bishop David Malony has urged Wichita residents to work against the legislation and said that the diocese would ignore its prohibitions in the church's hiring of teachers.

This is still another indication that the anti-gay offensive, initiated last year in Florida by Anita Bryant and other right-wing bigots, is continuing to spread.

CALIFORNIA REFERENDUM

In California, State Senator John Briggs (who is running for

Governor) has initiated a petition drive for a state-wide vote on banning gay teachers from teaching in the public schools.

Briggs, who endorsed the Dade County "Save Our Children" campaign, said that Anita Bryant will not participate in his campaign, but that "we have her wishes and prayers."

The proposed bill would ban "open and notorious homosexuals" from teaching in the public schools. Briggs' definition does not only include those who let their students know that they are lesbians or gay men, but those who are known by name as being involved in the lesbian and gay movements, as well as any gay people seen "walking hand-in-hand," or who frequent gay bars.

This definition potentially includes all gay people; thus, if the bill should pass, the jobs of all gay teachers would be endangered.

Offensives against the rights of gay teachers have been initiated in other parts of the country. The Supreme Court, by refusing to hear the case of a Tacoma, Washington, teacher who was

fired for being gay, in essence, endorsed the reactionary campaign to prevent gay people from being teachers.

GAY OPPRESSION TOOL FOR BOSSES

The character of the current anti-gay offensive makes it increasingly clear that gay oppression is a powerful tool for the ruling class. Of the many cutbacks that have been forced on working and poor people, cutbacks in education have been particularly acute.

With the large numbers of unemployed teachers, it is possible for prominent bigots to say, in essence, "These people, who shouldn't be around children, have your jobs. Help us get rid of them." Such an appeal hides the fact that it is the ruling class, not gay people, who is responsible for all unemployment.

It does not benefit workers to go along with anti-gay slander. The bosses can accuse anyone of being gay if they want to fire them as long as the rights of gay workers are not protected by the solidarity

of all the workers.

The bosses don't really care how poor and working people live their lives away from the job—when it comes to the things important to them, like decent housing, food, and health care. Their phony pretense of outrage about the personal lives of gay workers should be seen by all workers as the self-serving hypocrisy that it is. The same is true of the bourgeoisie's "fears" for the well-being of children, a concern which is activated not when daycare cutbacks and cuts in education are being made but only where gay people are concerned, or when, for example, the state tries to take the children of families on welfare away from their parents.

The current anti-gay offensive is part of a nationwide campaign against working and oppressed people. The same racist, bigoted forces have united against the rights of nationally oppressed people, and against the right of women to abortion and the ERA. In order to defeat these forces, the rights of gay people must be defended along with those of all working and oppressed people.

While getting deeper in debt to imperialism

Egypt cancels debt owed to Soviet Union

By ROBERT DOBROW

NEW YORK, Oct. 28—Egypt's President Anwar el-Sadat announced yesterday that he was—without consultation with Soviet leaders—"suspending for 10 years" payments of \$4 billion Egypt owes to the USSR. In other words, he unilaterally cancelled an enormous chunk of Egypt's Soviet debt. Sadat also declared a ban on exports of cotton to Czechoslovakia and the USSR. And it was later revealed that Ford Motor Co., a company on the Arab League's boycott list, would be opening a new plant in Cairo.

These developments come on the heels of Treasury Secretary W. Michael Blumenthal's trip to Cairo, Tel Aviv, and other Mideast capitals. The last time a U.S.

Treasury Secretary visited Egypt was in March, 1976. A few days after that, Egypt cancelled its Friendship Treaty with the Soviet Union.

Sadat gave as the "official" reason for the cancellation of the money owed the USSR, the Soviet embargo on arms to Egypt. But the U.S., also, does not supply military aid to Egypt (choosing to funnel it through client states like Saudi Arabia and Kuwait) and this has not prompted Sadat to cancel his staggering debts to the U.S.-controlled International Monetary Fund (IMF) or the World Bank.

EGYPT SOLIDLY IN CAMP OF IMPERIALISM

For over seven years, since the

death of President Gamal Abdul Nasser, a progressive nationalist, the Egyptian leadership has moved closer and closer into the embrace of U.S. imperialism, to the point where today it is one of the most reactionary, pro-U.S. regimes in the Middle East.

The Sadat regime is vehemently anti-communist and is currently doing imperialism's dirty work in the Horn of Africa where it has been aiding secessionist movements in Ethiopia in an attempt to strangle that country's profound social revolution.

Even Moshe Dayan, Israeli Foreign Minister, and hated in the Arab world as a die-hard pro-imperialist, told Blumenthal that he "hoped the U.S. would continue to support the moderate

economic development of Egypt."

According to the Oct. 27 New York Times, "the United States provides Egypt with almost \$1 billion in economic aid." This makes it the largest single recipient of American aid of any country in the world, according to the Times. (Israel gets less in direct subsidies, but gets over \$1.5 billion in military aid.) Egypt also receives "large sums—estimated at \$2 billion" from its friends in OPEC.

Nevertheless, this infusion of aid has not helped Egypt's massive unemployment, staggering inflation, shortages of basic goods, or alleviated in any way the abysmal poverty of the workers and peasants. Blumenthal's discussions with Sadat undoubtedly covered such topics as

how Egypt could service its extortionate debt payments to the imperialist world as well as how it could contain the growing ferment of the poor and oppressed.

The Times had to admit that "it is considered highly unlikely that the Sadat government could survive in the event of a cutoff of American aid." (It was less than a year ago that widescale rebellions rocked Egypt in protest of food price increases, which, it was later revealed, were dictated by the IMF creditors.)

IS THIS "SOVIET IMPERIALISM"?

Sadat's cancellation of the money owed the USSR is also an interesting commentary on the phony worn-out theory of "Soviet social-imperialism." What happens when an oppressed nation cancels its debt, kicks out advisors, and annuls its treaties with a real imperialist power?

In Ethiopia, such an anti-imperialist move provoked an assault by united world imperialist reaction in the form of blockades, intrigue, and outright invasion. In Chile, the U.S. organized a fascist coup d'etat as it did in Indonesia, Iran, Brazil, Guatemala, Ghana, and many other countries which have tried to free themselves from imperialist domination.

The USSR is not an imperialist state and will not and cannot impose this type of "pressure" on Egypt.

Sadat's action also shows the self-defeating nature of the Soviet leaders' policy of politically allying with bourgeois nationalist leaders of capitalist nations such as Egypt or India, who may veer close to the USSR diplomatically when it is convenient for them, but who will jump back to the imperialist camp when they feel threatened at home.

The best and most consistent allies of the USSR are the workers and oppressed. In the case of Egypt, the Soviet Union's true interests coincide with those of the vast masses of Cairo and the rest of the country who are subject to the worst poverty and oppression and who only stand to benefit from the overthrow of the reactionary, pro-imperialist Sadat regime, and the erection of a workers', socialist government.

'Mogadishu-type' attack on Polisario threatened

France readies troops for African intervention

By G. DUNKEL

NEW YORK, Oct. 31—France is threatening to send troops into Mauritania in order to keep it from collapsing under Polisario's attacks, according to a front-page story in the Oct. 28 Le Matin, a leading bourgeois daily French newspaper.

Polisario is a liberation group which has been fighting for an independent nation in a former Spanish colony in the Western Sahara. Spain, in defiance of the overwhelming desire of the Arab people for independence, divided the mineral-rich colony between Mauritania and Morocco in order to protect imperialist interests there.

The troops to be sent in will be drawn from France's "division of intervention," which has been placed on alert and is ready to move in six hours. They will guard Zouerate, the site of Mauritania's most important economic resource, an iron mine that used to provide 80% of its exports before Polisario's raids, Nouadhibou, the port for the iron ore, and the railroad connecting the port and the mines.

The alleged excuse for this intervention, which is just a neo-colonial version of gunboat diplomacy, was the capture of two French nationals during a Polisario raid on Zouerate on Oct. 27. Around 140 French nationals work at the mine.

possible.

RECENT VICTORY

For instance, according to a recent Polisario press release, on Oct. 14, at Bir-Moghrein in north-west Mauritania, Polisario forces attacked two companies of Moroccan paratroopers and two companies of Mauritanian soldiers. The Mauritanians fled at

the first shots. The Moroccans had 146 killed and 35 taken prisoner. This was a sharp and bloody defeat for Morocco.

While U.S. imperialism has been very quiet about the Western Sahara, it is clear that France could not intervene militarily in Africa without its assent, especially since Saudi Arabia, the U.S.'s chief henchman in the Arab

world, is supplying Morocco with hundreds of millions of dollars in military aid for the war, according to the NY Times of Oct. 22.

France's military intervention would create serious problems for Algeria, Polisario's most important backer, and gives Western imperialism an excuse to expand and internationalize the conflict in the Western Sahara.



Polisario liberation fighters practicing with French 89-millimeter anti-tank rocket launchers. The French imperialists are backing the reactionary forces fighting against Polisario.

"NOT RULING OUT ANYTHING"

French Defense Minister Yvon Bourges, when asked if he would send French commandos on an Entebbe- or Mogadishu-type operation, replied, "I am not ruling out anything."

Yvon Bourges completely ignored Polisario's position that the French nationals working for Mauritania or Morocco are "mercenaries working for countries which have invaded the Western Sahara" who will be treated like "prisoners of war" when they are caught. Polisario has consistently held that it would release a list of its prisoners only when Mauritania and Morocco release a list of theirs.

The Le Matin account makes it clear that the French bourgeoisie is trying to use the worldwide bourgeois hysteria now being stirred up about "terrorism and the taking of hostages" to justify its intervention. The French bourgeoisie obviously feels that the growing military victories of Polisario and its growing international support might make intervention at a later date im-

As students plan to protest his U.S. visit

Shah's thugs beat Iranian students in Chicago

By JOHN HUTTON

CHICAGO, Oct. 29—As part of a new wave of vicious repression directed against Iranians in the U.S. who oppose the repressive regime of the Shah, more than 20 people in the service of the Shah's secret police, SAVAK, swept into YMCA College in downtown Chicago on Tuesday. Armed with knives and at least one gun, the fascist agents moved through the college cafeteria, attacking Iranian students who were eating there.

In the bitter fight which followed, one student was injured by a chair thrown at his head, while another was stabbed in the mouth. Campus security forces stood by and did nothing, and the police didn't show up for more than 45 minutes. When they finally appeared, it was only to escort the thugs from the school.

Since the attack, harassment and assaults on Iranian students have continued. The college refused demands by members of the Iranian Students Association

(World Confederation) to suspend a known provocateur (and admitted SAVAK agent) responsible for the Oct. 25 incident; instead, the school responded by providing him with a police escort to attend classes! Twenty members of the ISA have been arrested in continuing clashes with the SAVAK.

When the Shah's wife visited the U.S. last July to try to clean up the image of the fascist Iranian regime, she was met with determined demonstrations from Iranian patriots and progressives. The planned public relations campaign was a disaster.

Now the Shah himself is coming (sometime this month), and SAVAK—obviously in cooperation with the U.S. government—wants to intimidate those who would participate in similar demonstrations.

Actually, the campaign to prevent a similar debacle for the Shah's projected visit is two-pronged. The first prong is naked

repression. The second is a multi-million-dollar project to buy "supporters." The SAVAK is offering an all-expense paid "holiday weekend" in Washington, including round-trip airfare, hotel lodging, and meals, plus \$100 in cash for anyone willing to come "welcome" the Shah to the U.S. Approaches have been made to social clubs, dance groups—anyone who might be receptive.

REPRESSION AT YMCA COLLEGE

YMCA College has been a center for repression of Iranian students and other progressives for some time. During the previous academic year, the college administration tried to curb ISA activities, even banning them from the campus. A rigid security system was instituted to keep out "agitators."

This year one student has functioned as an open, self-confessed agent of the SAVAK.

Over the past few weeks he has tried to buy participants in the "welcome" for the Shah and attempted to provoke fights. When the student showed up with his gang of thugs on Oct. 25, the college's rigid security system suddenly (and mysteriously) allowed 20 armed non-students to wander into the school, to launch their brutal attack.

In spite of the repression, the Iranian students have vowed to continue the struggle against the Shah and his regime. A leaflet issued by the Chicago branch of the ISA (World Confederation) declared: "The fascist regime of the Shah must be exposed for what it is to the world's peoples. We call on you and all progressives and democratic people to take an active part in exposing the Shah's regime. DOWN WITH THE SHAH!"

Demonstrations are being planned to protest the Shah's visit in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco on Nov. 15 and 16.

Winnie Mandela on trial (again)

In South Africa neighborly chats can be illegal

By RICHARD FERGUSON

NEW YORK, Nov. 1—"The rulers of this country have gone insane. I mean, in what other country would the price of chickens be considered as evidence?"

These words were spoken by Mrs. Winnie Mandela, a Black nationalist who is a defendant in a frame-up trial in Bloemfontein, South Africa. Among the many ludicrous charges against her, is having spoken to a neighbor about the price of chicken.

Mrs. Mandela is one of thousands of Black people who have been banned in an attempt to extinguish the growing liberation struggle in South Africa.

WHAT "BANNING" IS

"Banning" is a term for house arrest. Banned individuals are forbidden to work, leave home, or speak to more than one person at a

time. For those banned, there is no trial and no appeal.

The racist South African regime removed Mrs. Mandela from her home in Soweto over five months ago for what they termed "security measures." She was sent 200 miles to the town of Brandfort, another Black slum, where she is confined to a dilapidated concrete shell at night and on weekends and holidays.

Mrs. Mandela, who has been banned for all but 11 months since 1962, was recently arrested, and is standing trial for breaking the banning restrictions on five counts. Each of these five violations is punishable by three years in prison.

The violations for which Mrs. Mandela was arrested include such things as going to a neighbor's house to ask where to buy coal, being present at a neighbor's home when the price of chicken

was being discussed, offering help to a friend whose husband was having a drinking problem, visiting a painter's home to inquire about having painting done in her own home, and other so-called violations equally as ridiculous.

The real crime of Mrs. Mandela, in the eyes of the hated Vorster regime, is that she is a courageous Black woman who has consistently stood up against the reign of terror carried out by the South African government against its Black majority. She is also the wife of Nelson Mandela, who is a leader of the banned African National Council (ANC). Mr. Mandela is presently serving a life sentence for his efforts in organizing resistance.

DRESSED IN ANC COLORS

The trial of Mrs. Mandela went on for three days and was recessed until Jan. 17. Her defiance during

this trial has not dwindled, as she entered the courtroom wearing a dress with the colors gold, green, and black—the colors of the African National Council, along with a large ANC button. When questioned about wearing these colors, she angrily replied, "Among the limited rights that I have I still have the choice of wardrobe."

According to the New York Times, she was permitted to stand on the white side of the witness stand, since the Black side was out of reach of the microphone. The small courtroom was packed with Black sympathizers who crowded into the segregated section of the spectators' benches marked "coloureds." Mrs. Mandela's 16-year-old daughter, Zinzi, sat in the front row.

Throughout the three days of this trial, Mrs. Winnie Mandela, along with her supporters, stood firm against the court's intimidation. This included answering such ridiculous questions as "Did you take part in the conversation about the chicken?"

Over 1,000 Africans have been shot to death in South Africa during the past year-and-a-half. Thousands of people, most of



Winnie Mandela

whom have never had a trial, are presently rotting in concentration camps. For those who have had the chance to go to trial, they find the proceedings to be nothing more than a humiliating joke, such as happened in Mrs. Mandela's trial.

The day is quickly approaching when the 17 million Black people, presently suffering behind the bars of apartheid, will defeat the hated Vorster regime, along with its imperialist backers such as the U.S., and will institute a humane and just government for the people.

—South Africa

(Continued from p. 1)

embargo would be less than a slap on the wrist. Such an embargo comes much too late to have any significant effect on that country's ability to wage conventional or guerrilla war against other African countries or its own Black population.

In addition, who can believe the U.S. when it speaks of an arms embargo? The voluntary arms embargo the U.S. claims to have imposed on South Africa since 1963 hasn't meant a thing. For the last 14 years, Western arms sales to Pretoria have been fast and furious.

However, because of the so-called embargo, purchases from Britain, the U.S., and Italy have been cloaked in secrecy. It was during the time of the embargo that South Africa's military strength increased so much that now it can be compared with that of Iran, Brazil, Egypt, and Japan, according to Southern Africa (August 1977).

According to the same source, major weapons (including jet planes, helicopters, armored cars, tanks, and artillery) that are made in the U.S., or in other countries under U.S. license, have found their way to South Africa.

U.S. corporations do not sell directly to the racist regime. The preferred channel is licensed production, an arrangement by which U.S. corporations agree to let a foreign company produce a U.S. weapon under license. This company then ships the weapon to South Africa. NATO countries, especially Italy and Portugal, perform this function for the U.S.

Arms embargo or not, the U.S. has and surely will continue to help supply South African fascists with all the weapons they need.

South Africa's economy is already in a recession and there is an 11% inflation rate for this year. A withdrawal of industry now would undercut the economic basis of the apartheid regime and could precipitate its collapse. But the U.S. will not go along with this because U.S.-based transnational corporations are reaping tremendous profits under apartheid.

U.S. banks have extended more than \$2 billion in loans to South Africa, and U.S. businesses also have \$2 billion invested in that country. Ford, General Electric, ITT, Firestone, Mobil, and Goodyear account for 75% of this investment.

South Africa is also a haven for runaway shops from the U.S.

GE employs 5,800 mostly Black workers on its South African assembly lines, while Ford has 5,000 and Chrysler 2,000 workers. Unions aren't recognized under apartheid, and workers make a tiny fraction of what their U.S. counterparts earn. According to the Sept. 10 issue of the Weekly Star, a South African newspaper, U.S. plants are beginning to move into the so-called homelands, where pay may be as low as 35 cents an hour.

In addition, the U.S. imports raw materials from South Africa that it is very reluctant to give up. Some 60% of the uranium for the Pentagon's nuclear weapons program comes from Namibia which is under illegal South African military occupation. South Africa is a principal supplier to the U.S. of chrome and platinum needed by the U.S. defense industry.

ATTACKS BY S. AFRICA, RHODESIA

The U.S. vetoed one resolution presented by the African countries because it could not bring itself to specifically cite South Africa's role in Zimbabwe and Namibia as constituting a "grave threat to international peace and security." However, even while this resolution was being argued, both these settler regimes violated the borders of other countries, killing 87 people. The South African government claims its troops killed 61 people in an invasion of socialist Angola last week. The Rhodesian government said that its army killed 26 guerrillas and exchanged fire with Zambian troops last weekend.

The U.S. also vetoed a resolution requiring all countries to prevent any companies from providing any form of direct or indirect assistance to the South African government in its military buildup. It's the trucks and cars produced by GM, Ford, and Chrysler that are used as troop carriers and police vehicles for the fascist forces. Much of the South African military rolls on tires produced by Goodyear Tire & Rubber Company, S.A.

And then there's oil. Exxon, Caltex, Mobil, and other U.S. companies account for almost 50% of the petroleum products marketed in South Africa. The racist settler regime couldn't run without this oil.

The U.S. also refused to ban cooperation with the South African racist regime in nuclear development. Andrew Young,

ambassador to the UN, gave the U.S. rationalization when he said this week that such a ban would remove the ability of the U.S. to "influence" South Africa to sign the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty and to agree to international safeguards for its nuclear facilities.

Young didn't mention that South Africa couldn't have advanced its nuclear development without U.S. assistance. South Africa does not have the facilities for enriching uranium, so the U.S. receives the raw material and ships back refined uranium. Since the signing of a nuclear technology agreement ten years ago between the two countries, the U.S. has provided South Africa with more than 230 pounds of enriched uranium—more than enough for several nuclear bombs.

According to the British Guardian (Aug. 24), "Current assessments of technology confirm that South Africa is close to an experimental uranium-235 device and could test an atom bomb trigger within 18 months. South Africa could leap from the A-bomb stage and make an entry into the H-bomb club within three years." This is the result of U.S. cooperation.

Clearly, the U.S. government has no intentions of agreeing to any resolution that will jeopardize the South African settler regime, or threaten its own interests there. The U.S. vetoes this week in the UN have torn away the veil, revealing the U.S. as only in-



Steven Biko's funeral in King Williams Town, South Africa. Twenty thousand Africans came to pay tribute and to denounce the racist regime.

terested in a neo-colonialist solution for southern Africa.

Washington and Wall Street back the racists in Pretoria to the hilt, and will continue to do so just as long as they can. The horrible

burden of oppression endured by the masses of Blacks in South Africa will only be lifted when they take up arms, crush the settler regime, and kick out all of its imperialist backers.

Apartheid regime claims Steve Biko beat himself to death

By JOHN CATALINOTTO

NEW YORK, Nov. 1—On Oct. 27, following a wave of angry protests across South Africa, Martinus J. Prims, chief magistrate of Pretoria opened an "inquest" into the cause of death for Steven Biko, the leader of the Black Consciousness movement whose death in police custody six weeks before sparked mass outrage.

The pro-government newspapers tried the big lie technique that day, printing almost identical stories claiming Biko died of a self-inflicted or accidental "bump" on the head. The stories were backed up with statements from unnamed "forensic experts," who were not those who actually performed the autopsy on Biko.

The week before, on Oct. 20, while making mass arrests of the Black activists, the apartheid regime also tightly censored the press. Two papers which had shown that Biko was beaten to death by the police were closed by the regime, a Black editor was jailed, and a white editor "banned," or put under virtual house arrest.

The inquest was quickly adjourned to Nov. 14, supposedly to give time to study autopsy documents. Though never released in full, parts of these studies were leaked to the government-controlled press.

POLICE MURDERED BIKO

Biko was obviously murdered

from police beatings. A top leader like Biko, admired by millions of Africans, is all the more hated by the racist police. Twenty other Africans have died in police custody this year, all allegedly from "suicide" or "accidental death."

The South African police regularly beat and torture the Black political opponents of the regime. Since the heroic Soweto uprising began June 1976, the apartheid regime has resorted to harsher and harsher methods, suppressing even mild critics. This growing isolation may be the "self-inflicted wound" that contributes to toppling the racists. The main blow will be struck by the millions of Black Africans.



How they 'punish' their own

Richard Helms, the former CIA boss who lied to a Congressional committee about the role that the intelligence agency and ITT played in the counter-revolutionary overthrow of the Allende government in Chile, has had his day in court. And as is usual with the rich and powerful, Helms got off with a slap on the wrist. Although he committed perjury by denying there was a CIA plot to bring down the progressive Allende government, Helms was permitted to plead "no contest" to a far less serious charge.

In recommending he receive no prison term, the Justice Department, which is supposed to be prosecuting Helms, instead praised him, stating through a department spokesman that, "Mr. Helms has had a most distinguished career and has performed outstanding services to the United States government during the course of that career."

"Outstanding services" like overthrowing the freely elected government of Chile and replacing it with a fascist dictatorship, they should have added.

Thirty thousand Chilean workers, poor farmers, and political leftists were massacred by the CIA-inspired military takeover in the fall of 1973.

One would have thought by the tone of the government's remarks that Helms had not been charged with overt perjury, but with stealing pencils or some other such minor offense!

It is interesting to compare what Helms got for his overt perjury with the ferocious Justice Department prosecution of two other government employees, Anthony Russo and Daniel Ellsberg. The government tried to destroy them because they released the Pentagon papers which told the truth about the Vietnam war.

Ever since Watergate, the U.S. ruling class has been carrying out a cosmetic cleanup of the CIA, and some of them would like to cut back a little on the fabulous sums the agency spends, feeling that all costs must be cut in the current economic downturn. Helms was caught in the middle of this faction fight, but he is not really being punished. No grouping among the rich rulers wants to take on the CIA in a serious way since they all find this gigantic secret police force essential to maintaining U.S. imperialism's position against the national liberation movements and the spread of socialist revolution. In the long haul, of course, the outcome of events is not determined by the plots of any political police organization, but by the struggle of the masses of people, and from the viewpoint of progressive humanity both Helms and his opponents among the ruling class are sitting in the same boat.

Different and yet alike

The terrible ravages of the economic crisis sweeping the capitalist world are being felt particularly hard this week in two Mideast countries: Israel and the United Arab Emirates (UAE). Despite overriding antagonisms between these two states (Israel is a racist settler community and the UAE an Arab nation), both are puppet satellite countries dominated in every important way by U.S. imperialism, and their horrendous economic difficulties flow from this central fact.

The monarchal and ultra-reactionary UAE boasts some of the richest petroleum deposits in the Middle East and is the ninth largest oil producer in the world. Nevertheless, according to the Washington Post (Oct. 30), the UAE "is gripped by a business crisis and severe economic stagnation."

The Post notes that "the jolting economic downturn," is "in sharp contrast to the pell-mell boomtown scramble of four years ago."

"At the height of the boom, investors (there are 55 foreign banks in the UAE) were doubling their money in 18 months," but now, "the indicators of slump are everywhere," the Post adds glumly.

The situation in Israel is, if possible, even worse. On Monday, prices of 150 basic commodities shot up 11%, provoking strikes by postal, airport, and factory workers, communications technicians, and longshoremen. Food and fuel prices went up 25% in one day as the extreme right-wing Begin regime hit the workers with more taxes, a 45% devaluation of the currency, and the withdrawal of government subsidies on essential items.

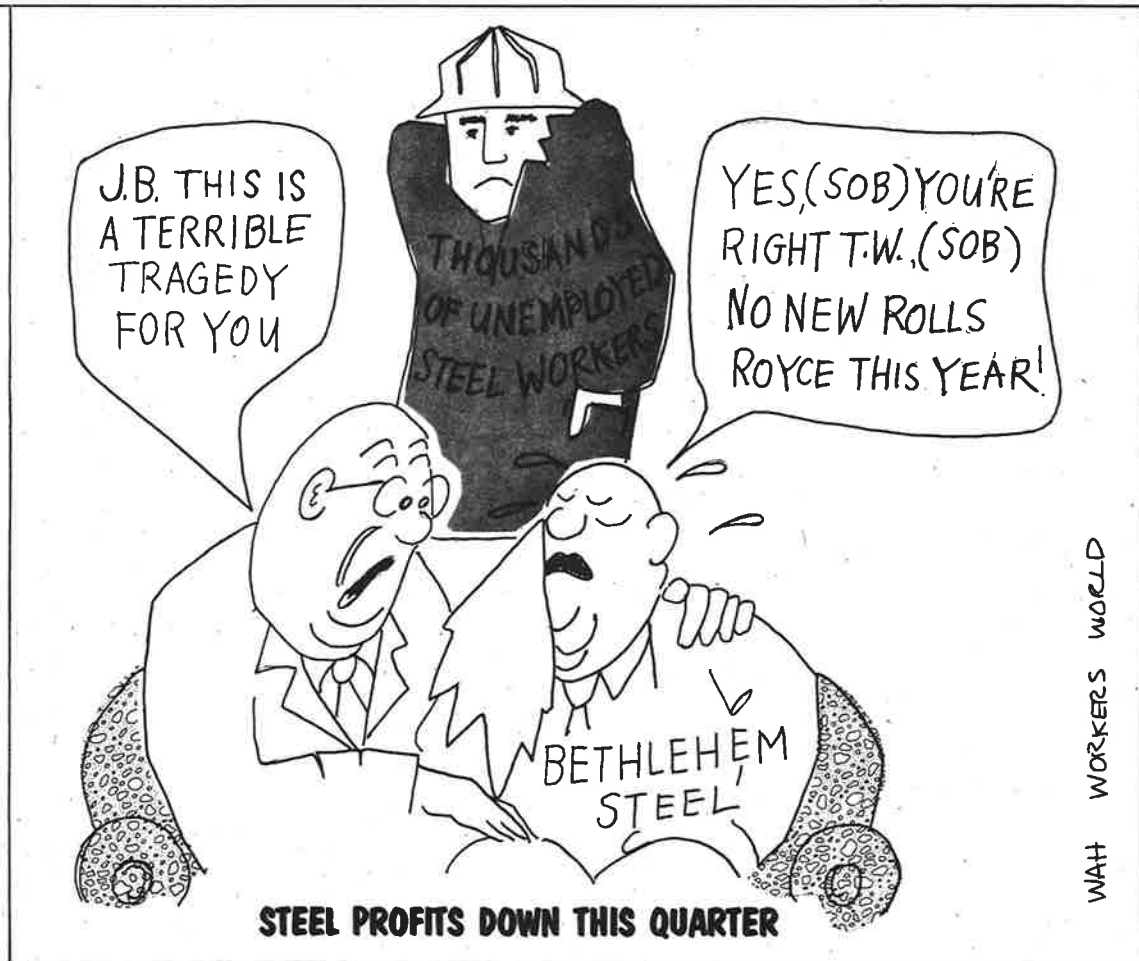
"There is no escape from the conclusion that we are in the middle of bankruptcy," observed Moshe Dayan's newspaper Hayom Haze last spring.

Israel's external national debt, most of which is owed to 220 U.S. banks, now stands at \$9.5 billion, 15 times what it was in 1960!

Unemployment there has almost doubled since 1971, hitting the Palestinian workers the hardest.

A garrison state set up to protect the properties of the U.S. oil companies in that part of the globe, Israel spends nearly five times as much per capita on its military than does any other country in the world, a burden which has severely aggravated the current economic sickness.

It is a savage irony that those countries like Israel and the United Arab Emirates, which have attached themselves so closely to Wall Street, are today being victimized by the very imperialist economic system they have so eagerly upheld.



LETTER

Capitalist solutions won't work

To the editor:

The layoffs in the steel industry are shocking thousands of steel workers. And very understandably, they are also shocking the union bureaucrats who fear a large drop in union dues. But more than that, they dread the rise in the militancy of the workers.

The workers will realize that the union will become weaker, which will cause worse working conditions, less security, poorer wages, and even more unemployment. They understand that with great unemployment, the unity of the workers goes down.

The layoffs are also worrying the steel companies and big business, who fear the power of the organized workers.

There have been many proposals brought forth to solve the crisis. Will they work?

First, the imports issue. If the imports are curbed, the higher-priced local steel will be used, causing higher prices on steel-made commodities. This will reduce purchases and therefore cause more unemployment. Also, if import curbs are imposed, foreign countries would retaliate and curb U.S. imports, again causing unemployment.

How about modernization? If the plants were modernized, they would undoubtedly be more competitive. But the modernization would result in thousands less steelworkers in the long run.

Maybe tax incentives would create jobs? If tax incentives are given to the companies, other people would have to pay the taxes. This would eventually result in lowered purchasing power, which again means more unemployment.

The companies cry that the tough pollution standards hurt their business. If environmental controls are lifted, the workers who would put in such safety equipment would not have work. The steelworkers' safety conditions would deteriorate, while company profits would remain high.

None of these proposals can solve the problem. They are all capitalist answers.

The real reason for the layoffs is that all the workers never receive enough to buy back the goods they produce; and the reason that they can't is because the owners of the

plants take a part of the product in the form of profit.

So there is a surplus of goods on the market which cannot be bought. When that situation develops, plants shut down and unemployment goes up. This is why there are ten million or more unemployed in this country and many million more in Europe and the rest of the capitalist world.

Outside of huge wars, there is no permanent answer to the continued unemployment crisis under capitalism. Eventually, the workers will be forced to take over the industries.

Yet some things can be done

under capitalism to ease the problems temporarily. Instead of giving to the rich and taking from the workers and poor, the rich should be taxed even more. Also, we must demand that the government begin a massive campaign and program of public works to put the millions of people to work. Funds to finance this should come out of the defense budget.

And if the companies will not run the plants, the workers will have to see to it that they run them under workers' control.

A retired steelworker
Cleveland

—Detroit hospital

(Continued from p. 9)

demands for deepening cutbacks in city services like hospitals.

Finally, private hospitals across the country have been hit with falling occupancy due to the soaring cost of health care and the resulting unavailability of care to large sectors of the population. To make up for the loss of income caused by the empty beds, the private hospitals are pressuring city and county governments to close or reduce in size public hospitals and to pay the private hospitals for the care of low-income patients.

RESISTANCE TO HOSPITAL CLOSURES

These attacks must be met and fought by the poor and working people of the cities. Broad campaigns, including large demonstrations and rallies against

hospital closures have been waged by unions and community organizations in New York City and elsewhere. Here in Detroit, a coalition of nurses' unions and the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) union, and a council representing patients at Detroit General, have been meeting and petitioning to prevent the takeover of Detroit General. The Coalition is planning a demonstration outside the city-county Building Nov. 7 and are building community support to pack a City Council hearing on the issue. It is actions like these that must continue and grow if the profit-hungry medical establishment and the banks are to be defeated in their attempts to take away one of the basic rights of human existence—guaranteed medical care.



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Behind the Jovanka Tito affair

Yugoslavia, too, must decide: 'Which side are you on?'

By DEIRDRE GRISWOLD

NEW YORK, Nov. 1—There is mounting speculation in the bourgeois press that the disappearance of Yugoslav President Tito's wife from public functions indicates a rising struggle within the leadership of the Yugoslav party and state.

Reports in the British and U.S. press allege that Jovanka Tito is being held under a form of house arrest while an investigating commission questions her. The allegations being presented by these sources are that she unduly used her influence as Tito's wife to push for the promotions of a number of military officers.

WHERE IS YUGOSLAVIA GOING?

However, what relevance this has to the overall question of Yugoslavia's international orientation is left vague, with conflicting reports. Certainly the "Yugoslavia watchers" are today looking most anxiously for any signs that would show whether Yugoslavia or its leaders are orienting more towards either the socialist or imperialist camps.

And this is precisely where the reporting on the Jovanka affair up until now has been most murky. Yesterday's New York Times, in an article from Belgrade by David Andelman, hinted that Jovanka Tito was under attack by anti-Soviet elements. "One of those

officers whose career Mrs. Tito allegedly favored and who, along with some associates abruptly retired late last year," says Andelman, "was said to have had pro-Soviet sympathies."

However, the British paper Manchester Guardian took another tack. Also in an article from Belgrade, it reported in the Oct. 30 international edition that "Yugoslav sources say that the President may have begun asking his staff questions about Jovanka's influence after a row over whether or not she would accompany him on the trip [to the Soviet Union, People's Korea, and China]. According to diplomatic sources she was not invited to the Soviet Union."

Obviously, a clearer analysis must await further developments and also any clarifications which the Yugoslav government itself may offer.

The whole affair, however, and the energy with which the Western capitalist press is pushing it, bring once more to the fore the question of where Yugoslavia is going, and what kind of extreme pressures are being brought upon it by the imperialists.

"NEUTRALITY" LEFT THEM VULNERABLE

For almost three decades now, the Yugoslav leaders have been trying to balance between East and West. Since 1948 when Stalin, in

one of his gravest errors, arrogantly forced Tito into a break with the socialist bloc, the small Balkan country has been penetrated ever more by Western capital. The revival of capitalist enterprise on a significant scale and the disintegration of centralized planning have made Yugoslavia the only Eastern European country with both high inflation and serious unemployment.

Most of the discussion in the capitalist press centers around who will succeed Tito, the undisputed leader of the League of Yugoslav Communists since the 1930s. Implied in this speculation is that Tito has also been balancing internally, holding together the contradictory class interests in Yugoslav society—those who want to be part of the socialist camp vs. those drawn into the orbit of imperialism—and that this struggle may well break out into the open after Tito's death, with incalculable consequences.

In all the speculation in the bourgeois press, much of it on possible Soviet moves with regard to Yugoslavia, there is one glaring omission. There is barely a word said about what U.S. imperialism and its Western allies are doing.

WHAT U.S. IS DOING

When Harold Brown, the U.S. Secretary of Defense, visited

Belgrade this month, the first official in his position to do so since World War II, the press here was restrained about what overall U.S. strategy was. A subsequent U.S. military agreement with Yugoslavia which will include giving the U.S. the right to train Yugoslav officers, and also got Yugoslavia's pledge not to resell weapons to revolutionary Ethiopia, was reported on with little comment.

Yet the truth is that the U.S. has been putting tremendous pressure on Yugoslavia to bring it over into the camp of imperialism—since even before the Tito-Stalin break. And while it was the serious errors of Stalin which precipitated that break, these also must be seen in light of the unremitting, hostile pressure of imperialism.

Evidence of this is provided by the leading Yugoslav Communists themselves. In the book *Tito* by Vladimir Dedijer, at that time one of Tito's most trusted comrades and admirers and his chosen biographer, an example of this pressure was given.

Dedijer told how in 1948, right around the time of the Soviet-Yugoslav split, U.S. planes were illegally flying over Yugoslav air space. The U.S. attache, on being approached, assured the Yugoslav government that his government had issued instructions that U.S. fliers were prohibited from flying over friendly countries.

"The unauthorized flights, however, continued," writes Dedijer. "Between July 16th and August 8th, 172 planes, among them 87 bombers, 40 fighters, and 45 transports flew over Yugoslav territory without authorization."

Dedijer was at that time a member of the Central Committee. Yet despite this grave lesson about the nature of imperialism, he and the other Yugoslav leaders thought they could maneuver with the "democratic" imperialists without getting burnt.

There are undoubtedly many, many in Yugoslavia today who still think that a "middle road" is actually possible. But there must also be those who see how, underneath all their praise for "neutrality," the imperialists relentlessly conspire to advance fascist counter-revolution, in Yugoslavia as elsewhere.

Yugoslavia cannot forget that the U.S. has yet to really punish the Croatian terrorists who attacked their UN Mission in New York and also those who killed 11 people at Kennedy airport. And while U.S. courts are now for the first time going through the motions of prosecuting these Croatian anti-communists, one Yugoslav political journalist told the New York Times, "Never before have you caught and tried any of these terrorists who attacked our representatives in your country."

Police rough up mourners at anarchists' funeral

West Germany steps up repression against entire left

By JOHN CATALINOTTO

NEW YORK, Oct. 31—Continuing their massive show of force, West German officials had 1,000 police stop and search the mourners of three slain anarchists—Gudrun Ensslin, Andreas Baader, and Jan Karl Raspe—at Dornhalden cemetery in Stuttgart last Thursday.

Ensslin, Baader, and Raspe were murdered in Stammheim prison in Stuttgart on Oct. 18. They were among the 11 prisoners there whose release was demanded by the kidnappers of industrialist and ex-Nazi Hans-Martin Schleyer and the hijackers of the Lufthansa airliner, and were considered leaders of the Red Army Faction, an anarchist group.

Following the burial ceremony, police armed with submachine guns stepped out from the surrounding woods to corner the close to 1,000 people attending the burial. While helicopters throbbed above, the police checked the identity of the mourners. Those who wouldn't show their papers were dragged away to nearby squad cars.

Scuffles broke out as the police roughed up many of those present.

Government and prison authorities insist the deaths of the three were suicides, but the nature of the deaths (Baader and Raspe were both supposed to have smuggled pistols into high-security Stammheim and shot themselves in the back of the neck) point directly to an official murder.

STAMMHEIM WAS MURDER

Most present at the burial expressed outrage at the murders. Masked and hooded youths unfurled banners proclaiming "Gudrun, Andreas, Jan, Tortured and Murdered in Stammheim."

Also expressing anger was the Greek anti-Nazi partisan, Manolis Glezos. Glezos is famous for climbing the Acropolis in German-

occupied Greece in 1941 and tearing down the Nazi flag.

"I bow before the victims of the new fascism," said Glezos. "This premeditated political murder makes the whole world indignant. All anti-Nazi fighters have the duty to keep the German people from again becoming the victims of Nazism."

The masked and turbaned youth, 300 strong, waved the anarchist black flag and one Vietnamese flag from the National Liberation Front. During the Vietnam war, Gudrun Ensslin had organized and carried out a bombing of the U.S. military base in Stuttgart, where the computer directing the U.S.'s vicious bombing raids in Vietnam was housed. At that time her picture was shown on the walls of Hanoi (La Repubblica, Oct. 28).

RIGHTIST OFFENSIVE

While carrying out the most extensive police hunt in history for 16 accused participants in the kidnapping of SS-boss Schleyer, the West German officials and all rightists have stepped up the offensive against all progressives. Whether it be a left-wing party threatened with losing legal status or a liberal author, all West German leftists and democrats have been put on the defensive.

Even the Christian Democratic mayor of Stuttgart was attacked for allowing the burial, as the right-wingers charge it will turn Dornhalden into a shrine and make martyrs of the three.



At funeral of three German anarchists murdered by police in Stammheim prison: at right Andreas Baader's mother and Gudrun Ensslin's father.

A trusted officer of the State Department

By ANDY STAPP

NEW YORK, Nov. 1—Constantine Warvariv is a very important man. Constantine Warvariv is the deputy United States delegate to the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization. Such jobs go only to very trusted officers of the State Department. A real 100% democrat, Constantine is. Ask him, and he will tell you how he loves freedom more than most, because his country of origin, Poland, is "behind the iron curtain," enslaved by godless communism.

What Constantine Warvariv does not say is that during the Second World War, before he joined the State Department, he was a cop with the Nazi German

occupation police in the Soviet Ukraine. This interesting detail of Constantine's life was supplied by the Soviet Press agency Novosti on Oct. 29. According to Novosti, Constantine Warvariv "served with a police detachment that organized mass killings of Soviet citizens and undertook punitive operations against guerrillas."

"The permanent United States representative to UNESCO served with the Nazi SD police and participated in mass executions," the Tass news service reported today.

"His wife Elena," continued the Tass dispatch, "whose maiden name was Kozar, worked as a translator for the German Gestapo in Dnepropetrovsk."

Between 1941 and 1944 Nazi SD

police detachments (Einsatzgruppen) operating in the USSR executed 1,400,000 Jewish people and suspected communists.

After the war, Constantine continued his battle against communism by hooking up first with British Intelligence and the CIA, and then with the U.S. State Department in 1963. For his services to the free world, the former Nazi police official received a State Department "merit award" in 1971.

"The fact that a Nazi criminal holds so high a post in President Carter's administration," noted Novosti, "clearly shows how much those who capitalize politically on human rights care for them in reality."

Indeed it does.

Troops massacre 120 strikers at Ecuador sugar mill

By G. DUNKEL

NEW YORK, Oct. 31—Early this past month, 1,800 workers in the Aztra sugar mill, which is near the port of Guayaquil on Ecuador's coast, began to agitate for higher wages. They occupied the mill on Oct. 18.

The military regime had raised the price of sugar it bought from the mill, and the workers wanted a corresponding increase in their pay.

The regime's answer was to call out soldiers and cops, clear the mill, and in the process kill 120 workers, women, and children, according to a statement issued by the provincial labor union council of Guayaquil. This statement originally appeared in Ultima Noticias, a Quito newspaper, and

was picked up by the French press.

The military government's statement, which was the only one carried by the New York Times, claimed that 24 people had "drowned" while fleeing the tear gas the soldiers and the cops used to clear the factory.

WHAT REALLY HAPPENED

The union's statement pointed out that some people had died fleeing the tear gas by falling into a canal near the mill; but the majority were hurled into the water or into vats of boiling sugar by the cops and the soldiers. Hundreds were also arrested.

"This is the anti-worker and anti-democratic policy [of the military regime] which is silencing voices claiming respect for the

rights of workers and of people revolting against the permanent crisis of their country," the union's statement said.

PROTEST ACTIONS

The people of Ecuador were so enraged by the killings that a police guard post in a nearby community was firebombed and the cops had to shoot to drive the crowd off, killing one person.

There have also been demonstrations in several Ecuadorian cities in the past week, and 12 political parties have signed a petition to the military government demanding that the officials who ordered the attack, the Defense Minister and Interior Minister, be fired.

South Korean students demand end to fascist repression

By BARBARA TEEL

NEW YORK, Oct. 31—The repressive Pak Jung Hi regime of south Korea is facing growing opposition. On Oct. 25, 4,000 students at Yonsei University battled south Korean police in what the Oct. 26 Washington Post described as the "most violent anti-government demonstration here in more than two years."

The demonstration began with a noon rally on the campus attended

by 800 people. The university had just reopened that morning after being closed for 17 days following another student protest.

STUDENTS' DEMANDS

The students adopted a resolution demanding the restoration of campus freedom and the resignation of the Pak regime, and calling for the abolition of the "revitalized" constitution, which prohibits all

opposition to Pak Jung Hi's dictatorial regime. The students also called for an explanation of "the Tungsun Park case," charging that the regime had resorted to diplomacy-by-bribery.

Following the rally, the students, whose numbers had swelled to 4,000, gathered near the school's main gate, chanting "Out with Pak Jung Hi" and "Withdraw revitalization."

About 200 riot police and dozens of plainclothesmen, preceded by vehicles spraying pepper fog gas, stormed onto campus, but the students drove them back with rocks. Only when reinforcements arrived were the police able to mount another attack. The students were forced to scatter, and between 40 and 50 were arrested.

The Pak regime is also facing criticism from the mild opposition party within the National Assembly, the New Democratic Party. National Assembly member Hahn Yung Soo called for the resignation of Kim Dong Jo, a special assistant to Pak, who was the ambassador in Washington while payoffs were being made to U.S. Congressmen. Kim has been charged with personally delivering some of the bribe money.

U.S. ROLE

Despite the bribery scandal and the mounting opposition within south Korea, the Carter administration has asked Congress for permission to give the south Korean military \$800 million of U.S. military equipment to be left behind as U.S. ground troops are withdrawn. (Carter's current with-

drawal scheme calls for the withdrawal of 33,000 troops over a five-year period, leaving 7,000 troops and thousands of intelligence personnel stationed in south Korea.) The equipment will include helicopters, antitank missiles, artillery, radar, and ammunition. The arms would be in addition to the about \$1.2 billion in military aid the U.S. proposed to give the south Korean military in that period.

Many congressmen are reported to be wary of voting for such massive aid to the Pak regime. The White House is reported to have suggested waiting for a vote on the issue until next year. As one Representative admitted, "They probably wouldn't oppose aid to (south) Korea—they'd just rather not vote for it right now." (Oct. 28 Wall St. Journal)

A recent study published in the International Policy Report indicated that the aid being poured in to prop up capitalist rule in south Korea far exceeds that voted in Congress and publicly reported. In fiscal year 1976, the U.S. gave the Pak regime \$1.6 billion, only \$347 million of which was in direct aid. The rest was channeled through a variety of U.S.-

controlled agencies.

SOME U.S. RULERS WANT TO DUMP PAK

It seems clear that there are powerful elements in the U.S. ruling class who would like to dump the hated Pak and replace him with a more cleaned up version of the same thing, just as they did with Trujillo in the Dominican Republic and with Diem in South Vietnam. Essentially they want the fascist regime without Pak, whom they feel has lost all credibility with the south Korean people. This opposition to Pak among some ruling class cliques here in the U.S. is promoting both the bourgeois opposition to Pak in south Korea (through the New Democratic Party) as well as much of the anti-Pak sentiment in the U.S. Congress, utilizing the bribe scandal for this purpose.

Whatever becomes of Pak, the Pentagon and U.S. big business have no intention of voluntarily pulling out of their south Korean colony. A new wave of genuine struggle is growing there, however, which will eventually oust U.S. imperialism and topple any puppets it has placed over the Korean people.

Look behind you, prince!



NEW YORK, Oct. 29—Trying to look regal, Prince Charles waves his hand to no one in particular as hundreds of IRA supporters gathered in San Francisco yesterday to jeer and taunt him. The English Crown has sanctioned and promoted every murderous atrocity that its troops have committed over the centuries against the Irish people. Fourteen hundred political prisoners are incarcerated in English-occupied Northern Ireland.

FOR THE BIRDS...



Struggles in N.Y. State prisons

Rikers

Shakur wins round

NEW YORK, Oct. 25—Assata Shakur won a victory today when phony charges of murder and robbery against her were dropped on the grounds that the state had delayed too long in bringing her to trial.

A dismissal motion by defense lawyers was granted during pre-trial hearings concerning a holdup of a Brooklyn social club in 1973.

District Attorney Eugene Gold of Brooklyn has not yet filed an appeal but Shakur cannot be indicted again on the same charge.

This Brooklyn hearing was the sixth attempt by the state to persecute and harass the young Black activist. The current hearing was viewed as an attempt to keep Shakur from working on her appeal of a conviction resulting from her fifth trial in

New Brunswick, N.J.

In 1973 New Jersey state troopers shot Shakur and murdered her comrade Zayd Malik Shakur. Assata and Sundiata Acoli were co-defendants charged with the death of the state trooper and the murder of their own comrade. Activist Acoli is currently serving life plus in Trenton prison.

In the years following the arrest in 1973 the state has trumped up charge after charge against Shakur. The first four trials resulted in three acquittals, and in the fourth, the charges were dropped.

This year an all-white New Brunswick jury found Shakur guilty of murder, despite the admission by the only state trooper witness that he had lied about a story of her holding a gun. Physicians called as expert

witnesses testified that in reality, troopers shot Shakur while her hands were in the air. She was sentenced to life in prison plus four additional sentences.

After subjecting her to four years in confinement—much of it in solitary—without sunlight or exercise—holding her illegally in men's prisons without privacy, bringing her to trials in chains, the state had attempted to add to her burden by pressing the charges stemming from the Brooklyn holdup over five years ago. The case should have been dismissed long ago.

Three other persons were indicted with her on charges originating from the hold-up. Melvin Kearney died last year when he "fell" eight floors in the Brooklyn House of Detention. Twymon Myers was killed by police. Andrew Jackson had the charges dismissed when two prosecution witnesses could not identify him in a lineup.

Shakur was brought to Rikers Island for the Brooklyn hearing. One of her defense lawyers, William Kunstler, said he would try to keep her there rather than have her return to New Jersey, where he described the conditions as deplorable.

"She's the only woman in an all-male jail," he said, "and the only other woman she sees is the orderly."

Napanoch

Anti-Klan Brothers in court

NEW YORK, Oct. 28—Hearings began today in the Ulster County courthouse concerning indictments against ten prisoners known as the Napanoch Brothers.

The charges, which range from first-degree coercion to unlawful imprisonment(!) all originate from the Aug. 8 Napanoch prisoner insurrection.

A motion to hold all the Brothers in the same prison was denied. Currently, they are scattered throughout New York state prisons.

The Brothers are Enrique Suarez, Louis Torres, Ronald Tacardor, Felix Castro, Frank Khali Abney, Eddie Pacheco, Andre Nieves, Jacques Roberts, Hector Semidley, and Lorenzo Perez.

KKK OUT OF NAPANOCH

The rebellion—the largest since the Attica uprising of 1971—involved 150 of the 800 prisoners at Napanoch. It allegedly began in Cellblock B-3, a maximum security block of isolation cells that is segregated from population.

By 11 a.m. the uprising extended to include the kitchen, mess hall, prison hospital, and workhouses in the same wing as B-3.

Twelve hours later, after the

state sent in teams of club wielding goons, the uprising ended.

Napanoch, a high-walled maximum and minimum security concentration camp, is 70 miles northwest of New York City. Prison officials there are notorious for their anti-human KKK activities.

As early as Dec. 1975, the Klan surfaced openly at the prison complex to try to block efforts by the brothers to form a prison chapter of the NAACP. Four prisoners' cells were firebombed, and harassment continued unabated against NAACP members and other anti-Klan prisoner leaders, including the multinational prisoners organization, the Peoples Party.

Prisoners' demands included the removal of two racist sergeants, improved diets, and action on a good-time bill then pending in the legislature. Foremost among the demands was an end to Ku Klux Klan activity at the prison.

The demand to oust the KKK from Napanoch is an indictment of the prison system itself. Under the thin facade of "democracy" in this country, Napanoch Brothers face charges such as "unlawful imprisonment", while Klan members who have murdered thousands of Black people are their guards.

Greenhaven

Justice for Martinez!

Benny Martinez is an inmate of Green Haven Prison, an active member of Puente de Unidad Latina (PUL) a Latin organization that has done consistent constructive work on prisoners' issues, Black-Puerto Rican unity, and multinational outreach. Because of Martinez's militant activism, he has always been under close scrutiny of the prison administration and recently has been the target of violent harassment.

On April 29 around 3 p.m. a spontaneous scuffle took place in the crowded hallway of the prison which resulted in the alleged stabbing of one guard and one inmate. The guard was immediately rushed to a hospital. The inmate was left in the corner of the hall profusely bleeding while correction officers rushed in to close the sector and immobilize whatever action was taking place.

Benny Martinez was one of several inmates caught in the hallway enclosure. He was pounced on by several guards and forced to the floor and handcuffed. The injured inmate was later taken to the prison hospital where he died. However, it was not until Aug. 2 that Martinez was singled out for the incident, and indicted for first degree murder of the inmate and first degree assault on the guard.

But this case is not solely about the April 29 incident alone. The April 29 incident was the culmination of many of the ills of the prison—overcrowding of the institution, inadequate medical

care and much less of health concern, hushed up guard brutality, administrative coercion in using informers, behavior modification programs, use of drugs, arbitrary punitive actions against prisoners—especially political prisoners, inhumane conditions in segregation, questionable substances used in prison food, almost wageless slave labor, high prices in the commissary, confiscating of reading material, and general violations of human rights.

On Sept. 5, right after a lawyer's visit, Martinez's legal papers were taken away and a rectal search was demanded. Because he righteously fought for his papers and also resisted the rectal search, he was beaten to the ground and stomped on by over a dozen guards. He was beaten again at the hospital with a rubber hose. Finally after a court order, his own doctor was allowed to see him—three-and-a-half weeks later.

To safeguard this brother from further brutalities, a strong, vocal visible support must be organized from both outside and inside the prison. Funds for legal defense must also be raised. His case will expose many of the serious problems of Green Haven Prison. Anyone wishing to help or work with the Benny Martinez Defense Committee in any way, please contact: Gwen - 865-5721; Che - 674-0688; Gail - 662-2325; Yuri - WA6-7412; Susan - 691-1846; or Jose (G.I.) Paris 75A-2119, Drawer B, Stormville, N.Y. 12582.

Auburn

Strike—1977

We, the men that are confined in solitary confinement as a result of our stance in the Auburn work strike of Aug. 8, 1977, salute you.

This is not a call for surrender or help, but to make the masses aware that the strike isn't really over, as the prison officials like people to think.

As you know, the work stoppage here in Auburn initially was to show our support and solidarity for the good-time legislation. Well, it has gone beyond that, with 94 of us men here in solitary confinement. We can no longer allow ourselves to function or participate in this facility where

the state and its agents reap the benefits of our labors.

All of the benches, desks, and tables for all court and government buildings are made here; and all license plates for New York and five other states are made here.

We average 35 cents a man per day. A pack of cigarettes sells for 45 cents in here.

We have a saying that everything will materialize in its own time and place. If these racist, perverted, sadistic bastards keep refusing to honor our wishes to remain non-violent, then whatever action we take will be in self-preservation!



Black Solidarity Day at Sing-Sing, 1971.

Greenhaven

Black Solidarity Day

Black Solidarity Day within New York prisons culminated as a result of Black prisoners at Auburn prison, 1970, literally "taking" that day to come together, because Auburn's administration refused Black prisoners' request. And when the prison was retaken by the guards, many Black prisoners were brutally beaten, isolated, and deprived in segregation; shipped to other prisons; and six men were singled out as leaders, prosecuted

and convicted of the usual trumped-up charges—inciting to riot, kidnapping, assault, and the destruction of state property.

The struggle that took place at Auburn prison ... concretely proves that prison is an integral part of the overall society, which is still in the grips of the Black Liberation struggle in and out of prison.

There are approximately 1,100 Black prisoners here at Green Haven, but only 300-400 are

participating for Black Solidarity Day. Why? ... Because the Black population found out that those two administrators were defining what Black Solidarity Day should be, and because we are tired of others defining our lives, the majority of us did not participate. Consequently, two of the five scheduled days for observance were taken away. Those two administrators relented about the committee only because of the persistence by two committee members who wrote letters of protest condemning their repressive actions.

It was by their design—Senkowski and Washington's—that our families spent hours waiting to come inside; that the work crews were delayed an hour-and-a-half before getting into the gym to set it up; that a lot of our families, although on the approved list, were denied access to the gym area; and that Black prisoners who wanted to participate and filled out the proper forms, were told they/we could not.

Malik Hassan Allah (Samuel Kelly), #71 A 0565, Drawer B, Stormville, N.Y. 12582

Auburn

Rebellion—1970

"You can't stop a nation!", Aki El Amin shouted out in the Cayuga County Courthouse where he faced the judge, manacled from head to foot. The date was February, 1971. Outside, 200 people demonstrated support for the Auburn Six prisoners who were standing trial for criminal charges stemming from the Auburn prison-wide rebellion on Nov. 4, 1970.

Two days before that historic prisoner explosion, Black prisoners were denied the right to observe Black Solidarity (Unity)

Day by the prison administration. The Auburn Brothers "took" the right to hold the day, spent the entire day in the yard in complete solidarity, and refused to work.

Fourteen prisoners were put in confinement as so-called leaders of the work stoppage.

Two days later, on Nov. 4, the entire population of 1,675 prisoners seized 35 hostages and held the major part of the prison for seven hours.

The Prisoner Solidarity Committee of Youth Against War & Fascism was formed to aid the Auburn Brothers.

'We shall not be moved!' say angry customers

Power execs told, 'No more shutoffs!'

By BRIAN YAMEL

BUFFALO, Oct. 26—As noontime customers paid their utility bills at the offices of National Fuel Gas (NFG) here, they saw a banner reading, "NFG is robbing us, stop all shutoffs now."

A crowd of approximately 30 demonstrators had stormed the company's offices to demand an end to shutoffs and protest rising utilities costs. The angry protestors confronted NFG executives for over two hours.

The protest, called by Women United for Action and the People's Power Coalition, also included a militant picketline outside NFG's downtown headquarters. Protestors carried signs demanding a rate rollback and an end to profit gouging.

EASY PAYMENTS?

In the confrontation with NFG executives, many examples were given of the company's greed. One woman on NFG's so-called "easy payment plan" presented a bill she had received for over \$800. All the "easy payment plan" has meant to her is a consistently high bill.

Another woman interviewed by this reporter displayed a whopping bill of more than \$1,100. This outrageous sum had been built up over nearly five years through overcharging and high interest rates on bills.

For her problem and thousands

of other similar cases brought up here during the confrontation, the NFG execs had no solution. They hemmed and hawed while attempting, unsuccessfully, to sidetrack people. One overpaid stooge had the nerve to say, "We're still the best deal in town." He was forcefully reminded, "You're also the only deal in town!"

"NO MORE SHUTOFFS!"

"We can't give this stuff away free," he bleated. A woman shouted back, "You're choking us to death!" When another company liar claimed that NFG was "losing money," he was heckled by everyone. He retreated, telling another executive, "We're losing control here."

How right they were!

Unfolding a sleeping bag and a blanket, a leader of Women United for Action led the group of protesters in singing, "We shall not be moved." Several verses included "no more shutoffs" and "National Fuel are murderers."

An open letter from Women United for Action and the People's Power Coalition to the people of Western New York and the National Fuel Gas workers laid the blame for the current crisis where it belonged: on the bosses.

"We feel that NFG management should be held directly responsible for the well-being of



Hitting back against extortionate utility costs, 30 people sit in at National Fuel Gas' offices in Buffalo, N.Y. WW photo: Brian C.

families whose gas has been turned off," the statement said.

"Wealthy executives must not be allowed to make decisions affecting people's health," the letter continued. "Utilities are a necessity of life, not a luxury for the privileged few. No one should

have to choose between heating or eating.

"It's time to put an end to criminal shutoffs. There must never be another winter where people grow ill or die because of the gas company's push for

profits."

Leaving the NFG offices and the quaking executives, members of Women United for Action and People's Power vowed to return at noon on Nov. 3 and to continue the struggle against the company until the shut-offs are ended.

While Buffalo workers suffer Depression-level unemployment

Gas company shuts off 10,000 families

By E.B. HARRISON

BUFFALO, Oct. 26—Over 10,000 families in Western New York have had their gas shut off by National Fuel Gas Co. (NFG) in the past month. Unable to pay excessive amounts NFG claims are now due because of "underestimated" bills since early 1977, these people face the very real possibility of freezing to death in the harsh winter months to come.

Many of the bills amount to

hundreds of dollars and, given the near depression economic conditions confronting area working people, the complete inability of poor customers to pay should be clear. National Fuel Gas, which saw a record 1976 profit increase of 77% and a 100% increase over that for the first quarter of 1977, continues, however, to average 325 shut-offs per day. The company has even shifted extra workers from other areas to aid in ter-

minating service to those who can't pay. With an additional 81,000 customers reported more than two months behind in paying their bills, this month's shut-offs, as massive as they are, may be just the beginning.

EXECUTIVES NOT WORKERS TO BLAME

NFG officials, such as company President Louis Reif (who receives a salary well over \$105,000 a year),

are attempting to lay the blame for the "underestimated" bills on the gas company workers. Meters were not read while the 2,100 NFG workers were on strike for 18 weeks this spring.

During the strike, however, the company amassed enough gross profits (estimated as high as \$15 million) to give huge bonuses to scabbing management personnel. Yet, in spite of repeated demands by customers for a rebate, NFG

never gave back a cent of what they made off people's sufferings and instead claimed they should have received even more than what had been estimated on the bills for that period.

It was management, not the union involved, that delayed settlement of the strike. While it could well afford the workers' demands for additional wages and benefits NFG instead called for cutbacks particularly affecting pensions and crew sizes.

FUEL A NECESSITY NOT A LUXURY

The monstrous greed of this corporation is further exemplified by its latest request for an additional rate increase—less than a week after the Public Service Commission granted the company \$6.8 million in additional rates.

While fuel is a necessity of life, not a luxury for a privileged few, NFG's customers are facing the choice between heating and eating. The denial of the right of heat by NFG when people can't afford to pay their excessive rates—money that goes to boost stockholders dividends, not for extra service—is a clear case of corporate greed.

If anyone freezes to death here this winter as a result of the shut-offs, National Fuel Gas is just as guilty of murder as if they had pulled the trigger, and should be so charged.



Buffalo residents line up for food stamps during snow disaster last February. Because of impossible utility prices, many thousands face the oncoming winter without heat for their homes.

workers world FEATURES

U.S.—USSR relations: Carter's new strategy

By SAM MARCY

OCTOBER 26—Almost on the eve of the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution, the Carter administration is in the throes of fashioning a new approach in its relation to the USSR. Whether this will turn out to be merely an exercise in State Department international public relations or whether there is any real substance to it, only time will tell.

If an agreement, one that is more than of an episodic character, even one that involves one or more serious issues such as nuclear arms and normalization of trade and commerce, is consummated, the character of the relations between the USSR and the U.S. will nevertheless remain fundamentally unchanged. Periods of war, truce, and so-called cooperation have marked the 60-year relationship between imperialism and the Soviet Union. In the course of these many decades, heavy blows have been inflicted on both, but the basic characters of their irreconcilable social systems remain fundamentally the same.

Thus, any new agreement that emerges from the negotiations apparently now in progress should be viewed in the light of the entire preceding historical period.

JOINT STATEMENT ON MIDDLE EAST

At the moment, there are certain signs, visible to all, which indicate that the Carter administration is assuming a new posture toward the Soviet Union which, real or fake, ought to be critically examined. The first sign, unquestionably, is the joint statement between the U.S. and the USSR on the Mideast, signed earlier this month. Washington did not necessarily have to have the Soviet signature on this statement, innocuous though it may turn out to be in the end. True, the USSR is co-chair with the U.S. for the convening of a Geneva Conference. But the issuance of this communique over the joint signatures of the U.S. and the USSR was calculated to convey the impression of collaboration, of "working together," so to speak.

Of course, this conference may never take place and the Palestinians, hopefully, may be in a position to resume their long hoped-for offensive to win the crucial battlefield victory, which no conference by itself can ever ensure. From a revolutionary point of view, the USSR might have declined to sign the joint communique on the grounds that it doesn't adequately cover the restoration of the full rights of the Palestinians. Nor does it cover the other area of struggle, the recovery of all the land occupied by the Israeli regime.

But matters being what they are in the Middle East, with reaction in the saddle in most of the vital areas, and considering the conservative character of the Soviet leadership, the joint communique all-in-all does indicate in some small respect an aspect of "give" on the part of the U.S.

ARMS LIMITATION AGREEMENT SIGNED

The second sign that negotiations between Washington and the Soviet Union may be coming unfrozen once again is the literally daily predictions in the capitalist press of an imminent breakthrough in the SALT negotiations. Whatever the nature of the ultimate new agreement that emerges on nuclear arms, one thing is certain—neither the Pentagon nor the Soviet Union is likely



Soviet miners receive the benefits of a socialized economy, including free health care and a 30-hour workweek, while miners in the U.S. are fighting for union recognition, health benefits, and safety regulations.

to make any concessions which will put either one of them in an inferior position.

If we are to believe the more serious of the capitalist press, the Soviet Union has achieved so-called "rough equivalence" in the nuclear arms field with the U.S. This is a hard-won victory by the Soviet Union, secured by the high state of Soviet military technology, which in turn is rooted in the advanced, socialist methods of centralized planning and coordination.

It is freedom from the incurable problems plaguing the military-industrial complex of the U.S. in its drive for extortionate superprofits which has enabled Soviet military technology to emerge from the abysmal backwardness inherited from the Czarist regime.

A country which lost 20 million people in the last world war and perhaps as many during the period of the first world war,

revolution, civil war, and intervention—all due to the existence and preponderance of the world system of capitalist imperialism—is not likely to allow a military or civilian leadership to surrender advantages gained through so many years of struggle. Especially not to the very enemy responsible for the initiation and continuance of the race of horrendous military weapons in the first place.

LOWER PROFILE IN "HUMAN RIGHTS" CAMPAIGN

A third sign that the Carter administration is in the throes of developing a new approach to the USSR is that it has lowered its infamous "human rights" campaign (really an anti-Soviet campaign), although it has by no means surrendered it. This new posture, emphasis, or mere probing, however variously the capitalist

press defines it, is nevertheless a departure from the high, or should we say low, moral posture of "hanging tough" which the Carter administration assumed immediately after the inauguration.

This new approach by Carter is by no means a voluntary act. It has been brought about by the force of compelling circumstances. It is the result of a sharp deterioration in the international position of U.S. imperialism since Carter took office last January. The worldwide capitalist economic crisis, which it was hoped by the Carter administration would soon go away by itself, has demonstrated a stubbornness and intractability only comparable to that of the 1930s.

Under severe pressure from conflicting groupings in the capitalist establishment "to do something more" for each of them (and against each other), the Carter administration finds itself careening backwards and forwards, handing out huge amounts of tax breaks, tax incentives, and downright Treasury raids—all to no avail, as the economy remains perilously stagnant.

In the meantime Carter has assured the wrath not only of the official leadership of the Black and Latin people, but of the broad mass of the oppressed and the working class as a whole. Nowhere is the failure of the Carter administration more visible than in the mounting figures of plant closings and rising unemployment—especially in steel.

This crisis has radically altered the nature of the relationship between the U.S. and its imperialist allies, who see themselves as victims of Carter's policy of dumping the effects of the capitalist crisis on their shoulders. In defense they seek new arrangements among themselves to combat U.S. economic aggression. But the allies, in turn, conspire with the U.S. to dump the effects of the crisis on the less developed and under-developed countries at a time when U.S. diplomacy is engaged in the promise of more aid.

Thus, both political and economic factors, abroad and at home, have militated against "aggressively challenging" the

[continued on page ii]

60 years of Soviet power

From wooden plows to space technology

By ROBERT DOBROW

"Russia is simply a geographical concept and will never be anything more. Her powers of cohesion, organization, and restoration have gone forever."

This was how the New York Times greeted the Russian Revolution. Since then, not one day has passed where the imperialists haven't heaped slanders, distortions, and lies on the achievements of socialist construction in the USSR. But facts, as Lenin used to say, are stubborn things.

Sixty years of centralized planning and nationalized property in the USSR have unleashed the productive forces on a scale unprecedented in the history of humankind. In 1922, the USSR produced less than 1 percent of total world production. Today its global share has climbed to 20 percent or

more than what the entire world produced in 1950!

Today the USSR is the number one world producer of oil, pig iron, mineral fertilizers, coal, steel, iron ore, diesel and electric locomotives, cotton, potatoes, tractors, cement, woolen fabrics, wheat, butter, sugar, and leather footwear.

WORKERS BENEFIT AS SOCIALIST ECONOMY IS DEVELOPED

In capitalist countries "economic growth" means more profits for giant transnational corporations at the expense of the workers. But in the socialist countries, economic growth means the development of society for the workers. Just last year, an 18 percent wage increase was announced for 31 million workers, while price cuts were decreed for such items as underwear, knitwear,

medicines, refrigerators, vacuum cleaners, and TVs.

According to a U.S. Labor Dept. study, "the purchasing power of Soviet workers has increased steadily since World War II." (Five times, to be exact.) They go on to show how consumption of beef, butter, eggs, and milk has steadily increased while consumption of bread and potatoes, traditional marks of poverty, has decreased. They also admit that medical care, education, and pensions are totally free and housing amounts to less than 5 percent of monthly income.

In 1913, the average workweek was 58.5 hours. Today, most workers put in a 41-hour week, and the average is 39.4 hours. For most steel workers it is 36 hours and for miners it is 30 hours.

Soviet statistics report that in 1965, 24

[continued on page iii]

U.S.—USSR relations: Carter's new strategy

[continued from page i]

USSR "by peaceable means" (subversion) at this particular historical moment.

DETERIORATING U.S. WORLD POSITION

Without resorting to naked military force, which now would find overwhelming mass opposition by the American workers and oppressed people, the tough Carter rhetoric to the USSR and the rest of the world is in and of itself inadequate and somewhat self-defeating. Hence the huge increases in arms production and unprecedented amounts of investment in sophisticated military weapons, such as the neutron bomb and others still on the drawing boards. These remain the basic, but not-the only, threat in the U.S. arsenal.

Arms production as a **short-term** economic stimulant may, depending upon varying circumstances, be effective. But from a long-range point of view it has a **devastating** effect on the economy as a whole, in which the military-industrial complex milks the country without any let-up.

The most dramatic example of the deterioration of the international position of the U.S. came to the fore when the Carter strategy in southern Africa collapsed completely only yesterday. The demagoguery which the White House launched with the Mondale and Young missions to South Africa has now proved totally bankrupt. The violently racist regime of Vorster has imposed on the Black people of South Africa—upon Azania—a brutal fascist dictatorship which rivals that of Hitler and Mussolini.

In doing so it has unmasked the Carter demagoguery. It has, in so many words, challenged the administration to put up or shut up. Thus far, there has merely been a squeak from the State Department, a cosmetic move to recall the ambassador from Pretoria and, as one aide unwillingly revealed, "maybe only for a few days."

Even the much-publicized move by Carter to agree in the UN to arms embargo has little meaning and is deceptive. The main exporters of arms to South Africa in the last few years have been France, West Germany, and Israel, not the U.S.—but this is probably by secret agreement. Also, there has been a voluntary ban in effect for several years now, but it has not been abided by.

The U.S. is trying to shift whatever burdens the sanctions entail onto its imperialist allies.

Some in the U.S. are proposing a ban in exports to South Africa. This is one-sided, because it's not so much exports as imports from South Africa that are vital to its economy.

Finally, the whole matter of sanctions is both a ruse and the medium for inhibiting the growth and development of an independent, aggressive struggle against the Vorster regime free of dependence on the imperialists.

There are no less than 400 U.S. corporations in South Africa, including the very biggest, with virtually billions at stake. It is not necessary to ask where their sympathies really lie. What is their perspective?

As one Black African country after another took the rostrum at the UN to nail the hated Vorster regime and demand action, it was very plain that only the USSR and its socialist allies, the oppressed people, and the world working class can really be of assistance in liberating the African people from the yoke of imperialism.

SORRY STANCE ON SOUTH AFRICA

The Carter delegation at the UN looked like Sad Sacks during the entire session. The U.S. delegation was consulting, not with the Black African countries, but with the imperialist allies whose stake in the imperialist booty in Africa is as real as the U.S. part is substantial. What the Black members of the U.S. delegation would have undoubtedly liked to have seen was for Carter himself to have made one of those really denunciatory statements attacking the Vorster regime and to have invited some of the outstanding Black liberation leaders of South Africa to the White House and get himself photographed with them in solidarity against the Vorster regime. But this didn't happen.

Now the real war in southern Africa is about to be opened. The "moderates" in the Pretoria government upon whom the imperialists have banked have become subdued, and this paves the way for a revolutionary struggle which will not surrender to Vorster's threats of genocide. On the one hand, Washington, at best, will push or unseat the Vorster regime only to install a neo-colonialist regime to suit its own interests. On the other hand, the liberation forces are fighting for complete destruction of the imperialist hold on Africa.

Indeed, the Carter administration faces in South Africa a most serious crisis. It should not be wondered at that they are now viewing the Soviet Union with more apprehension than ever. One can only hope that the socialist countries, particularly the USSR, will not be cajoled into passivity by the new Carter posture and will render what is necessary to the liberation struggle in southern Africa, as in Angola.

INDIAN RIGHTISTS JUST ANOTHER LIABILITY

If in southern Africa the U.S. faces its most dramatic crisis, its fortunes in southern Asia are no less on the wane. Indeed, it seemed only a few months ago that Carter and his entourage were riding the wave of euphoria with the electoral victory which ousted the Gandhi regime in India and installed the Janata party. What some on the left mistakenly viewed as a victory for democracy was in reality what the CIA and the capitalist establishment as a whole knew to be a triumph of reaction. And while the vanquished Gandhi forces were themselves reactionary, the new group is decidedly more pro-U.S. in its diplomatic standing.

Now this victory is in the process of becoming a liability.

The virtue of reaction, as seen through imperialist eyes, is that it "establishes order"; that is, it stabilizes the exploitation by the possessing classes of the workers and peasants. The subjugated masses, stunned as a result of a political debacle, thus become passive, atomized, and apolitical.

But not unpredictably, this new regime of blatant reaction, more unbridled in its character as a repressive, anti-working class force than the Gandhi regime, has opened up a "Pandora's box" of economic chaos. A resurgence among the workers and also peasants is now in progress. It is fueled, not merely by the failure to carry out lofty promises, but by a ravaging economic crisis which had been delayed somewhat in earlier years and which is now taking on a crueler



This typical Soviet child care complex is open 24 hours a day

and more devastating aspect in India than was expected at the beginning of the world economic crisis.

Thus the Janata administration is itself in need of help from the U.S., instead of rendering the kind of "help" which the multi-national corporations themselves need so badly after patiently waiting for the opportunity that the Janata party would afford them.

As we showed in a previous article, the euphoria which the Carter administration basked in in early March has completely evaporated.

Especially painful is the sight of the new Prime Minister of India with whom Carter

had been secretly exchanging messages ever since his election, choosing to visit the USSR and consult first with Brezhnev, rather than with Carter. A sharp diplomatic "tilt" by the new Indian government was supposed to be towards Washington, not Moscow.

However, it is not sentimentality or political affinity to the socialist system of the USSR which has prompted the Indian Prime Minister to go to Moscow first. Indeed, in his very toast at the diplomatic reception in the Kremlin, Prime Minister Desai took the undiplomatic road of bringing up an "internal affair"—denouncing the former Gandhi regime.

It was well calculated. It was in reality a plea to the Soviet leadership not to entertain any ideas of helping to revive a Gandhi coalition with CP help and various friends in the bourgeois parties. Brezhnev did not reply, but it indicates how fearful the new Indian regime is of the tremendous mass discontent and the potential of the masses to conduct a protracted struggle and topple the regime.

Such is the disastrous economic and political situation which the Janata regime faces. It in part explains why the Prime Minister went to Moscow first and not to Washington. But should help not be forthcoming, the next phase may be a Washington-engineered changeover as took place in Pakistan, unless new administrators of the capitalist government in India are able to hold the masses in tow and tilt both diplomatically and economically to the U.S.

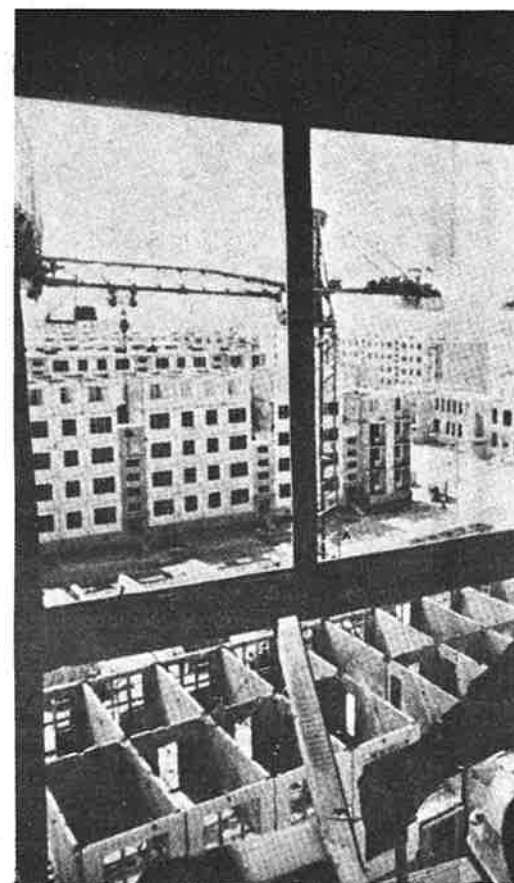
If the subcontinent (and this by the way includes the new regimes in Pakistan and Sri Lanka) is a disappointing liability to the Carter administration, it simply demonstrates that the very victories which imperialism is able to garner at great human and economic loss turn into its ultimate defeat. Like the Pinochet triumph in Chile, the victories on the subcontinent are not in reality life-sustaining instruments for imperialism, but millstones around the neck of the North American colossus.

Even in the Middle East, where the U.S. retains a vast and fabulous empire, it is its very instability which has made it look once again in the direction of the USSR.

USSR DIDN'T YIELD TO CARTER PRESSURE

These are only some of the international developments which help to explain the basis for any attempt at a new U.S. approach towards the USSR, should it really ever become a reality.

However, the international situation is not the only factor. The USSR itself has shown no inclination to surrender that which it needs and must have if it is to become a thriving, developing socialist state. Carter's belligerent strategy, symbolized earlier by such hard-line policies as the refusal to negotiate a new SALT agreement and by his contemptuous disregard of the one signed by Nixon and the USSR, has passed the high watermark. Unfortunately for the Carter



Soviet crane operator Valya Sandina helps build a society in the Soviet Union guarantees equal pay, opportunities for all Soviet women, as well as the right to child care. In recent years the most rapid rate of growth has been in the highly skilled mechanical trades. Women as are 47% of scientists. There are more women in the Soviet Union than in the rest of the world combined. Soviet engineers as the number of women engineers in the U.S.

While the wage gap between men and women in Soviet workers' families, women's earnings either husbands. And while workers in the U.S. are losing seeing them eaten away by inflation, Soviet workers after working for 20 years.

As women in the U.S. daily see their rights come pregnancy disability, equal pay and job opportunities will see their Soviet sisters making enormous strides

establishment. It may only be a trial balloon.

It made its appearance first in the New York Times magazine section on Sept. 25, a bare two weeks before the joint Mideast statement. It's in the form of an article by one Samuel Pizar with the brave title, "Let's Put Detente Back on the Rails."

BIG BUSINESS AND "COEXISTENCE"

Pizar is the author of *Coexistence and Commerce* and has served as an advisor to the State Department and to congressional committees. But he is much more than that. He's an insider from the "business community." He was an advisor during the Kennedy administration on matters pertaining to the USSR and also served in such a capacity during the Johnson, and to some extent, the Nixon, administrations. He has dealt extensively with Soviet leaders over the years on matters of a commercial and trade nature.

He is no Kremlinologist from bourgeois academia. He represents those big business interests who are for establishing channels which would open up broad avenues for commerce and trade between the US and the Soviet Union.

The basis for his thesis is that the economies of the USSR and the U.S. are complementary. The former has vast natural resources and abundant raw material, such as gas and oil, which Western imperialism badly needs. And the USSR needs sophisticated technology and machinery, as well as consumer goods, which the West, and particularly the U.S., can supply. Thus a two-way trade on the basis of a continuous and more-or-less permanent nature cannot but lay the basis for lasting coexistence between the U.S. and the USSR.

This theme, a crude form of economic determinism, is a favorite in bourgeois circles—only here it is stated more persuasively, for the bourgeoisie, and more authoritatively.

Of course, the current Soviet leadership has fought long and hard for precisely such a development. Indeed, the USSR has for the past six decades tried to break not merely the military but the economic blockade which still exists against it. This economic blockade, notwithstanding the fact that the USSR has become a so-called super-power, is still in force against the

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a helps build a new city in the Urals. Socialist equal pay for equal work and equal job opportunity as the right to abortion, maternity benefits, rapid rate of increase in women's employment in technical trades. Today 72% of Soviet doctors are women and more women doctors and engineers in the world combined—over forty times as many women engineers in the U.S.

and women in the U.S. is widening, in over half of earnings either equal or exceed those of their U.S. counterparts. Soviet working women receive full pensions at 55

their rights come under constant attack—abortion, job opportunities, day care and health care—they enormous strides in these areas. —by Fran Meyers

USSR and other socialist countries.

U.S. BLOCKS FREE TRADE

Washington to this day has undermined trade, for instance, with its new strategic ally, the Peoples Republic of China, by failing to extend full diplomatic relations so that China's ships could at least visit U.S. ports without fear that their cargo could be confiscated by alleged U.S. creditors, who may do this with impunity as long as no diplomatic relations exist between the two countries. The same goes for Vietnam, Kampuchea, Laos, Cuba, and the Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea. Ethiopia is partially on this list, depending on how the Revolution finally ends up.

Only those East European countries which have moved in a rightward direction both economically and diplomatically are not altogether discriminated against when it comes to trade with the U.S. The so-called most favored-nation (MFN) clause is a vicious measure, not merely calculated to discriminate against and halt trade with the socialist countries, but to continue economic warfare and undermine the socialist economies.

It goes without saying that the Soviet Union would be for the elimination of these restrictions and in favor of opening wide channels for commerce and industry. The fact, however, that in the 60 years of its existence no leader of the USSR has been able to persuade the imperialists of the advantages to both sides indicates that more is involved than mere narrow economic interests.

Nevertheless, the thesis of coexistence has always been justified in the Soviet Union and in the United States in that it would be good for both sides. Part of the Pizar thesis is that normalization of trade and commerce between the socialist and capitalist states, particularly the Soviet Union, should have taken place immediately after the Cold War and particularly during the Kennedy administration.

What then stopped it?

"A FEW THINGS" LIKE BAY OF PIGS AND VIETNAM WAR

According to his thesis, it was the Bay of Pigs fiasco and the Kennedy assassination. But why didn't the Johnson administration undertake normalization of relations based

upon the concept of opening the channels of trade and commerce? The author skips this and only vaguely mentions, as though in passing, Vietnam. He says a second start in normalization was made by Nixon but that Watergate changed the situation and detente was sabotaged.

He does not explain the origins of the Bay of Pigs disaster for the U.S. It was not the result of some thoughtless individual or a presidential aberration. The Bay of Pigs was a more or less inevitable development, given the U.S. reaction to a socialist revolution 90 miles from its shore.

The Kennedy assassination was the result of a conspiracy by ruling class elements who were dissatisfied at the result of the Missile Crisis settlement, the overthrow of the Diem regime, and the failure (at that time) to aggressively pursue the Vietnam war.

The attempt by the Nixon administration to normalize relations between the USSR and also China was sabotaged, as he himself admits, by the very same liberal forces who were previously for so-called detente and coexistence, in combination with the ultra-right. He doesn't explain why this happened.

These can scarcely be regarded as mistakes. Cuba, Vietnam, the sabotage of normalization with the USSR and China—so-called detente—all arose not out of accidental factors but out of organic needs and propensities which lead imperialism into blind and devastating positions.

An interesting aspect of the Pizar thesis, important for revolutionary workers and Marxists in general who have observed the evolution of the USSR, lies in its second part. Pizar condemns Carter's crusade to challenge the USSR on the question of "human rights" so openly and brazenly and denounces it because it is a failure. He says, "the only challenge that promises to liberalize (that is, bourgeoisify—SM) the Soviet regime is one of constructive dialogue with its less fanatical elements."

In reality, as an editorial in the Times answering him observes on the same day, he condemns the opponents of detente because they have not only "jeopardized detente with the Soviet Union and arms control and trade" but because—please get this—it "jeopardized the emergence of a moderate new Soviet class with a stake in international restraint."

This is fundamental. Pizar tries to justify to the bourgeoisie his advocacy of detente, trade, and commerce because it would promote "a moderate new Soviet class with a stake in international restraint" (our emphasis). What Pizar's thesis amounts to, then, is that he too is for the overthrow of the Soviet Union as a socialist state and for the development of an entrenched bourgeois possessing class, except that he believes it cannot be done by the Carterite method any more than by that of John Foster Dulles or by the armed intervention of Woodrow Wilson.

Cultivating, assisting, and promoting the development of a new managerial class, of a new bourgeois class—that is the aim of the coexisting, peace-loving imperialist bourgeoisie. Those who wish to rattle the nuclear saber, or maybe even use it, are perhaps in another camp. More often than not it is hard to distinguish between who in the imperialist camp really stands for what in relation to the USSR and the other socialist countries.

One of the most illuminating admissions came straight out of Nixon's mouth during the Frost TV interview in answer to a question about whether Kissinger was the soft-liner in foreign policy and Nixon the hard-liner. He said it was bunk, it was a convenient way to play the game. Eisenhower, he added, played the same game with John Foster Dulles, the latter appearing as the hard-liner and Eisenhower as the more soft-hearted, peace-loving one. It was a ruse, a deliberate ploy.

Pizar tries to make the same sort of a ploy when he casts Brzezinski as "representing one tendency" and "Cyrus Vance the other" tendency. But the lie to this was given rather quickly when Brzezinski on Oct. 19 made what was built up as an unusual, rare public appearance and gave his blessing to the current negotiations with the USSR, to the point where it is utterly impossible to distinguish Vance from Brzezinski, aside from their personal backgrounds.

The key point for revolutionaries in this

From wooden plows to space technology

[continued from page I]

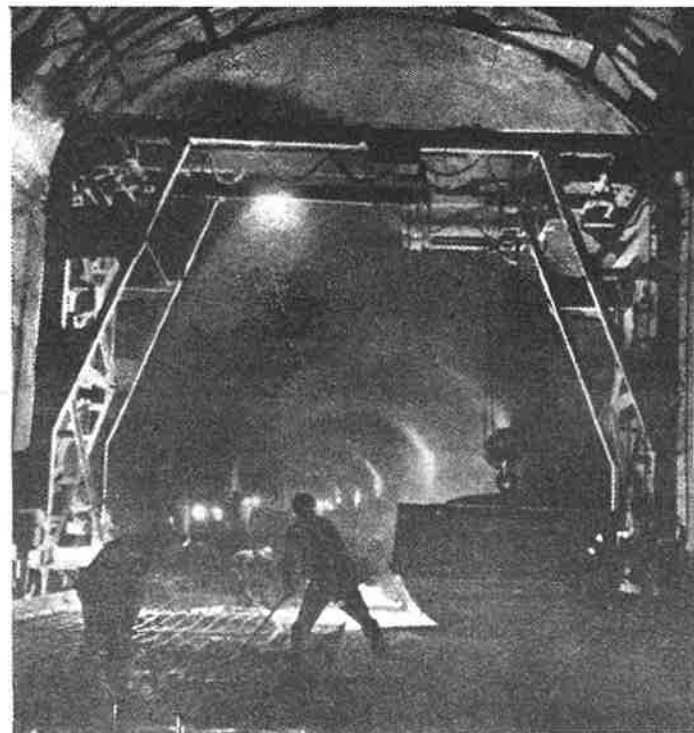
percent of Soviet families owned TVs. Today it is over three-fourths. In 1965, 11 percent had refrigerators. Today it is 67 percent. At the time of the Revolution, the average life span was 32. Today it is about 70 years old—one of the highest life spans in the world!

Now in the U.S., thousands of steel workers are being thrown onto the scrap heap. Workers who have given the best part of their lives in Lackawana or Youngstown mills are being cast aside as useless to the greedy steel barons, who own the steel to do with as they please. Yet Soviet steel has never had to endure the irrational anarchy of private ownership or an unpredictable market. Soviet steel production has steadily climbed since the Revolution to the point where it is number one in the world today.

The typical Soviet steel mill is equipped with sanatoriums for rest and 24-hour health care. Hot meals are subsidized by the plant. Blast furnace workers, those who do the hardest work, can retire at 50 or can continue to work and draw their regular salary plus their state-guaranteed pensions.

KAMA RIVER TRUCK COMPLEX, EXAMPLE OF SOCIALIST PLANNING

The Kama River truck complex is another



Modern technology in the Central Asian republic of Tadzhikistan.

feat of socialist cooperation and planning. The plant is the largest industrial complex in the world and covers a land mass the size of the Bronx. Today Kama rolls out 150,000 heavy-duty trucks and 250,000 diesel engines a year.

Because Soviet industrial development is not motivated by profit, industry can be planned so that the environment does not suffer at its expense, unlike the way the seas, land, and air in the U.S. have been raped by the auto, chemical, and energy corporations.

The example of Lake Baikal is a case in point. The lake is the largest by volume in the world and contains one-fifth of the planet's fresh water. It is the site of a giant cellulose plant. Because of community involvement, the plant now has the most extensive and costly water filtration apparatus ever installed. When visitors tour the plant, they are given a cup of water from the plant's output—it's drinkable!

The USSR is able to undergo giant national engineering projects without relying on extortionate loans from private banks. One such project is a canal in Turkmenia which has been under construction

for 23 years and which is the largest of its kind in the world. It is twice as long as the Hudson River, and will literally permit this desert region to bloom with the waters diverted from the Aral Sea. Another Soviet project involves reversing the flow of the Siberian rivers that now empty uselessly into the Arctic Ocean and sending their waters south to irrigate the Volga Basin and the Central Asian deserts.

The list of accomplishments and statistics goes on and on. They do not even take into account what could be accomplished if the missiles, tanks, and artillery, which imperialism forces the USSR to build in order to defend itself, could be converted into productive use.

REVOLUTIONARY SOCIAL SYSTEM GROWING DYNAMICALLY

While conservatism of the recent Soviet leaders and the growth of privilege and bureaucracy obstruct the development of the socialist economy, the fact that the system continues to grow and develop despite all the different policies, three

foreign invasions, and countless attempts at imperialist sabotage shows that what is fundamental in the USSR is its revolutionary social system which is alive and growing dynamically.

Capitalist development only takes place on the basis of tremendous exploitation and suffering and the continual economic cycle of boom and bust, which means inflation, unemployment, disease, ghettos, racism, sexism, war, and untold misery for the workers and oppressed. All the havoc which imperialism has caused to the people of the world will be truly solved only when rational and centralized planning for human need is applied on a global basis—when the world's entire resources and productive capacity are at the disposal of the world's people to figure out how best to use them to satisfy their needs.

Until that day comes, all the socialist countries and the Soviet Union as its most economically developed representative demonstrate in practice for all to see the profound potential which socialism offers and its total superiority to moribund, decadent, parasitic capitalism.

Pizar thesis is his allusion to the sabotage of the effort at detente which he says cut short "the emergence of a liberalized," that is, bourgeois, regime in the USSR. As always happens in these factional struggles in the ruling class, much more credit is given to one or another grouping in the struggle against the USSR.

For a considerable period of time it did appear that the neo-bourgeois stratum of the Soviet bureaucracy might be getting the

upper hand and might embark upon a course of dismantling the socialized economy, "liberalizing" it, as the bourgeoisie would call it. The bourgeoisie cheered the efforts of the Libermans and of all the economic "liberals," of the "young, eager, innovative, technical intelligentsia" upon whom it showered so much applause, who in fact were orienting towards decentralizing the socialist economy.

[continued on page iv]

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[continued from page iii]

Needless to say, the international bourgeoisie was vigorously promoting and continues to promote, not only the "cause of the liberalizers" but also by overt and covert means the most vocal counter-revolutionary elements among them.

During this period, we noted the growing neo-bourgeois tendency in the Soviet economy and the blatant efforts of the so-called dissidents to gain the upper hand.

But it was a combination of the realization of the growing danger to the bureaucracy itself and its fear of the proletariat and the collectivized peasantry that ultimately made the Soviet bureaucracy clamp down on both the economic liberalizers and the so-called political dissidents, especially the most vocal and rabidly reactionary.

Of course, this was a setback for imperialism, but not because the liberal bourgeoisie here failed to push vigorously its version of detente and its end of commercial and trade intercourse. It was due principally, so far as the U.S. and international bourgeoisie were concerned, to the fact that once the imperialists found a wide opening to the USSR in the form of the liberalizers, their very effort to promote them awoke the bureaucracy to the mortal danger it faced. It clamped down hard on them and made it possible for the USSR to continue the further development and strengthening of the socialist economy, to the chagrin of the imperialists and their supporters.

SWEETZY GIVES UP ON SOVIET STATE

It should be noted that as late as 1969, in a discussion between Charles Bettelheim and Paul Sweezy in the Monthly Review of March of that year, Sweezy wrote, "It seems to me that the present phase of development in the Soviet Union can best be interpreted as one in which the bureaucratic elements under the leadership of Brezhnev and Kosygin are attempting to stem the further advance of the new managerial elite. For reasons already indicated, I doubt that they can succeed—though of course they may slow down or even halt the process for quite a few years."

Having recognized that the Soviet leadership was trying to stem the tide of the neo-bourgeois elements, of the same elements that the imperialist bourgeoisie was trying to promote, Sweezy, like an ivory tower observer of the class struggle, confines himself to a passive defeat of the Soviet Union as a workers' state.

Instead of seeing it as a living struggle, as in many ways a life-and-death struggle, and taking sides in this struggle against the neo-bourgeois elements (while not necessarily becoming champions of the Kosygin and Brezhnev leadership), or at least awaiting the outcome of the struggle, Sweezy in effect threw

in the towel. He ultimately came to a conclusion contrary to what real life has shown: that the liberalizers were defeated, that the counter-revolutionary dissidents were dispersed, that the socialized economy was put back on the rails of socialist development. No, he concluded that the enemy had won, that the bourgeoisie had triumphed, and that the USSR had become an exploitative society.

And how did he come to that conclusion? Was it on the basis of a dispassionate analysis of the economic processes in the USSR?

Not at all. That's not how he and hundreds and thousands of others were "converted" to the theory that the USSR had become an exploitative society or a capitalist state. They arrived at that conclusion as a result of excessive zeal for Maoist doctrine in the wake of the Cultural Revolution, which was at its height at the time, a time when the Chinese leadership unfortunately poured out the most violent invective against the USSR and abruptly changed its position on the class character of the USSR, pushing the entire Maoist movement abroad as well as its periphery into the swampland of social-imperialist theory.

Bettelheim, the chief theoretician of Maoism abroad, recently resigned as the Chairman of the Franco-Chinese Friendship Society because of his utter disgust and disillusionment at the suppression of the revolutionary leftwing of the Chinese CP and at the course which the Chinese leadership is pursuing at the present time. This is precisely the course they so vehemently condemned the Khrushchev regime for having promoted.

BOURGEOISIE SEES WHAT SWEETZY DOESN'T

Sweezy never seems to have taken note of the fact that the liberalizers were set back on their heels. But the bourgeoisie has. They no longer see the same hope for "liberal" tendencies in the Soviet economy they saw in earlier years. Gone and forgotten are the "Liberians" and his ilk. And the Solzhenitsyns, Sakharovs, Amalriks, and Bukovskys see only a perspective in help from the West.

It should be added that while Sweezy does not agree with Bettelheim that there is a capitalist state in the USSR, he nevertheless believes that it has become an exploitative society. Here again he does not follow through to the end.

Assuming, but not conceding, this to be true, Sweezy fails to answer the question of whether this "exploitative society" in the USSR is on a higher economic rung, has a higher mode of production, one which eliminates unemployment and is not based on the profit motive, which he admits is absent in the USSR. If this "exploitative society" can eliminate unemployment, abolish ownership of the means of production by private individuals, aid national liberation movements abroad, and eliminate the profit motive as the driving force of the system, does that not in fact make it a superior, more progressive social system than capitalism?

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