

Socialist Worker

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NUMBER 3

JUNE 1977

PRICES GOING UP, UP, UP

The figures are in, and April marked the third straight month of double digit inflation. Price rises for April continued to increase at an annual rate of 14%.

Government economists are putting the best face on the situation and are calling the first quarter of '77 a "recovery" from the stagnation of last year, but unemployment remains at 7%.

The prospect is that double digit inflation will continue. The wholesale price index increased

13.2% in April and the steel industry has announced a 6% price hike. This means higher prices in the months ahead.

The "recovery" that the Carter administration is using to justify cancelling the \$50 tax rebate is based on an increase in consumer spending. Real growth in the economy, spending on capital goods, hasn't taken place.

Carter's economic advisors are playing down inflation by passing it off as a result of higher energy costs last winter. What

is overlooked is the fact that the administration's energy policy will dramatically increase the cost of energy.

What all the cheering is about is a business recovery. Projections are for an increase of corporate profits of 20% above last year.

Business is licking its chops over the "recovery" but what the "recovery" means to workers is continuing unemployment and pressure on living standards from inflation. □

Supreme Court Rulings Attack Workers; OK Racism

Washington D.C., May 31 — The Supreme Court has issued two more appalling decisions in its continuing attack on the rights of minorities, women, and workers.

In the first decision, the Justices ruled 7 - 2 that it is not illegal for a company to maintain a seniority system that perpetuates the effects of past discrimination. This case began in 1968, when a black worker charged that Time-DC, a large trucking company, discriminated against blacks in its hiring practices. The Court ruled against him.

In the second case, the Justices ruled 8 - 0 that a law was valid which allowed the state of Ohio to withhold unemployment benefits from workers laid off because of a labor dispute at one of their company's suppliers.

The suit was brought by a millwright at US Steel's Youngstown, Ohio mill. This case arose when he and others were laid off because of coal shortages arising out of a

miners strike. They were then denied unemployment benefits.

The Supreme Court now seems set on a course of attacking the gains of minorities and women. Earlier this year, the Court ruled that women could be denied disability benefits when pregnant.

These latest decisions may be even more costly. Minorities and women are traditionally concentrated in the worst, lowest paying jobs. They are the last hired, the first fired. No where is this truer than in the trucking industry, which is still virtually all white and all male. Many women and blacks had used the Civil rights laws and the EEOC to break out of these patterns.

The second decision is not only an attack on workers' rights to unemployment benefits, it is also an indirect but real attack on the right to strike. It pits workers against workers and undermines the solidarity which is the necessary foundation of any labor movement. □



Malcolm X

May 19, 1925 — February 21, 1965

Malcolm X on Africa

“As Africa became militant and uncompromising, you and I became militant and uncompromising, and even the most bourgeois Uncle Tom Afro-American was happy when he heard about the Mau Maus. Yeah, he was happy when he heard it. He wouldn't say so openly because it wasn't a status symbol to identify with it in some quarters. In other quarters, it was.

But all of this uncompromising and militant action on the part of the Africans created a tendency among our people in this country to be the same way, but many of us didn't realize it. It was an unconscious effect, but it had its effect.” □

Excerpt from "Communication and Reality," speech December 12, 1964.

Racism at United Parcel

Cincinnati, OH—The Black Caucus at United Parcel Service here recently filed a discrimination grievance against the company. The grievance, supported by a petition signed by 37 employees, outlines a pattern of hiring discrimination against blacks.

According to seniority lists, only one black full-time employee has been hired since 1969. Since October 1972, 18 whites have made the seniority list. No blacks have made it. The union seniority list is the real evidence that you have been permanently hired and have full union rights.

In a recent issue of UPSurge (a rank and file paper for UPSers) a member of the Black Caucus, Ed Walker, reported that discrimination is so obvious he wonders why "we've let them get away with it for so long." Walker reported, "It didn't take long to convince people here — black and white — that there was discrimination. We got 37 names on a petition in support of the grievance and we could get more."

DEMANDS

In short, the grievance demands that the company

immediately begin to hire full-time black workers, first from the part-time shifts and second from outside applicants.

Already the company has started throwing percentages around to back its claim of fair play. But as Walker reported in UPSurge, "These percentages don't mean shit. The fact is they haven't hired a black full timer since October 1972. I don't care what their percentages tell them. Blacks haven't been hired in this period, whites have. It's very clear. They discriminate."

The company would also like to put another hurdle in the path of their black workers.



Ed Walker, Cincinnati UPSurge

As district manager Larry Long put it, "Blacks on our part-time list will be the future full-time employees." In other words, blacks will have to prove themselves worthy of being hired on full-time.

UPS is squirming over the grievance. They have already made attempts to break the unity of the Black Caucus. The company can also be counted on to try and divide white workers from black workers over this issue. If the facts remain, and the amount of maneuvering change them.

Ed Walker summed up his feelings about this issue. "When the company finds an employee doing wrong by its standards they discipline him with days off, or fines, or they fire him. When the company does wrong it has to pay to fix it. That's the aim of our grievance. The company has to pay; they can't squirm out of this. They're promising to do better in the future."

Teamster Local 100 is playing a waiting game on this grievance. As Walker put it, "We want the union to help us out. This could be very good for the union if we win. But they've got to get involved in an active way. The business agent usually waits until the last minute — just before we go into a hearing — to consult with us on a grievance. I don't want him speaking for me. This is his attitude."

UNITY

UPS is very clear on its attitude toward this grievance. It will fight in every way it can to defeat it. It will try to divide workers, especially along racial lines. It will play off members of the Black Caucus. It will strike deals with union bureaucrats. Its resources are large and its appetite for profits boundless. Any show of unity or fight-back is a threat that cannot be allowed to succeed.

This is an important grievance. If successful it will mean something for women and other minorities as well as blacks. It will also be important for all UPSers who are tired of seeing the company rough-shod over them. Winning this grievance means stronger unity where it counts — at the workplace.

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Signed articles do not necessarily represent the opinion of Socialist Worker.

Viva La Causa!
by Sue Daniels

Want a Lift?

The ruling class of Egypt is so afraid of a possible revolt among the workers that the Presidential limosine has begun giving lifts to stranded people in Cairo. There is such a lack of public transportation that buses which normally hold 50 sometimes carry 200.

This Ride Will Cost You

In spite of the Carter proposals to trim the extra privileges from the staff members of the White House, 149 staff members still travel to and from work in chauffeur-driven limosines. The cost to the American taxpayer is over 3.5 million dollars a year.

Taxes and Taxes

In 1976, executive income rose 27.2%, several executives receiving over a million dollars. On the other hand, average weekly earnings of workers went up only 4% and output per person rose. In addition, the average working class taxpayer works 4 months and 4 days a year just to pay taxes. So that means that May 4th was the first day we started earning wages.



by Patricia Gilman

Christmas Advances

A federal judge in Newark, N.J. ruled in November that the civil rights act of 1964 cannot be used by a woman to sue a boss who fires her or refuses her pay raises because she denied his sexual advances. In passing down the decision, the judge

said that sexual attraction is a natural aspect of life and that office Xmas parties alone would create a flood of law suits. Further, the federal bench would be overwhelmed with actions if the civil rights act was applied.



It was a real S.O.B. story

It's Enough to Drive You Crazy

After trying for years to find out what causes mental illness among poor people, a Chicago psychiatrist has finally realized that the major contributing factor is — poverty. Simply not having the bucks is enough to drive you crazy. Of course we all knew that.

What is interesting is that

there is supposedly another group of people who are deprived and suffer mental anxiety because of it. The group is made up of the children of the "super-rich".

Another psychiatrist, Dr. Roy Grinker, said that children of the "golden ghetto" are not unlike children from the ghettos of

poverty. Both groups, he said, "tend to feel frustration, hopelessness, boredom and have a poor sense of self".

The children of the rich can go to therapists, or if all else fails there's always a nice cruise to relax. The children of the poor however, can lump it.

Farmworkers Picket Pageant

Hemet, CA.—200 Farm Worker supporters from Los Angeles picketed the 50th anniversary of the Romana Pageant here. The pageant was cancelled.

The Ramona Pageant is a traditional open-air play about the oppression and injustice against Mexican-Americans when the Anglos first arrived in California. Ironically enough the real-life story of racial oppression and exploitation still lives on at Hemet Wholesale,

a large grower of ornamental trees and shrubs.

The workers at Hemet Wholesale voted in the U.F.W. in September, 1975. By law, the company has a full year to negotiate a contract with the union in "good faith".

Hemet Wholesale has shown their "good faith" by ridiculing the whole contract negotiating efforts, firing 3 out of 7 on the field steward's committee plus endless intimidation and harassment of union supporters.

Hemet Wholesale owns just about everything else in the town as well. It's a classic company town.

The Ramona Pageant draws tens of thousands every year, and the Chamber of Commerce reaps about \$10,000 each year in ticket sales.

The U.F.W. has called a nationwide boycott of all Hemet Wholesale products, including junipers, cedars, cypresses, and arbutives. They hope consumer pres-

sure will make Hemet get down to business and sign a contract. Until then, the use of pesticides and other extremely hazardous working conditions will continue, not to mention the lack of a decent wage, enforced seniority and a real hiring hall. For example, one farmworker at Hemet told how he had received one pay raise in 13 years — up to \$3.10 from \$2.75.

Tenants Fight City

Boston, MA — The Mission Hill Housing project is a dilapidated project in Boston. Residents, and there are over 400, have had to put up with dangerous and bad conditions ever since the project was first built. It is estimated that an apartment goes derelict every three months — the people move out, the windows get smashed, and the place is gutted.

In February angry tenants invited city officials to hear their case about the conditions. To their dismay, none of the officials showed up! The callous indifference of the officials is incredible. They would be perfectly content to let the residents rot away. Fortunately, tenants feel otherwise. As one said: "pretty soon there's going to be a civil war here, right in the project."

The meeting was held despite the officials absence, and they decided to hold another meeting to decide what action to take to improve matters, after documenting for themselves the terrible conditions. As the community paper in the area reported: "At 290 Ruggles St., broken windows, empty apartments, busted pipes, floodings, no hot water for a week this winter... kids have broken into the vacant apartments, the hallways are full of garbage, there's no mailbox, no hot water."

The heart of the problem is two-fold: the corruption in the city government, which people hint at, but don't have proof about; and the interests of the city planners. Commercial and institutional interests have dreamed up a "New Boston," one where ordinary people are hidden away, or driven out. These planners want one big complex of universities and banks.

by Kent Worcester

And Win a Victory

Boston, MA, May 31 - Boston Public Housing tenants won an important victory here on May 31.

The courts have issued a nationally unprecedented consent decree against the Boston Housing Authority (B.H.A.). The decree was a direct result of the tenants demanding that the court put B.H.A. into general receivership.

The settlement requires B.H.A. to institute numerous changes against management and gives the court substantial power to oversee B.H.A.'s operations. 10% of the population of Boston lives in public housing — most in appalling conditions.

Maria Sanchez, a tenant leader of the Mission Hill Project where the suit began said, "If the B.H.A. does not improve conditions in the project and carry out the terms of this consent decree, the tenants will return to the court to ask that B.H.A. be put into receivership. We won't stop fighting." □

Andrew Young Plays the Fool

Andrew Young, the new U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, is back from his trip to Africa, but the circus continues.

Young made international headlines for nearly two weeks, as he paraded through southern Africa, offering advice on everything from the virtues of race relations in the U.S. to the hazards of guerilla warfare.

In Mozambique, he took off his coat and gave a "down home" style preacher's sermon to a group of black African leaders assembled to discuss the future of southern Africa.

He waved his arms, shouted, and pleaded. But his message was clear. He urged moderation. He told them that independence would be achieved

most rapidly through "negotiations." He denounced armed struggle.

SALUTE

In South Africa, he posed with a black worker and gave the photographers a sample black power salute.

Before he returned to the U.S., Young even offered his opinion on the shades of racism throughout the world. He singled out the Russians, the Swedes, and the British as the worst offenders.

This fanfare had its purpose of course. Andrew Young went to Africa to put a black face on U.S. foreign policy. He went there to attempt to prove that the U.S. has a new (pro-black) policy in Southern Africa.

In reality, however, the trip was just a distraction. While Young was in Africa, Vice President Walter Mondale was in Vienna, discussing the situation in Southern Africa with John Vorster, the Prime Minister of South Africa.

MISSION

Mondale's mission was to argue that stability had to be achieved in Southern Africa, even if it meant allowing black leadership in certain countries.

Young himself made the same argument to a group of 200 white South African businessmen. He warned them that if they didn't let "four or five million" blacks "into the system" they might lose it all. There are 22 million blacks in South Africa.

He praised the "free market system" as "the greatest force for constructive change now operating anywhere in the world." At this meeting, he conveniently forgot his militant views on racism, and did not even mention black majority rule or call for an end to apartheid.

The "free market system," of course, is just Young's name for imperialism, through which the United States dominates world capitalism, including Southern Africa. Today, the system is threatened, however, and nowhere more sharply than in Africa.

DEFEATS

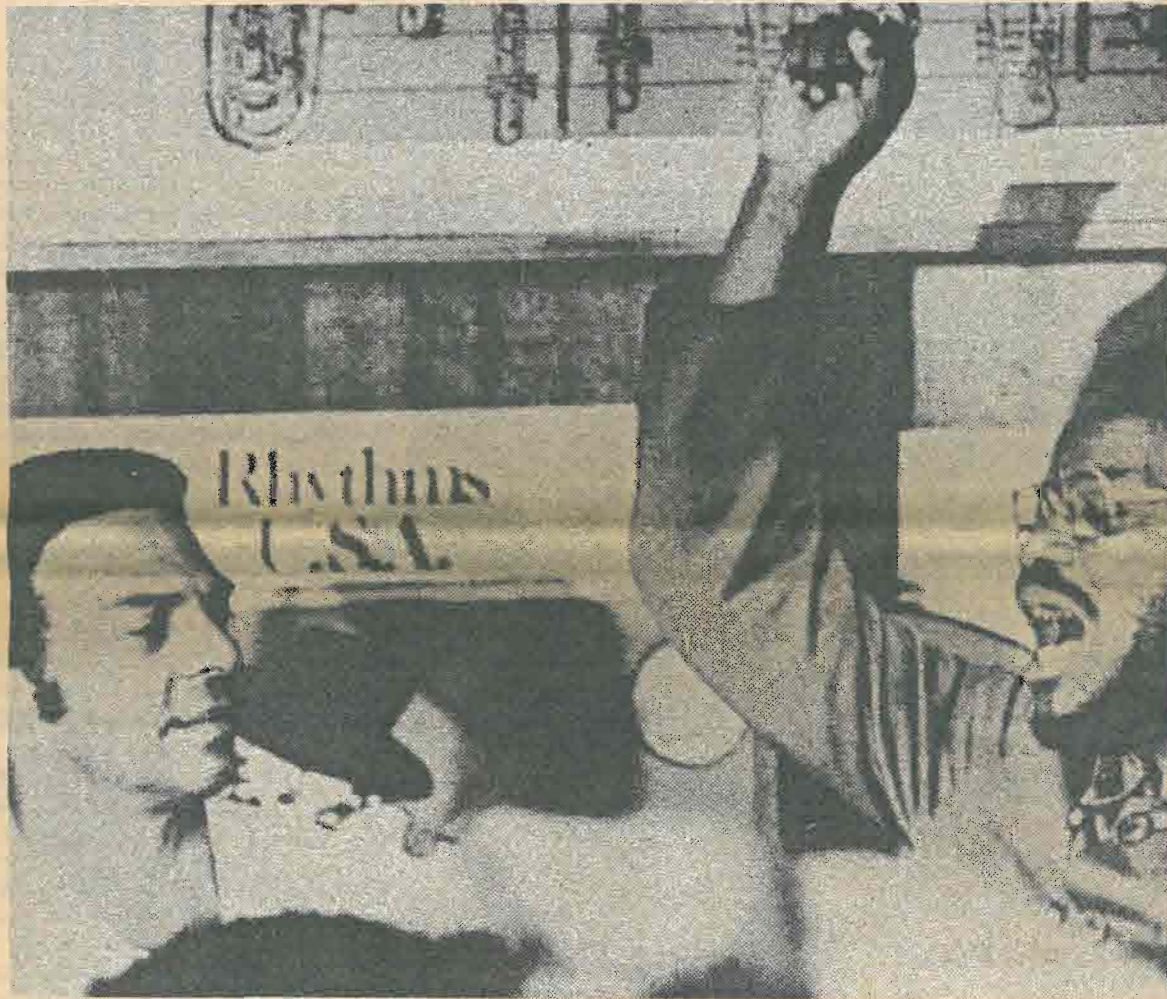
There have been defeats for U.S. policy in Angola and Mozambique. Right now, the U.S. is intervening in Zaire. At the same time, there are liberation wars raging in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and Namibia. U.S. policy makers are worried.

It's little wonder then that the African leaders were unimpressed with Young. Leslie Harriman of Nigeria dismissed Young's Mozambique speech and said, "I would have listened to such a statement 10 years ago in Atlanta with patience, but I listened today with some irritation."

Robert Mugabe, the guerilla leader from Zimbabwe, called Young's speech "hollow," and said that Young's claim that the United States had undergone a "revolution in the sixties" was "pretense."

The fact is that there is no new policy in Southern Africa. Andrew Young is just playing the fool for Jimmy Carter and all the rest who are desperately searching for ways to stop African liberation.

Our job is to see that they don't succeed. We must support the liberation movements, fight for black liberation here in the United States, and demand that the U.S. get out of southern Africa now! □



Andrew Young and Chief Gatsha Buthelezi in South Africa.

This Company Sells Guns That Help Keep White Power in South Africa

By Amy Tyson

What does the rise of white "gun clubs" in South Africa have to do with an increase of \$139,000 in gun orders from the Canary Islands thousands of miles away? Quite a bit if you are U.S. gun manufacturers secretly supplying South Africa with guns to suppress black rebellions, and using phoney orders from other places to cover it all up.

Officially, the United States government opposes the racial policies of South Africa. It has not been on the approved list for U.S. munitions since 1963. Export license applications for munitions must indicate their true final destination. Nevertheless, elaborate trans-

shipment schemes have been used to run Winchester and Colts secretly to South Africa.

INVESTIGATION

In 1975, the U.S. State Department's Office of Munitions Control started a federal investigation of the arms traffic from the U.S. to South Africa, which has so far yielded a grand jury inquiry into the activities of Colt Industries and Olin-Winchester.

A Colt export manager, Walter Plowman, has received the first sentence ever for violation of the Mutual Security Act passed in 1954. Plowman stated that "other gun manufacturers commonly trans-

ported munitions to South Africa through other countries" and his attorney, Albert J. McGrail stated that the State Department "acquiesced" to it.

Marketing reports at Olin-Winchester state that in 1974 Winchester International exports to the Canary Islands grew from \$17,000 to \$156,000 in arms, and from \$35,000 to \$250,000 in ammunition. They are shipped by an illegal trans-shipment system to Joan Taylor, who operates a sporting goods firm in Durban, South Africa.

AGENTS

It is generally known in the company that agents in Greece (Nick Karitiglous) and the

Canary Islands (Borchers Company) were used. Plowman testified that Colt also used West Germany and Mozambique. Plowman's lawyer, McGrail, stated that even after the passage of the Mutual Security (or Neutrality) Act in 1954, the U.S. and its principal firearms companies were still shipping arms to Africa.

These were getting into the hands of white South Africans, apparently with State Department acquiescence.

It remains to be seen whether the U.S. State Department and its Office of Munitions Control will be officially implicated. It's pretty doubtful that the U.S. Department of Justice would investigate the U.S. Department of State. □

BUILDING THE ISO

A Realistic Alternative is Needed for Workers Who Hate This System

One of the very first inquiries to Socialist Worker was this question, sent by a reader in Colorado: "Most importantly, do you consider yourselves the vanguard party or are you open to dialogue with other groups, to start the process of regroupment... to build a genuine vanguard party?"

Well, this certainly takes us to the heart of the matter, the questions of who we are (the ISO), and where we're going. But it also takes us into the jungle of left-wing groups and organizations, and the ordeal of

politically distinguishing our own group from all the others.

Still, the question should be answered, for it gets at two very important problems. First, how does someone who is convinced by the arguments of socialism move from the realm of ideas to that of reality? And second, what is a realistic perspective for a revolutionary organization today?

ISOLATION

We begin with one overriding fact. For more than forty years

now, the revolutionary socialist tradition has been isolated from the working class, and nowhere has this isolation been more complete than here in the United States. Today, even after the explosions of the sixties, there is hardly a current of socialism to be found in the working class.

At the same time, the left is in disarray, either bewildered by the collapse of the movements of the sixties, tailing after the foreign policy of one nation or another — Russia, China, Cuba, and now even

Vietnam, or disillusioned by grandiose schemes and false promises.

And yet, despite this, almost everywhere on the left there is pretense and posturing, in particular in the vanguardism of the Maoist and Trotskyist sects.

Worse, the arguments of these groups, most of which are necessarily abstract and offer highly misleading views of society and the working class, actually direct attention away from today's problems. It matters relatively little whether one sees the world through Trotsky's 1938 Transitional Program or through whatever is the latest correct application of Mao Tse Tung thought.

Both views actually lead to a systematic false consciousness, to ideologies in the strict Marxist sense. Neither helps to develop a scientific view of the world and history. And neither makes revolutionary socialism relevant to working people today.

ALTERNATIVE

But is there an alternative? Surely we must begin with the fact that a "vanguard" implies a main body — that is a main body marching roughly in the same direction and imbued with some sort of common and shared aspiration. This was certainly the case in the classic example, the summer of 1917 when the Bolshevik Party fought for the leadership of the Russian working class and ultimately planned, organized, and led the October Revolution.

At that time, however, there were some 270,000 members of the Bolshevik Party, in a working class of only a few million, and they were the almost undisputed leaders in the Russian workers' own institutions — the factory committees and workers councils.

What is the connection between that kind of party and the vanguards of today? None. There is no group that represents anything like a significant section of the most militant workers.

But that is not the end of the story. The fact remains that the task today is to begin rebuilding a socialist current inside the working class and to begin building a revolutionary organization as part of the process of building a revolutionary workers' party — in the Leninist tradition.

And why? Why is a revolutionary organization today an urgent necessity, especially when it is clear that the goal is still a good distance down the road?

The answer is simple enough. The working class itself is uneven, and deeply divided. Were it not for this — the divisions between militants and moderates, socialists and reactionaries, between blacks and whites, men and women — and if the mood and consciousness of the class was not constantly shifting, there would be no need for a party.

But the unevenness exists. Today the divisions are more often than not the rule. They will also exist in one form or another right to the time of the revolution.

One of the fundamental tasks of the revolutionary organization is to strive to overcome these. It constantly seeks to point out what workers have in common, how it is necessary to stick together, and so on. In its paper, it attempts to spread the experience of one group of workers to wider and wider sections of the class. And it also tries to build a relationship with the most advanced, class conscious, and militant workers whether these be very few in number, as they are today, or a vast section of the class, as they were in the thirties.

This cannot be done with empty phrases, slogans, and pious resolutions. On the contrary, it means attempting practical ways to show workers the meaning of solidarity and the potential of their collective power to change society.

And this is what we in the ISO are setting out to do, but without having any illusions whatsoever about being the leadership.

We believe that organization is an absolute necessity, and not just a step toward a future party. There are practical and theoretical contributions to be made today. One of these is beginning to create a credible alternative for workers who thoroughly detest this system, their jobs, and their lives, but who turn instead to apathy and cynicism.

CENTER

We want the ISO to be more than just a collection of individuals who share a common platform. Our organization, in the words of the British socialist Duncan Hallas, "must also be a center for mutual training and debate, for raising the level of the raw activists to that of the most experienced, for the fusion of the experience and outlook of manual and white collar workers and intellectuals with ideas of scientific socialism. It must be a substitute for those institutions, special schools, universities, clubs, messes, and so on, through which the ruling class imbues its cadres with a common outlook, tradition and loyalty. And it must do this without cutting off its militants from the fellow workers."

So we do not consider the ISO to be "the vanguard party."

But yes, we still believe that a revolutionary party is the ultimate goal and that we must begin building for that now. The alternative is the tragedy of Chile and the missed opportunities in Portugal. There is still some time in the United States, but it will not last forever.

The ruling class, as we know only too well, can easily organize its affairs according to a coherent strategy. It is highly centralized and has a massive state apparatus at its disposal. It has hundreds of newspapers, the army, the police.

So shouldn't the workers organize as well?

by Cal Winslow

"We've Been Spit at, Sworn at..."

Toledo, OH. — Most of the FLOC (Farm Labor Organizing Committee) members and sympathizers in the Toledo area have been pretty busy these days, what with picketing, handing out leaflets, court appearances... all part of an effort to get Walter Krueger, Sr. who runs Lakewood Greenhouse, Inc., to rehire seven women who had been fired earlier this spring.

Lakewood Greenhouse is located just outside of Toledo, and is known as one of the area wholesalers with the lowest prices on houseplants and young vegetable plants.

Krueger has been able to build this reputation by working his employees hard, and scrimping on safety and health measures. For instance, not providing protective clothing for those watering or working with poisons. And if a worker complains? Fire her!

So what if Amelia Uribe has worked there for five years. When Krueger found out that she had filed a complaint with the Occupational Safety and Health Administration, he fired her. He told the other workers she was laid off — at the peak of the season.

CRIME

Eloise Salazar, a Lakewood worker for ten years, was told she could take her previously discussed leave of absence, immediately and permanently. Her crime? Telling the truth to the preliminary OSHA investigating team.

Within two weeks, eight people had been fired. "And then," states Amelia, "he wanted me to sign some paper that said I was a temporary worker, and said that he would call me back if he needed any more help. Then Krueger said if I didn't sign, he wouldn't give me my check."

Greenhouses are considered to be farms, and as such the workers are not limited or protected by the National Labor Relations Act. When we, the fired workers, went to Teamsters for help, they turned us down for just this reason. We needed help. I had been hospitalized for exposure to Temik, the insecticide used by Krueger to control aphids, and

Carla Moody, a striking greenhouse worker, tells the story of a bitter struggle for a few basic rights.



Greenhouse striker arrested.

had no hospitalization, so the bills were enormous.

Mary Rodriguez was six months pregnant. The doctor said she could work, and babies cost money. Jane Hernandez, another Temik victim, had children to support and a husband who was laid off due to the fuel crisis.

FLOC was the only organization willing to stick its neck out to help us, and within days of contacting FLOC we were on our way.

On April 28, we closed Lakewood down, stopping all traffic in and out with our cars and bodies. We were there from 5:30 in the morning in the snow and pouring rain, refusing to move until seven of us; including FLOC's president Baldemar Velasquez and Mary Rodriguez were arrested.

The entire time, we had been hit by employees' cars and company trucks, gestured at, and threatened. Moreover, the arrest was not even valid, and the temporary restraining Order, signed by Judge Gale Williamson of Bowling Green,

was thrown out of court by His Honor himself.

As soon as this had happened the first week of May, we were back at the greenhouse. The only difference was that this time, we closed the place down for an entire day, and we didn't leave until a second order was served, limiting us to three pickets.

When there are three pickets on the line, and those women, they get abused. We have been spit at, sworn at, and had gravel from spinning tires injure our eyes. We have had our signs stolen and ripped up. One truck driver of a Krueger customer even tried indecent exposure, and Walter Krueger, Jr., sales agent for daddy, has peeked out from behind every possible corner clicking his camera like crazy, and in general trying to harass us.

But no matter what, we'll go on picketing, distributing leaflets, and trying, in spite of everything from assault to court orders, to exercise our First Amendment rights. □

by Carla A. Moody

— editorial — Agreement to Do Nothing

The leaders of the world's seven most prosperous nations met in London last month to discuss the world economic crisis.

The atmosphere was serious. Jimmy Carter said that "all our reputations are at stake." British Prime Minister James Callaghan warned that "the political systems of some countries could not survive" a continuing crisis.

They are clearly worried that their efforts to get the system out of its present difficulties may only lead to a deeper crisis—with more inflation, and more unemployment.

DO NOTHING

Yet all that they could agree on was one thing—to do nothing. They decided that since they could not solve the problems of their economies they would have to take a "wait and see" policy.

But while they wait and see, the crisis grows worse. There are already 15 million people unemployed in the world's seven most prosperous countries. In the United States, another three-quarters of a million people fell below the official poverty line in 1976 alone. The Common Market in Europe now predicts that there will be a 10% increase this year in unemployment in the nine countries it represents.

And all this says nothing about the poor countries in the world, where the human cost of this crisis is already staggering. A mild recession in this country can mean untold misery in other parts of the world.

PROFITS

The seven leaders will continue to do the one thing they all know best. They will do everything they can to ensure the profits of those who own the system. And they will ensure these profits by increasing the squeeze on working people—through cuts in public services, closing plants, and attacking working conditions.

Jimmy Carter was elected on a program of "putting America back to work." He committed himself to reducing unemployment, even at the cost of more inflation. Now, four months later, he has backed down from every specific plan he promised. His policy is no different than Ford's.

Why? Because he and the other world leaders are desperately afraid of inflation and the threat of a new and deeper recession.

ONIE WORLD ECONOMY

The crisis here in the United States is still far less serious than it is in Europe and the rest of the world. But it is more and

more clear that there will be no avoiding it. There is one world economy today and it can no longer function without inflation, unemployment and crisis.

There is no point in sitting back and awaiting the collapse, however. Everything still depends on how much people will take. If workers will continue to pay the price of the crisis, the capitalists will come up with a recovery, at least temporarily.

The point, however, is to change this system, so that working people won't have to pay for the crises it creates. We don't have to have continual economic crisis. Workers themselves have no reason to shut down factories under a system they control. Nurses would not close hospitals. It is not necessary to build mountains of surplus coffee in Brazil or to destroy wheat in the U.S. for the sake of big business profits, while 10,000 people die of starvation on an average day around the world.

All this is the product of a system based on profit and blind competition. And it will continue as long as the capitalist system exists. □

Economic Summit

Mr. Peanut Goes to London

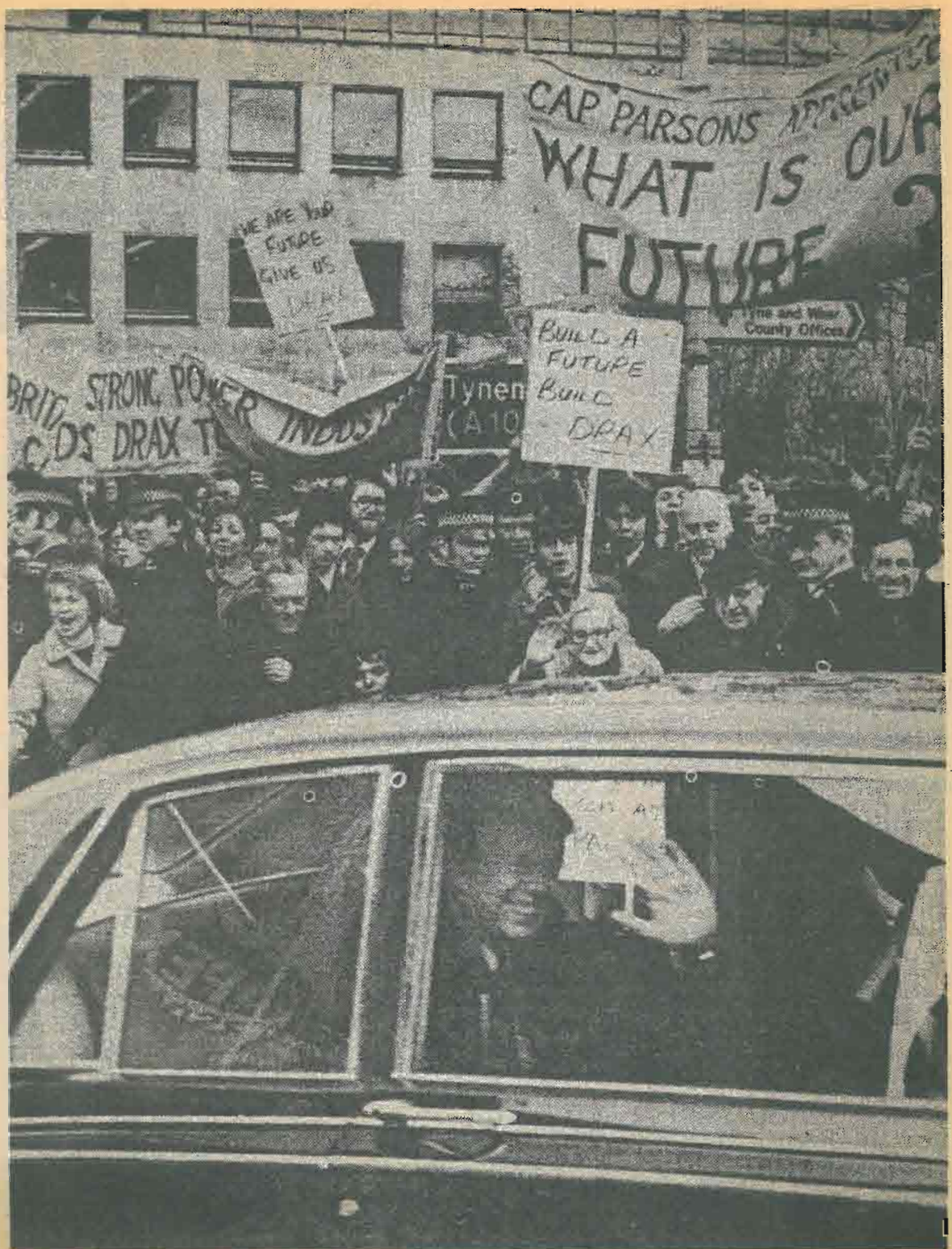


Jimmy Carter and James Callaghan

By all accounts, President Carter distinguished himself as a diplomat on the weekend of May 8 in London. He won over West Germany's suspicious Chancellor Schmidt. He dined in pomp with the Queen. Possibly, he even impressed the folks back home.

Workers here have been disillusioned with Carter's response to their needs. He went back on the \$50 tax rebate. He postponed the new health program. He blocked the needed rise in the minimum wage to \$3. So maybe the thought of Carter charming and matching wits with the leaders of the capitalist world won back a little respect.

However, the London summit was not just a show to regain popularity at home. The world economy is in crisis and the leaders of the seven nations represented at London felt the need for international cooperation to prevent the crisis from becoming more serious.



In London, Carter was greeted by a demonstration of striking Parsons power workers.

victims of stagnation. The fear in Europe is that the youth will move left, as they did in France in 1968, and polarize an already unstable political situation. Helmut Schmidt summed up the feeling saying, "We just can't afford to have young people out on the street at the mercy of the radical rat catchers."

To prevent economic and political disaster, the leaders at London pledged to guide their nations to growth without inflation. This implies international cooperation of capitalist governments in trying for both high labor productivity and wage restraint. In other words, it means international speed-up and no rewards for the workers in return. Individual governments have had this policy for years. Now each of these governments is helping the rest to carry this anti-working class policy through.

This and other sorts of international cooperation that were agreed on at London did not come to Carter out of the blue.

Carter was groomed for the presidency by David Rockefeller's Trilateral Commission. This group is multi-national in composition and organizes economic and political cooperation on an international level. It was the proposals of the Trilateral Commission which dominated the London summit.

Thus it was agreed not just that each government would

promote growth, but also that high tariffs would be rejected. It was also agreed that less developed nations were to be kept from total economic collapse. The economic growth of the more developed nations would help in this by leading to higher exports from the less developed nations. These nations were also to be aided by an international stock of goods that would help avoid draining these nations when prices are inflated.

PREVENT COLLAPSE

All of this is designed to prevent the economic collapse of any single nation, by international cooperation. Such a collapse could threaten the entire capitalist economy.

But the London summit does little to guarantee that there will be cooperation if the crisis gets worse. In addition, mere pledges to promote non-inflationary growth are no assurance that stagnation and inflation—stagflation—will end.

The world crisis is not over and it may get worse. If and when it does, the nations represented at London must begin stabbing each other in the back. Each will grab whatever competitive advantage it can to satisfy its local capitalists. Because of this, promises of growth and international cooperation are wishful thinking.

by Milton Flisk

africa



'We Will Not Pay'

The South African government is once again trying to make black workers pay for the country's worst economic crisis since the 1930's.

Hundreds of thousands of black workers are unemployed and more are joining them every week. Black unemployment is estimated to be as high as twenty percent. Benefits for black workers are practically non-existent. White unemployment is less than two percent.

Last month, the government announced huge rent increases, increases in rail fares and increases in the cost of maize. This onslaught on black workers is an attempt to stabilize the system.

STREETS

It was in response to these conditions, and, in particular, the fantastic rent increases, some of which were as high as 80%, that the people of Soweto took to the streets again, on May 27. Five thousand demonstrated against the price increases and the regime, carrying signs saying "WE WILL NOT PAY" and "DOWN WITH CAPITALISM".

The regime has continued its tactics of massive repression in an attempt to stop such demonstrations. Recently, the mother and younger brother of one of the Soweto student leaders (Tsietshe Mashinini) were arrested in a government attempt to intimidate the community.

It is clear, however, that this intimidation, which is part and parcel of every black South African's life, has not deterred them. Despite the fantastic brutality and strength of the army and the police, the sophisticated security communications system (supplied by ITT), and the plants supplied by GM that can overnight be transformed to military production, blacks are fighting back with tremendous impact.

As the world crisis deepens, the interdependency of capitalism is so, that a revolution in South Africa would have a tremendous impact on the whole of Southern Africa, and abroad. Every time the students of Soweto move, the rulers of America, England, Zambia and South Africa shudder in unison. What we can do is make it even hotter for them here. □

by Ahmed Shawkil

May Massacre

More than 1,500 workers and students were murdered when police opened fire on a May Day demonstration in Ethiopia's chief industrial town, Addis Ababa.

This is the latest slaughter in an attempt by the military junta, the Dergue, to "clean up" the strongholds of the EPRP, the revolutionary party which has the support of most workers in Addis Ababa.

The present leader of the Dergue, Colonel Mengistu, took power in February, arguing that the previous leader of the Dergue had "gone soft on repression".

The Dergue is now trying to organize a 200,000 "People's Army". It is to be sent to three provinces where opposition to the Dergue is strongest: Gondor, Tigre, and Eritrea.

The Cubans and East European military advisors have offered to train this new army of genocide.

Because of this, western newspapers are trying to paint Colonel Mengistu as a Marxist and a socialist.

This sort of propaganda pleases Mengistu as he prepares to slaughter the workers' organization that is fighting to bring about socialism in Ethiopia, the EPRP.

The Dergue seized power in 1974, when resistance from workers and students made it impossible for Emperor Haille Selassie's old regime, based on a few rich landlords, to continue.

The Dergue is composed of businessmen, officers and bureaucrats whose class interests are clear. Until they got better terms from the Russians last month, they kept up Selassie's 20-year-old arms treaty with the United States.

When the Dergue weakened in the face of attacks from socialists and the EPRP, the United States cut back on its support. All military aid has now stopped. The Russians were only too glad to step in.

As the American military advisors were thrown out, the Russians arrived. Neither of these two great superpowers will stand by and allow the workers of Ethiopia to seize power. The Russian President Podgorny, hailed the May Day slaughter as evidence of the Dergue's determination to move towards 'socialism'. The Israelis also have military advisors organizing the Dergue's forces.

FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM

The real lesson of Ethiopia, however, is that even in a backward country, workers can organize and fight for socialism. Last month's massacre was a desperate attempt to destroy this struggle.

Now socialists everywhere must rally to the defense of the EPRP as they face the onslaught of the military junta and its Russian and Israeli supporters. □

The Phoney General Strike in Ireland

A 'general strike' called by a protestant clergyman and his side-kick who owns five drug stores. Phone calls scaring managements into closing down the plants. Fake messages dragging Protestant workers home. Threats, bombs and road blocks persuading them to stay at home. That's what the capitalist press chose to call a 'strike.'

But most workers, most Protestant workers, did not vote for this reactionary work stoppage.

Anti-Catholic fanatics like Rev. Ian Paisley and his friends in the extreme right wing Protestant murder brigades decided for them. Many protestant workers defied the 'strike' call.

RUTHLESS

Paisley and the extreme right want to force the British Army to be even more ruthless against the Roman Catholic ghettos of Northern Ireland, and against the Provisional IRA which is the main force fighting British imperialism and the main defenders of the beleaguered Northern Catholics.

These pro-British loyalists also want back their Protestant parliament in Belfast so they can continue their discrimination against the Catholics who comprise over a third of the population of the Northern State.

The sectarian division in the Irish working class is the direct result of British imperialism's divide and rule tactics against Irish nationalism. The British set up the sectarian state of Northern Ireland with a built-in Protestant majority when they partitioned Ireland in 1921. This artificial statelet is a major cause of the present war between the Provisional IRA and the British Army.

The British are propping up the sectarian state after failing to reform it. The war will, therefore, continue.

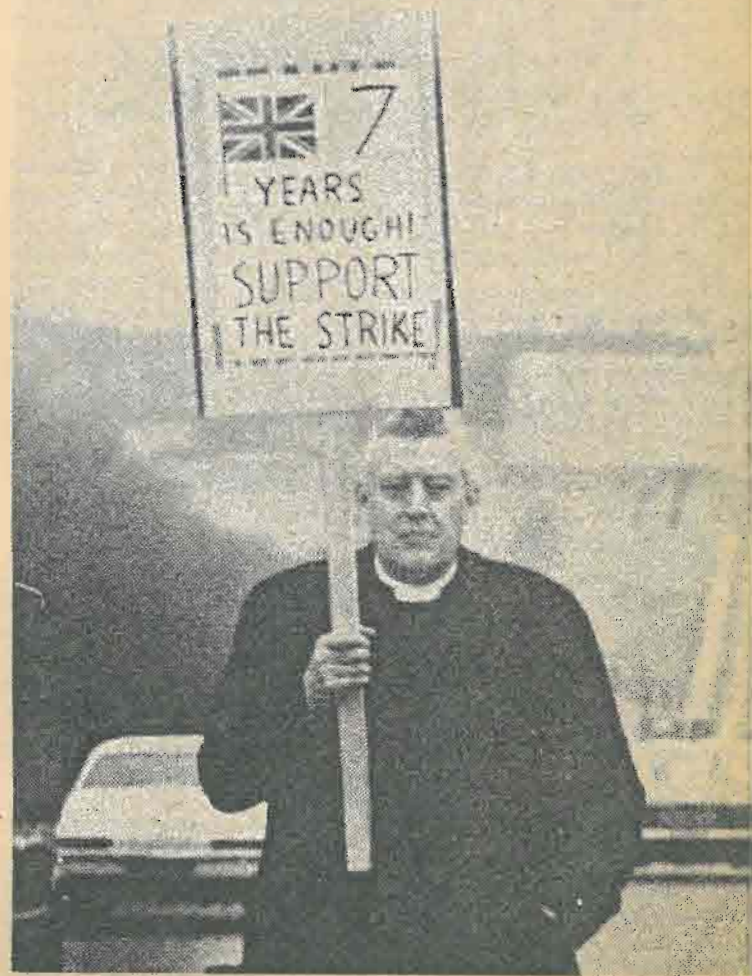
TROOPS OUT

Socialists demand the immediate withdrawal of the British Army as a first step toward a solution, to be decided by the Irish themselves. Eight hundred years of interference by British 'peace keeping forces' has produced 800 years of strife and warfare.

Socialists support national liberation struggles — whether it's the MPLA in Angola, the Viet Cong, or the Provisional IRA — because they are actually fighting imperialism, the common enemy. Not because their struggles are based on correct socialist principles — usually they are not, and that is a reason to criticize them. We retain the right — by our support we earn the right — to criticize the methods used by the Provisional IRA.

STALEMATE

The IRA is not winning. The British Army is not winning.



The Rev. Paisley "On Strike"

It's a stalemate in which the working class in Ireland, North and South, and in Britain, is losing. Repression has been greatly increased by the British government and by the puppet regime in Southern Ireland.

But despite the fact that the Southern capitalists have long ago 'sold out' to the British, the Provisional IRA does not base its fight on the working class. It therefore cannot win in today's conditions. It cannot heal the religious division between Irish workers.

REACTIONARY

On the other hand, the reformist strategy of the official IRA, which is closely allied to the Communist Party, involves the impossible task of trying to make Northern Ireland democratic and unfortunately accepting the Northern Ireland framework leads in a very reactionary direction. Thus a leading Communist Party trade unionist ends up in the ludicrous situation of sharing a platform with Ian Paisley at a rally against lay-offs. Just the sort of issue on which to unite Protestant and Catholic workers. But sharing a platform with Paisley gives him credibility with Protestant workers, turns off the Catholic workers, and makes the sectarian division even worse than it already is.

The solution to the present stalemate lies in a socialist strategy which links the anti-imperialist struggle with the day to day struggle of rank and file trade unionists.

The Socialist Workers Movement in Ireland, which is associated with the SWP of Britain and with the ISO in

America, is the only organization in Ireland consistently trying to make the vital link between the national liberation and trade union struggles. But the organization was only set up in 1971 and is still far too small to have much influence on events.

ORGANIZE

Ireland shows very clearly that socialism far from being an idealistic dream is the only practical basis on which to organize here and now to heal the religious divide among Irish workers and unite them in a mass struggle against imperialism and its Irish lackeys.

The desperate economic situation with over 12% unemployment and the highest inflation in Europe makes Ireland ripe for such a strategy.

The tragedy is that there is not yet the revolutionary socialist workers party necessary for carrying out the socialist strategy.

Ireland shows that socialists have to start building a socialist organization long before a potentially revolutionary situation develops. Then if it has reached the critical 'take-off' size and quality, the organization can quickly develop into a mass party able to intervene decisively. If it hasn't reached the critical size, it may be politically correct but doomed to impotent obscurity.

Time is running out in Ireland, a weak link in capitalism's chain. In North America, the strongest link, there is still time to build the socialist organization that will develop into a party when the time is ripe.

by James O'Donnell, a member of SWP GB who recently did a speaking tour for the ISO.

Gary Tyler Appeal Denied

NEW ORLEANS, LA—On May 16 the U.S. Supreme Court refused to hear Gary Tyler's appeal of his conviction for a murder he did not commit.

Tyler was convicted in November, 1975, by an all-white jury on charges of murdering a white youth outside a Destrehan, Louisiana high school.

The police were not able to find a weapon on Tyler or on the bus, and the only witness against him later recanted.

Tyler appealed to the Supreme Court after a similar appeal was turned down in January by a Louisiana Court.

HARD LABOR

He is now serving a life sentence at hard labor in Angola State Prison. Tyler is eighteen years old.

His attorneys are continuing efforts to win a new trial. Messages of support can be sent to the Gary Tyler Defense Fund: 344 Camp Street, Suite 200, New Orleans, LA. □



Gary Tyler

N.Y. Curbs Sterilization Abuse

It's A Woman's Right

New York, NY—The New York City Council recently voted to curb a long-standing abuse in the health care system—forced sterilization.

By a 38-30 vote the Council approved a resolution requiring a 30-day waiting period after consent forms are signed and a guarantee that informed consent actually means informed.

The operation must be explained in the person's native language and she or he must understand that it is permanent.

The fact that this resolution was passed reflects the enormity of the problem of forced sterilization.

It was reported recently that 3400 Native American women

have been sterilized without obtaining proper consent. Thirty-six of these women were under 21. 25% of all native American women have been sterilized. 20% of all black married women have been sterilized. The list goes on and on.

Until recently permission for the sterilization of 12 and 14 year old black girls in Alabama

could be obtained from their illiterate mother by having her mark an X on a consent form.

In the \$1 million damage suit that changed this, the Judge found that there was "uncontroverted evidence in the record that an indefinite number of poor people have been improperly coerced into accepting a sterilization under the threat that various federally supported welfare benefits would be withdrawn unless they submitted to irreversible sterilization."

NO SECRET

It is no secret what interests the ruling class has in controlling the fertility of poor and third world women. The Rockefeller Fund's 'Prospect for America,' for example, stated: "The restlessness produced in a rapidly growing population is magnified by the preponderance of youth. In a completely youthful population, impatience to realize rising expectations is likely to be pronounced." They are clearly worried about the revolutionary potential of these young people.

Healthright, a women's health group in New York compiled a collection of stories printed in the New York Times in the past 6 months showing how the needs of the ruling class of a country is the determining factor in whether women will be sterilized without their consent, or be denied the right to control their fertility at all.

In Laos, the sale of contraceptives was banned in an effort to increase population. In India, 7 million sterilizations were performed last year. In France some members of the government are considering policies which encourage large families.

WOMEN'S RIGHTS

As socialists we believe as strongly in the rights of women to control our bodies as we do in the rights of workers to control our lives in the workplace. We are committed to building a movement to create a society where the right to life means the right of each child to be born and cared for in the best way possible; a society where childcare centers and full meaningful employment provide women with a real choice.

The successful struggle in New York against sterilization abuse by the Committee to End Sterilization Abuse and other third world groups is a step forward in this fight. We must join the struggle for our rights to control our bodies, our workplaces and society. □

by D.M.

by Karen Woods



Third World women have led the struggle against forced sterilization.

Success at Milton Bradley

First Strike in 36 Years

Springfield, MA— For the first time in 36 years Local 224 of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union AFL-CIO struck the Milton-Bradley plants of East Longmeadow and Springfield, Mass. Milton-Bradley is a manufacturer of games and toys whose employees endure an average wage of \$3.43 an hour, a piece-work system, and a turnover rate of 100% annually. The company's profits last year alone were a record \$11,000,000.

April was contract time and on Sunday, April 3, the union held its regular meeting to ratify the new contract. No preparations for any sort of conflict had been made, and the union bigwigs presented the contract as the "best in 20 years." But the vote was 380 to 259 to reject the contract. New Unity, a local working class newspaper, said "The vote was both a rejection of the company offer and the high-handed measures of the union leadership." These "high-handed measures" included the secrecy surrounding the contract, which no rank and file members saw until the last minute, and the fact that discussion of the contract at the meeting itself was prevented by a broken floor microphone.

The members could see that 30¢ an hour annual increases meant nothing. Amid con-



The strikers were unified and militant.

fusion, due to the union's lack of strike preparations, picket lines went up on Monday morning at the East Longmeadow and the Springfield plants. On Friday the union "leaders" held another meeting to announce a "Great Improvement" — Milton-Bradley's offered 2¢ an hour more! And a cut in some of the benefits!

REJECTION

This time a vote count was not even necessary, the rejection was so strong. Many of the workers who had been complacent about the first contract were outraged by this insult. This time the floor mike worked, and one worker used it to say "We are the power!

Milton-Bradley, with that big new building over there, they're nothing! It's our sweat that makes their money for them!"

During the next week the strike tightened, and the company made two attempts to scab on it. Once a trucker tried to get a trailer load out, but the pickets held firm and the truck escaped with much damage. The next day the State Police were brought in by the company, 50 strong and riot equipped, to escort a train out. In spite of this, the strikers held out. On April 23 the company came out with a "final offer" that included all the provisions of the first offer along with 42¢ an hour raises, more benefits, and the establishment of a special union

steward trained in time-study to handle rate-setting on piece-work.

The strike is seen as a great success by workers in the area, who have seen the worst of the nation's recession in recent years with a number of shops "going South," at least one bitter strike ending in concessions by the workers to the company (Jahn Foundry, 1975) and another leading to the trial of Alex Markley (Worthington, '75). The success, however, cannot be measured in the small paper gains made in the contract. It can only be measured on the shop floor to the degree that the workers continue the unified and militant spirit of the strike in order to protect their gains and their jobs. □

Revolutionary Feminism



By BARBARA WINSLOW

A pamphlet that traces working women's struggles for liberation and socialism.

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Their Only Crime Is Wanting to Work

A F
"Illeg

by Patricia Gilman

During times of crisis and economic trouble, when business and government have failed to produce promised jobs and a quick recovery from inflation, someone has to be made the scapegoat.

Today, as in the past, workers who are in the US illegally are being made the target of racist attacks. The attacks are strongest against workers from Mexico. These workers, with no rights and few friends are a convenient excuse for the problems of rising prices and unemployment.

Recently, national magazines and newspapers have been trying to whip up public sentiment against these "undocumented" workers. The charge is that "they're all on welfare," that "they're taking jobs away from Americans," or that "they're the cause of the rise in crime."

The real goal of this attack is to focus national attention on illegal workers as the cause of national economic problems while leaving the real causes untouched.

It is now estimated that there are between 2 and 6 million people in the United States illegally. They come from India, Korea, Thailand, South America, the Caribbean, the Middle East and Mexico.

About 60% of these are estimated to come from Mexico. Since Mexico is the closest country, and the cost of deporting people there is the cheapest, publicity has focused on workers from Mexico.

For all the cry that illegals are using the US taxpayer's money and giving nothing back,



Undocumented workers are arrested on the Mexican border.

the figures show a very different story. According to a US Department of Labor study in 1976, only 0.5% of undocumented workers receive welfare benefits. Only 1.3% receive food stamps. On the other hand, about 80% must pay Social Security taxes and about 75% have Federal taxes withheld from their paychecks.

For all the talk from President Carter and others about stopping the flow of people north to the US, it is clear that the business leaders want no serious restrictions on the amount of workers here illegally. Nor do they want any penalties to employers who use the labor of these workers.

NO BARRIERS

Business wants no barriers to importing cheap labor, just as it wants no rise in minimum wages for American workers. Employers want a large, illegal workforce, primarily because a worker who is afraid of being turned over to the INS (Immigration and Naturalization Service) will more readily accept sub-standard wages. Cases have been documented where whole families working in the fields of California make only \$15 a week.

In a factory where a majority of the workers are afraid of being deported, employers can keep down shop-floor organizing and keep out labor unions. If the workforce is divided into illegal workers and US citizens, unity between the two is very difficult to achieve.

All of these factors combine to keep profits high and the workforce pliable. The more illegal workers that are let in, the more they will compete with each other and with all unem-

ployed workers for the few jobs available. With competition for jobs, the employers can lower wages and still be assured of having people apply for the job.

This is one reason that scores of US companies have closed their plants in the North and East and moved to set up plants near the Mexican border, in Texas, Arizona and California.

Business sometimes imports workers from Mexico, and even provides them with temporary papers. For a few months, the employer gets a cheap labor force. Then, after a few weeks work, the Mexicans are turned over to the authorities before payday. Or workers are paid by check, only to find that a stop-payment has been issued on the check when they try to get their money.

The first ten miles of Mexico, from the US border, is designated a "free trade zone." For example, garments cut in the US border towns are taken across the border to Mexico to be sewn together. The wage rate being less than half of the US rate, keeps expenses down. Then, garments are brought back into the US free of import duty, and sold at a great profit.

Many businesses that have moved to Mexico, or have been started there by US multinational companies, are stripping Mexico of its resources. The agricultural industries own vast tracts of arable land, which the Mexican peasants cannot touch. These industries find a ready labor force, with 40% unemployment, but this still does not create enough jobs.

The Mexican worker's alternative is to come north to the US. Poverty created by US corporations and multi-national companies, drives the workers

into the willing arms of US agribusiness and industry.

IMPERIALISM

The roots of this system are in the economic interdependence between the US and Mexico, the cause of which is US imperialism.

The corporations that dominate the economy of the US also dominate the economy of the Middle East, Latin America, Thailand and Mexico. As of 1972, the US had over \$2 billion invested in Mexico. Even as early as 1960, it was estimated that 55% of Mexico's Gross National Product was controlled by US corporations.

The rate of profit on investment in Mexico for US businesses is sometimes 200%. On the other hand, between 1950 and 1965, wages in Mexico rose only 1.6%. Even today, the minimum wage in Mexico is about 50¢ a day. Add that to an inflation rate of about 20% and the reasons that people will risk coming to the US for a chance for a job as the alternative to starvation is clear.

THE CAUSES

The propaganda against undocumented workers is a fraud. Unemployment in the US of 8%, 9% or 10%, and rising prices is not due to the undocumented workers.

The cause of unemployment is capitalism. It thrives on a large work force, much of which is always unable to find work. Those who do have jobs are threatened that if they demand more than they are getting, the boss can find someone without work to take their job at any pay.

Capitalism also knows no in-

ternational boundaries. It passes freely across all borders and boundaries isn't enough. Because of this, there should be no restrictions on people moving where they choose, in any country they can find work.

But doing away with borders and boundaries isn't enough. Unless people can also work under safe conditions, and unless there are enough jobs, no system of capitalism can provide.

Today, instead of free

L.A. Imm
"T

Los Angeles, CA—I was walking into the alley to make a delivery at a large Los Angeles garment shop. In my mind, I saw nothing very unusual. I kept moving toward my car, I set the brake, pulled the door and got out. Then I saw it

Lined up against the wall of the garment factory were 20 women — their legs spread, eagle, hands over their heads. Two immigration officers moved down the line for each woman. As one was cleared, another man leaped away into the back of one of three blue vans.

In frightened Spanish, sobbing, others angry, called to their friends. "The sitter and see if she can keep the kids till my husband comes to get them." "My husband not to worry, get home somehow." "Get the green card. It's in my red folder on the dresser."

From inside the building, immigration officers herded a half-dozen young men into the alley and shoved them against the wall. From the crowd

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1933: A Massive Strike of Migrants

by Barbara Winslow

In John Steinbeck's famous novel, *In Dubious Battle*, written in the 1930's, an old apple picker, a veteran of years of struggle, tells a young farm worker:

"I got feelings in my skin... You know quite a bit before water boils it gets to heavin' around. That's the kind of feeling I got... Maybe there's been too much goin' hungry: maybe too many bosses kicked hell out of the men . . . it's anger . . . only it ain't in one man, it's like the whole bunch, millions and millions was one man and he's been beat and starved and he's gettin' that sick feeling in his guts . . . I feel it in my skin . . . ever' place I go, it's like water just before it gets to bollin'."

In 1933 and '34, the "water boiled over" in a massive strike wave in the fields and orchards of America.

HEART

The heart of the strike wave was in California. In the thirties, California was already the agricultural heartland of America. The biggest 'factories in the fields' were there. In 1929, there were 7,875 large scale, agricultural factories in the US. Half were in California.

The workers were of all nationalities — Chinese, Japanese, Afro-American, Filipino, Caribbean, Hindustan, Puerto Rican, Armenian and Chicano. In the mid-thirties the Okies, the Arkies and the Mizoos were driven off their land and moved west to California to pick the crops.

Farm labor in California was violently seasonal. In March 50,000 were needed, then by September, 150,000. This meant for long periods of time, thousands of farmworkers and their families had no place to



work, and no place to go and no way to earn a living.

The depression was a catastrophe for the farm worker.

C & AW UNION

There were no unions for farm workers in California, and only a few scattered laborers associations. But the Communist Party undertook a campaign to organize farm workers into the Cannery and Agricultural Workers Industrial Union (C & AW).

The union captured the intense loyalty of farm workers. It fought racism. Meetings and rallies were held in Spanish and English. There were no racial barriers to joining. Organizers were chosen on the basis of ability and not on their white skin.

The C & WA was out front in its hatred of the growers and

the capitalist system. Throughout its short history it organized and led some of the largest and most militant strikes in America's labor history.

The C & WA was put to the test immediately. In April 1933, Puerto Rican, Chicano, and Filipino pea pickers went out on strike. They lost the first round. A month later 900 cherry pickers went out and won 10¢ an hour wage increase. Two thousand Chicano and Filipino celery and onion workers struck immediately afterward; in August 1,000 pear pickers struck.

This was unheard of in California. Spurred on by their small victories, the C & WA decided to call for a general strike in California's most important crop - cotton. There were 25,000 cotton pickers - mainly blacks and Chicanos.

The strike was magnificent. Up and down the fields C & WA organizers appealed to their striking sisters and brothers to hold fast against the growers. Roving picketers travelled the length of the state in beat up jalopies, organizing other cotton pickers to join the C & WA.

The growers responded with savagery, evicting, beating and starving the strikers. They herded them into concentration camps, but even this plan backfired. The camps became huge rallying points for the farm workers.

CONCENTRATION CAMPS

In an example of the human capacity to struggle, the camps also provided a lesson for all workers - even in a primitive concentration camp, farm workers could manage and govern better than the growers.

The Corcoran camp, which held 3,000 farm workers is a good example of the great humanity of the working class. The growers would never educate the children of farm laborers. But inside the Corcoran camp, schools were set up in English and Spanish.

The Aztec Circus, a street theatre, performed skits about Chicano labor and socialist

history. There was no violence. The strikers received better medical attention in the camp than they ever had before. And even in the camp, faced with only the most primitive of supplies, the laborers' life was better under workers' control than under the 'freedom' of wage labor practiced by the growers. They learned the lessons of socialism first hand and in their prison schools.

The growers formed proto-fascist protective associations - which were vigilante mobs. At one point they arrested 16 strikers, killing 2. The violence by the growers only made the strikers more resolute. Fifteen hundred attended the funeral of the two martyrs. The strike was stronger than ever.

Finally the growers had to back down. The strikers won most of their demands, including recognition of the union.

COMMUNIST PARTY

Unfortunately the fate of the C & WA was linked with the Communist Party. From 1928 to 1934 it was CP policy to set up independent revolutionary unions. In some cases this was an ultra-left policy, but not so with agricultural workers who were despised by the AFL.

But the CP was also responsible for the ultimate failure of the C & WA. In 1934, the CP's strategy shifted to the 'Popular Front,' and conciliation with capitalism.

The first victim was the life and death struggle to organize farm workers. The C & WA was killed, not solely because of the repression by the growers and the government, but by the policies of the Communist Party which simply abandoned it and moved elsewhere.

The actual strike of 1933 and the organization of the thousands of farm workers was a tremendous victory in itself. It showed that farm workers — the most downtrodden, the most forgotten — could organize, struggle and fight against all odds. It showed the revolutionary potential of the most oppressed. □

against immigrant workers, with or without papers, labor unions should help bring all workers into unions, regardless of their nationality. Until workers organize together, they will be crippled by the many divisions that exist among them, including citizenship.

The workers of the world still have no country, and few are chained as viciously as those who work "illegally" in this country's factories and fields. □

ation Bust my husband not to worry..."



A bust in Los Angeles.

Anglo and black workers watching from the lunchroom door, a young woman rushed over to one of the young men and pulled on his arm, trying to tear him from the grasp of the La Migra. The pig shoved her to the ground and hustled the man into the blue van.

I was shaking with anger... the pigs. These people aren't murderers or dope pushers or mafioso. They're just workers trying to scratch out a living.

Inside the building, I walked to the receiving station to get rid of the delivery. Crawling under, around and through the stacked bolts of cloth and supplies, the immigration officers searched for people.

Later that afternoon, I returned to the factory to make my pick-up. Jesus, the shipping clerk, wasn't there. The other shipper, Johnny, gave me all the gory details.

Over thirty workers had been seized by immigration. Five had returned to work later in the day after relatives or friends had brought their green cards or citizenship papers down to the Federal building.

Johnny said it happened like this about once a year. Immigration came, swept the building, getting citizens and green carders along with those without documents and within a week almost everyone was back in L.A.

It was harassment, nothing more. Once, when some of them had talked about getting the union into the shop, the rumor came down from management that immigration would be called if union reps showed up.

Jesus was back three days later. He'd been taken across the border at Tijuana and dumped. Luckily, he had \$23 in his pocket. He took the train back to L.A. □

Mary Deaton
IBT Local 396
Los Angeles

The Time to Fight is Now

Louisville, KY—The Communications Workers of America (CWA) began bargaining this month with the Bell System for a new contract. The present contract expires August 6th.

The official CWA contract demands, adopted by the Bell System Bargaining Council earlier this year would mean a big step forward for telephone workers. Some of the key demands include:

- 32 hour week
- Upgrade for operators and service reps
- Improving the COLA to cover inflation 100%
- COLA increase on pensions
- Voluntary overtime
- Strict limitations on the company's right to discipline employees
- Paid maternity leave

SHORT

The Bargaining Council demands fall short, however, in two areas — wages and pensions. They propose a substantial wage increase. "Substantial" in the past has meant peanuts.

A PBX installer, for instance, came out barely 2% better after last summer's COLA increase than he or she would have been in 1974. And since there is no COLA increase the last year of the contract, telephone workers will fall even further behind.

Nothing less than a \$50 a week across the board raise will make up for what was lost under this contract and give CWA members a chance to get a little ahead.

The pension demands proposed by the Bargaining Council



New York telephone strike, 1971.

are a scandal. They propose only to set the minimum pension at \$350 a month and eliminate early retirement penalties.

CWA Local 4322 in Dayton has been pushing over the past year for 30 years and out at \$800 a month as an adequate pension. They point out that it is nearly impossible to live on the present pensions — unless you're in management. John

DeButts, president of AT&T, will receive a pension of \$265,000 a year when he retires.

Even with its faults, CWA's shopping list is probably too good to be true. This is not the first year the Bargaining Council has proposed a number of good bargaining demands. Each time the final contract has fallen far short.

Bargaining with the Bell System is in practice controlled by the International Executive Board. The Executive Board bargains for what it wants, often ignoring what the vast majority of the membership wants in a new contract.

Most CWA members will remember — like a bad dream — the '74 negotiations. Minutes before the strike was to begin, the International settled when the company offered the agency shop (meaning more dues money). Picket lines were called off and everybody went home that night without knowing what they had settled for.

When the details finally came the International had gotten more dues and the members got stuck with a contract they had rejected overwhelmingly the week before.

The CWA International can be trusted to do little better this year. Because of widespread walkouts and dissatisfaction after the '74 contract, bargaining will be more open this year. There may even be a token strike.

Winning job protection, upgrades and an end to harassment would require a real fight against the company. The Bell System is engaged in a massive campaign to cut jobs through speed-up and automation. They won't give up their plans easily.

NO HELP

In the past some CWA Local officers have opposed the International's sellout policies, if only half-heartedly. CWA militants will get little aid this year from these traditional oppositionists. Most have either made peace with the International, like Ed Dempsey in New York City, or become inactive cynics, like Art Koski, longtime oppositionist and Local President in Milwaukee.

It is up to CWA militants themselves to put the pressure on during bargaining. Passing petitions to the International, seriously organizing for a strike — official or unofficial, and raising questions and motions for a real strike at Local meetings are some of the things that can keep the heat on the CWA. □

by Harold Kincald
Shop Steward
CWA 10310

by Pat Morgan

HOSPITAL COSTS

PROFIT IS THE PROBLEM

Mid-May — The Carter administration's flurry of concern over the "health care crisis" means trouble for hospital workers and the patients they serve.

Increased government pressure and the health care industry's own plans for cost cutting are most likely to mean job losses and even more resistance to unionizing efforts that have produced some of the most militant strikes of recent years.

INFLATION

The "health care crisis" which the government and business are concerned about is the dramatic inflation of the cost of health services.

Last year these costs rose 50% faster than any other item on the consumer price index. Hospital costs, which amount to 40% of the health care bill, rose even faster at a rate twice that of overall inflation.

Hospitals are the target of Carter's efforts to reduce inflation. The government plans to impose an across the board 9% ceiling on cost increases with limits on new construction and the purchase of new medical technology.

Failure to hold down cost increases would result in penalties and a refusal by the government to pay more through the Medicare and Medicaid programs.

Half of the nation's hospitals provide the only medical ser-

vices available to people in the inner city through 'out patient' clinics. It is these hospitals which are most plagued by rising costs and bring hospital inflation above the 9% ceiling advocated by Carter.

By attacking new construction and investment in medical technology, Carter's plan is a scheme to deprive the welfare poor and the working poor of modern medical services. In other words, the right to health.

The hospital industry doesn't like Carter's plan either. They regard the 9% ceiling as unnecessary government interference in their business. They have their own plan for cutbacks in response to public pressure to do something about soaring medical costs.

PRODUCTIVITY

In Texas, Louisiana, New Mexico, and Arkansas "management engineering" techniques are being pioneered to increase hospital productivity. The techniques are offered by the Hospital Productivity Center which is funded by a grant from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. The center specializes in cutting staff.

The aim of the program, according to its director Sam A. Edwards, is "to lower the cost per case by controlling the number of people working on each case." In two hospitals where the program was

applied, the number of jobs reduced were 10 and 20 percent. The end result of the health industry's alternative is really no different from Carter's.

Union and non-union workers are often reluctant to support the strikes of hospital workers because of sentiments about "striking against the sick." But the most effective fight against the proposed cutbacks will be job actions by hospital workers.

Almost every recent hospital strike includes demands for better patient care. The issue of staffing levels which mean better conditions for hospital workers also means more attention and better care for patients.

The facts are that health care is big business, over 100 billion dollars worth. The loss of your health is someone else's gain. Profit, not love of people, is the motive which runs the health care industry.

Doctors charge "whatever the traffic will bear" so that a gall bladder operation in Ohio that costs \$200 is worth \$1,000 to a doctor in New York.

Hospital workers, from nurses to janitors are fighting bosses who are no different than any other boss. Their efforts to unionize and their fights for wages, conditions, and better health care deserve your support. □

THE UNIONS

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In Russia, They Jail the Socialists

an interview
with Leonid Pliouchtch

I have a lot to say to sincere people who believe Russia is socialist.

I ask them to look at the distribution of wealth and income.

Lenin once wrote that the income differential between top and bottom should never be more than six to one. This was to pay the bourgeois specialists for their services until we got our own.

Now if you take a prominent politician in the Ukraine, what does he get by comparison with my mother, who is an agricultural worker? He gets 400 roubles a month whereas my mother gets 60. And he's far from being in the top salary range.

SECRET SHOPS

All the inhabitants of the major cities know of the existence of the secret shops for members of the bureaucracy. In these places, they can get all the products ordinary mortals can't. The extent to which it goes on is amazing. Kruschev, for example, had 33 dachas. I was told this when Kruschev was sacked. I was a party activist at the time.

Outside Kiev there is, as everyone knows, a massive guarded wood where the top people hunt. Wild game is brought in.

There are special nurseries for the children of the privileged. My wife worked in the Ministry of Education department responsible for them.

There are honest Communist Party officials. One such was Ostachi in the west of Ukraine. When he was offered the privileged shopping facilities, he protested. He ended up in prison for his efforts.

POLICE APPARATUS

For Lenin, socialism in a political sense is a transitory society whose self-contradictions should be diminishing. The bureaucratic and police apparatus, for example, should be on the way out. The state should be transformed into a voluntary association of collectives.

Throughout, the whole emphasis must be on democracy, the involvement of the masses in controlling their own



Leonid Pliouchtch is a socialist who spoke out against the lack of workers' democracy in Russia. He was arrested by the KGB in January 1972. Charged with producing anti-Soviet propaganda, he was imprisoned in Kiev and Moscow before being sent to a mental hospital. Last year, he was released and he now lives in Paris.

lives. The dictatorship role that every state has should be beginning to vanish.

Yet even Kruschev was forever harping on about the massive role of the police apparatus.

Take the laws regulating elections. You can cross all the names out and write in your own candidates. In theory, this should allow some genuine elections.

But, in reality, this is quite useless unless you have some means of propaganda and counter-propaganda, freedom to hold meetings, the ability to make use of printed matter.

Apart from the parts of the constitution which promise you rights, there is of course the clause about anti-Soviet propaganda.

And so any group of people who start to agitate in an organized fashion — even if that involves only crossing out the

names of some candidates and writing in others — are branded as anti-Soviet. They become liable to harsh punishment.

It is, therefore, hard to talk of the role of the working class, the intelligentsia and the peasantry in the elections.

As you know, there are workers' strikes in the Soviet Union. There was the enormous Novocherkask uprising and others.

Yet nowhere in any of these risings did a trade union of any sort appear as defending the workers' interests. In the Soviet Union, the working class has no party and no other organizations which defend its interests.

Take the example of a collective farm. Its head is appointed by the local party official.

The workers play some part in choosing a section of the 'leadership.' But, in practice, the farm is controlled by the

appointed functionary. There is once again this complete contradiction between theory and reality.

In some cases, the head of a collective farm will defend the interests of the workers. But every type of means will be used to have him ousted. And if the workers don't agree to this, he is simply removed without consultation.

This is what happened in the famous case of Ivan Yakimovitch. He had assisted in transforming a farm into a model collective. But when he declined to go along with local party directives, there was a huge campaign against him.

His protest against political trials was used to throw him out. And he ended up in a psychiatric hospital like myself.

ANTI SEMITIC

We have a mono-party state system which claims a monopoly on ideas, which are subject to the whims of a particular group or even of a particular individual at the top.

Then from the national point of view, socialism equals the right to the equal development of culture. Yet from the official point of view what you get is anti-Semitic propaganda or propaganda against the deported nations.

So the most obvious feature from this point of view is the growth of great state chauvinism, the absolute opposite of socialism.

In theory, too, you would expect a socialist state to support working class movements in the west. We know that under Stalin there was the pact with Hitler. We know that

Kruschev was giving Nasser a 'Hero of the Soviet Union' medallion at the very time Nasser was putting socialists and communists in jail.

We can also see that Brezhnev keeps very good relations with the Iranian government and has never once interceded for any imprisoned socialist of any kind, not even Communist Party members.

How do I characterize the society that exists in the Soviet Union? After a long search, I have come to the conclusion that the most accurate characterization, though not absolutely perfect, is state capitalism.

Lenin used this term to describe a situation that existed not very long after the revolution — when power was still in the hands of the toilers.

When I use the term, I do not mean this, since in Russia today power in no sense is in the hands of the workers.

You have to examine who is the exploiting class. Who is doing the exploiting? Who controls the surplus.

BUREAUCRACY

Djilas (the Yugoslav government minister who later broke with Stalinism) says that the exploiting class is the bureaucracy as a class. I feel that it is still more accurate to say, as Marx once did, that the state is an abstract exploiter.

But with the existence of the bureaucracy, you do have the ruling echelons controlling the surplus and sharing the profits with their bureaucratic stooges.

This is exactly what a capitalist does. He doesn't put it all into his pockets. Some goes to his lackeys, some to the state, a part for the bureaucratic police apparatus and entourage.

Marxist groups in the Volga region issued a program titled 'The sunset of capital.' They were not referring to the West. They were characterizing the situation in the Soviet Union as the last form, the death pangs, of capitalism.

And it is true that all these signs of decay do exist. There is the most widespread corruption. There is a moral vacuum, moral emptiness, especially among the youth.

CHAUVINISM

There are immense social problems, the growth of drug taking and alcoholism, the destruction of nature and the environment, the swift unplanned capitalist exploitation of natural resources, the emphasis on militarism, the horrible police role, the chauvinism.

I say all this. But I am not a man without hope. On the contrary, I look forward to this being changed.

I am a Marxist. I look to the intelligentsia and the working class to succeed in realising the noble ideals of socialism, and perhaps sooner than any of us think. □

Polish Student Murdered

Thousands of Polish students began protesting in Cracow last weekend over the murder by the police of one of their colleagues, Stanislaw Pijas.

They also spoke of setting up a solidarity committee to replace the official state-sponsored Socialist Union of Students, which they say has been harassing them and has "forfeited the right to represent students."

Stanislaw Pijas was found dead at the bottom of a stairwell. He was a member of the Workers' Defense Committee set up last year to aid those victimized after a strike wave that forced the government to back down on price increases.

Other students are convinced that he was murdered by the police. The police, typically, have tried to shift responsibility — claiming either that he died from a drunken fall or that he was murdered by the Defense Committee.

But students and workers know of so many cases where people have been beaten up and tortured by the police that they can't accept this story. The police are certainly behaving as if they have something to hide.

Three members of the Workers' Defense Committee who tried to go to Cracow, Jacek Kuron, Adam Michnik and

Piotr Naimski, were seized by the police in Warsaw.

The students in Cracow, however, took advantage of a student festival to mourn their friend. Five thousand staged a candle-lit procession on Sunday. They were not intimidated by the seizure the day before of three supporters of the Workers' Defense Committee by the police thugs who make up the so-called "students militia".

The murder of Stanislaw Pijas shows that the authorities East and West of the "Iron Curtain" act in the same way when faced with a growing and popular movement — they use police intimidation to break protests. □

Letters

Write to Letters,
Socialist Worker
P.O. Box 18037
Cleveland, Ohio
44118

CETA: A Job With No Future

Dear Socialist Worker,

Maybe recently you've read in the papers about CETA jobs opening up in your city or area and wondered about them. CETA (Comprehensive Employment Training Act) is what the government says it's doing to create jobs for the jobless or those without "marketable skills."

It's nothing new to government that although tough requirements are applied to the poor, political bosses have handed out CETA jobs for favors readily in the past. And while it may not be big news now, it is commonly known that eligibility requirements are broken all the time... because the reality of 'politics' means that those in power want more.

In my own case, working as a part-time counselor in an agency, I found myself 'laid off' permanently when the town got CETA money to hire a full time worker for this same agency. I was told I was ineligible for this CETA job because I didn't live in the town. (I commuted 60 miles daily for \$60 weekly in part-time work.)

So as it turned out, they no longer 'needed' a part-time worker after all. What they meant was that they had a more profitable solution: the agency could get full time services for which they had to pay nothing and drop my measly salary too in the deal.

Often enough CETA workers get paid less for the same work that other 'regular' employees are doing. And when those employees are clerical workers

or other typically low-paid workers, that often means less than enough for bare survival.

CETA workers generally know their jobs are good only for about 6-18 months at most. This only buys a little more time until they have to go back to the unemployment lines once again. As one CETA official put it to me: "CETA is no job for somebody who wants a future"—and that includes most everybody!

In the New Haven area alone there are more than 20,000 unemployed and 1200 CETA job openings and this is a

similar situation all over. It's easy to see why no one's breaking down the doors for these jobs. Most people know the hard way that government doesn't work in our interests—we, the unemployed are referred to as the 'tax burden.' It doesn't matter whether it's a Republican or Democrat who calls us that; it shows through government 'action' for the jobless like CETA that we don't count because we don't make profits.

Robin Latta
New Haven

EVICCTIONS

To the Editor:

I'm writing this to let Socialist Worker readers know that the problems of poor tenants exist everywhere including here in Long Beach, California.

In February of this year, 88 families, tenants of a large apartment complex in Long Beach, California, were given eviction notices to vacate within 30 days. The reason given was that the complex had new owners and a new Insurance Company which would not insure a building with a swimming pool renting to people with children.

Rents in Southern California are very high and it is particularly difficult to find housing that accepts children. The 88 families involved tried to appeal to the new owners. When this failed the tenants contacted the media and received a lot

of publicity in the local papers and on the local T.V. news-programs.

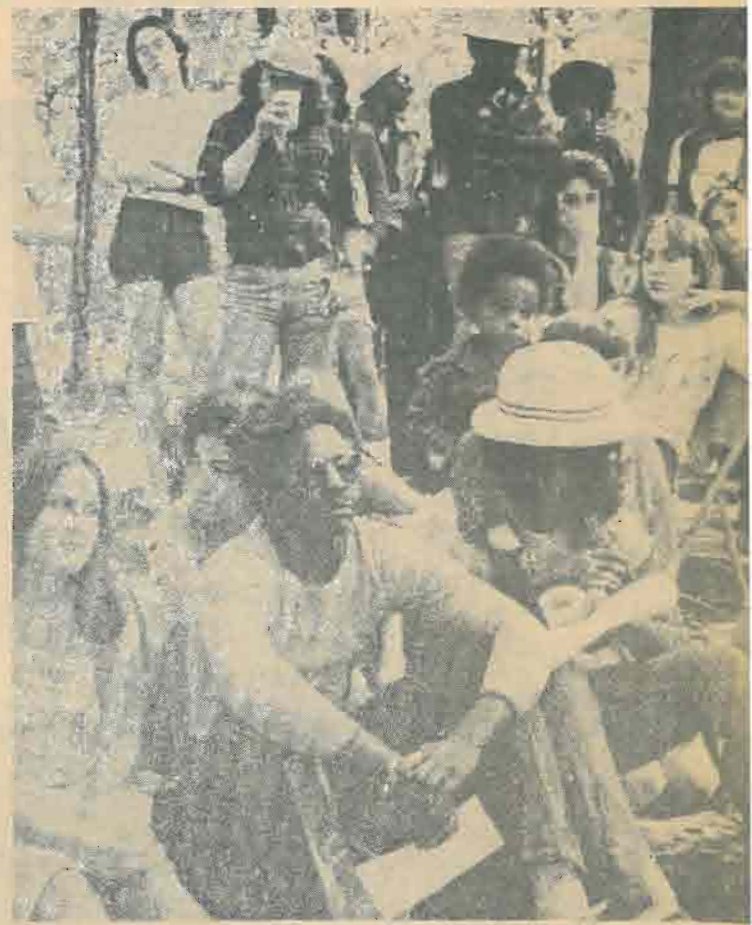
After the publicity, the eviction notices were rescinded on the condition that the swimming pools in the units which rented to families with children be filled in.

The tenants felt this was a victory, but quite rightly they did not trust the new owners. They formed a tenants association holding social functions and speaking to social groups and senior citizens groups about how tenants associations are set up and what their functions are.

On April 25, 1977, the president of the Southwood Manor Tenants Association was given a 30 day notice to vacate. No reason was given for this action. But the struggle goes on!

S.D.
Los Angeles

May Day in Indiana



The ISO May Day picnic in Southern Indiana drew more than 700 people. There were speakers representing striking Coke workers, Iranian students, UPS militants, women's liberationists and ISO members.

British Socialist Worker Appeal Hits Target

After 11 weeks, the Socialist Worker Appeal has reached its target. More than 64,000 dollars has been collected to help pay fines levied against Socialist Worker, the newspaper of the British Socialist Workers Party.

The fines were the result

of libel charges brought by several union bureaucrats in an attempt to put the paper out of business. They failed.

The number of contributors ran into the tens of thousands. It included many contributions from socialists here in the United States and in Canada. Congratulations!

FOR WORKERS CONTROL

Workers create all the wealth under capitalism. A socialist society can only be built when workers collectively seize control of that wealth and democratically plan its production and distribution according to human needs instead of profit.

The working class is the key to the fight for socialism. Freedom and liberation will only be achieved through the struggles of workers themselves, organizing and fighting for real workers' power.

REVOLUTION NOT REFORM

The capitalist system cannot be patched up or reformed as some union leaders and liberal politicians say. Capitalism is based on the exploitation of workers. No reforms can do away with this exploitation. The only way workers can

FIGHT OPPRESSION

Capitalism divides the working class. It pits men against women, whites against blacks. Capitalism fosters and uses these divisions to prevent the unity necessary for its destruction. As capitalism moves into crisis, oppressed groups—blacks, women, latins, native americans, youths, gays—suffer most. We support the struggles of these oppressed groups.

We oppose racism in all its forms. We fight segregation in the schools and housing and against racist firings and harassment. We demand freedom for all political prisoners.

We fight for women's liberation. We are for equal pay for all women workers. We fight for an end to forced sterilization and for free abortion. There should be free quality child care for all who need it. We fight for the opening up of jobs for women and an end to sexual harassment and

INTERNATIONALISM

The working class has no nation. Capitalism is international and that is why the struggle for socialism must be world wide. A socialist revolution cannot survive in isolation.

We champion workers' struggles in all countries, from Portugal and Spain to Chile and Puerto Rico, from Palestine and Eastern Europe to China and India. We support all genuine national liberation struggles. We call for victory of the black freedom fighters in Zimbabwe and South Africa. We oppose all forms of imperialism and oppose sending U.S. troops anywhere in the world to impose U.S. interests.

Russia, China, Cuba and Eastern Europe are not socialist countries. These countries are not governed by workers' control but by a small bureaucratic class. A revolutionary movement must be built in these countries to achieve workers' control.

WHERE WE STAND

come to control society and create a system based on freedom and a decent life for all is by overthrowing capitalism and replacing it with revolutionary, democratic socialism.

FOR A WORKERS' GOVERNMENT

The present state apparatus (federal and state governments, the courts, army and police) was developed to maintain the capitalist system. This apparatus cannot be taken over as it stands and converted to serve workers. The working class needs an entirely different kind of state based upon mass democratic councils of workers' delegates.

Supporting the present state apparatus is a vast network of propaganda—newspapers, radio, television, movies. Workers are bombarded daily from all directions with capitalism's point of view. The working class needs its own sources of information. To help meet this need, we are dedicated to building a newspaper that the working class can trust and use in their fight against the present system.

firings. We are for an end to discrimination and harassment of sexual minorities.

We support the independent organization and struggles of oppressed peoples to strengthen the working class struggle for socialism.

FOR RANK AND FILE ORGANIZATION

The unions today are largely business machines that long ago stopped fighting seriously for the interests of the working class. Business union leaders either act as brakes on workers' struggles, or as police, delivering workers into the hands of the bosses. We fight to change this.

To make the unions fight for workers' interests, power must be built on the shop floor. This can only happen if the rank and file organize themselves independently of the union bureaucrats. We work to build rank and file organizations in unions and companies wherever we are employed.

REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

The activity of the ISO is directed toward the initial steps of building a revolutionary party in a working class that is today fragmented and cut off from socialist ideas. Revolutionaries must be involved in the day-to-day struggles of workers and other oppressed groups at the work places, in the unions and in the communities. We build every struggle that will strengthen the self-confidence, organization and socialist consciousness of workers and the oppressed.

As the working class movement gathers strength, the need for revolutionary leadership becomes crucial. We are part of the long process of building a democratic revolutionary party rooted in the working class. Those who agree with our stand and are prepared to help us build toward revolutionary socialism are urged to join us now.

ISO

National Office	P.O. Box 18037, Cleveland OH 44118
Atlanta	P.O. Box 1943, Decatur GA 30001
Amherst	P.O. Box 446, Amherst MA 01001
Bloomington	P.O. Box 29, Bloomington IL 61701
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It's one working class

Blue Collar-White Collar

You know those bumper stickers that say, "I found it!"? If they came in smaller sizes, I'd have one on my copy of *Labor and Monopoly Capital*.

If you spend much time going to meetings and generally trying to get things rolling, you have a lot of tough questions thrown at you and run into some big obstacles to action. You have a hard time finding the opportunity to think these things through. Most books you happen to pick up hit these problems only around the edges.

LABOR AND MONOPOLY CAPITAL: THE DEGRADATION OF WORK IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY, BY Harry Braverman, Monthly Review Press, 1974. 465 pages, paperback, \$5.95.

Braverman's book hits head on a whole cluster of problems that are in the backs of the minds of a lot of social activists. To answer these questions he doesn't build complicated theories; he simply weaves together a lot of things many of us already knew in a down-to-earth fashion. My hunch is that you'll be saying "I found it!" too when you get into his book.

THEME

The central theme of *Labor and Monopoly Capital* concerns the control over work by workers in capitalist society. We all know that more and more people work at routine jobs that require few special skills and almost no decision making.

Braverman was a craftsman in his early life, working in the metal trades. In the course of his own lifetime those trades have been degraded by being broken down into jobs requiring less training. Instead of being controlled by the craftsman's skill, these jobs are more and more controlled by machines. Braverman gives a lot of concrete cases of this development.

This development is no acci-

dent. Braverman stresses the point that so long as workers have considerable skill and need to make decisions on their own, they are not fully under the thumb of management.

But capitalism stays healthy when its need to make profits is not being interfered with by relatively autonomous workers. The profit system itself is what is behind the degradation of work into predominantly manual, machine-controlled tasks.

Social scientists who act as apologists for capitalism have a different interpretation of the degradation of work. They say that the worker is simply the victim of the Machine, not of the capitalist. This ignores the fact that machines are made by people. The considerations that guide their construction under capitalism will be the considerations of capitalist profit. The cost of labor to operate the machine and the control over that labor by the machine will then be considerations of great importance.

LOSS

The central theme of the loss of worker control is not applied by Braverman simply to manufacturing workers. It is also applied to the growing sectors of clerical and service workers.

Braverman tries to understand the changing structure of the working class in terms of the changes in capitalism itself. When capitalism advanced into its monopoly stage, major sectors of production and service came to be dominated by relatively few corporations. As the corporations became larger, the need grew for more clerical workers and, as a result of the social effects of bigness, the need grew for more services. And so as manufacturing workers become a smaller portion of the working class, clerical and service become larger portions of it.

Social scientists will tell you that clerical and service work is white collar work and hence



Clerical work today is predominantly manual, machine controlled tasks.

has nothing to do with the working class. If this is so, then they can draw the conclusion that the working class is becoming even smaller. And of course they go on to side with the capitalists by adding that this means a working-class revolution is an old-fashioned idea.

Braverman is at his best in letting the air out of this argument. First, he points out that it is really these social scientists who are being old-fashioned. At the turn of the century, clericals were dominantly male, better paid than factory workers, and had developed skills. These things are in general no longer true.

Second, he points out that this change has been brought about in considerable part by dismembering jobs in the way the crafts were broken up in manufacturing. Experts in office management saw to it that many jobs were separated and parcelled out among various people most of whom were less skilled and less well paid.

With the introduction of automated machinery into mail-order houses, banks, and corporation headquarters, this

process of the degradation of work went even further for clericals. The skills and knowledge were then concentrated in a few well paid workers, and below them were a mass of routine workers. Similar considerations apply to service workers.

IRRELEVANT

This makes the color of the collar pretty irrelevant. The mass of office and service workers become manual workers. Capitalism by its need to control work in order to better make profits tends to erase distinctions between different forms of work. What becomes important is that the work is done under capitalism, not whether it is done in a factory, a field, or an office.

Braverman sees this as a confirmation of Marx's view that all labor can be measured in units of homogeneous labor; factory and office work reduce to motions of hands, feet, eyes, etc., since the elements of special skill and knowledge have been removed. Far from being a smaller portion of the active population, the working

class, by comprising the manufacturing, clerical, and service sectors, is a growing portion of the active population.

MIDDLE CLASS

Related to this is a point about the so-called middle class. The old middle class of small farmers and shop keepers dwindled to almost nothing. But, the social scientists would claim, there is a new middle class that is the dominant class in our society. The above point about the size of the working class is sufficient to refute this.

But there is another matter of some interest that follows from Braverman's general point about the dismemberment of jobs. The middle layer in the society, made up of middle management and technical persons, will break up like the old crafts broke up. A large part of that layer will move in the direction of the working class.

This continues the process that Marx observed of the polarization of capitalist society into a capitalist and a working class. The middle layers now make up between 15 and 20 percent of the active population, which is far less than at Marx's time.

Labor and Monopoly Capital is about the structure of the working class. It is not about the struggles of the working class. But it is indispensable in advancing the struggles of the working class to make no mistakes about its structure.

We cannot intervene in the class struggle with views of the working class derived solely from the time of Marx or Lenin. It is a different working class, since capitalism has itself been changing. It is a proportionately larger working class with strata about equally divided between manufacturing, clerical and service workers. It is a working class that has been systematically subjected to a brutalizing division of jobs that makes control by management easier and that replaces skill, knowledge, and choice with routine for the majority of workers. □

Milton Fisk

Remember Kent State!

On May 4, 1970 four students of Kent State University were cut down by National Guardsmen during a protest against the invasion of Cambodia. Sculptures of the murdered students were placed where each body fell. Now the university wants to remove the memorials and put a gymnasium in their place. Students at Kent State are now staging a "camp-in" to protest this dishonor to the memories of the four. Remember Kent State! □



One of the murdered students at Kent State University May 4, 1970.

in brief

Washington Post Pressmen Jailed

Washington, DC—One of the former Washington Post pressmen convicted in connection with the strike which began at the Post October 1, 1975 was sentenced on May 20 to a year in jail.

District of Columbia Superior Court Judge Sylvia Bacon sentenced Jack McIntosh to two concurrent year-long jail terms for assault and destruction of property.

Five other former Post pressmen also convicted were fined and given partially suspended jail terms, with the rest of the terms to be fulfilled through a work-release program. Eight others were fined and given terms that will be suspended upon payment of the fines.

SHOUTING

When McIntosh was sentenced, the audience in the packed courtroom started shouting, "There is no justice in America," and singing the civil rights song "We Shall Overcome."

In the first hours of the nineteen month long strike, several of the striking pressmen attempted to remove key parts to a number of the Post's presses. The Post management had planned for the strike fully two years in advance and was prepared both to run the presses without its union employees and to destroy the union if necessary. It was successful, and today the Washington Post is a scab newspaper. □

Cincinnati Teachers Back to Work

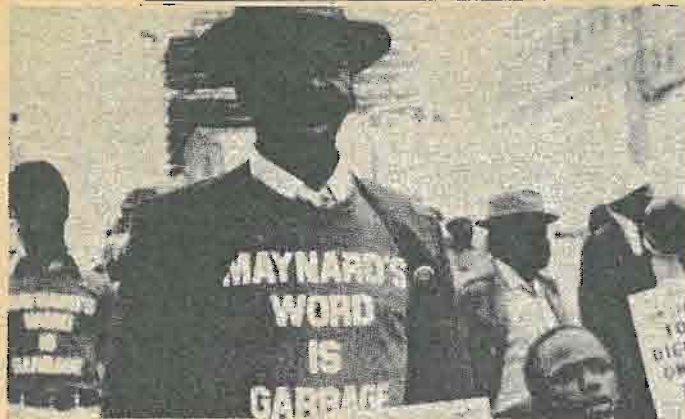
Cincinnati, OH—On May 8, the Cincinnati Federation of Teachers ended a 19 day strike with the signing of a contract that has been characterized by the union as "not a victory but not a defeat." The contract was ratified by a 4 to 1 margin. This draw between the CFT and the school board is seen by most union members as important because it "built our union" and "it let people know that teachers have rights and will fight for them."

The teachers did win a raise—about the same amount saved by the district in salaries and benefits not paid during the three week strike. They were promised an additional 3% if the school levy passes in June.

The teachers also won some recognition for the union at the local level with advisory building committees. The CFT will have to expand the usefulness of these committees in practice, but the recognition is a step forward. Class size, another issue important to teachers was not lowered, but discussion of this issue was recognized as legitimate for further negotiations.

SUSPENSIONS

Because the strike ended essentially in a draw, there is still a struggle going on between the school board and the CFT over reprisals. Four teachers remain suspended by the board because of "strike related behavior." In addition, the school board wants striking teachers to pay all of their health insurance for the three week period they were on strike even though two weeks of this period was covered by work prior to the strike. □



Atlanta: The Struggle Continues

Atlanta, GA. — Last month, black Democratic mayor Maynard Jackson fired 1,000 black sanitation workers during a wildcat strike over wages. For the second year in a row, his budget proposal had omitted any wage increase for city employees, while it beefed up executive salaries and even included a "revenue excess" — in other words, extra funds.

Since then, Jackson's machine has broken the strike and continues to try to bust the union — AFSCME Local 1644.

Jackson has pressed criminal charges against union members and supporters who were sitting in his office waiting to confront him until busted, attacked, and dragged out by his cops. He has also demanded that the union admit defeat in writing or else some reinstated workers will not receive their full previous salaries.

These are the workers placed in a federal jobs program by Jackson instead of their old jobs which are now occupied by over 200 scabs he hired.

On May 13, at a posh Washington D.C. fundraiser for Jackson's fall re-election bid, he was greeted by unexpected guests. Four fired workers from Atlanta and 25 city employees from Washington D.C. picketed the affair, wearing the famous "Maynard's Word is Garbage" teeshirts. One sign read "Black Power in Atlanta is brought to you by C. & S. Bank". □

by Todd Jefferson

Apathy in UMWA Elections, but Wildcats Rage On



Arnold Miller

Wildcat strikes continue to dominate the news from the coalfields, while the upcoming elections in the UMWA are being met with apathy on the part of the coal miners and apprehension by the government and industry.

This year, the time lost by the companies due to wildcat strikes has increased at a rate up 50% from last year, when a record two million work days were taken by striking miners.

The fear of the government and the coal operators is that these strikes may just be a prelude to an extended national strike in December when the miners' national contract with the BCOA (Bituminous Coal Operators Association) expires.

State Workers Want Strike

Seattle, WA — Over 300 members of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) met near Seattle for a pre-contract discussion the evening of May 12. Union members attended representing hospitals, highways, employment security offices and many other places. It was an exciting meeting.

All together 14,000 state employees have a stake in the contract negotiations now going on between AFSCME and the State Legislature. Strike sentiment ran high as dozens of speakers pointed out the inadequacies of the state's latest offer.

STRIKE

The meeting followed a brief but inspiring strike by a different public workers' union, the Washington Public Employees Association (WPEA). This was the first such strike in the state's history.

Many people stopped work when the picket lines went up, from loggers to AFSCME members eager for some action themselves.

Unfortunately for all involved, members of the AFSCME leadership branded the strike illegal, playing into the hands of the press and the state — at a time when AFSCME itself is preparing for a strike. They viewed the very visible action of the WPEA as competition.

Much of the membership viewed the events differently. They saw the strike as a good alternative to the lobbying efforts that had proved largely ineffective. Members haven't been able to get involved in the contract fight because of the very passive nature of lobbying — continually asking for improvements from a legislature that has shown itself to



Harry Patrick

They also fear that the chances of a prolonged strike will be increased if the incumbent UMWA president, Arnold Miller, is replaced by one of the challengers — Harry Patrick, the present vice president of the UMWA or Lee Roy Patterson, the member of the union's executive board from Western Kentucky.

They think a new president would take a strong stand in the negotiations in an effort to solidify his position with the membership.

Thus far Arnold Miller is running a campaign orchestrated by a Washington D.C. campaign consulting firm. He points to his record — primarily to the fact that he led the slate



Lee Roy Patterson

that brought democracy to the union in 1972, and also the fact that in the 1974 contract miners won substantial benefits.

But he is isolated. He has been abandoned by most of his former allies. His staff is virtually all gone—fired or having resigned. And, he is unpopular with the rank and file militants.

Lee Roy Patterson, a former strip miner who has never worked underground, is running as an out-front right winger. He attacks "outsiders" on Miller's staff, that is the former VISTA volunteers, in an appeal to the anti-communism that is strong in the union, though there are no communists involved.

He recalls the pre-reform days of the union, when he was a supporter of Tony Boyle's dictatorship and has consistently opposed any effort to democratize the union, while leading the executive board's attempts to bloc the organizing drives in the west and in eastern Kentucky.

BEST

Harry Patrick continues to be the best of the candidates. He has attempted to portray himself as the defender of the reform tradition, and he includes in his platform support for shortening the work week and a provision for the right to strike on local grievances in the next contract.

Yet, as vice president, he showed little sympathy for the wildcat strikers, and he says that he actually hopes to control wildcat strikes better by redoing certain contract provisions.

In the meantime, the struggle in the coalfields rages on. In May, there were 22,000 miners out in Ohio, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia. Miners were protesting punitive company policies on absenteeism. In February, a similar dispute led to a wildcat strike of 30,000.

It is still a tragedy that in these elections there is no rank and file alternative for the militant miners. At the same time, a Patterson victory would be a serious defeat for the strongest rank and file movement in any union.

Yet, it is certain that the struggle will not end, and there is the possibility of a militant strike in December, regardless of who wins the elections.

The government is already discussing what action it can take to defend Jimmy Carter's energy plans which depend heavily on coal production, including everything from court injunctions to the use of the national guard. But this year, as before, the miners have a strong card in their hand. As they say, "You can't mine coal with bayonets." □

by S.W.

Another Trial for Yvonne Wanrow



Yvonne Wanrow

Seattle, WA—Yvonne Wanrow, a Colville Indian woman who has been battling with the courts for her right to self-defence, now faces yet another trial in September.

In 1972, Wanrow shot and killed a known child molester who was forcibly entering her home in Spokane, Washington.

In August, 1975, the Washington State Supreme Court of Appeals overturned Wanrow's first conviction of second-degree murder and first degree assault. This victory was challenged by Spokane County Prosecuting Attorney, Donald Brockett, but her innocence was again upheld in January, 1977, when the State Supreme Court refused the challenge.

Now Wanrow's case has been scheduled for another trial. Susan Jordan, a Bay Area lawyer, will be the attorney for the defence. Jordan represented Inez Garcia, the San Francisco woman who won her fight for the right to self-defence.

GAG RULE

The new judge has also put a gag rule on Wanrow and her lawyers in an attempt to prevent them from organizing support through the summer.

The support and publicity she has gotten from across the country have helped her in the previous victories. Organized support will be even more important in the fall when the trial begins. □

Hood River Nurses Strike

'Company's Union' Beaten

Hood River, OR — The nurses at Memorial Hospital here are off the picket lines and back at work, but they know they have won more than a contract.

Strikers returned to work in May after a three week long strike. They won most of their major demands, but more importantly, they beat the hospital's new bargaining agent, West Coast Industrial, a California-based management relations firm.

This firm offered a contract this year that gave the hospital the power to transfer nurses to departments they were unqualified to work in, offered raises below the cost of living hike, and abolished overtime pay for work over 8 hours a day.

As the strike day approached, the hospital held what the nurses called "intimidation sessions," where they took individual nurses into a room, told them how painful a strike would be to them, reminded them that violence and tire slashing were illegal and would

rank and file report

'We Have Opposite Loyalties'

by Melody Lacey

Long Beach, CA.—The elections in the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers Union (OCAW), Local 1-128, are coming up here and our local bureaucrats are feeling the pressure from the Rank and File Caucus.

Apparently fearing a big blowout of rank and file disfavor, the guys who always play musical chairs (among themselves only) recently called an open meeting to democratically choose themselves to run on a reform (ahem!) slate together.

The group is made up of Bill Perry, Chuck Spinoza, Kenny Lord, Tom Lind and Tom Ferrel, and they do not deserve our trust or support.

Still, it was touching to see them invite the grassroots to come to the meeting to help them re-elect themselves.

For sure they didn't do much

publicizing of the fact that the rank and file was invited, but to their dismay, there was a very decent showing and it was led by the Rank and File Caucus.

The old guard offered a slate of themselves and their friends and proposed a simple yes-no vote on their whole slate.

We spoke for another candidate — a member of the Rank and File Caucus — and we proposed a counter-motion, to choose the meeting's endorsees for the three vice-president positions by voting on three people from a list of five possibilities.

When our motion passed, the bureaucrats panicked. True to form, they disrupted the meeting, slandered the Rank and File Caucus, and moved to adjourn the meeting so they could take their marbles and go home.

We out-voted them again,



Melody Lacey

which really shook them up, so the chairman then ruled the meeting adjourned anyway — screw democracy!

But we won't keep trusting these pigs. Earlier, the Caucus had actually held the mistaken idea that these bureaucrats might support our candidate, Terry Shannon, because they'd want her name on their slate to get our votes.

They will never support us, and this is why —

- The Rank and File Caucus has a principle that the union should be a tool oil workers can use to fight the companies on the plant floor level.
- We are dedicated to the creation and upholding of plant floor militancy and unity.
- We believe in the involvement of our co-workers in the political questions affecting us daily.

These principles of unity, if followed through, would result in a militant and informed workforce.

We know this would be dangerous for the company. They don't want us to be so informed that we realize we can organize production at least as well as any capitalist. They don't want us to be so militant we'd take and organize that production.

And our principles of unity are equally dangerous to the air conditioned bureaucrats.

The bureaucracy exists today because it keeps us working. It sells us contracts we would puke on otherwise.

In fact, we shouldn't even want their support, any more than they want ours. We have opposite loyalties — we to each other and they to the companies and the health of capitalism.

I want to convince all people involved in the struggles of the rank and file, especially my own co-workers in the OCAW Rank and File Caucus that the best thing they could do for themselves, their co-workers and their families would be to continue fighting for the rank and file and also to join in the fight for socialism. □

by Karen Woods

be prosecuted, and informed them how lucky they were to work for the hospital at all.

Before these intimidation sessions many nurses were hesitant about a strike, but the sessions resulted in the walk-out being almost unanimous.

SUPPORT

During the strike the stories that filtered out to the picket lines about the quality of care in the hospital were terrifying, but the hospital continued to refuse to bargain in good faith. Three nurses aides and an LPN walked out in sympathy with the nurses. One of them said "We find it impossible to work while the RN's who we respect are on strike."

The strikers also enjoyed some support in the community of Hood River. Their union, the Oregon Nurses' Association, provided legal assistance for the strike but was not as good at publicizing the strike and getting the support of other

nurses in other communities.

Although they won a contract that gave them an 8 hour day and several benefits, including close to the amount of money they were asking for, many were unsatisfied with the contract.

One nurse revealed, "This strike taught us who our friends are. Most of the doctors weren't interested in our demands to improve patient care. The Board of Directors wasn't very helpful, and our Director of Nurses is acting as an Assistant Administrator. I feel like I'm not working at the same hospital anymore."

LESSONS

There were setbacks, but the nurses feel they have learned important lessons from this strike, and have dealt West Coast Industrial, the "company's union" as they call it, a defeat.

There will be an ONA

meeting in Portland in June to publicize the lessons of this strike and the implications that such "company's unions" or professional bargaining agents, have on the future of nurses' organizing. □

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 I want more information about

the International Socialist Organization

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Israel: A Murderer in Power

The first act of the newly-elected Prime Minister of Israel, Menachem Beigin, was to declare last week that the territory seized in the 1967 Middle East War was not "occupied." It was "liberated."

For the two million Palestinian Arab refugees living in disease-infested camps around the borders of Israel, the election of the extreme right-wing Likud to power has destroyed any lingering doubts that Israel will peacefully give them back their homes. Instead, persecution of Arabs will intensify—and resistance will grow.

Palestinian Arabs inside Israel's borders organized three



Menachem Beigin

general strikes last year alone. Hundreds of thousands of Arab workers and their families took part.

Police shot dead six young Arab demonstrators in the April

general strike. Thousands of others were arrested.

Israel has been a racist state since it was set up by a British Labour government and its American allies in 1947.

Enshrined in its laws is the declaration that any Jew, born anywhere in the world, can come to Israel as a citizen. But Arabs born in Jaffa, in Nablus, in Jerusalem, who fled from the fighting in 1947, cannot return.

The new Prime Minister, Beigin, was one of the founders of this racist state. In 1947, he was the commander of the Irgun, a private army that split from official Zionism in the 1930's.

The ideas of the Irgun were fascist. They believed that Israel was the home of the Jews and of no one else, that the Jews had a special mission in the world, that the borders of Israel should be extended far beyond even their present boundaries.

In the 1930's, before the Nazi

mass murder of the Jews in Germany became common knowledge, they even adopted the fascist salute.

In 1947, the Irgun struck against the Arabs. As the British prepared to leave, the Irgun formed an alliance with another extreme fascist split within Zionism, the Stern gang. This organization had even received military training in Mussolini's Italy before the Second World War.

The two organizations jointly attacked an Arab village called Dair Yassin. More than 200 men, women and children were massacred. Many died after being thrown down wells. The few survivors were marched through Jerusalem covered in blood.

ATTACKED

Attacks were launched on the Arab communities in Jaffa and Jerusalem.

As the massacres spread, thousands of Arabs fled. Altogether, one million Arabs fled to Jordan, Syria and Lebanon. The refugee camps they set up still exist.

The population of those camps is now two million. The inhabitants survive on hand-outs from the United Nations.

The attack on Dair Yassin was not an isolated event.

More than anything else, the attack on Dair Yassin and the murder of 250 people established Israel as an exclusively Jewish State. The man who organized the attack is now Israel's Prime Minister.

In 1947, two-thirds of the population of what is now Israel were Arabs, owning 94 per cent of the land.

By 1967, 90 per cent of the Arab land had been confiscated and handed over to Jewish organizations.

EXTREMÉ

After 1947, Beigin spent years in opposition, leading the extreme right wing of Zionism. But most of the policies he would approve—the expropriation of the Arabs, territorial expansion, racist laws—have been carried through by the successive 'labor' governments.

Golda Meir, the former Prime Minister, summed up what all Zionist politicians fear most when she declared: "I can't sleep at night for thinking about the Palestinian babies being born."

Those people on the left in the United States who defend Israel's right to exist are totally wrong.

They are defending a state whose existence depends on racist laws—and the exclusion of two million people from their homes.

Wilmington 10 Appeal Denied

Political Prisoners U.S.A.

Burgaw, N.C.—On May 25, Superior Court Judge George Fountain upheld the racist verdict against the Wilmington 10 and denied them a new trial. He did this despite the fact that all the major prosecution witnesses had frequently changed their stories and that the chief prosecution witness had actually been sent to a mental hospital before his testimony.

Judge Fountain also did this despite an international outcry on behalf of the defendants. Amnest International lists the Wilmington 10 as political prisoners.

Recent testimony had also exposed a racist conspiracy reaching the highest level of state government, one Federal Agency, and the Ku Klux Klan.

The case of the Wilmington Ten arose in 1971, during outbreaks of racial violence instigated by the KKK and other racist vigilante groups, protesting school desegregation.

The Black community in Wilmington, North Carolina, fought back. After 18 black students were expelled from their high school, the Reverend Ben Chavis, a leader of the United Church of Christ Communities for Racial Justice, organized a demonstration of 2500 to city hall. The marchers asked for the mayor to call a curfew and put an end to vigilante attacks.

NO CURFEW

The mayor refused to call a curfew. The vigilantes—organized into a group called Rights of White People (ROWP), continued attacks against the black community. Several black homes and churches were fire-bombed.

It was only after a white was killed that the national guard



Wilmington 10. Ben Chavis seated at left.

moved in in force.

In this atmosphere of racist violence, District Attorney Jay Stroud, saw his opportunity to further his career. Months after the violence in Wilmington, Ben Chavis and 9 others—8 of them in high school—were indicted and convicted of conspiracy and unlawful burning—the firebombing of a grocery store.

Chavis was sentenced to 34 years, the rest from 29 to 34 years.

Now, 5 years later, the three key prosecution witnesses have all testified that DA Jay Stroud coerced, threatened and bribed them to lie about the Wilmington Ten.

On May 9, Jerome Mitchell stated that "the testimony I gave at the time was false against them." Mitchell went on to say he had been harassed by Stroud for 6 months prior to the trial.

At the time, Mitchell was awaiting sentencing for armed

robbery, and second degree murder. Mitchell said that Stroud promised he would get off with only a six month prison sentence.

Once Mitchell agreed to testify against the Ten, Stroud put him up in a beach cottage where he was coached by Stroud, a Wilmington police detective and William Walden, an agent of the Federal Alcohol, Tax and Firearms Division of the IRS. The cottage was rented from Ted Gross, the leader of the New Hanover KKK. Mitchell testified that at the cottage he was given marijuana, allowed to play on the beach, and taken fishing.

Another witness, Allen Ray Hall, was initially charged with the Wilmington Ten, but was told "they didn't want me, they wanted Ben Chavis." He too said that he was promised a reduced sentence if he lied.

The final witness, Eric Junius, testified that Stroud promised and gave him a job and a

minibike as a reward for lying.

Other witnesses have recently come forward with new testimony regarding the case. The Reverend Eugene and Doona Templeton have agreed to break their five year silence on the case. They now state that they were with Chavis during the time he was allegedly fire-bombing the grocery. They had fled Wilmington due to racist threats on their lives.

Even though the case against the Wilmington Ten has been shattered, North Carolina officials are fighting to keep them in prison. Superior Court Judge Russel Lanier has refused to allow them to be released on bond. Chavis told reporters that he doubted if Judge Fountain would reverse the convictions. Even before the denial, he called for public support for the 10.

"We are political prisoners and in political situations, the public decides the case not the courts."