

THE MILITANT

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

**Thousands
in Houston
demand
women's
rights**

—PAGE 3

MAGAZINE SUPPLEMENT
International
socialist
INSIDE

**Soviet
society
under
Stalinist
rule**

SADAT'S TRIP TO ISRAEL

No step toward peace



Victims of latest Israeli raid in Lebanon were hardly buried before Sadat arrived in Israel. See page 4.

Appeal to 'Militant' readers

By Mary-Alice Waters, Editor

We don't have to tell you how important the *Militant* is. Our paper speaks for itself, every week.

It is a newspaper that tells the truth.

It brings news from the front lines of the struggle against exploitation and oppression all over the world. It analyzes the news, explaining the significance of fast-moving events from the standpoint of revolutionary socialism. It discusses ideas in a way that



helps all of us clarify our thinking about how to advance the fight for socialism.

You know these things, or you wouldn't be reading the *Militant*.

What you may not know is that our newspaper faces some urgent financial problems.

At the very time our circulation is growing and our influence is expanding, our expenses are rising much faster than our income.

- The cost of paper has gone up 10 percent in just the past year.
- The cost of second-class postage has gone up by 25 percent.
- Airfreight bills are up by 70 percent.

Everything is costing more—from telephone and travel expenses to the subsistence income our dedicated staff needs just to get by.

We have nowhere else to turn but to you, our readers, to help keep our paper alive and growing.

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We decided nearly fifty years ago, when we first started publishing, that we wouldn't rely on commercial advertising to make up the deficit. That is the main source of income for most newspapers.

But advertisers with big money want a newspaper sympathetic to their in-

Continued on page 6

THIS WEEK'S MILITANT

- 3 Houston IWY conference
- 4 U.S., Israeli rulers hail Sadat
- 5 Committee defends Palestinian rights
- 6 'Militant' fund appeal
- 9 Iron range strikers blast company offer
- 24 Should socialists back quotas?
- 25 'Militant' gains union readers
- 26 1,100 at Democratic agenda conference
- 27 Labor meet urges shorter workweek
- 28 The politics of red-baiting
- 29 Marroquin Thanksgiving appeal
- 32 Support grows for Stearns miners
- 2 In Brief
- 9 As I See It
- 10 In Our Opinion Letters
- 23 National Picket Line By Any Means Necessary
- 11-22 International Socialist Review

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DAWSON FIVE: On November 8 a Georgia appeals court overturned a lower court decision that had thrown out a forced confession by one of the Dawson Five. The five are young Black men accused of a murder they didn't commit.

Testimony by a former Dawson cop proved that Roosevelt Watson had been forced to "confess" to the murder by police threats to kill and torture him.

The trial is now scheduled to open December 27.

Arab students protest Sadat visit to Israel

Arab students marched in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco November 21 to protest the visit of Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat to Israel. Called by the Organization of Arab Students (OAS), the demonstrations drew participants from across the country, with more than 500 persons taking part in Washington and, despite pouring rain, 350 in San Francisco.

Protests also took place in other cities, including Houston and New York.

A statement by the OAS denounced any recognition of the Zionist state and demanded a "democratic secular state in the whole of Palestine."

BOEING MACHINISTS ACCEPT CONTRACT: Members of the International Association of Machinists voted November 17 to end their seven-week-long strike against the Boeing Company.

The 24,000 members settled for a wage increase of 13 percent over three years and small increases in medical, pension, and insurance benefits. It was the longest strike at Boeing since 1948.

Many of those who voted to end the strike expressed dissatisfaction with the contract but indicated they had little confidence that union officials could lead a struggle to obtain more.

NUKE NEWS: On November 18, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission ordered the D.C. Cook nuclear power plant in Bridgman, Michigan, to shut down temporarily because of potential failures of electrical systems in an emergency. At least twelve other nukes may also have to shut down temporarily. The NRC action came after the Union of Concerned Scientists made public an NRC memorandum describing the dangerous situation. . . . On November 17 the UCS issued a criticism of the Rasmussen Report, a 1974 government study minimizing the dangers of nuclear accidents. The group says that the chances of a meltdown are 20 times higher than the report claimed and that injuries and deaths could be 1,000 times higher.

The Clamshell Alliance, a New England antinuclear organization, has called for an "occupation" of the construction site of the Seabrook, New Hampshire, nuclear power plant June 24. The Clamshell also says it will protest the delivery of the reactor containment vessels.

RACIST 'QUESTIONNAIRE' WHITEWASH: Chicano students and parents have been demonstrating at Denver's Skinner Junior High School recently to protest a "Minority Employment Application" written and circulated by two teachers.

The "application" was a crude racist insult to Blacks and Chicanos, but the teachers have defended it as "ethnic humor."

The Denver School Board has issued a report on the incident that amounts to a cover-up. While declaring that "such racial material cannot and will not be tolerated in any form in our school system," the two teachers have been left at their posts.

WANTS ANTIGAY, PRODEATH PROPOSITIONS: Already in trouble in his efforts to put a proposition on the California ballot to bar gays from teaching, State Sen. John Briggs now says he will also circulate petitions for a death penalty initiative.

Initially, Briggs set out to qualify his antigay proposition for the June 1978 primary ballot. Officials found a technical error in his petitions, and Briggs said he would try for the November general election instead.

Reportedly Briggs was so far behind in gathering the 312,000 signatures needed that he could not have qualified for the June election. Even if he should qualify the proposition for the November general election, there is a much better chance of defeating it than in a low-interest, low-turnout primary.

OAKLAND TEACHERS END STRIKE: Three thousand teachers led by the Oakland Education Association returned to work during the week of November 14 following a strike that began November 7. The new contract with the Oakland

Unified School District includes a 15 percent wage increase and a provision reducing maximum class size by two students. Both the wage increase and class-size reduction are to be implemented over the three years of the contract.

MORE HISPANICS DENOUNCE CARTER PLAN: A meeting of Hispanics at the Democratic Agenda conference in Washington, D.C., November 13 attacked President Carter's proposals for dealing with "illegal aliens." (For more on the conference see article on page 26.)

"You cannot be truly progressive if you don't recognize that Mexicans have as much right to live here as everyone else," said group spokesperson José Laluz. Laluz announced that the Hispanic group "called on the conference to adopt as its policy the resolutions of the Chicano/Latino Conference on Immigration and Public Policy" held in San Antonio October 28-30.

Laluz also stressed Puerto Rico's right to self-determination and the right of Hispanics in the United States to preserve their language and culture.

CALIF. BLUE CROSS WORKERS CONTINUE STRIKE: Eight hundred members of the Office and Professional Employees Union (OPEIU) Local 29 voted November 16 by a 98 percent margin to continue their six-week-long strike against the Blue Cross Insurance Company in Oakland, California.

Reza Valtiera, a rank-and-file Blue Cross striker, expressed the determination of this newly organized unit of OPEIU to make their first contact a good one. "I didn't spend the last eight years fighting to get a union into Blue Cross to vote for this piece of garbage now."

Blue Cross is using scabs and a court injunction severely limiting picketing to try to crush the strike.

BLIND JUSTICE: The Justice Department announced November 16 that it would investigate the financing of pro- and anti-shah Iranians who demonstrated at the White House earlier this month.

After the declarations of mutual admiration between Carter and the butcher of Iran, such an investigation would undoubtedly target groups opposed to the shah's bloody and tyrannical rule.

It should be easy enough for the government to find out who financed the pro-shah demonstrators, though. Many of them told reporters their fares to Washington had been paid, they had been put up in hotels, and had gotten as much as \$100 in spending money from Iranian government sources.

—Arnold Weissberg

Special offer to new readers.

The Militant—10 weeks/\$2



The Equal Rights Amendment is stalled. Abortion rights are under attack. Child-care funds have been slashed. Thousands of women went to the International Women's Year conference in Houston to speak out against these attacks. Keep up with the struggles of women for equality by reading the 'Militant' every week.

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Houston IWY conference

Women back ERA, abortion, gay rights

By Shelley Kramer
and Diane Wang

HOUSTON—Women were to be seen everywhere here November 18-21. They streamed from the airport, filled the sidewalks, jammed the hotels. More than 10,000 women came for the National Women's Conference.

For the first time millions heard and saw on television women's issues, women's history, and the women's movement.

Millions saw Black, Hispanic, Native American, and Asian-Pacific women asserting their specific needs and playing a significant role in the leadership of the women's movement. Millions watched the women's movement give full backing to lesbian rights.

A nationwide audience witnessed the conference go on record against the antiwoman policies of the very government sponsoring the event.

The anti-abortion Hyde amendment, recent defeats in the drive to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment, Anita Bryant's campaign against gay rights, the Bakke lawsuit against affirmative action—all these threats had spurred women to come to Houston. The ex-

The 'Militant' will follow up this initial report filed from Houston with in-depth coverage of the National Conference of Women beginning in next week's issue.

pected confrontation with right-wing forces mobilizing for the conference made even more feminists eager to come answer their opponents.

About 2,000 delegates elected at state conferences this summer came here to vote on a "National Plan of Action," twenty-six resolutions proposed by the president's women's commission and amended at state conferences.

Driving through the plan

The overwhelming majority of delegates favored the National Plan of Action and were organized into a "pro-plan caucus." This caucus was led by Eleanor Smeal, president of the National Organization for Women; Gloria Steinem of *Ms.* magazine; and such prominent women Democrats as Carol Bellamy, recently elected president of the New York City Council.

The caucus organizers' strategy was to move through the agenda as quickly as possible in the name of defeating right-wing disruption.

This made it difficult and highly unpopular for anyone who wanted to strengthen resolutions, discuss current attacks on women's rights, or criticize the role of the Carter administration.

Ratify the ERA!

When the ERA resolution came to the floor late Friday night, the debate took the form of parliamentary filibustering. The few political arguments anti-ERA delegates did raise were unfortunately not answered. Instead,

'We need a mass, vocal movement'

By Shelley Kramer

HOUSTON—On November 18 hundreds of women here joined the Equal Rights for Women Welcoming Rally. The action was organized by a coalition of Texas organizations including the National Organization for



Thousands of women gathered for historic conference

Militant/Donna Marie Gilligan

ERA opponents were ruled out of order in line with the pro-plan strategy.

The overwhelming vote in favor of the ERA set off a spirited floor demonstration.

'Choice! Choice! Choice!'

The strategy of pushing through resolutions quickly—at the cost of discussion—took a more obvious toll when abortion finally came up late Sunday afternoon.

Sarah Weddington, the Texas attorney who argued the 1973 Supreme Court case that legalized abortion, and another delegate had only two minutes each to explain the importance of securing women's right to choose.

Anti-abortion speakers took the floor, demagogically claiming that abortion is genocide and a violation of human rights. Instead of seizing the chance to answer these arguments before the TV audience, the next speaker for the abortion resolution ended the debate by calling for a vote.

The right to legal abortion and the need for federal funding of abortion was approved by a large margin, a significant rebuke to Carter, Congress, and the courts.

Antichoice delegates filed to the front of the hall singing and carrying six-foot pictures of a fetus. Delegates and observers jumped to their feet, some getting on top of their chairs to answer, with fists and signs raised: "Choice! Choice! Choice!" "Down with Hyde!"

The lack of a substantive debate on abortion was especially unfortunate, because earlier that afternoon the so-called Right to Life group and Phyllis Schlafly's Stop ERA had forged a "profamily" coalition at a rally that filled the 15,000-seat Astro Arena.

Women needed more than the conference's four minutes to answer the right-wing showing.

A substitute resolution on women of oppressed nationalities was one of the few major changes that the pro-plan

Women, Coalition of Labor Union Women, Mujeres Unidas, National Council of Negro Women, and Socialist Workers Party, to kick off the fight for women's rights at the National Women's Conference.

The spirited crowd chanted, cheered, and sang as signs and banners signaled the concerns and intentions of the feminists there: "Women unite for all of our rights," "ERA now," "Lesbian rights now," "Defend safe and legal abortion."

Luz Gutiérrez, a Texas Raza Unida Party leader, pointed to the common interests uniting women and oppressed nationalities.

"As Chicanas we can relate to inequality because we suffer a double

caucus accepted. Black, Hispanic, Asian-Pacific, and Native American women charged in their separate caucus meetings that the three paragraphs allotted to their particular needs in the original plan were entirely inadequate.

But caucus discussions were cut short. Black and Hispanic leaders claimed that there was no time for debate because they had only a few hours to come up with an alternative resolution. That resolution was to be limited to a general statement.

Angered, conference observers who lacked voice in the plenary session were told to compromise or risk losing votes.

The substitute motion did include a few improvements, such as planks demanding tribal rights for Native Americans and implementation of affirmative-action programs in education.

Only the right-wing delegates rose to vote against the new resolution.

The vote in favor sparked an inspiring display, as women hugged and kissed, danced and chanted. Linking arms and wiping away tears, delegates sang "We Shall Overcome."

'We are everywhere'

Mass sentiment also forced the pro-plan caucus to allow discussion and debate on the issue of lesbian rights.

The lesbian caucus was very large, thanks to the momentum from this summer's gay rights protests. When the issue came to the floor, supporters carried thousands of balloons proclaiming, "We are everywhere!"

Eleanor Smeal of NOW, and Betty Friedman, who has long opposed including lesbian feminists in the women's movement, urged all women to back the lesbian sisters.

The response to the lesbian rights victory topped all others. Thousands of balloons went up; women holding a giant "lesbian rights" banner shouted in unison, "Thank you, sisters!"

burden, one as Chicanas and the second as women," she explained. "Therefore, we wholeheartedly support the Equal Rights Amendment."

"If we are truly interested in equal rights for all," she added, "we cannot forget to address human rights issues during the conference that affect us Chicanas on a day-to-day basis, such as opposition to the Carter plan on deportations, bilingual-bicultural education, the issue of forced sterilization, and inadequate health care.

"As united women we need to have a mass vocal movement to march in the streets and demand to be heard," Gutiérrez concluded to loud applause.

Commemorating Alice Paul, longtime leader of the struggle for the

Women surged out of that session, it seemed, feeling they could take on the world.

Unfortunately, the final session did not extend that spirit. The topic, "Implementing the plan of action," should have been a climax to the conference. Instead, delegates pursued an empty debate about whether to establish a women's department of the government.

The conference produced only a set of recommendations to be implemented by the very government that is already stalling passage of the ERA, restricting abortion, sniping at affirmative action quotas, and attacking all the gains women have made in the last decade.

The conference recommendations were generally positive. Yet they were described in timeless terms, without any reference to the very real attacks happening.

Hundreds of women at the conference were eager to read about socialist views on women's liberation. More than 400 subscriptions to the 'Militant' were sold.

Leaders of the pro-plan caucus could propose no strategy for making the recommendations a reality. Rather, they urged women to rely on the political parties carrying out the antiwoman offensive. Carter's aide, Margaret Costanza, assured women at the end of the conference that the president would have a "substantive" response to the plan. "And to use his phrase, 'you can depend on that,'" she claimed.

But women must depend on themselves to put any action into the plan's recommendations.

The Houston conference showed the broad support that exists for women's rights. Now the task is to mobilize that support into a powerful, independent women's movement.

Equal Rights Amendment, Aileen McMurrer of the welcoming rally staff returned to this action theme.

"We have to rebuild the movement Alice Paul was part of, a movement massive, uncontrolled, uncompromising. A movement visible, vocal, and large. Rallies like this give us a sense of our power to change things. It's time to take what should be ours all along—equality!"

Kate Millett, the rally's final speaker, spoke out in defense of lesbian rights, to an enthusiastic response. She also stressed the international dimension of the women's movement. "We should take account of political prisoners in places like Iran and Chile, prisoners like Vida Tabrizi."

Trip betrays Palestinians

U.S., Israeli rulers hail Sadat

By David Frankel

Insisting that he had come "to establish a durable peace based on justice," Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat told the Israeli Knesset [Parliament] November 20 that "70 percent" of the problem in the Middle East was the result of "a psychological barrier between us, a barrier of suspicion, a barrier of rejection . . . a barrier of illusions. . . ."

If the Middle East conflict was really a product of mistrust and misunderstanding, then perhaps a dramatic gesture like Sadat's trip to Jerusalem could help bring peace to the region.

Unfortunately, the basis of the bitter struggle between Israel and its Arab neighbors is not irrational mistrust or mistaken beliefs. Sadat's diplomatic surprise will certainly help the Zionist state, but it will do nothing to help end the conflict that has plagued the Middle East for decades.

The big winner

From the point of view of the Israeli regime, Sadat's visit was a major triumph. As the editors of the *New York Times* put it November 16, "Israel's nationhood and right to exist could not be more dramatically acknowledged."

Israel was established in 1948 only by denying the Palestinians—who were a two-to-one majority—the right to have any say in the future of their country. In the process, 700,000 Palestinians were driven out of their homeland.

Although the Zionist state was able to prevent the return of the Palestinian refugees by force of arms, it has never—until now—been able to force the Arab states to recognize its existence as legal and legitimate.

As Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan gloated on the eve of Sadat's visit, "We have waited for this for years."

Reporters in Israel described the mood there as "buoyant" and "excited" as a result of Sadat's move. Zionist leaders in the United States hailed Sadat's trip and what they rightly saw as his "recognition" of Israel as an "example to other Arabs."

Nor did Sadat disappoint his hosts. He told the Knesset, after receiving an enthusiastic ovation, that although "we used to reject you in the past, 'the state of Israel was now 'welcome' in the Middle East.

While supporters of the Zionist state were praising Sadat, its victims reacted to his trip with anger and dismay. Strikes and demonstrations took place in Lebanon, and photographs of Sadat were burned in Palestinian refugee camps in Syria.

The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) condemned the visit as a "blow to all the principles of Arab solidarity." Momoun Sayed, editor of the Jerusalem newspaper *Al Fajr*, told *New York Times* reporter Henry Kamm: "Sadat puts himself on one side and the whole of the Arab world on the other. And we, the Palestinians, will be the main losers."

Even the Saudi regime, which strongly supports Sadat's attempts to reach a settlement with Israel, felt it necessary to publicly disassociate itself from his latest move. "His decision has placed the Arab world in a precarious position," the Riyadh radio declared.

Of the twenty governments in the Arab League, only those of Oman, Morocco, Tunisia, and the Sudan backed Sadat.

The anger on the part of the Arab masses was understandable. Until Sadat's trip, the Israeli regime had suffered a long period of diplomatic reverses. The most dramatic of these was



Sadat yuks it up with former Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir. Despite his abject performance, Sadat did not win a single concession from the Zionist regime.

the decision of the UN General Assembly to invite PLO leader Yassir Arafat to the United Nations in November 1974, and the UN vote the following year branding Zionism as a form of racism.

These votes, and others like them, reflected growing international sentiment against the aggressive and expansionist policies of the Israeli regime, and its racist treatment of the Palestinians living under its rule.

On the very day that Sadat stated his willingness to go to Israel, more than 110 persons were murdered as Israeli warplanes blasted towns and villages in southern Lebanon. The savage raids, and the testimony of reporters who refuted Israeli lies that the raids were directed against "terrorist bases," made headlines in newspapers around the world.

Why Sadat went

But Sadat chose to ignore the raids. Why did he go ahead with an action that he knew would take the heat off the Israeli regime in regard to the Lebanon raids, as well as helping to counter Israel's international isolation?

Commentators in the capitalist media have talked about Sadat's "courageous" decision. But to the extent that courage is involved, it is the courage of desperation.

Four years have passed since the October 1973 Middle East war—four years in which Sadat has been promising the Egyptian people that concessions to American imperialism and reliance on U.S. diplomacy would win back the Arab territory occupied by Israel in 1967 and open the road to a solution of the conflict with Israel. The only thing Sadat has to show for his pains so far is a small sliver of the Sinai Peninsula.

One of Sadat's promises was that the Geneva conference on the Middle East would resume by the end of 1977. But during a visit to Washington shortly before Sadat's offer to come to Israel, former Israeli Defense Minister Shimon Peres summed up the situation by saying, "Santa Claus will come before Geneva does."

Moreover, the military option that Sadat exercised in October 1973 has been effectively closed by his all-out reliance on Washington. Soviet arms supplies have been cut off, while the only thing Sadat has received from the Pentagon has been a few transport planes. Meanwhile, U.S. military aid to Israel continues at the rate of more than \$1 billion a year.

At the same time, Sadat's promises of economic improvement through removing restrictions on foreign investment and private capital have not borne fruit.

New York Times correspondent Marvin Howe reported in an August 22 dispatch from Cairo that Sadat's economic "policies have dramatically failed to improve the quality of life of the average Egyptian. In fact, to all appearances, the social disparities have increased."

Thus, Sadat went to Jerusalem on his hands and knees, begging for a concession from Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin.

Speaking only nine days after the murderous Israeli raid in Lebanon, Sadat admonished the Knesset that "you must give up the dreams of conquest and the illusion that force is the only way to deal with the Arabs."

Similarly, Sadat called for respect for the rights of the Palestinian people while rejecting their main demand—the establishment of a united Palestine in which both Jews and Arabs could live together. His conciliation of the

Zionists was further underlined by Sadat's failure to mention the PLO in his speech.

However, Sadat's abject performance got him nothing. Begin simply restated the Israeli regime's long-standing claim that "everything is open to negotiation." Begin didn't even bother to mention the existence of the Palestinians. On the issue of Israeli withdrawal from the territory occupied in 1967, Begin said, "President Sadat knows . . . that we have a different position than his with regard to borders between us and our neighbors."

Begin's hard line

On the surface, Begin's hard-line stance seemed to be at variance with the policy of the Carter administration. According to a November 17 dispatch by *New York Times* correspondent Hedrick Smith, Carter urged Begin "to take a conciliatory line this weekend to insure that Mr. Sadat does not return home empty-handed from his bold peace mission."

"High officials said privately that they believe the Israelis should make some concessions to match the major symbolic and substantive concessions being made by Mr. Sadat in making the trip to Israel," Smith added.

Fear in Washington that Arab anger over Sadat's trip could lead to his downfall was compounded November 17 by the resignation of Egyptian Foreign Minister Ismail Fahmy, one of Sadat's closest aides. Sadat designated Minister of State Mohammed Riad as Fahmy's successor, but after thinking things over for a few hours, Riad resigned as well.

But if there was disagreement between the Carter administration and Begin over whether to bolster Sadat's position at home by tossing him a bone, the fact remains that the type of "concessions" envisaged by Washington would hardly make a qualitative difference in the situation.

Although Washington has played soft cop since the October 1973 war, in contrast to the harsher stance of the Israeli regime, it has been unrelenting pressure from American imperialism as much as Israeli threats and intransigence that has forced Sadat to capitulate. U.S. aid, after all, has been crucial in the continuation of Israeli occupation of the territories captured in 1967.

Nor can Moscow be exempted from blame in this. The Kremlin, which refused to give full support to any attempt to regain the occupied territories by military means, has long pressed for Arab acceptance of the Israeli state.

No step to peace

Painful as it may be to those millions whose hopes were raised by the talk about peace from Sadat and Begin, it must be said that Sadat's visit to Jerusalem was not a step toward peace. On the contrary, by strengthening the Zionist state and aiding it in its battle for legitimacy, Sadat's trip was a blow to the prospects for real peace in the Middle East.

As long as the Zionist state exists, it will continue to come into conflict with its Arab neighbors, regardless of any negotiated agreements and peace treaties. The basic reason for this is the existence of 3.5 million Palestinians.

In order to maintain Israel as a Jewish state, the Zionist regime must continue the policy of expropriation of land, limitations on democratic rights, and expulsion of "excess" Arab population that has characterized its dealings with the Palestinians from the beginning.

Continued on page 30

New committee defends Palestinian rights

By Peter Seidman

Israeli violations of Palestinian human rights are stirring growing concern in this country. That's one lesson from the encouraging response the Palestine Human Rights Campaign (PHRC) has encountered in its first few months of activity.

The PHRC was formed this summer. According to its statement of purpose, it seeks to investigate and publicize Israeli violations of Palestinian rights and to lend support to the victims of these violations and to their attorneys.

It has published leaflets and pamphlets documenting Israeli violations of human rights. It has supported speaking tours for Israel Shahak, chairman of the Israel League for Human and Civil Rights and Lea Tsemel, an Israeli attorney prominent for her defense of Palestinian prisoners.

In September, the PHRC adopted the cases of two Palestinian political prisoners held by Israel. It is mounting a campaign for their freedom here in the United States.

The two prisoners are Taysir al-Aruri and Muhammad Mehdi Bassiso.

Al-Aruri is a thirty-year-old Palestinian from the town of Arura in the West Bank. He was a professor of physics at Bir Zeit College until his arrest on April 23, 1974. To this day, Israeli officials have never brought any charges against al-Aruri or given him a day in court.

He is being held under what is called "administrative imprisonment." Al-Aruri is brought before a military committee every six months and told that he has a choice: either return to jail, or sign a document agreeing to leave his homeland forever.

Why was al-Aruri arrested? He is typical of hundreds of West Bank teachers, unionists, and others who the Israeli government fears may become leaders of Palestinian protests against Zionist occupation forces.

An official at Ramallah Prison explained this quite candidly to Naseer Aruri, Taysir al-Aruri's cousin, who is chairman of the Political Science Department at Southeastern Massachusetts University. "It is not what he did," they told him, "but what he might do."

Taysir al-Aruri's case has also been adopted by the Human Rights Division of the American Mathematical Society.

Muhammad Mehdi Bassiso was sentenced to fifteen years in prison after being convicted on May 23, 1973, of being a member of an "illegal" organization.

The regime never proved that Bassiso ever took any action that warranted what is, even in Israel, an extremely long sentence for the charges on which he was convicted.

Bassiso played a leading role in the hunger strike carried out by Palestinians in Ashkelon Prison at the beginning of this year. The Palestinians,

who are political prisoners, were simply demanding equal treatment with common Jewish criminals.

Israeli authorities have subjected Bassiso to especially cruel treatment since the strike. He has been confined in isolation cells at least twice—once for twenty-four hours, another time for fifteen days.

Bassiso suffers from ulcers, but prison officials have repeatedly denied

his requests for medical treatment.

The PHRC urges that protest letters be sent to Congress, the State Department, the White House, and the Israeli Embassy in Washington, D.C., about these two cases.

Given the sensitivity of the Israeli regime to its public image in the United States, the PHRC hopes such protests can help win freedom for Bassiso and al-Aruri.

Free Taysir al-Aruri and Muhammad Mehdi Bassiso!

The Palestine Human Rights Campaign urges you to write the State Department, the White House, and the Israeli Embassy demanding immediate and unconditional freedom for these two political prisoners.

Or, send in the coupon below.
 My signature is enclosed. Add my name to the list of those demanding freedom for Bassiso and al-Aruri.
 Please send more information.



Mail to: PHRC National Office, 1322 Eighteenth Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20500

Name _____ Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____
Phone _____ Organization _____

Birchite congressman red-baits PHRC

By Peter Seidman

Activities by the Palestine Human Rights Campaign (PHRC) in defense of political prisoners in Israel have struck a sensitive nerve in pro-Zionist quarters in this country. The campaign has come in for a vicious terrorist-baiting and red-baiting attack by ultrarightist U.S. Rep. Larry McDonald (D-Ga.).

McDonald, an FBI mouthpiece in Congress and a John Birch Society member, tries to discredit the Palestinian victims of Israeli terror—and those who defend them like the PHRC—by portraying them as the terrorists.

In the September 19 *Congressional Record*, he published an article about the August 1977 national convention

of the Socialist Workers Party.

In this slanderous account, McDonald repeated a charge he has often made in the past—that the SWP is a terrorist organization. "The Socialist Workers Party has strongly supported the terrorist activity of the Palestine Liberation Organization," he wrote.

The socialists coordinate "activities with the PLO support apparatus in the United States," McDonald charged. "The two leaders of this support apparatus are James Zogby and Abdeen Jabara."

Zogby and Jabara are key leaders of the PHRC. Zogby is PHRC chairperson. He is also a vice-president of the Association of Arab-American University Graduates, in which Jabara is also active.

McDonald's attempt to depict these two activists, as well as the PHRC and the SWP, as components of the "PLO support apparatus" in the United States is contradicted by the facts.

The PHRC has taken no position on the PLO or on how to solve the conflict between Israel and the Arabs.

The PHRC is a coalition of different organizations and individuals. They joined together around one point they all agree on: the need to stop Israeli violations of Palestinian human rights. They think Palestinians have the right to belong to any organization they choose to, including the PLO.

McDonald and other apologists for Zionism don't want to admit such human rights violations as the collective punishment of Palestinians after the arrest of members of their families, the shooting down of peaceful demonstrators, and the forced expulsion of dissident intellectuals from their homes in the occupied territories.

Rather, they try to justify such oppression by talking about the need to fight "PLO terrorism." But the Zionists' real target, as the massive repression they carry out makes clear, is the Palestinian people as a whole and their struggle for national self-determination.



Israeli cop in action. McDonald slanders opponents of Zionist terror.

Rather than answering the concrete charges made by Shahak, who is head of the Israel League for Human and Civil Rights, or by the *London Sunday Times*, McDonald attempts to dodge the facts by discrediting their source.

The only "rebuttal" he attempts to the charges of Israeli torture is the assertion that "Both the Sunday Times and the Jabara group use the same sources of information, two Israeli attorneys who have represented PLO terrorists. They are Felicia Langer, a member of the Communist Party of Israel, and Leah Tsemel, a member of the Revolutionary Communist League, the Israeli section of the Trotskyite Fourth International."

Such red-baiting tactics—claiming that ideas are invalid because they are put forward by socialists—aim at preventing the general public from considering ideas that the government fears to argue against openly and honestly.

It is truly ironic that McDonald, one of the most ardent supporters of Washington's genocidal war of terror against the Vietnamese people, is now trying to discredit a human rights organization on the grounds that it is part of a "terrorist network."

This stands political reality on its head. Today it is Larry McDonald who ardently supports funding for the B-1 bomber and other weapons of U.S. military terror.

As an outspoken opponent of the right to abortion, it is Larry McDonald who seeks to return millions of women to the terror of back-alley abortions.

A strong supporter of Israel, this reactionary also backs Washington's policy of maintaining the Zionist state as a key launching pad for military terror-raids against the Arab masses in the Middle East.

That's the real background to McDonald's attacks on the PHRC and its campaign to win freedom for victims of Zionist terror.

PHRC head hits slander

"We are a human rights coalition organizing to defend the rights of all the Palestinian people who live under Israeli military occupation," Palestine Human Rights Campaign chairperson James Zogby told the *Militant*, responding to U.S. Rep. Larry McDonald's *Congressional Record* articles.

"McDonald's slanderous attack against our work indicates nothing more than his own racism against the Palestinians," Zogby said. "We deeply resent his McCarthyite efforts to slander our work."

"We find that while the Carter administration is busy expressing its concern for human rights in selected countries abroad, Larry McDonald and his ilk in the U.S. government are—by means of wire-taps, informants, and slanderous statements—violating our human and democratic rights to act on behalf of a greatly oppressed people."
—P.S.

Read, Sell & Subscribe



New York rally for the 'Militant'

Hear Mary-Alice Waters, editor of the 'Militant'

Speak on: 'Carter's first year: A socialist view'

Also speaking: Judy White, editor, 'Perspectiva Mundial'

Sunday, Dec. 11, 7 p.m.

Fifth Ave. Hotel (9th St. and Fifth Ave.) Donation: \$3. Reception to follow.

Educational Weekend on Puerto Rican Liberation and Socialism, Dec. 9-10. New York University.

Donation: \$5 for entire weekend

Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance, Socialist Workers Party, 'Militant,' and 'Perspectiva Mundial.' For more information: (212) 982-8214.

'Militant' rallies in other cities

Minneapolis. Fri., Dec. 2, 8 p.m. Coffman Memorial Union, Room 320, Univ. of Minn. Speaker: **Pedro Vásquez.**

Kansas City. Fri., Dec. 2, 7:30 p.m. 4715 Troost. Speaker: **Jack Barnes.**

Louisville. Sat., Dec. 3, Reception, 6:30 p.m.; rally, 7:30 p.m. 1505 W. Broadway. Speaker: **Jack Barnes.**

Selling the 'Militant' in Crystal City

In early November a special team set out to sell subscriptions to the 'Militant' and 'Perspectiva Mundial,' the Spanish-language biweekly, throughout the state of Texas. The team members are Janett Brammer, a member of the Atlanta Young Socialist Alliance, Pedro Vásquez, of the San Antonio Socialist Workers Party, and Jan Gangel, from the San Diego SWP.

As of November 19, the team had sold 227 subscriptions.

A high point of the 'Militant' rally held in San Antonio November 12 was the reading of greetings sent by the team. We reprint below excerpts from the team's letter:

... At the ungodly hour of 5 a.m., we hit the road for Crystal City, the birthplace of the Raza Unida Party. Imagine the response from a city where the majority of people are Raza Unida supporters.

Upon arriving, we went directly to the high school. Some students who wanted the paper didn't have the money with them. So we made appoint-

ments to come by their houses later that evening.

Now, you know if you've ever sold a socialist newspaper to a high school student, the easiest way to blow a sale is to show it to their parents!

But in Crystal City it's just the opposite. There, it's the parents who introduced the youth to Chicano nationalism—and the parents are the first to reach for the money for a subscription.

Crystal is a small, poor city. The people bathe in cold water, because they refuse to pay the price of natural gas demanded by the LoVaca gas company.

Everyone identified with the coverage in *Perspectiva Mundial* and in the *Militant*. A fourteen-year-old student bought a *Militant* subscription, and his mother sent him running out to borrow a check from a neighbor so they could get a *Perspectiva Mundial* sub too.

A Chicana scraped together two dollars for a sub and then asked for five sub blanks and samples of the *Militant* and *PM* so she could sell them to her relatives. . . .

'A paper that tells the truth'

At the Detroit 'Militant' fund-raising rally, Walter Snead, a Black auto worker at Ford's Rouge plant, told the audience how the 'Militant' helped win him to a socialist perspective. Snead is a member of United Auto Workers Local 600. The following are excerpts from his remarks:

Before I ran into the *Militant* I read the *Detroit Free Press* and the *Detroit News* every day. I was amazed at the difference when I started reading the *Militant*. I felt that this was the first time I had read the truth in a newspaper.

I found out through reading the *Militant* that the reason it tells the truth is because it is a socialist newspaper. After reading the *Militant*, I became convinced I wanted to

become a socialist myself. So I joined the Socialist Workers Party.

The *Militant* can convince some of my fellow workers as well. That's why I've been selling subscriptions to the *Militant* at work.

The solutions to the problems faced by the majority of people in this country today are explained in the *Militant*. I believe these ideas and solutions will become the ideas of the majority.

Making sure the *Militant* gets into people's hands is the only way this can happen. We need all the help we can get to do this.

That's why I want to ask everyone here tonight who is not already a member of the SWP to join in the struggle for a socialist America and a socialist world.

...appeal to our readers for support

Continued from front page

terests and not to those of working people.

That's why we have no alternative but to rely on our readers, who *do* want to be able to read the truth every week.

As you have seen in the pages of our paper, in order to offset our rising costs, we have launched a fund appeal to raise \$50,000 by December 15.

To date we have collected \$34,731.37, or 69 percent of our goal.

This heartening response has come from hundreds of people, contributing amounts ranging from \$1 to \$1,000. A large portion of this money has come from the special *Militant* rallies we are holding in nearly forty cities across the country.

Many of our friends active in the labor movement, the Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican movements, the women's struggle, and the fight

against political repression have lent us support in this effort. We have reprinted here messages from some of these leaders.

Our appeal has an added special feature. One of our enthusiastic readers has promised to match dollar for dollar every contribution received during the final month of the drive. This means every dollar you send is worth two dollars to the *Militant*.

We need your help. We hope you will respond.

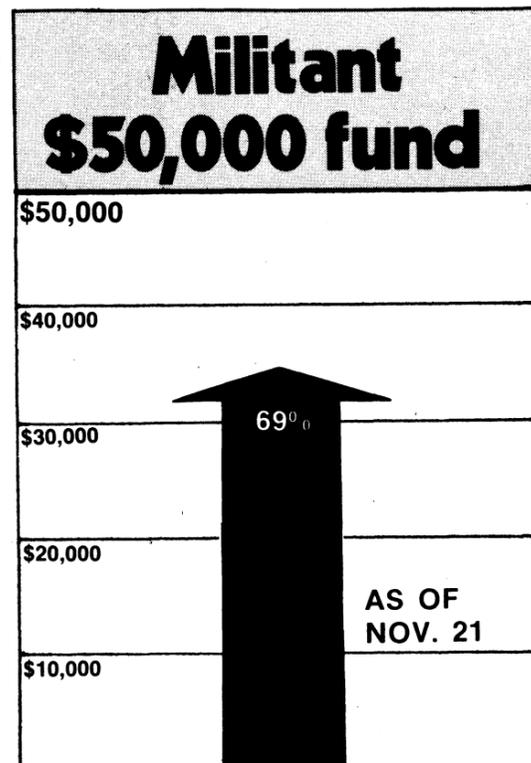
I want to contribute:
 \$500 \$250 \$100
 \$50 \$25 \$10
 _____ Other

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Make checks payable to: **The Militant Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.**



Activists hail the 'Militant'

Nearly \$8,000 has been pledged to the Militant \$50,000 Drive at fund-raising rallies held thus far in two dozen cities.

Hundreds of activists, many of them new to socialist ideas, have attended these rallies to hear national leaders of the Socialist Workers Party speak on the important role played by the 'Militant.' (For upcoming rallies in December, see facing page.)

The rallies have also featured messages of support to the 'Militant' from prominent figures in the labor movement, the struggle against racism, the fight for women's liberation, and other struggles for social justice.

Below we reprint excerpts from some of these greetings and from messages sent directly to the 'Militant.'

Robert Allen

Black journalist

"As a longtime reader of the *Militant* I know that it was one of the very few publications to support the work of Malcolm X when he was alive. The *Militant* has also strongly supported struggles for community control and independent Black political action. It is playing an important role in the present struggles for school desegregation and to defend affirmative action.

"... It is precisely this unflinching advocacy which has won the *Militant* the friendship and respect of many thousands of people of all races in the U.S. and throughout the world."



Philip Vera Cruz

Former vice-president, United Farm Workers

"The *Militant* was first introduced to me when I got involved with the United Farm Workers. Someone was always giving me a copy of the paper or a subscription.

"What I learned is this: the *Militant* is honest, it discusses the issues; in short, it tells the truth. What is most important to me is that I continue to educate working people; that is why the *Militant* is valuable.

"As a striker and a union member for twelve years, I had no money to subscribe to the *Militant*, and I thank my friends who helped me to broaden my horizon of understanding of the issues involved."



Imani Kazana

Head of Wilmington Ten Defense Committee

"It is in large part due to papers like the *Militant* that the case of the Wilmington Ten has remained before the public eye. The Wilmington Ten, just like Gary Tyler, Imari Obadele of the Republic of New Africa, and other victims of political and racist repression look to us as their only hope for achieving justice.

"Despite all of President Carter's rhetoric about human rights, the fact remains that right here in the United States human rights are constantly violated. The *Militant* can be congratulated for making the public aware of this."

Organizations listed for identification purposes only

Martin Sostre

Former political prisoner

"The *Militant* played a very important role in publicizing my struggle, contributing to my eventual release. It was one of the few papers that consistently supported me in the overall struggle for prisoners' rights."



Everett Chávez

Co-coordinator of Colorado Coalition on Immigration and Human Rights

"The *Militant* is for freedom of speech. But it goes beyond that. The *Militant* fights to tell the truth. It means a great deal in our community."



Joe Samargia

President, United Steelworkers Local 1938, on Mesabi Iron Range

"We have not only had the best coverage of our strike from the *Militant*, but also the first recognition that we needed support and help came from your paper. It's done a great job."

Fouad Moughrabi

Professor of Political Science, University of Tennessee, Chattanooga

"The *Militant* has given excellent coverage to the Middle East, to the Palestinian struggle, to the struggles of the people of Africa, especially Southern Africa, and to Latin America."



Brenda Eichelberger

Executive director, National Alliance of Black Feminists

"The *Militant* is a good newspaper for people in general and Black women in particular. . . . It gives comprehensive coverage not only of national events but also international events such as the situation in South Africa."

Irene Gutiérrez

Organizer, April 1977 national Chicana conference, Boulder, Colorado

"I will always appreciate the *Militant* and the people associated with it."

Reza Baraheni

Author, 'The Crowned Cannibals'; honorary chairperson, Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran

"No paper on the left has done as much as the *Militant* to expose the shah's brutal treatment of political prisoners in Iran. The *Militant* has also provided the most extensive coverage of the opposition within Iran to repression.

"The *Militant* has given the best coverage I have seen on the problems of oppressed nationalities, such as in Iran and in the Soviet Union. It has also offered guidance on the question of women's liberation and the general battle against repressive regimes throughout the world."

Ramón Jiménez

Coordinator, Coalition to Save Hostos Community College, New York City

"I read the *Militant* because it's one among a few newspapers that reports stories of concern to working people, and of concern to Black and Puerto Rican people."



Anne Braden

"... I consider the *Militant*, along with several other papers, essential reading. One does not have to agree with all the theoretical articles in the *Militant*, which I often don't, to appreciate the accurate reporting it provides—for example, on people fighting against racism and for economic justice."

Carleton Goodlett

Publisher, 'Sun-Reporter,' San Francisco

"During years of struggle, the *Militant* has been in the vanguard. . . .

"The contribution which the Socialist Workers Party historically has made and continues to make in the political process, though difficult, in my view is greater than your knowing. . . .

"Your vigilance and courage during the 1976 campaign of removing the mythology from the Jimmy Carter candidacy . . . is only now being appreciated by those whose partisanship blunted their capacity to appreciate the role of that small segment of the nation and press which is militant."

Melvin Burgess

President, Black Independent Political Party, Philadelphia

"I appreciate talking about the *Militant* because we have just published the first issue of our newspaper, *The Black Explosion*. It's hard to establish an independent paper in this country.

"... The *Militant*, *The Black Explosion*, the Socialist Workers Party, and the Black Independent Party are about exposing the system . . . about all of us being committed to the struggle."

José Angel Gutiérrez

Zavala County, Texas, judge; founder of Texas Raza Unida Party

"Since 1969, the people in the struggle for Chicano self-determination of Crystal City have enjoyed reading the *Militant*. . . . Today I remember the *Militant* because it is part of the reading material found in the reception room to my office. . . .

"I sincerely support this socialist newspaper. The *Militant* is outstanding! Let's keep it standing."



Dick Gregory

"When I read the *Militant*, I know I'm reading honest, ethical information."

Dick Hunter

Member of Brewery Workers Local 366, Denver, on strike against Coors company

"We thank the *Militant* for giving us a chance to explain our strike."

Klansman guilty in '63 Alabama bombing

By John Hawkins

During the 1960s Birmingham, Alabama, became known to many as "Bombingham." Fighting against the growing movement for Black equal rights, bigots led by the Ku Klux Klan bombed more than fifty buildings.

The most notorious of these right-wing terrorist attacks was the 1963 bombing of the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church. When a timed dynamite bomb exploded on September 15 that year, four Black girls attending Sunday school were killed.

On November 18, 1977—fourteen years later—a jury of nine whites and three Blacks found Robert Chambliss guilty of first-degree murder. Chambliss, a seventy-three-year-old former klansman, was sentenced to life in prison.

Testimony during the trial documented Chambliss's long record of violence against Blacks dating back to the 1940s.

Witnesses testified that Chambliss kept large quantities of dynamite at his home, that he boasted about having enough to level half of Birmingham, and that he had predicted just before the Sunday blast that "after Sunday, they'll beg us to let them segregate."

Testimony at the trial placed Chambliss near the church a few hours before the bomb went off.

Prosecution lawyers announced after the verdict was handed down that they would seek further indictments in the case.

The bombing of the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church, a headquarters for the civil rights movement, occurred in the midst of a battle to desegregate Birmingham schools. Anti-Black violence



(From left) Addie Mae Collins, Carol Robertson, Carol McNair, and Cynthia Wesley, four children killed in bombing of Sixteenth Street Baptist Church.

was rampant in the city, often aided by city and state authorities.

The night of the bombing was no exception. As outrage shook the Black community, police were sent in with dogs and shotguns. Gov. George Wallace called up the National Guard.

The conviction of Chambliss is a long-overdue step toward justice in this brutal murder. But why has it taken fourteen years?

Shortly after the bombing, Chambliss was arrested and charged with possession of dynamite. But he was acquitted.

Did local or state police or the FBI have information that could have brought Chambliss and his cohorts to trial earlier? If so, how many other bombings and right-wing attacks on civil rights activists in Birmingham could they have prevented?

Some evidence used to convict Chambliss was taken from a file com-

piled fourteen years ago by the FBI. Alabama Attorney General Bill Baxley, who headed the prosecution of Chambliss, says the U.S. Justice Department in 1963 had enough information after two or three weeks of investigation to go to court.

Testimony by FBI informer Gary Rowe before the Senate Committee on Intelligence in December 1975 suggests a sinister motive for the government's failure to press charges at that time.

Rowe, who joined the Klan as an FBI informer, participated in numerous attacks on civil rights activists, including the 1965 murder of Viola Liuzzo, a white civil rights worker from Detroit.

On each occasion Rowe informed his superiors in the FBI of the impending violent attacks. Only in two instances did the FBI take any action to prevent the violence.

Was there a Gary Rowe in the Bir-

mingham Klan at the time of the 1963 bombing?

One thing is for sure. The publicity given to Rowe's 1973 testimony, along with other post-Watergate revelations of FBI and CIA crimes, was the only thing that moved Alabama officials to reopen the case.

But the prosecution of Chambliss, and perhaps some of his cronies in the future, is not designed to clear up these vital questions. The trial steered clear of such questions as:

Did the FBI know about the bombing ahead of time?

If so, how far up in Washington did the cover-up go? To Robert Kennedy, who was attorney general in 1963? Or to his brother, President John Kennedy?

Only when these questions are answered will real justice be done for the four Black girls murdered in Birmingham.

Spanish reformists seek nod from Carter

By José G. Pérez

Santiago Carrillo and Felipe González, top leaders of the Communist and Socialist parties of Spain, visited this country just before Thanksgiving.

Carrillo's visit marked another retreat by the U.S. government from its thought-control visa policies. Carrillo is the first major foreign CP leader permitted to visit this country on non-government business.

Over the past several years protests have mounted against Washington's politically motivated travel bans. Recently these protests have forced important concessions. For example, ear-

AS I SEE IT

lier this fall Peruvian peasant leader Hugo Blanco was granted a visa after a two-year fight.

But the similarity between Blanco's visit and that of Carrillo and González ends there.

Blanco came to this country to explain to U.S. students and working people about Washington's complicity with violations of human rights throughout Latin America. Carrillo and González, on the other hand, came to reassure U.S. rulers that big business has nothing to fear from them, despite the names of their parties.

Blanco is a militant fighter for socialism, and he has solidarized with the struggles of working people in this country. He spoke at the National Chicano/Latino Conference against deportations and at an American Indian Movement conference in Minneapolis.

Carrillo and González are loyal defenders of the profit system and used their visits to make this clear. A scheduled high point of Carrillo's trip was a talk before the Council on Foreign Relations—the top ruling-class think tank on foreign policy. And González spent much of his time closeted with high White House officials.

How Carrillo and González sought to calm the nerves of America's rulers isn't hard to guess. Both the Spanish CP and SP have defended the

monarchy in that country. Neither supports the right of the Basques and other oppressed nations in Spain to determine their own destiny. And both just recently signed an agreement with the Spanish government to freeze workers' wages, although prices are rising steeply.

Their entire policy has been to support anti-working-class measures of the government of Premier Adolfo Suárez, who, before discovering his latent democratic tendencies some months ago, was the head of the fascist National Movement, Franco's political party.

Despite his moderate credentials, Carrillo—unlike González—was not invited to talk with Washington officials. So he went an extra mile, hoping to prove himself.

Twice during his visit, Carrillo crossed picket lines of striking workers at Yale University, prompting the head of the union to denounce him as a "scab" who "spits in the faces of American workers."

Carrillo tried to justify his scabbing by saying, "In Spain, the feeling is that the American labor

movement is more to the right than the Spanish right."

But Carrillo slanders American workers by identifying their struggles to defend their living standards with the neanderthal views of union bureaucrats such as George Meany. And he insults the intelligence and class consciousness of Spanish workers by implying that they can't tell the difference between fascists and labor bureaucrats.

I heard a much wiser comment on American labor officials during a visit to Spain last spring. It was made by a worker who had just quit Carrillo's party after twelve years of membership. He had been disgusted by the party leadership's scabbing on a general strike in the Basque Country demanding freedom for political prisoners.

After I told him of the procapitalist policies of labor misleaders such as Meany, he answered that they sound just as bad as the Spanish variety—with one difference: "At least there they don't pretend they're communists."



Cops escort Spanish CP chief Santiago Carrillo across picket line

Workers Vanguard

Set Dec. 17 solidarity rally

Iron range strikers blast company offer

By Andy Rose

NOV. 22—Backed by growing labor support across the country—including a solidarity rally called by the Minnesota AFL-CIO for December 17—striking iron ore workers on the Mesabi Iron Range are holding firm against company attempts to force them back to work.

At the same time, the strikers are coming under pressure from the top officialdom of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) to settle for less than what their local leaders believe they can win.

As the *Militant* goes to press, USWA Locals 2912, 4950, and 4974 at Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Company and Local 2705 at Hibbing Taconite have voted to accept the latest company offer and return to work.

But negotiations are continuing in Duluth, Minnesota, between the other striking locals and such corporations as U.S. Steel, Inland Steel, and Reserve Mining Company.

The morning of November 22, seventy-five iron ore strikers picketed outside the Duluth Hotel in support of their local negotiators. The pickets confronted negotiators for U.S. Steel Corporation as they arrived and told them the company offer is insufficient.

For nearly 100 days after the strike began August 1, the companies arrogantly refused to negotiate key issues and branded the walkout "illegal."

That hard line began to crack in early November when the strikers launched an aggressive campaign to win broad labor support. They held a mass rally in Virginia, Minnesota, sent an appeal to all 5,400 USWA locals, and dispatched representatives to the big Chicago-area steel mills to address local meetings and solicit support.

The striking unions took out a full-page ad in local newspapers exposing the profits and tax dodges of the corporations. They began publishing a range-wide strike newspaper.

Meanwhile, steel company stockpiles of iron ore were running low. The companies had blustered since the strike began that they could import enough ore to keep the mills running throughout the winter. According to a story in the November 13 *Minneapolis Tribune*, however, imported ore would cost the companies twice as much as domestic supplies.

For the first time, the companies made an offer on the union demand for incentive-pay plans. Iron ore locals



Strikers march in Virginia, Minnesota. Their aggressive campaign to win broad labor support helped force companies to negotiate.

want bonus plans to raise their wages to the level in basic steel.

USWA President Lloyd McBride tried to sell the company proposal to strikers at the Virginia rally, telling them it was the best they could get.

But the offer was unanimously rejected as inadequate by an eighty-member negotiating committee representing all the locals.

One key objection to the company proposal was that 25 percent of the workers, who would not be eligible for the incentive bonuses, would have to take a twenty-cent-an-hour wage cut.

Local union meetings across the iron range backed up their negotiators by rejecting the deal, often by unanimous votes. There was a lot of discussion, one union source said, "not about why we rejected it, but why would the international ask us to take such a ridiculous proposal."

The drive for broader support picked up steam with the call by Minnesota AFL-CIO President David Roe for a statewide rally December 17 in Hibbing. Unions throughout the state have been urged to charter buses, with rides free for those who make a donation to the strike fund. Twelve buses are already planned from Minneapolis and St. Paul.

Roe announced November 16 that

AFL-CIO affiliates had contributed \$8,000 to support the strikers.

Strike support from USWA locals across the country has "really started to snowball," Joe Samargia, president of Local 1938, told the *Militant*. Local 1938 at U.S. Steel's Minntac plant in Mountain Iron, Minnesota, is the largest local on strike.

"I just got a list three pages long," Samargia said, "of locals all over Pennsylvania and Canada and down South and out West—small local

Support from District 31

By Michael Gillespie

CHICAGO—Steelworkers in the Chicago-Gary district have been leafleting, picketing, and collecting funds to support the iron range strikers.

At U.S. Steel's South Works, the strike support committee of United Steelworkers Local 65 leafleted the plant November 11 for a gate collection November 14.

Despite layoffs and reduced workweeks affecting more than half the 8,500 workers at the South Chicago mill, some \$555 was raised at the gates.

unions that have given \$50 or \$100."

On November 19 the steel companies made a new offer, agreeing to "red circle" the wage rates of workers not covered by incentive so they would not lose pay.

Although some locals accepted this offer, most union negotiators consider it inadequate. For example, some companies have stipulated that newly hired workers would not be covered by any bonus plan and thus would work at lower wages than current employees.

In addition, several hundred other local issues—involving safety, dust and noise hazards, working conditions—remain to be settled.

Although dwindling ore supplies and growing strike support clearly put the workers in a strong position to insist on a good settlement, international union officials are pressing them to accept the company terms and return to work.

Breakdown of the solid front of the iron ore locals could weaken their ability to settle local issues, union leaders fear. If a couple of key locals return to work, "they have 5 million tons of taconite [iron ore] sitting on the ground, ready to be shipped," a union source noted.

Already negotiators for one small local have been given an ultimatum by the company to drop all their unresolved issues in return for the incentive plan.

As negotiations continue, the strikers are pressing ahead to build the December 17 rally as a massive show of strength. The rally will take place whether or not the strike has been settled by then.

Labor Dep't OKs vote fraud in steel election

The federal Labor Department has given its official seal of approval to vote fraud in the February 8 election of United Steelworkers international officers.

In a report dated November 11, the department rejected the challenge to the election by Ed Sadlowski and his running mates on the Steelworkers Fight Back slate.

Joseph Rauh, attorney for the Fight Back candidates, said the decision "comes as no surprise to those who have followed the Labor Department's sleazy investigation."

As reported earlier in the *Militant*, Labor Department investigators in some areas harassed and red-baited Sadlowski supporters, while making little effort to investigate evidence of vote fraud by backers of "official family" candidate Lloyd McBride.

Rauh said he will file suit in federal district court to force the Labor Department to seek a new election.

The Labor Department report in fact confirms charges by the Sadlowski campaigners that the election was

marked by substantial vote fraud. Here is just a sampling of cases cited in the report:

- Local 7901: "... the Financial Secretary, who was a teller, told the members that the International supported McBride and showed them how to vote for him."

- Local 7781: "The President brought the ballots to the work sites and told the members to vote for McBride."

- Local 5874: "In this local the President handed out McBride literature and told the voters to mark the ballots accordingly."

- Local 14330: "This is a fraudulent election in which the President marked all of the ballots and then sent in a return showing 58 votes for McBride and 0 for Sadlowski."

- Local 14269: "... a note asking for McBride support was included with each ballot."

- Local 6588: "In this local no election was actually held but a fraudulent return was sent in to the International noting that McBride got 133 votes and

Sadlowski 14." That's out of a local membership of 129.

Votes directly affected by fraud that had to be deducted from McBride or credited to Sadlowski amounted to more than 17,000—40 percent of McBride's margin of victory in the United States!

Considering that the Sadlowski forces were able to get observers to only 800 of the 5,400 locals, the outcome of the entire election would seem to be in question.

Here's the hitch: the Labor Department insisted that unless Sadlowski could prove outright theft of votes amounting to 100 percent of McBride's margin, the election would stand.

On all the broader charges of intimidation of Sadlowski supporters, illegal use of union resources to back McBride, and so on, the report whitewashes the "official family" bureaucracy.

For example, it was confirmed that the District 7 director held an official union-paid meeting of all staff representatives, made a pitch for McBride

contributions, and said the names of contributors would be sent to Pittsburgh. The Labor Department found nothing improper, though, since "the evidence is conflicting whether he also said he would send in the names of non-givers."

It was confirmed that the president of Local 2708 in Houston beat up one Sadlowski campaigner and staff representatives threatened others in "a concerted effort to try to intimidate and abuse those who supported Sadlowski."

But, the report said, "it did not appear that it could have affected the outcome of the election."

The shooting of Sadlowski campaigner Ben Corum in Houston is dismissed because "there is no evidence that the union or any union official was responsible for the shooting."

Storage of McBride literature at union offices is passed off as harmless because "steelworker offices, particularly District offices, are not customarily visited by rank-and-file members. . . ." —Andy Rose

Carter vs. Cuba

The Carter administration—fresh from rescuing the blood-stained South African regime from United Nations trade sanctions—has discovered “a threat to the permanent peace in Africa.” This threat allegedly comes from the former U.S. colony of Cuba. The presence of Cuban technicians and military advisers in Angola and other African countries, Washington says, makes normalization of trade and diplomatic relations with Cuba “impossible.”

In a recent speech, Carter had the gall to say that the Cuban presence has a “colonial aspect.”

But it is Washington, not Havana, that encircles the globe with military bases—including the Guantanamo naval base on Cuban soil! It is Washington, not Havana that stations hundreds of thousands of troops around the globe, that directs the CIA to overthrow elected governments, and that holds Puerto Rico and the Panama Canal Zone as colonies.

Carter's stand is not only hypocritical. It is blackmail. Until Cuban foreign policy meets Jimmy Carter's approval, the administration is saying, the U.S. economic blockade will continue.

In spite of all the U.S. efforts to destroy it through invasion, sabotage, and assassination, Cuba remains a sovereign state. It has the right to conclude whatever agreements it chooses—including military aid—with nations in Africa or anywhere else.

And the obligation of the U.S. government is simple: to stop the blackmail, end the blockade, and recognize Cuba.

Defend Ky. miners

In a small southern Kentucky community, 160 coal miners have been on strike for one year and four months. All these strikers from Stearns, Kentucky, want is a union with some power to enforce safety laws.

The Stearns miners want a future without headline-grabbing mine disasters. Without the day-to-day deaths and maimings that are especially prevalent in the nonunion mines of Appalachia.

These aspirations for justice have evoked a torrent of brutal strikebreaking: Trigger-happy private guards hired by the Blue Diamond Coal Company. A grand jury cooperative enough to indict twenty-seven strikers and a union organizer on trumped-up criminal charges. A governor who sends in state police to attack, beat, and arrest miners and their supporters. And a judge happy to send ten strikers to jail and to threaten sixty-eight others with the same fate the minute he finds them “misbehaving.”

With this preparation, Blue Diamond has moved to bring in scabs, arrogantly announcing its plan to resume production as soon as possible.

“Our hands are tied,” explains a miner.

But our hands are free. The Stearns strikers deserve and need the immediate support of unionists, students, women, Blacks, Chicanos, and all people across the country concerned with seeing human rights accorded to those who mine this nation's coal.

Right to travel

In a series of four articles in as many days, the editors of the *New York Post* have taken aim at the right of critics of the U.S. government to travel to this country and the right of the American people to hear all political points of view.

The nominal target of this McCarthyite attack is Wilfred Burchett, an Australian national and a foreign correspondent for the *Guardian*, an American radical newsweekly.

In their rush to whip up an anticommunist hysteria around Burchett's visit, the *Post* editors resurrect charges against him that were long used by the Australian capitalist government to keep him from returning to his home country. The unproven allegations are that Burchett is a clandestine agent of the Soviet secret police, the KGB, and that he tortured prisoners during the Vietnamese and Korean wars.

The *Post*'s aim in all this is to tighten restrictions on travel to this country by those who disagree with Washington's policies. This witch-hunting campaign underscores the need for supporters of civil liberties to renew their efforts to end all travel bans.

Decided to vote socialist

I write to give my thanks for my new subscription to the *Militant*. We have just had elections here in Salt Lake City for city commissioner. I had originally planned not to vote, since all the major party candidates were pure garbage. Then I saw your pre-election issue, which contained an article on an SWP candidate for that race, Bill Hoyle.

While that information allowed me to cast a vote for a sound and responsible candidate, I was one of the only ones. This pointed out the critical fallacies of American so-called democracy. None of the local media even bothered to mention candidate Hoyle (maybe Hoyle isn't Mormon, and the Mormon-controlled media felt threatened).

I have not contacted Hoyle, but he must have had very limited funds, for there was no advertising or anything for the public to let them know he existed. Rather, the capitalist barons and their power structure only allow the officially sanctioned candidates to be exposed and offered to the public. How can it be said voters cast an intelligent ballot if they didn't even know who or what alternatives were running? Is this democracy or freedom?

I only discovered Hoyle by chance by getting the *Militant* a few days before the elections. What were others to do? I still have not even been able to find out how many votes Hoyle got, as this is apparently also taboo for the local media to acknowledge that there are actually socialists here in Zion (as the Mormons call the area). While I am utterly sickened and disgusted by the hollowness of the “democratic” electoral process in which only official candidates are allowed, I can only give thanks to the *Militant* and say keep up the good work.

Howard Johnson
Salt Lake City, Utah

Disagrees with article

As a longtime reader of the *Militant* I was very disturbed to find in the October 28 issue a gross distortion of fact. I am referring to Peter Seidman's article (“Guardian, CP on treaties”) on the *Guardian* “position” on the Panama Canal treaties, found in their October 12 issue.

I read the article to which Seidman refers. That article did not advocate a position on the treaties, nor did it claim that the “emerging left position” is, and implicitly should be, “critical support” of the imperialist treaties. As the title of the article, “Panamanians Wary of Canal Treaty,” clearly indicates, the subject of the article was what the *Guardian* saw as the emerging position of the Panamanian left.

Seidman's distortion is inexcusable, and at the least sloppy journalism. It is not the quality of journalism I have come to expect from the *Militant*. I suggest that Seidman in the future be a little more careful and a little more objective when he analyzes the “Guardian position.”

Victor Ochoa
Long Beach, California

[Peter Seidman replies: The fact is that the *Guardian*'s October 12 article reported—without making its own position clear—that “the emerging left position” in Panama was to give “critical support” to the treaties so as to avoid “playing into the hands of the ultraright” and to take “a step forward in the struggle for national sovereignty.”

[If the *Guardian* disagrees with what

it called the “emerging left position,” it never said so or explicitly opposed the treaties as an imperialist-imposed settlement.

[The October 12 article's uncritical coverage is particularly significant in light of the only editorial comment on the treaties yet made by the *Guardian*. Although claiming to “stand opposed to every act of the U.S. government that impinges upon the sovereignty of other peoples,” the August 24 editorial said, the *Guardian*'s position was nonetheless that “if the Panamanian working class and its genuine revolutionary leaders decide that for tactical reasons the new treaty is in their own interests, we will support them.”

[During the October 23 plebescite however, one-third of those Panamanians who voted—even under the undemocratic conditions of the election—rejected the proposed treaties. Clearly they did this to show their desire for an end to U.S. domination of their country, and not from an ultraright standpoint. Moreover, significant groups on the Panamanian left, including the Revolutionary Socialist League whose activities received widespread coverage even in the American press, also opposed the treaties.]

Dock workers' strike

I am very impressed by the courage of the New Orleans longshoremen who have turned the recent strike against container shipping into a struggle to regain control of their union local. The threat of violence and arbitrary firing is a part of daily life in the waterfront workplaces dominated by the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA).

Here in Albany the issue on the docks in recent years has been the right of women to be hired as stevedores (longshoremen). Women have been threatened with violence at Albany shapeups by a union official. The same union official has summarily fired a longshoreman who signed an affidavit stating that certain women had been attending the shapeup for a certain number of months and were therefore entitled to employment. Anyone who wonders what the meat market hiring process of the shapeup looks like should see the movie *On the Waterfront*. The movie is not an exaggeration.

The basic problem is that only workers with a proven record of several years loyalty to the union are given the “A man” rating that entitles them to vote in union elections. “B men” and unclassified workers, who comprise the majority of those who do the actual work on the docks, are disenfranchised.

The New Orleans wildcat strike will serve notice to the ILA that it is sitting on a powder keg of resentment. Its gangster tactics may not be sufficient to repress the desire of dockworkers for a decent and democratic union.

John Koethen
Albany, New York

Receives prisoner's sub

I want to inform you that my prisoner's subscription is coming through every week and is read thoroughly by myself and others. One prisoner has told me it opens an entirely new world for him.

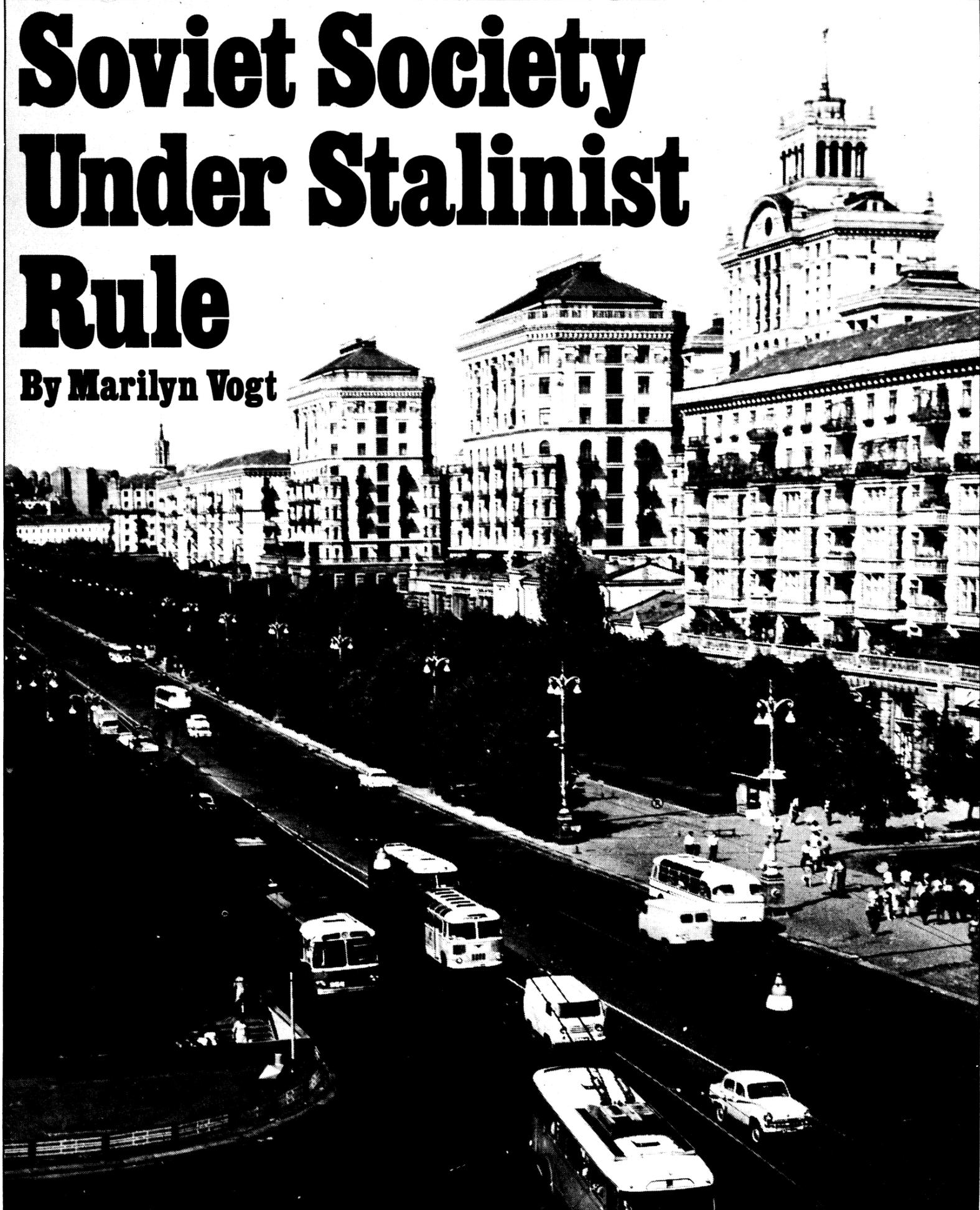
The prison here has a multi-million-dollar industrial plant inside the walls with no safety or health measures whatsoever. It is a massive slave-labor

Continued on page 23

**international
SOCIALIST
review**

Soviet Society Under Stalinist Rule

By Marilyn Vogt



Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somalia:

Upheaval in the Horn of Africa

By Ernest Harsch

THE MONTH IN REVIEW

USSR and Disarmament

On November 17, U.S. officials reported that Soviet negotiators had made a number of important concessions in the U.S.-Soviet Strategic Arms Limitation Talks.

Although the Pentagon claims a commanding lead in the technology necessary for the development of cruise missiles, Moscow has agreed to terms that would enable Washington to go ahead with the rapid development of these small, precision-guided drones within the framework of a SALT agreement.

The significance of this move was indicated November 1 when a Pentagon official explained, "It's the [defense] department's view that the cruise missile, as it is presently designed, is capable of defeating the Soviet air defense system, as it is presently designed."

Development of the cruise missile will increase the Pentagon's potential for a preemptive nuclear attack against the Soviet Union. According to a Pentagon expert quoted in the November 2 *New York Times*, even if Moscow decided "to go on a crash program, spending \$50 billion over the next 5 to 10 years to respond" to the cruise missile, improvements in the missile would counter any advances in Soviet defenses.

Thus, when Soviet negotiators announced they were ready to drop their opposition to U.S. development of the missile in the interests of reaching a new arms limitation agreement, the imperialists were overjoyed. *Times* reporter Richard Burt quoted "a high-ranking Administration official" who hailed the Soviet concessions as "encouraging, positive signs."

The next day, however, imperialist politicians were pushing for further Soviet concessions. *New York Times* correspondent Martin Tolchin reported November 19 that Senate majority leader Robert Byrd "strongly implied today that the growing Cuban military presence in Africa could jeopardize ratification of a treaty on strategic arms limitations with the Soviet Union."

For years the Soviet bureaucrats have insisted that deals with the imperialists like the SALT agreements could eventually lead to disarmament and peace. Instead, such deals have led from one generation of nuclear weapons to another, each one more sophisticated and more deadly than the last.

Today, the combined explosive power of the Soviet and American nuclear arsenals is estimated to be the equivalent of about 1,350,000 atomic bombs of the size that obliterated Hiroshima.

Failure of the Stalinist strategy of peaceful coexistence to lead to the desired results certainly cannot be blamed on Moscow's lack

of commitment to attaining agreements with the imperialists. Brezhnev's latest concessions demonstrate once again the importance the Kremlin attaches to such deals.

The problem with the strategy of peaceful coexistence is the aggressive and expansionist character of the imperialist societies the Kremlin wants to coexist with. Two world wars have been fought by the imperialist powers over control of markets and sources of raw materials. The U.S. government carried out the longest war in its history to prevent the Vietnamese people from overturning imperialist domination.

The imperialist powers give arms and money to the most barbarous dictatorships to ensure the safety of their worldwide investments.

Washington and its imperialist allies have no intention of disarming. For them, military aggression is not merely a political policy to be followed or not depending upon the philosophy of the party in power. It is a necessary outgrowth of the capitalist economic system, which requires ever-expanding markets for goods and investment.

In contrast, the Soviet Union has no inner drive forcing it to export capital and exploit the rest of the world. Its nationalized economy, a historic conquest of the October 1917 socialist revolution, is not based on the endless search for profit.

One illustration of this fact is the virtual absence of Soviet foreign investment. According to a report in the October 31 *New York Times*, the USSR currently operates only eighty-four foreign-based companies in twenty-six countries. Seventy-three of the Soviet enterprises are in imperialist countries, and almost all of them are concerned with marketing Soviet exports, financing and arranging transport for East-West trade deals, or servicing the Soviet fishing fleet.

American investment abroad, on the other hand, amounts to the third largest economy in the world, after that of the United States itself and the USSR. Such investment is not a minor adjunct of the American economy; it is a fundamental aspect of it, one that cannot be eliminated without eliminating capitalism altogether.

Because it is based on a postcapitalist economy, the Stalinist regime has no interest in the maintenance of a military establishment beyond what is required for defense against imperialist attack and to defend its own tyrannical rule against the Soviet and East European masses.

As class collaborationists, the bureaucrats hope to relieve the drain of Soviet resources into the military budget through negotiations with the imperialists. For the imperialists, détente is a tactic in their ongoing struggle for world domination. For the bureaucrats, however, the search for "peaceful" collaboration with imperialism is a basic strategy.

The Kremlin's approach was exemplified by Brezhnev's comment November 2, when he proposed a ban on all nuclear tests. He hoped that the offer would be "appreciated by our partners at the negotiations. . . ."

Brezhnev and the privileged caste he represents preserve their power by barring the Soviet masses from political and

economic decision making. Therefore, these bureaucrats cannot rely on the mobilization of the international working class and its allies to combat imperialist military preparations.

On the contrary, mass actions of the oppressed anywhere in the world are a threat to the bureaucrats, since such actions can set an example for the Soviet workers. The Stalinist bureaucrats therefore offer themselves as "partners" to the imperialists in blocking and defeating such struggles.

As a result, Brezhnev can only appeal to the good will of his imperialist "partners" in seeking disarmament or preventing war. This strategy led to disaster—and almost to the destruction of the bureaucratically misruled Soviet workers state by imperialism—when it was carried out by Stalin prior to World War II.

Whatever the content of any new "arms limitation" agreement, the cause of genuine disarmament can only be served by the growth of a militant, class-conscious movement of the workers and their allies in opposition to the imperialists. Brezhnev's course obstructs this goal.

New Team at the ISR

Readers may notice that there have been changes in the *ISR* masthead this month. Caroline Lund, who has edited the *ISR* since 1975, is now in Europe where she will continue to write for this magazine and the *Militant*.

The new *ISR* editor is Fred Feldman, also national education director of the Socialist Workers Party.

Instead of having associate editors, as in the past, the *ISR* has now set up a broader editorial board. Three former associate editors—George Breitman, George Novack, and Dick Roberts—are on the board. New additions have been made as well.

Catarino Garza, the editor of *Puerto Ricans in the U.S.* (New York; Pathfinder, 1977), was the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York City this year. He directs the party's activity in the Puerto Rican struggle.

Cindy Jaquith, a staff writer for the *Militant*, has been active for many years in the women's liberation movement.

Bruce Levine was a leader of the Revolutionary Marxist Committee until its fusion with the Socialist Workers Party last August.

Omari Musa is a staff writer for the *Militant* and a leader of the party's work in the Black liberation movement.

Cathy Sedwick is the national chairperson of the Young Socialist Alliance.

The editor and members of the editorial board are all full or alternate members of the SWP National Committee.

With its range of interests and backgrounds, the editorial board will spur further advances in our efforts to make the *ISR* a lively and attractive revolutionary socialist magazine.

Readers can help too. Your comments, suggestions, and criticisms are welcome.

CONTENTS

The Month in Review	2	Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somalia: Upheaval in the Horn of Africa	5	Pink Collar Workers Reviewed by Jane Harris	11
Soviet Society Under Stalinist Rule By Marilyn Vogt	3	By Ernest Harsch		The Rockefellers Reviewed by Paul Siegel	12



Editor: Fred Feldman
 Editorial Board: George Breitman, Catarino Garza, Cindy Jaquith, Bruce Levine, Omari Musa, George Novack, Dick Roberts, Cathy Sedwick

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Soviet Society Under Stalinist Rule

By Marilyn Vogt

Hedrick Smith, author of *The Russians*,¹ went to Moscow in 1971 as a correspondent for the *New York Times*. Robert Kaiser, author of *Russia: The People and the Power*,² reported from the Soviet Union for the *Washington Post* from 1971 to 1974.

Neither author is a socialist, and a procapitalist bias often intrudes on their comments and descriptions. But they are acute observers.

Both books are well worth reading. Smith's book is a better-organized and more richly detailed attempt to analyze the different and conflicting social layers in the USSR. His description of how the ruling bureaucracy lives is an important contribution to our understanding of the Soviet Union.

The society these books try to describe is complex and contradictory. It rests on the economic conquests of a great revolution—the October 1917 upheaval, which overturned capitalism and landlordism in one of the most backward imperialist powers.

The regime differs widely, however, from the one the working class under the leadership of Lenin and the Bolsheviks established in 1917, and even more widely from the socialist society they were striving to build. Smith and Kaiser describe the shape taken by Soviet society in the more than fifty years since the bureaucracy headed by Stalin consolidated its grip on the government and completely destroyed the proletarian democracy fostered by the Bolsheviks.

Apologists for the Soviet government and its antidemocratic practices denounce works such as those of Smith and Kaiser because the capitalists use them to discredit socialism. No doubt the capitalists do find these books useful. The crimes of Stalin and his successors have been the most powerful argument of the rulers for persuading working people all over the world that socialism and democracy are not compatible.

But the injustices and inequalities that pervade the USSR today are a reality that must be understood and combated, not ignored or prettied up. The Soviet workers are well aware of the facts Smith and Kaiser describe—they need no capitalist propaganda machines to inform them of these things. The working people of other countries are also entitled to this information.

At the heart of the concepts advanced by the present rulers of the USSR to justify their ascendancy is the "theory of socialism in one country." Lenin, Trotsky, and the Bolsheviks held that the Russian revolution was the first link in a chain of revolutions that would establish workers states and build socialism on a world scale through economic collaboration. Stalin opposed this perspective, claiming the USSR would achieve "socialism" on the basis of its own limited resources without the aid of revolutions in other countries—provided only that "peaceful coexistence" with the capitalist world was maintained.

Today the Brezhnev government asserts that the USSR has long since completed the building of "socialism" and is well on the way to a completely communist society.

1. *The Russians* by Hedrick Smith. Ballantine, New York, 1976. 682 pages. \$2.50.

2. *Russia: The People and the Power* by Robert Kaiser. Pocket Books, New York, 1976. 530 pages. \$2.25.

Marilyn Vogt is a translator of Russian and Ukrainian and a frequent contributor to *Intercontinental Press* and the *Militant on the Soviet dissident movement*. She authored "An Apology for Sexism in the USSR," a review of William Mandel's *Soviet Women*, which appeared in the December 1976 *ISR*.



The past sixty years have seen the transformation of the USSR from an agricultural to an industrial country with a substantially increased productivity of labor. The working class, once a tiny minority, now is a majority of the USSR's population.

There is no truth at all, however, to Brezhnev's claims that the USSR today is a socialist society. Such declarations enhance the effectiveness of capitalist propaganda against socialism. Since socialism means the elimination of material want and the withering away of inequality and state repression, Smith and Kaiser are able to puncture the regime's boasting by presenting a few simple facts.

'The Modern World Peels Away'

More than 40 percent of the population of the USSR still lives in rural areas, and about one-third of the work force is engaged in agriculture.

"Follow the *narod* [ordinary folk] into the countryside and the modern world peels away with astonishing suddenness," writes Smith.

"Just ten miles from the Kremlin, near the village of Little Mytishchi, city life and its modern conveniences simply come to an end. New apartment buildings give way to *izbas*, squat, low peasant log cabins. Side roads are suddenly no longer paved but turn to dirt, often no more than two ruts or footpaths dribbling off among garden fences. Thanks to Lenin's belief in electricity, most peasant homes have lights—and televisions. But plumbing remains a luxury for the future. Each vegetable garden has its out-house in the corner." Hand pumps and wells along the roadside provide water, which is carried in buckets on a wooden shoulder-yoke.

Prosperous collective farms may have stone buildings, sewage systems, central heating, and running water, but the majority have wooden buildings and no such modern conveniences. Areas isolated by snow in the winter become isolated by mud for weeks at a time when the weather turns warmer. According to Smith, "A state farm of 3,000 to 4,000 people . . . may have only a half-a-dozen telephones—in the main offices or in the homes of the top officials. . . . (In 1970, the Soviet Union had 11 million phones compared to 120 million in America.)"

Rural inhabitants are second-class citizens. It was only two years ago that the government promised that peasants would be given domestic passports similar to those provided for city-dwellers. "Technically, without them, the peasantry is almost as tied to the land as serfs used to be," asserts Smith.

Such restrictions have proved increasingly difficult to enforce. "So many found ways to get around the problem . . . that the government finally promised in 1975 to issue passports to peasants. But it is in no rush. The process will take until the end of 1981."

Despite the industrialization that has taken place, mechanization of agriculture still lags behind industrialized countries of the capitalist world. V. Kirichenko, an official economist, admitted that in 1970 more than 80 percent of agricultural labor was still being done by hand.

Millions of peasants live at or below the poverty level. Smith reports that this has impelled the Brezhnev regime to launch an antipoverty program to aid families with an annual per-capita income of less than \$800. "Press articles indicated that most of the 12.5 million recipients would be from large rural families."

For the poor of rural Russia, Smith finds conditions similar to those of "American pockets of rural poverty—social stigma, poor schools, physical isolation, bad working conditions, low wages, poor morale, limited leisure, and chronic alcoholism."

Living Standards in the Cities

Life in the cities offers vast advantages over rural existence. "By any measure of living standard—income, schools, social life, welfare, health care, consumer goods, leisure outlets, transportation—rural people are worse off than city residents," says Smith. It is little wonder that millions of peasant youth have migrated to the cities, despite government policies aimed at limiting this.

The average worker has greater job security than in the capitalist West (provided she or he doesn't oppose the bureaucracy). Workers are shielded from the kind of economic crisis that now wracks the United States and its capitalist allies. But life is still more difficult in important respects for Soviet workers than it is for steadily employed workers in the advanced capitalist countries. It is certainly far from socialism and very different from the idyllic pictures painted by the regime's publicists.

The average industrial worker makes about 135 rubles (\$187) per month. The average family has an income of 220 rubles per month. A family of three would have to spend about 150 rubles per month to assure a well-balanced diet. Most get by for less, subsisting on a diet of salami, potatoes, bread, cabbage, and dairy products—all of which, according to Kaiser, are "relatively easy to buy."

The scarcity of consumer goods is a perpetual scandal in the Soviet press. Because of these scarcities, the average Soviet woman spends two hours a day, seven days a week, standing in line to make purchases of goods in short supply, from meat to laundry soap to enameled pans. Such goods appear and disappear unpredictably from the shelves of stores. Smith reported that accord-

ing to the Soviet press, "Russians spend 30 billion man-hours in line annually just to make purchases." That is enough "to keep 15 million workers busy year-round on a 40-hour week."

Widespread dissatisfaction with the poor quality and limited quantity of consumer goods has impelled some improvements in recent years. "Leonid Brezhnev set the tone for the Seventies," Smith reports, "when, after consumer riots in Poland in December 1970, he pledged a five-year-plan favoring the consumer and 'saturating the market with consumer goods.' No such dramatic inundation occurred while we were in Moscow but living standards did improve in enough ways for long-neglected Soviet consumers to feel they were enjoying their best years since the Bolshevik Revolution."

The search for more productive technology to meet popular demands for a better life is one of the motivations behind the bureaucracy's search for "détente" with U.S. imperialism. Brezhnev hopes to get access to Western technology in exchange for the Kremlin's assistance in helping the imperialists fend off revolutionary outbreaks in the capitalist world.

Housing Shortage

Rents are far lower in the USSR than in the United States. Nonetheless, the scarcity of housing remains the severest restriction on the living standard of the urban masses. In 1920 the revolutionary government set the "sanitary housing norm" at nine square meters per person—equal to a room ten feet by ten feet. By 1972, housing for the majority of people in urban areas did not meet this standard, the national average being 7.6 square meters. Twenty-five percent of the urban population lives in what is euphemistically tagged "communal housing"—"a room or two per family, several families sharing one kitchen and bath." The housing shortage persists despite the 44 million new units that Smith reports have been built since 1956.

The outskirts of Moscow and other large cities are dominated by row upon row of prefabricated high-rise apartment buildings. Kaiser notes, "In architects' renderings these new neighborhoods are neat, attractively landscaped and well serviced by their own shops and public facilities. They often fail to live up to that image. The official newspapers regularly report on sloppy construction, new communities without shops

'The bureaucratic planning of the economy—which bars the working masses from a say in the decisions of what to produce, how to produce it, and how it should be distributed—has crippled the efficiency and productivity of the Soviet economy.'

and schools, and the complaints of tenants who have to repaint and refinish the floors in brand-new apartments. In spring and autumn the new regions around Moscow . . . are seas of mud."

Bureaucratically arrived-at construction plans—excluding from the decision making both the workers who build the projects and the people who are to live in them—underlie many such difficulties.

Educational opportunities have expanded greatly. "From an illiteracy rate of about 75 percent and a school enrollment of 10 million before the Revolution, the Soviet Union has moved close to full literacy and roughly 50 million children in its schools," writes Smith. Since 1973 the first eight grades of school have been compulsory. According to the 1970 census, however, more than half of all Soviet adults had gone no further than the seventh grade, and only 5.5 percent had more than a high school education.

The treatment of the elderly is a measuring stick of social progress. In this respect, too, Soviet society falls short of the pretensions of Brezhnev and his cohorts.

Twenty billion rubles are paid out annually in pensions. There are, however, 41.5 million pen-



Peasant log cabin in Yakutsk

sioners, Smith says, which means the average pension is 40 rubles (\$53) per month.

It is difficult to measure precisely the extent to which the economic problems of the USSR are products of bureaucratic mismanagement. Certainly the primitiveness of conditions inherited from tsarism, the damage wrought by world wars and civil war, the economic blockades imposed by imperialism, and the massive military expenditures spurred by the U.S.-imposed arms race are heavy burdens.

However, the bureaucratic planning of the economy—which bars the working masses from a say in the decision of what to produce, how to produce it, and how it should be distributed—has crippled the efficiency and productivity of the Soviet economy, stifling the creativity of the producers. Arbitrariness and incompetence on the part of the ruling caste cost the Soviet masses greatly in living standards and quality of life.

Here too, the policies of the bureaucracy are at wide variance with those of the Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky. The Bolsheviks took power as the leaders of soviets, councils of workers, peasants, and soldiers which democratically discussed and voted on all crucial questions. Even after the shattering effects of the civil war led to the decline of the soviets, the workers still had trade unions with the legal right to strike and represent workers' interests in the formulating of economic plans. The victory of the Stalinist bureaucracy over the Left Opposition—headed by Leon Trotsky—in the Communist Party led to the suppression of independent unions and the elimination of any voice for the masses in economic policy.

The strides subsequently made by the USSR in industrialization and urbanization indicate some of the capacities of a noncapitalist planned economy. However, the bureaucracy's disruptive role in the economy is vividly described in *The Russians*.

'Storming'

Since the masses have no voice in economic planning, arbitrarily set production quotas rather than human needs are the governing factors. This has produced a phenomenon called "storming," the name given to the feverish pace of work in factories during the last ten or fifteen days of the month to fulfill the monthly production quota. Storming may save the jobs of factory managers and satisfy the higher-ups, but it produces tons of *brak* (junk), some of which piles up on store shelves because no one will buy the shoddy products.

Here is how "storming" was described to Smith by Yosif, a middle-aged engineer from a large Russian city:

"Plants couldn't operate at normal capacity [in the first weeks of the month] because they do not have a lot of the materials and components needed for operation. In spite of the Plan and seemingly definite delivery deadlines, suppliers don't fulfill the Plan or meet delivery schedules. So manufacturing plants cannot work rhythmically.

Normally, not enough parts and components are available until about the 10th or 12th of the month. Some items can be assembled almost completely, but they lack certain parts. A large number of items cannot be shipped out and accumulate in store rooms. They are held as late as the 20th of the month because parts aren't ready or certain components are missing. . . . When everything has finally been received, the storming of the Plan can begin. Immediately work starts in many sections simultaneously. . . . So factories must fulfill about 80 percent of the Plan in the last 10-15 days. No one cares any longer about quality. Volume is the main thing. . . . The whole population knows about this because everyone works. So normally, when someone buys a household appliance, he tries to buy one with a certificate saying that it was produced before the 15th of the month and not after the 15th" (emphasis added).

The "quota" is met by placing tremendous demands on the work force: "A lot have to put in two shifts a day during storming," he said. "They work all day both Saturdays and Sundays, their normal days off. Management doesn't have the right (to pay them for overtime) because it has a ceiling on its payroll and financial inspection organs check on that. Sometimes if a worker is badly needed, he can get time-and-half or double time off to compensate for his overtime. But whether or not they get time off, workers have to put in those extra days without extra pay. So usually there are a lot of workers off at the start of the month and the enterprise is in a state of paralysis."

The Subordination of Women

A Moscow quip describes the situation of women in Soviet society: "Under capitalism, women are not liberated because they have no opportunity to work. They have to stay at home, go shopping, do the cooking, keep house, and take care of the children. But under socialism, women are liberated. They have the opportunity to work all day, and then go home, do the shopping, do the cooking, keep house, and take care of the children."

After the October revolution, women gained equal political and legal rights with men. Marriage and divorce became simple civil procedures requiring only the decision of the parties involved. Wife beating, legal under the old regime, was barred. Every woman was guaranteed the right to a free abortion if she chose to have one.

Despite limited resources, the establishment of such institutions as kindergartens, schools, public dining rooms, and public laundries was projected, so that society as a whole would eventually be able to take responsibility for the tasks of child care and household maintenance, freeing women from domestic slavery.

With the victory of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the 1920s, the course toward women's liberation was reversed. Marriage and motherhood were glorified as "duties" of womanhood. The repres-

Continued on page ISR/9

Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somalia: Upheaval in the Horn of Africa



Women from the Eritrean forces fighting for independence from Ethiopia

By Ernest Harsch

Except for southern Africa, the conflicts in Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Somalia are now the most explosive on the African continent.

For more than three years, the region—known as the Horn of Africa—has been rocked by urban uprisings, general strikes, student demonstrations, peasant revolts, wars of national liberation, and coups. In the number of forces actually involved, the fighting there is now the heaviest anywhere in Africa. Tens of thousands have been killed in the past year alone, and nearly half a million persons have become refugees.

The forces involved include: the Ethiopian military junta, known as the Dergue, which claims it is "Marxist-Leninist" and says it favors a "specifically Ethiopian socialism"; the Eritreans, Somalis, Oromos, Afars, and other oppressed nationalities under Ethiopian rule, who are fighting for their self-determination; the Somali military junta, which also calls itself "socialist" and is now at war with its rival, the Dergue; a rightist army led by former Ethiopian aristocrats and dispossessed landlords; and Maoist-oriented urban guerrillas in Addis Ababa, the Ethiopian capital.

The outcome of the various struggles in the Horn can have a big impact throughout the continent, and because of its strategic location on the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean, can also influence the situation in the Middle East.

The 1974 Upsurge

The mass ferment in the region is a result of the rapid disintegration, beginning more than three years ago, of the old Ethiopian feudal empire.

Until September 1974, Ethiopia was ruled by an absolute monarch, Emperor Haile Selassie. Under his long reign the country suffered from extreme social inequality, with feudal property relations continuing to play a significant role. About .01 percent of the population owned 70 percent of all arable land. The biggest landlords were from the Amharic or Tigrean nationalities, owning enormous estates, especially in the southern parts of the country. About half of all peasants were tenants or sharecroppers on these estates and had to give the landowners between one-half and three-quarters of their crops as rent.

As a result of this backward system, average per-capita income was less than seventy dollars a

year. Infant mortality was extremely high, disease widespread, and average life expectancy only about thirty-five years.

The landlord class controlled the state. They generally resisted industrial development, since their wealth was based on the extraction of surplus value through rent or tribute. But in the last decades of Selassie's reign, there was also the beginning of some capitalist development, mostly in agriculture, and a small layer of the landlord class became capitalist farmers. Petty-bourgeois elements in the cities, who aspired to become capitalists, also arose. These forces were still too weak, however, to push through reforms or advance their particular political interests on their own.

More than anything else, it was the disastrous famine of 1973 that highlighted the archaic nature of Ethiopia's semifeudal system and brought the latent tensions within the society to the breaking point. The estimates of the number of people who died in the famine range from 100,000 to 250,000. The deaths spurred widespread anger and resentment over the responsibility of Selassie and the rest of the aristocracy for the country's extreme poverty.

It was in Addis Ababa, the largest city in Ethiopia, that the revolution against Selassie began.

In early February 1974, taxi drivers, teachers, and students staged strikes and demonstrations, resulting in clashes with the police. Within a few days, about 10,000 troops, supported by most of the lower ranks and the junior officers, seized Asmara, the capital of Eritrea, to press their demands for higher pay.

Although Selassie made some concessions, the upsurge continued to spread, eventually involving every major sector of the Ethiopian population that was opposed to the aristocracy and the landlord class. In one of the earliest protests, students raised the slogan, "We want democracy!"

In early March, about 100,000 workers belonging to the Confederation of Ethiopian Labor Unions went on strike for economic demands, paralyzing much of the economy for four days. In the weeks that followed the strike wave spread to most of the larger cities and towns in the country, as well as to those in Eritrea.

Peasant Uprising

Women workers protested to demand equal rights and equal pay for equal work. About 100,000 Muslims marched through Addis Ababa to demand an end to religious discrimination against Muslims.

One of the most important developments in the upsurge was its extension to the countryside. Peasants in the southern provinces began to

revolt, seizing crops and land and burning down the homes of landlords. The upheaval spread throughout a 250-mile stretch of the fertile Rift Valley. Despite their relative lack of organization, the peasants began to implement a radical land-reform program of their own.

Most of the demands raised in the early stages of the upsurge were of a democratic character: for freedom of speech, the press, assembly; for the right of workers to organize and strike; for agrarian reform; for equality for women; for an end to religious discrimination; for an elected government. They directly threatened the monarchy and the economic position of the landlords.

The antifeudalist but procapitalist elements in the military were not necessarily opposed to some of these demands, but they were terrified by the manner in which they were being raised— independently by the masses themselves.

There were already signs that the upsurge was passing beyond the stage of spontaneous rebellion and was beginning to throw up new forms of mass organization. Reporters described the formation of what they called "revolutionary committees" and "people's tribunals" in some of the provincial towns. In some cases these popular bodies tried to substitute themselves for the local authorities, who had fled toward Addis Ababa as a result of the peasant revolts.

In fact, a similar process started within the military itself. In unit after unit troops and junior officers arrested the top officers and elected various committees. They issued leaflets demanding democratic rights, land reforms, and the ouster of aristocratic officials. In Eritrea, some leaflets went so far as to call for legalization of the Eritrean independence groups, an especially significant development among troops fighting a colonial war.

Birth of the Dergue

Under these circumstances, a layer of junior officers formed a Military Coordinating Committee in April. It was the predecessor of the Dergue. From its earliest days, one of the dominant figures in it was Maj. Mengistu Haile Mariam, now a lieutenant colonel and the dictator of the country.

Its basic role was to bring the upsurge under its exclusive control, dampening the mobilizations and breaking strikes when they got out of hand. But to bring that off, the committee members had to cultivate some political credibility. They were forced to publicly champion many of the demands raised against the Selassie regime.

At the same time, the young officers desperately negotiated with Selassie for months, trying to get him to make enough concessions to defuse the unrest. When he refused, they were finally

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forced to depose him in September.

Among the junta's first actions was to ban strikes and protests. It arrested three top trade unionists and dispersed thousands of students throughout the countryside.

Socialism in Uniform

The Dergue also instituted reforms, arbitrarily, from the top down, with the intention of "modernizing" Selassie's old empire and providing the basis for the growth of capitalist industries. But because of the continuing unrest and their own political weakness, the members of the Dergue were forced to masquerade as "socialists."

In early 1975 the Dergue nationalized all banks, credit institutions, and insurance companies, as well as many imperialist and some local concerns. Many of the local companies had already been state-owned under Selassie, however, and not all imperialist interests were touched.

In March, it decreed a broad agrarian reform program that nationalized all rural land, canceled all debts and obligations by tenant farmers and sharecroppers, and placed a twenty-five-acre ceiling on the size of farms cultivated by individual peasants. The heaviest blows of the land reform fell on the large absentee landowners in the southern provinces.

The Dergue's agrarian reform measures were adopted in response to the peasant revolts. It tried to institutionalize a process that was already underway, so as to bring it under government control.

Despite the Dergue's "socialist" rhetoric, none of these measures went beyond a capitalist framework. Nationalizations, even extensive ones such as those in Ethiopia, are insufficient to break the grip of imperialist domination. Many other neocolonial regimes have adopted similar measures. What is needed to end the imperialist stranglehold is a revolutionary mobilization of the masses. But by its actions, the Dergue clearly showed that it was opposed to such a course.

Basically, what the economic reforms amount to are an effort to foster capitalist economic growth through the apparatus of the state. Like similar regimes elsewhere, it is characterized by a strong strain of nationalism. The regime seeks to encourage the growth of an indigenous capitalist class, protecting it as much as possible from the more powerful imperialist concerns—as well as from its own workers.

Defends Capitalism

The Dergue has promised incentives to Ethiopian businessmen and traders. The September 10, 1977, issue of the government-controlled *Ethiopian Herald* declared that "local businessmen and industrialists are also encouraged to continue their functions in serving the interests of the broad masses. . . ."

To reassure Washington and the other imperialist powers that it is not against imperialism as such, the Dergue's Declaration of Economic Policy stated that "foreign private investment will be given ample opportunities in many areas of economic activity and will be assured fair and adequate returns." At the end of 1975, it lifted some of the restrictions it had placed on foreign and domestic companies.

The Dergue's moves against the landed aristocracy, as well as the masses, has generated opposition to the regime from both the right and the left.

The Ethiopian Democratic Union (EDU) is a



Three who led the Dergue: from left, Mengistu Haile Mariam, Tefari Banti, and Atnafu Abate. Mengistu succeeded in purging the latter two.

rightist army founded by former aristocrats. It has recently been joined by some bourgeois figures, civil servants, and even a few lower-ranking members of the regime who defected. It had a base in some of the northern and western provinces for a while, but the Dergue has claimed to have routed the EDU in Gondar, where its forces had been most active.

In Addis Ababa, there are two main rival groups that emerged from the student radicalization, Me'ison (All-Ethiopian Socialist Movement) and the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party (EPRP). Both are Maoist and advocate variants of the two-stage theory of revolution. Until recently, Me'ison supported the Dergue and worked within the government-established neighborhood committees and trade unions.

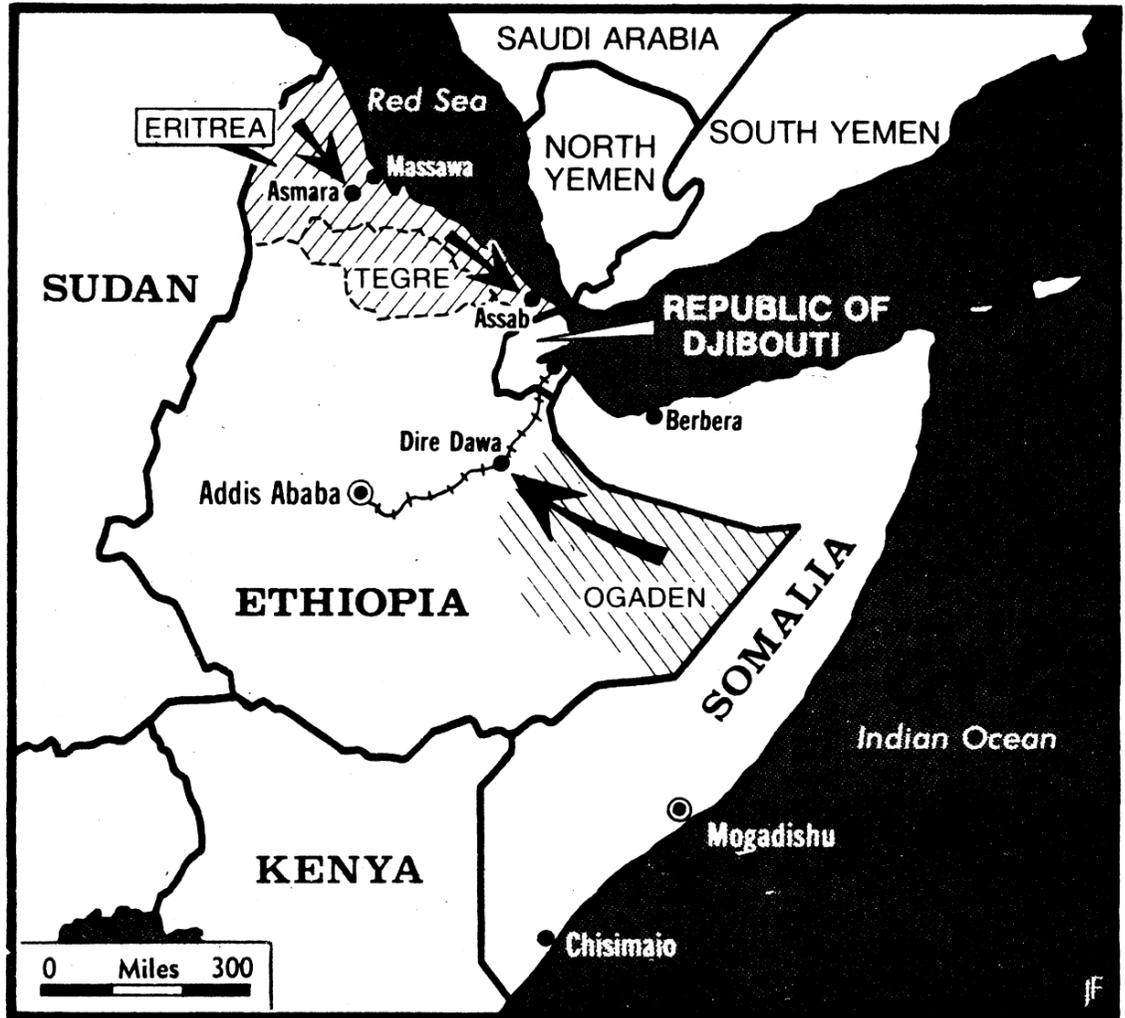
The EPRP, which appeared to have the broadest support of the two, remained underground, calling for the overthrow of the Dergue and the establishment of a "people's provisional government." It carried out a number of terrorist actions, assassinating lower-ranking government

Ethiopia is understandable considering that the country, as it now exists, was created through a long and bloody process of conquest. In the last two decades of the nineteenth century, the dynasty in Addis Ababa expanded its feudal empire southward and eastward, conquering the Oromos and Somalis.

In fact, the Amharic ruler at that time, Menelik, cooperated with the British and Italian imperialists in carving up the Somali-populated territories, resulting in their present division by a number of arbitrarily drawn state borders. Between 1900 and 1904, Ethiopian troops actually joined with British colonial forces to fight against a rebellion in the Ogaden desert region led by Mohamed ibn Abdullah Hassan, one of the founders of modern Somali nationalism.

In the areas that were subjugated, the land was taken away from the original owners and given to Amhara lords. The peasants were then forced to work the land for the foreign conquerors.

Well before the Amharic conquests and the



officials and supporters. Earlier this year, the regime—with the help of Me'ison—launched a massive crackdown on the EPRP, gunning down hundreds of suspected supporters on the streets, in the schools, or in their homes.

Since July and August, however, the Dergue has also moved against its former allies in Me'ison, purging them from its civilian administration and arresting or killing a number of them.

National Question

The limitations of the Dergue's "revolution" are most evident in its policy on the national question. One of its earliest slogans was "Ethiopia tikdem"—Ethiopia first. Its aim is to centralize and "modernize" Selassie's multinational empire on capitalist lines, pledging to uphold Ethiopia's "sacred unity," by force of arms if necessary.

In a country that has traditionally been dominated by an oppressor nationality, the Amharas, this stance is extremely reactionary. It flies in the face of the demands for independence in Eritrea, which has been a colony of Ethiopia since the early 1950s. It runs counter to the demands of the Somalis living under Ethiopian rule to unite politically with their fellow Somalis in Somalia. And it denies the right to self-determination to a number of other oppressed nationalities, such as the Oromos, Afars, and others.

The explosiveness of the national question in

European colonization, the Somalis began to develop a sense of national unity based on their common language and the influence of Islam. They naturally resisted the foreign aggressors, both Amharic and European, and fought to prevent the partition of their homeland. The rebellion led by Mohamed ibn Abdullah Hassan, which lasted for more than twenty years, was just one aspect of this.

The defeat of the Italian colonialists during World War II and the later "decolonization" of the British empire led to a reshuffling of the borders in the Horn of Africa. While the Ogaden remained under Ethiopian rule, and the Somalis living in Djibouti and Kenya stayed under French and British control respectively, the two colonies of British and Italian Somaliland won their formal independence and merged to form the present state of Somalia in 1960. (Both Djibouti and Kenya have since become independent states as well.)

The liberation of at least part of the original Somali homelands gave a tremendous spur to the Somali struggle as a whole. This was reflected in a meeting in Mogadishu in August 1959, at which Somali delegates from Somalia, Djibouti, the Northeastern District of Kenya, and the Ogaden and Haud regions of Ethiopia organized a pan-Somali movement aimed at unifying all Somalis within one state.

In fact, this goal was written into the first Somalian constitution. The Somalian flag includes a five-pointed star, representing the

former British and Italian colonies now incorporated into Somalia, as well as the three "lost territories."

In the early 1960s, the Western Somali Liberation Front (WSLF) was formed, originating from a Somali peasant resistance movement in the Ethiopian province of Bale. Under the leadership of Wako Gutu and with the backing of the Somali regime, it carried out extensive actions in Bale and the Ogaden. These clashes escalated in 1963-64, resulting in a war between Addis Ababa and Mogadishu. The defeat suffered by Mogadishu compelled it to halt its aid to the WSLF and in 1970 Wako was forced to surrender to the Ethiopian forces.

The downfall of Selassie in 1974 and the significant advances made by the Eritrean freedom fighters inspired the Somalis to once again press forward with their struggle. The WSLF was reorganized. In an interview in the August *New African Development*, WSLF leader Abdullahi Hassan Mahmoud explained, "The dethroning of Haile Selassie has opened the way before all oppressed nationalities in Ethiopia to move."

War in the Ogaden

The WSLF renewed its guerrilla actions against the Ethiopian occupation forces and in June blew up a number of railway bridges, cutting the only railway line between Addis Ababa and Djibouti, which handles 60 percent of Ethiopia's foreign trade.

The next month, the WSLF launched its major offensive, in short order capturing dozens of towns and villages, including the key city of Jijiga, which had been the major tank base of the Ethiopian army. Reporters visiting the Somali-held areas described seeing arms caches and heavy equipment, such as tanks and artillery, that had been left behind during the Ethiopians' hasty retreats. By September, the Dergue's forces had been driven back to the immediate areas around Harar and Diredawa, the two major cities in the region.

Western correspondents who toured the Ogaden also reported massive support for the WSLF troops from the Somali population. One journalist said in an August 24 Agence France-Presse dispatch, "The visitors were often greeted by noisy but disciplined crowds shouting hatred for the Ethiopian Government and its leader, Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam." And Graham Hancock reported in the September 18 London *Sunday Times*, "I did not see one village, nor one nomadic Somali group, that was not armed and angry, ready and willing to fight again at any time. The entire population seemed intoxicated with victory, in total support of the guerrillas and very able to defend itself."

There have been reports that two other nationalist groups, the Oromo Liberation Front and the Afar Liberation Front, have begun to coordinate their own struggles with that of the WSLF.

The Somali regime of Gen. Mohammad Siad Barre officially denies that its armed forces are directly involved in the Ogaden, but the Dergue has been able to display captured Somali tanks, trucks, and heavy artillery, as well as the

wreckage of jets with Somali air force markings on them. The Siad Barre regime, moreover, openly backs the WSLF's aims, has given it military and financial support, and even admits that regular Somali troops have been given "leave" to fight with the WSLF.

Siad Barre, in fact, has little choice but to support the Somali struggle in the Ogaden and elsewhere. He pointed out in an interview in the June 13 issue of the Paris fortnightly *Afrique-Asie* that "no government, no regime, no Somali leader could survive in this country if he moved to abandon the policy of recovering the territories that are still colonized by foreign occupiers."

Although the Somali junta's policy is a reflection of the Somali aspirations for unity, its own narrower interests are also at stake. Somalia is an impoverished country with few resources. The Ogaden, however, is thought to contain deposits of oil and gas. Moreover, Siad Barre may be using the campaign to regain the Ogaden at least partially to divert popular grievances away from his own regime, which is repressive and has established a powerful and extensive secret police apparatus to control the population. Like its counterpart in Ethiopia, the Somali regime tries to cover its procapitalist policies with a "socialist" mask.

While aiding the WSLF and the efforts toward Somali unity, the junta at the same time fears the potential power of the Somali struggle and has carefully sought to keep it under control.

Eritrean Independence Struggle

The other major threat to the Dergue's cherished "sacred unity" is the independence struggle in Eritrea. The Eritrean groups are no longer small guerrilla forces, but full-scale armies, with the overwhelming majority of the population behind them. Despite the presence of 25,000 Ethiopian troops—half the regular army—the Eritreans control almost the entire territory, except for a few cities.

The Dergue tries to justify its opposition to what it calls a "secessionist" struggle on the grounds that Eritrea was historically and socially part of Ethiopia, except during the period of Italian colonization. But there is considerable historical evidence to prove that much of Eritrea has had a separate existence for hundreds of years.

In 1869, the same year that the Suez Canal was opened, the Italian colonialists began to move into what is now Eritrea, acquiring the port of Assab. In the mid-1880s they seized Massawa. After negotiating a treaty with Emperor Menelik, the Italians proclaimed it a colony in 1890.

Like Ethiopia itself, Eritrea is a patchwork of various peoples. The two major spoken languages are Tigrinya and Tigre, but there are at least six others as well. The population as a whole is about half Muslim and half Christian.

For their own economic and military reasons, the Italian colonialists introduced some industrialization. The rise of a significant Eritrean working class and the common experience of being subjected to colonial rule brought the

various Eritrean peoples together and helped give them a common sense of national identity.

After the Italian defeat during World War II, the various imperialist powers, as well as Haile Selassie, maneuvered to gain control of Eritrea. Finally, in 1950, Washington pushed a resolution through the United Nations calling for Eritrea's federation with Ethiopia. Selassie had proven himself a valuable American ally and Washington was concerned about the direction an independent Eritrea might take, especially since it is strategically located on the Red Sea. The best solution, as the American imperialists saw it, was to let Selassie bring the Eritreans under his control.

The actual federation came into effect in 1952, but Selassie quickly moved to abolish even the fiction of Eritrean "autonomy." All political parties, except for one that favored outright merger with Ethiopia, were banned. Trade unions were outlawed, newspapers shut down, and Amharic was imposed as the sole official language. Books in the Eritrean languages were burned. In 1958, Ethiopian troops responded to a general strike by machine-gunning scores of Eritrean workers.

In 1962, Selassie formally annexed Eritrea as Ethiopia's fourteenth "province." It is, in fact, a colony.

The last major organized resistance to the Ethiopian occupation in the urban areas was carried out by the Eritrean Liberation Movement, which was formed in 1959. It was soon crushed by Ethiopian troops and police.

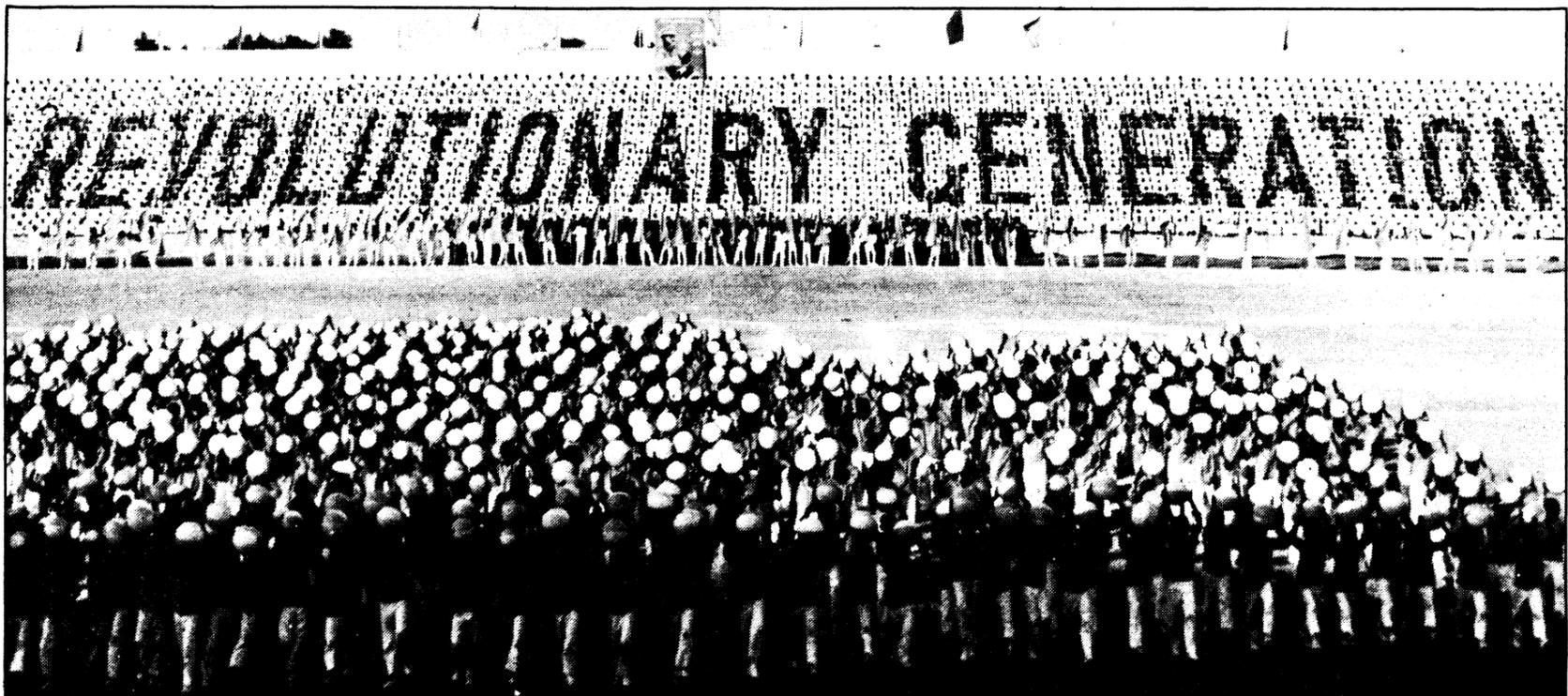
Rebel Forces in Eritrea

Two years later the Eritrean Liberation Front was formed. It was a rural-based nationalist group, with a guerrilla-warfare orientation. It was initially composed mostly of Muslim peasants and nomads and carried out only minor military actions. But in 1964-65 there was an important upswing in the independence struggle with a big influx of recruits from the high plateau region, which is populated mostly by Christians.

However, this advance was blocked by factional struggles within the ELF, in which hundreds of dissidents were said to have been killed. Finally, in 1970, a group of guerrillas that had split from the ELF formed the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF). The ELF was unwilling to recognize the existence of a rival group and declared war on the EPLF in 1972. This factional war lasted for more than two years, greatly hampering the struggle for independence.

At least initially, the EPLF tended to use more radical and "socialist" rhetoric than the ELF. But both groups are essentially nationalist organizations. They both deny that they are "Marxist." They claim to represent the interests of all Eritrean classes.

Both groups also call for sweeping nationalizations after independence, especially of imperialist concerns and those owned by Eritrean collaborators. But at the same time, they stress that there will be a role for "patriotic" capitalists. For



A government-sponsored demonstration in Mogadishu, Somalia. Both the Ethiopian and Somali regimes are military dictatorships claiming to represent socialism.

instance, the EPLF program adopted in January 1977 says that it would "allow nationals who were not opposed to the independence of Eritrea to participate in national construction by owning small factories and workshops compatible with national development and the system of administration."

Revolutionary Socialist View

While revolutionary socialists can support the actual struggle for Eritrean independence, they should place no political confidence in the leaderships of any of the existing groups nor take sides in the factional conflicts between them. Revolutionists would call for the formation of a united front of all proindependence forces to wage an effective struggle against the Ethiopian occupiers, while at the same time putting forward a class-struggle program to counter the procapitalist tendencies within the leaderships of the Eritrean organizations.

During the mass upsurge against Selassie in 1974, there was a new rise in the Eritrean struggle, with strikes and demonstrations taking place in various Eritrean cities. One correspondent who visited Asmara, the largest city in Eritrea, reported in the February 3, 1975, *New York Times* that he "could not find one Eritrean who favored anything short of full independence."

This upsurge forced an end to the factional war between the ELF and EPLF, at least for the time being, and in January 1975 they launched a coordinated attack on the Ethiopian forces in Asmara itself. Although they were ultimately repelled, both groups won thousands of new recruits and early in 1977 began to take control of a series of important towns and cities, including Nacfa, Karora, Keren, Agordat, Tessenei, and Decamere. Decamere and Keren are the second and third largest cities in Eritrea.

Both the ELF and EPLF now have a similar number of troops, between 10,000 and 12,000 each. The EPLF controls all of the northernmost district of Sahel and the ELF most of the two western districts of Barka and Gash. Both have units in most of the rest of the country, with the EPLF reportedly dominating in the high plateau area around Asmara and Keren. Together, they control roughly 85 percent of the territory, which includes all but 300,000 of Eritrea's 3.5 million people.

A third Eritrean group, which has no real base within Eritrea, was formed in March 1976. It is a split from the EPLF and is called the Eritrean Liberation Front-People's Liberation Forces (ELF-PLF). It has since allied itself with the ELF.

Though the Eritrean groups appear fairly optimistic that independence is within sight, the rivalry between them has begun to heat up again, raising the danger of a renewal of factional warfare. The Dergue, which has sent new paramilitary forces into Eritrea, will certainly try to take advantage of any factional conflict for its own purposes.

Imperialist Maneuvers

If the Eritreans gain independence or the Somalis are successful in throwing off Ethiopian domination and uniting with their fellow Somalis in Somalia, oppressed peoples in other African countries will be inspired to advance their own struggles for national self-determination. This could lead to instability and unrest throughout the continent, for the present states are based on borders artificially drawn by the colonial powers.

Likewise, the ferment in the Horn of Africa can have an impact on the national liberation struggles in the Middle East, particularly that of the Palestinian people against the Israeli colonial-settler state. It is no accident that the Palestine Liberation Organization has friendly ties with both the Eritrean and Somali freedom fighters and has given them some aid.

It was precisely out of a fear of the consequences of Eritrean independence or Somali unification that Washington backed the central regime in Addis Ababa for years.

Beginning in 1952, the same year as the Ethiopian-Eritrean "federation," American imperialism provided the Selassie regime with hundreds of millions of dollars in economic and military aid, reaching \$275 million in military assistance alone by the time of Selassie's overthrow. The Ethiopian military was armed, clothed, and trained almost entirely by the U.S. government. This policy was based on the view

that the Selassie regime was a "stabilizing influence" in the area.

Israel also had close relations with Selassie, acquiring military bases on two Eritrean islands in the Red Sea and providing some counterinsurgency instructors. Because of these Israeli ties, various Arab regimes gave a small amount of aid to the Eritreans, largely in an attempt to put some political pressure on Selassie, and later on the Dergue.

Despite the extremely backward nature of the Selassie regime, the Stalinists in Moscow and Peking also cultivated ties with the emperor. Selassie visited both Moscow and Peking, receiving some financial assistance from both.

After Selassie's downfall and the seizure of power by the Dergue, Washington hesitated for a while, but then continued sending military aid, apparently with the hope that the new regime would be able to bring things under control. In 1976, it allocated \$22 million in military aid to Addis Ababa, up from \$12.5 million the previous year. Since September 1974, the American imperialists also sold the junta more than \$150 million worth of arms, including tanks and jet fighters, although not all of it has been delivered.

After the Eritreans continued to make gains, however, Washington reassessed the situation and decided that the Dergue might not be able to hold the empire together, even with considerable American backing. So the American imperialists concluded that the most practical thing to do was to cut their losses before it was too late and they suffered a severe political setback.

In April, Washington reduced its aid program to the Dergue. The Mengistu regime responded by shutting down a number of American offices and installations in the country and turning to Moscow for political and material aid.

Stalinists Back the Dergue

The Kremlin was more than willing to oblige. In May, Mengistu visited Moscow, receiving a red-carpet welcome and later some significant arms shipments. When the Dergue's new "People's Militia" was paraded through Addis Ababa in June, they were armed with Soviet weapons. The Ethiopian dictatorship, moreover, has been called "progressive" in the Stalinist press. Until recently, Moscow was also arming the rival neocolonial regime in Somalia and maintained a number of advisers there.* In its comments on the war in the Ogaden, however, it has tended to present the Dergue's side favorably.

Moscow is trying to cultivate political influence in the Horn of Africa in order to gain a better bargaining position in its class-collaborationist dealings with Washington. It does the same thing in many other parts of the neocolonial world. This approach only serves the narrow diplomatic interests of the Soviet bureaucracy. By helping the Dergue maintain a left cover and aiding its war against the Eritreans, Somalis, and other peoples, it is completely counterrevolutionary as well.

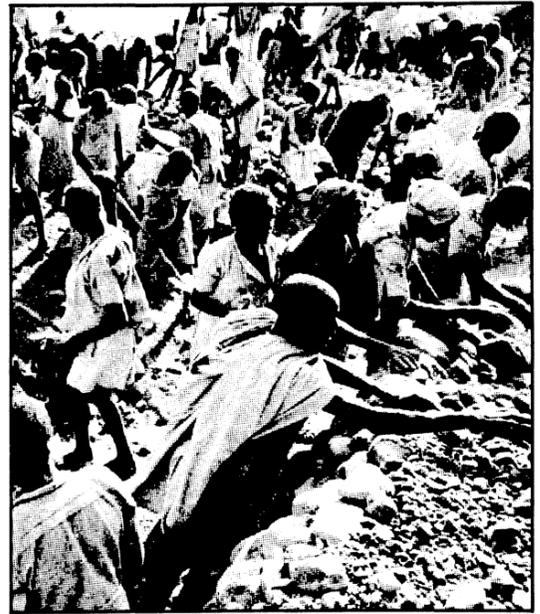
As might be expected, the American Communist Party has echoed the Kremlin's stance. In the October 22, 1977, issue of the CP's *Daily World*, columnist Tom Foley points to the Eritrean and Somali struggles as examples of imperialism's ability to "incite nationalist and secessionist movements."

Foley charges that the Somali people face "U.S. and Saudi Arabian domination" unless they submit to Ethiopian rule. At the same time, Foley promises the Eritreans "autonomy, within a democratic, socialist-oriented Ethiopia" if only they lay down their arms.

If the Ethiopian regime wanted to fend off "U.S. and Saudi Arabian domination" of Somalia and the Ogaden and to assure the Eritrean people of its socialist intentions, it would grant these oppressed peoples the right of self-determination. A truly socialist regime in Ethiopia would not hesitate to follow this course.

Of course, Foley's arguments are pure demagoguery. For him, the "progressive" or "reactionary" character of the Eritrean and Somali struggles depends on the current diplomatic orientation of the Soviet government. Since Brezhnev hopes to gain advantages from dealing with the Dergue, Stalinist pen-pushers such as Tom Foley are compelled to characterize the Eritrean and Somali struggles as an imperialist plot.

*This article was completed prior to November 13, 1977, when the Somali regime expelled all Soviet advisers and broke off diplomatic relations with Cuba.



Ethiopian workers

Unfortunately, the Cuban leadership has also extended political support to the Dergue. Although there is no proof that there are Cuban military advisers aiding the junta, as the State Department claims, Castro has made no secret of his attitude toward the Mengistu regime. In an interview published in the May 22 issue of the English-language weekly edition of *Granma*, Castro was quoted as saying that there were "certain similarities between the Ethiopian Revolution and the French and Bolshevik Revolutions, because the leaders have made an antifederal revolution while working at the same time for socialism." He called Mengistu a "true revolutionary."

Such statements only help the Dergue maintain its "socialist" pretenses. They also sow confusion among Ethiopian revolutionists.

An International Flashpoint

The American imperialists, however, have not cut all their ties to the Dergue. There are a number of Defense Department officials still stationed there. Washington recently agreed to provide the Dergue with \$200,000 in economic assistance and is discussing an additional \$10 million aid package.

The Israeli regime continues to back the Dergue, a fact about which Moscow and its mouthpieces are silent. The August 12 *Washington Post* reported, "According to numerous sources, including Ethiopian air force personnel, Israel is regularly flying in spares and ammunition for Ethiopia's U.S. equipment. Israeli ammunition for U.S. Phantom jets was specifically mentioned." Israeli advisers are likewise reported to have helped train the Dergue's new People's Militia.

The *New York Times* reported August 1, "The United States is aware of the Israeli involvement and has not opposed it. . . ."

Washington has coupled these moves with an increase in American arms sales to some of the pro-American regimes in the region, particularly those in Egypt, the Sudan, and Kenya. In July it also said that it was willing, "in principle," to sell arms to the Somali junta, but later withdrew the offer, apparently fearing, in part, the impact a successful Somali struggle in the Ogaden could have on the Somalis living in Kenya.

What these moves reflect are a concerted effort by the Carter administration to strengthen Washington's position in the Horn of Africa, so as to be better able to influence or sidetrack the various struggles as they develop. Should the Eritreans win their independence or the Somalis their unification, Washington will certainly try to contain those struggles within a capitalist framework and prevent them from threatening imperialist interests in the area.

This American goal at the same time carries the danger of U.S. military involvement—either directly or through Washington's local neocolonial allies—should the conflicts in Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Somalia spiral out of control. This makes it particularly important for opponents of U.S. aggression abroad to be on the alert for any signs of American intervention in the Horn of Africa.

...Soviet society

Continued from page ISR/4

sive and constricting nuclear family was hailed as a "natural" and "socialist" institution. Funds for public services to free women from housework and child rearing were cut.

New restrictions on divorce were imposed in 1927. In 1936 women's right to have abortions was sharply restricted. In 1943 abortions were completely banned. They were legalized again only in 1955.

Today abortion is legal on demand during the first three months of pregnancy; after that it is only performed for medical reasons. Other means of contraception are primitive or in short supply. "More than one Moscow husband joked that the primary methods of birth control were the housing shortage, the total lack of double beds in the Soviet Union, and the exhaustion of their working wives," Smith writes.

Such services as public laundries and communal dining facilities are virtually nonexistent. In Moscow, with a population of roughly 7 million, there are only about 130 restaurants.

Kaiser found that "less than half of all Soviet households have a refrigerator, and the most

'The ruling caste not only has special food stores and clinics, but its own tailors, hairdressers, and laundries. Some get the opportunity to travel abroad, returning with expensive foreign goods.'

common size is tiny. Just more than half have a washing machine, but Soviet washers are simply tubs in which water is gently agitated." Nor are any clothes dryers produced. "Many women do the family laundry by hand every day."

Day-care facilities are inadequate. Says Smith: "Despite the impression in the West that Soviet children are almost automatically turned over to well-subsidized state nurseries right from the cradle, it came as a discovery to me that most preschool children are actually raised at home. The main reason is that although subsidies put the cost of day-care centers as low as \$14 a month to the parents, the state had enough spaces in 1974 for only about one-third of the 30 million preschool children from ages one to six."

Burdened with responsibility for maintaining the home and raising the children, women are hardly able to enter the work force on equal terms with men and are largely confined to lower-paying jobs. Even college-educated women (women are now a majority of those completing higher education) confront barriers of prejudice and discrimination.

In 1974, 85 percent of all working-age women in the USSR worked, making up 51 percent of the work force. Only one-tenth of the factory managers are women. Women make up three-quarters of the school teachers—but only one-quarter of the principals. Half the scientific workers are female—but only one-tenth of the senior professors and members of the Academy of Sciences are women.

The Communist Party makes no effort to set an example by placing women in high positions. On the contrary, it reinforces their second-class status. There are no women on the politburo or on the secretariat of the Communist Party's central committee, and only 6 of the 241 members of the central committee are women.

Women are guaranteed equal pay for equal work, a legal gain achieved by women in the early years of the revolution. However, as Smith states, "getting the equal work is the problem."

Russification

Neither Smith nor Kaiser pays much attention to one of the most burning injustices in the USSR—the clash between the Great Russian chauvinism of the bureaucratic machine and the national and cultural aspirations of millions of non-Russian people. This failing is reflected in the titles of their books, which describe the USSR and its population as "Russia" and "Russians," although Russia is only one of fifteen republics

in the USSR, and half of the USSR's population is non-Russian.

The bureaucracy's chauvinism is manifested in its policy of Russification, the systematic discrimination against non-Russians practiced by the regime. This policy includes heavy pressure on minority nationalities to adopt the Russian language and culture, along with the systematic discouragement of non-Russian languages and culture. The glorification of Russian history and traditions is combined with the downgrading of the history and traditions of non-Russians.

When minority nationalities object to this state of affairs, the Great Russian chauvinists cynically accuse them of "bourgeois nationalism."

Resistance to the Russification policies of the tsar was a driving force in the 1917 revolution. Lenin and the Bolsheviks fought for the right of self-determination for the oppressed nationalities. After the turmoil of the civil war subsided, formerly subjugated nations benefited from affirmative action to compensate for and overcome the oppression of the past. These peoples began to experience a political and cultural renaissance.

The course followed by Stalin and his successors is similar in many respects to the tsarist Russification policy. It is crudely expressed in the words of the song selected by Stalin in 1943 to replace "The Internationale" as the USSR's anthem:

*Unbreakable union of free-born republics,
Great Russia has created forever to stand.*

This passage—with its anomalous description of a "union" of "free born" republics created by only one of them, Great Russia—represents a direct repudiation of Lenin's policy toward the oppressed nationalities.

The reinstatement of the Russification policy (including the use of anti-Semitism by the regime) has aroused bitter opposition. The inadequate treatment of this important question is the most glaring weakness in Smith's and Kaiser's reportage.

Life for Bureaucrats

What do the bureaucrats gain through such reactionary practices enforced by a police-state regime? Smith and Kaiser show that there are those in the USSR who have achieved "socialism in one country" for themselves, even though the masses are barred from this promised land.

Not everyone has to worry about crowded housing or shoddy consumer goods. Not everyone has to look forward to a meager pension in old age. "For them," one man told Smith, "Communism has arrived."

"Pick any weekday afternoon to stroll down Granovsky Street two blocks from the Kremlin," Smith relates, "and you will find two lines of polished black Volga sedans, engines idling and chauffeurs watchfully eyeing their mirrors. They are parked self-confidently over the curbs, in defiance of No Parking signs but obviously unworried about the police. Their attention is on the entrance at No. 2 Granovsky, a drab beige structure, windows painted over. . . .

"A . . . sign, by the door, identifies the building simply as 'The Bureau of Passes.' But not just for anyone, I was told. Only for the Commu-

nist Party Central Committee staff and their families. An outsider, not attuned to the preference of Party officials for black Volgas and untrained to spot the telltale MOC . . . license plates of Central Committee cars, would notice nothing unusual. Now and then, men and women emerge from 'The Bureau of Passes' with bulging bags and packages wrapped discreetly in plain brown paper, and settle comfortably in the rear seats of the waiting Volgas to be chauffeured home. Down the block and out of general view, other chauffeurs are summoned by loudspeakers into the enclosed and guarded courtyard to pick up telephone orders for home delivery. A white-haired watchman at the gate shoos away curious pedestrians. . . .

"For these people are part of the Soviet elite, doing their shopping in a closed store deliberately unmarked to avoid attracting attention, accessible only with a special pass.

"An entire network of such stores serves the upper crust of Soviet society—the bosses of what one Soviet journalist irreverently called, 'Our Communist Nobility. . . .' Here, the politically anointed can obtain rare Russian delicacies like caviar, smoked salmon, the best canned sturgeon, export brands of vodka or unusual vintages of Georgian and Moldavian wines, choice meat, fresh fruit and vegetables in winter that are rarely available elsewhere. . . .

"Certain stores also provide the elite with foreign goods the proletariat never lays eyes on (at cut-rate, duty-free prices): French cognac, Scotch whisky, American cigarettes, imported chocolates, Italian ties, Austrian fur-lined boots, English woolens, French perfumes, German shortwave radios, Japanese tape recorders and stereo sets."

The bureaucracy has access to more than special stores. "There are more limousines around the corner on Kalinin Prospekt," comments Kaiser after describing the same store, "in front of the Kremlin Polyclinic, a special medical facility for a privileged few. The clinic belongs to the 'Fourth Department' of the Ministry of Health, an entire division of the Soviet Union's health service which serves only the elite. Every major city has a Fourth Department clinic, and perhaps also a hospital, for the privileged.

"The Fourth Department of the Ministry of Health publishes a book which tells its employees exactly what sort of treatment officials at each level of the bureaucracy are entitled to, what kind of room, with what furnishings, and so forth."

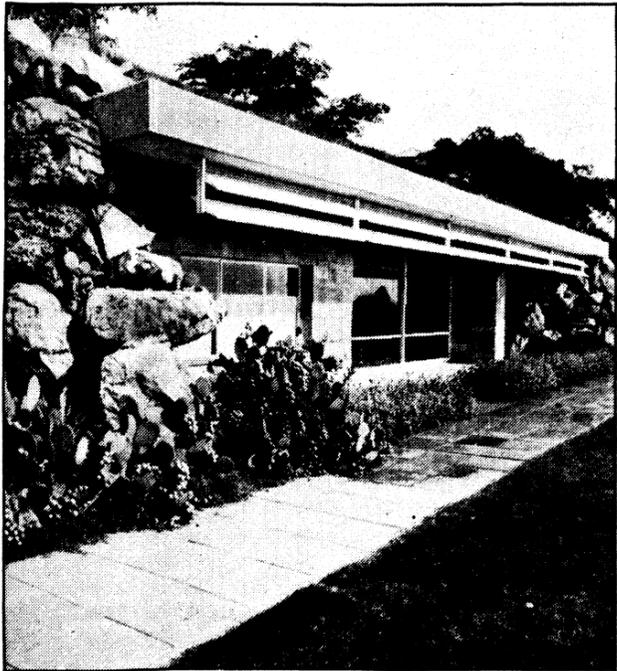
The ruling caste not only has special food stores and clinics, but its own tailors, hairdressers, laundries, and cleaners. Some get the opportunity to travel abroad, returning with expensive foreign goods. And that's not all.

"Salary levels are a deceptive measure of privilege in the Soviet Union," writes Smith. "Brezhnev's official salary, according to what I was told, is 900 rubles a month [more than six times as much as an average worker makes] but his other perquisites make his real income far higher, though incalculable."

For instance, Smith describes how those at the



The politburo, top of the system of bureaucratic command of privilege. In the front row from right are party secretary Brezhnev, former president Podgorny (recently dropped from the politburo), Mikhail Suslov, and Andrei Kirilenko.



How a top bureaucrat lives: top left, Brezhnev's private Mercedes; top right, the state-owned yacht he uses; bottom left, Brezhnev's summer house; and his race horse.

very top—members of the politburo, the party central committee, cabinet ministers, and the small executive group running the Supreme Soviet (the rubber-stamp parliament)—get the *kremlevsky payok*, or Kremlin ration. The Kremlin ration provides these officials with enough food each month to provide luxuriously for their families, free of charge.

An entire department of the central committee called the Administration of Affairs exists to cater to the wants of the top bureaucrats. According to Smith, it has a "secret budget, operates and equips an extensive stable of choice apartment houses, country dachas, government guest houses, special rest homes, fleets of car pools, and squads of security-screened servants. . . ."

There are entire communities of hideaway dachas for party and state officials. Smith reports that "Party leaders themselves have mansions with several acres of land that come cost-free from the state. Their homes are surrounded by high green fences that, as one Muscovite told me, ordinary Russians learn from childhood not to approach too closely." Little wonder that the bureaucrats, as one worker told Kaiser, "never see how the rest of us live."

The 'Chaika Lane'

"The most conspicuous symbols of rank and privilege," Smith notes, "are the chauffeur-driven limousines of the *Nachalstvo* (bosses) with their gray curtains discretely shrouding VIPs from curious glances. They race down the centers of streets while policemen frantically motion other traffic to the curb."

The very highest level of the ruling group—the politburo members and secretaries of the Communist parties in the various republics, get to use hand-tooled Zil limousines (similar to American Lincolns) worth about \$75,000 each.

Second-level officials usually settle for a Chaika. "So well known are Chaikas for barging down the special center lane of main avenues, the lane reserved for VIP cars, that it has colloquially become known as 'Chaika Lane.'"

The bureaucrats' fascination with the automobile has become better known in the West of late because of Brezhnev's penchant for accepting expensive foreign cars as gifts from imperialist heads of state such as Valery Giscard d'Estaing of France and Richard Nixon.

A worker in Moscow or Leningrad must wait from six months to three years to receive a car, paying the equivalent of two-and-a-half years' wages.

The bureaucrats have access to cultural activities that are forbidden to the rest of the population. They can see proscribed foreign films and literature, and some are even permitted to own *samizdat*, prohibited Soviet writings. Possession of such literature would land less exalted citizens in jail.

The regime seals off the people from information about reality in the Soviet Union or outside it, forcing them to "read between the lines" of the Soviet press or tune into U.S.-backed stations such as Radio Liberty or Voice of America.

However, trusted officials are provided with a special news service known as "white TASS." According to Smith, this carries accurate information on crop reports, crime, and other information the bureaucrats would rather the general public did not know.

Chief editors, high government officials, and Communist Party big shots get "red TASS." This carries detailed domestic and international news of the type that would be carried in the better-quality capitalist newspapers of the West. Information is a privilege—and a rare one—in the USSR.

Nomenklatura

Smith estimates that around 1 million people, or several million if families are included, have access to one or another level of privilege. The pyramid of power and privilege is structured and has a name—*nomenklatura* (formally, the list of top-ranking party officials).

"At the top," Smith states, "the *nomenklatura* of the Politburo—that is, the posts filled by direct appointment of the Soviet rulers themselves—are the Cabinet ministers, the head of the Academy of Sciences, editors of *Pravda* and *Izvestia*, Party bosses in all republics and provinces, deputy ministers of the most sensitive ministries, the ambassador to the United States and a few other key ambassadors, and the secretariat of the Communist Party Central Committee. This secretariat . . . then names more people to thousands of other jobs—lower, but still very important. And so on down the line to republics, provinces, cities, districts, villages, in a huge patronage system.

"It is this system of patronage à la Tammany Hall . . . that is being rewarded through the network of special stores and other facilities," Smith concludes. "The system spreads out across the country, and even in provincial capitals a similar network of closed stores and other privileges exists for the local elite, on a smaller and more modest scale, of course. *Nomenklatura* operates like a self-perpetuating, self-selecting fraternity, a closed corporation."

Nomenklatura is rigidly hierarchical. "Even inside the same enterprise there may be several dining rooms, each with a different quality of food, each open to a different rank of official," Kaiser reports. An ambitious young bureaucrat knows what privileges he will be entitled to with each advance in rank.

Secrecy pervades the system of bureaucratic privilege, showing the instability and insecurity of the Soviet bureaucracy. Aware of the parasitic and illegitimate nature of their caste rule, the elite attempts to bar anyone from openly recognizing its existence. Above all, it seeks to suppress all knowledge of how much of the wealth produced by the Soviet workers and peasants is used to keep the officialdom in the manner to which it has become accustomed. How many of the economic ills Soviet society suffers from could be eliminated or ameliorated if the wealth stolen by these parasites was returned to society?

The masses, of course, are well aware of what is going on. "Muscovites find this entire life-style . . . a mockery of Marxist ideals," writes Smith.

"If there were ever a second Revolution," Smith quotes a worker as saying, "it would be first against the bosses in the Black Volgas."

A Second Revolution

A theme running through both *The Russians and Russia: The People and the Power* is the "submissiveness" of the "Russian" people, which is presented as an eternal characteristic (Smith refers to "the habitual submission of the masses to the Supreme Leader"). The authors attribute the failure of the workers and peasants to rise up against inequities to this "habitual submission."

Smith and Kaiser are wrong. The bureaucratic rulers have imposed a police-state regime on the USSR not because of the "submissiveness" of the Soviet peoples, but in order to crush their resistance and dam up their rebelliousness. With the same objective in mind, they have sought in recent years to raise living standards in the hope of winning the tolerance, if not the acceptance, of the masses.

The Kremlin officials are well aware of the fighting history of the working people of the USSR, from the 1905 and 1917 revolutions, to the fight of the Left Opposition in the Bolshevik Party against Stalin's rise to power, to the upsurges of oppressed nationalities and expressions of dissidence that have appeared in recent years.

The rulers know that any loosening of their control over the flow of information, any honest history of the revolutionary period, would expose "socialism in one country" as a fraud. The truth would expose the bureaucrats as betrayers—not only of the 1917 revolution, but of revolutions all over the world.

A weakening of the bureaucratic stranglehold would be the beginning of the end of bureaucratic rule. The demands of dissenting Soviet intellectuals for freedom of speech and the press, an end to Russification, and an end to political repression are reviving some of the ideals for which the October revolution was made. The dissidents are expressing the sentiments and interests of millions of working people in the USSR who as yet fear to speak out.

The dissenters face vicious repression, because the bureaucrats know that giving in to the democratic demands of the dissidents would open a flood of protests and demands from the workers and peasants.

A second revolution will come in the USSR. It will not be aimed at overturning the conquests of 1917—as the defenders of the regime will no doubt claim—but at renovating, restoring, deepening, and extending them. The working masses will seek to throw out the "bosses in the Black Volgas," win civil liberties, establish proletarian democracy, and resume the march toward socialism that the bureaucracy has blocked for more than fifty years.

Pink Collar Workers

BOOKS

By Jane Harris

Pink Collar Workers: Inside the World of Women's Work

By Louise Kapp Howe. New York, Putnam, 1977. 301 pp. \$8.95.

Did you know that more than half of all women between eighteen and sixty-four years of age are part of the labor force? That women workers now account for two-fifths of all workers? That unemployed rates are highest for teen-age and minority women? That the income gap between men and women continues to widen? Probably not. This is some of the valuable data in Louise Kapp Howe's *Pink Collar Workers*.

Who are "pink collar workers"? They are most women who work. Many are secretaries, saleswomen, waitresses, and beauticians. Most are not paid very much. Many are beginning to realize that the government and big business have conspired to keep women's work grossly undervalued. Not being the first woman astronaut or Jackie Onassis, they attract little or no attention as they pour into the work force. Yet they comprise the vast majority of American working women.

Contrary to what opponents of the Equal Rights Amendment would have us believe, these women are not working for pin money. They are working to make ends meet. As women, their job options are few. Louise Kapp Howe examines the lives of these women—with the aid of mounds of statistics and, more importantly, through in-depth interviews and her own experiences.

Pink Collar Workers makes one point loud and clear: women need to organize in unions and make the unions serve their needs. While most women work nonunion jobs, even the ones who can unionize often don't. And why should they? asks Howe. In her interviews with various union representatives she reports some interesting findings.

Howe interviewed L.C. Woods of the Journeymen Barbers, Hairdressers, Cosmetologists and Proprietor's International Union of America. "Note barbers come first. And note proprietors," comments a surprised Howe. Woods readily admitted that the employers of barbers and beauticians are "union men" under this setup. They constitute more than half the membership.

Although this is the only union representing beauticians in the area, Woods tells her that the union is "mostly all male." Less than 3 percent of the women who work in beauty shops are organized. "Let's face it . . . work for women doesn't have the same meaning it does for men," he explains. "So many of them just go in for a year or two

Jane Harris works in the printing industry in New York City.



before they get pregnant and leave."

Woods admitted that barbers probably make 30 percent more than beauticians on the average. "We don't try to justify it, but we do have different contracts for barbers and beauticians, and the barbers, yes, are guaranteed more. But they are men after all, they have families to support. . . ."

Unfortunately beauticians aren't the only pink collar workers to get the short end of the stick, reports Howe. Although the Office and Professional Employees International Union (OPEIU) was founded in 1945, the vast majority of American secretaries, typists, bookkeepers, file clerks, and key-punch operators have yet to be asked to join it. Unionization of women workers is not common, and where it exists it is often ineffective.

Homemakers have perhaps the shortest end of the stick. While 57 percent of American women are full-time homemakers, the number of married women in the labor force has expanded dramatically. Yet the homemaker has little protection or security insurance if her husband walks out, leaving her with the kids, or if she decides to call it quits. As one woman told Howe:

"It can all look hunky-dory until something goes wrong. All of a sudden he's laid off his job or he gets a heart attack or he tells you he wants a divorce or maybe like me you want it first and then you see how vulnerable a homemaker is. How dependent you've been on his goodwill and good fortune all these years. And then you start to shake."

Particularly hard hit are divorced women in their forties and fifties who give their whole life to rearing a family. Suddenly the alimony runs out. They have few or no skills nor any place to acquire them. Smacked in the face with the dual reality of sexism and discrimination against older peo-

ple, they are unable to find employment.

The first-person testimonies of women interviewed in *Pink Collar Workers* are easy to identify with. They show how badly women need the Equal Rights Amendment, abortion rights, child care, and equal pay and job opportunities.

In the absence of such basic rights, most women are still condemned to household slavery, even if they also have to look for paying jobs outside the home. Howe shows that little has changed since the end of the nineteenth century in the nature of women's work, aside from the shift to an urban society. In 1900 the most common occupation for an American woman was housework. That's still true today. In 1900 nearly one-third of the employed females were in domestic service. Today the primary occupation outside the home is clerical work.

Today women are more educated than ever before. Their expectations are higher than ever before. Yet these expectations cannot be met. In department stores, Howe found the typical comment of young female students to be, "I'm only here for the time being." To which the saleswomen in their fifties and over retorted, "You'll get used to it, you'll see." Others mused, "It's okay. It's a job. You have to deal with reality, you know."

Reality is the key factor to look at. The fact is that opportunities for sales personnel are becoming rarer as the age of self-help stores expands. Clerical workers are lucky if the boss doesn't replace them with a computer.

The fact is that many "pink collar" jobs are folding under the impact of technology. Whether a woman wants such a job or not, she usually ends up feeling that she's pretty lucky to land one.

What about the working women

who aren't pink collar workers? The "professionals." Who are they? They are only 15 percent of working women. Most are nurses or teachers. Even in these "professions," a woman is less likely to land a position even if she is better educated and better qualified than a man. She will do the most work for the least pay with the fewest benefits.

According to Howe, "The solution? If you don't want to find yourself in a lower level job at age forty than you had at age twenty-two, what should you do? Apparently there are three main choices today. Don't get married. Or, don't have children. Or, don't interrupt your paid work life if you do have children."

The last option usually doesn't work out very well. In fact, it isn't an option for a lot of women. Many women are caught in a bind. They have to work to have enough money to take care of their children, even if it means leaving small children home alone. Decent child care is hard to come by, especially without a fat price tag.

Howe shows that feminist sentiment runs deep but that neither the women's movement nor the organized labor movement has yet been able to fully tap the angers and frustrations of millions of "pink collar workers" and improve their status, pay, and conditions.

Howe spent a summer observing the operation of a beauty parlor nearby her home. During the Christmas rush she got a job at an anonymous New York department store. She interviewed clerical workers at big insurance companies and talked to housewives and waitresses. Through these means she tells the stories of these women's lives very intimately while backing their stories with very strong statistical analysis.

It's a positive step that the stories of these women have finally been told. However, few conclusions are drawn from this wealth of information. What is clear from Howe's presentation is that women are trying to find solutions to the problems they face.

Pink Collar Workers does not look these problems straight in the face. While Howe brings to light virtually all the inequities faced by women in today's society, her vision of the enemy seems to be a blurred combination of the government, big business, the women's liberation movement and the labor movement.

Howe directs much of her fire at the feminist movement, accusing it of primarily serving the needs of middle-class women. Her criticisms of the women's movement seem to outweigh the plain fact that the movement's demands for the ERA, child care, and abortion rights are most of all in the interests of working-class women.

Working women can be glad that someone has finally written a good book about the way our daily lives are really lived. The blunt depiction of reality in Louise Kapp Howe's *Pink Collar Workers* is a contribution to the struggle for viable solutions to the problems we face. Such solutions require women to rely on our own strength, making demands in our own name and seeking alliances on that basis with other workers and oppressed people.

American Plutocrats



Family gathering: John D. 3d, Laurance, Abby, Nelson and David

By Paul Siegel

Peter Collier and David Horowitz are two radical historians who, through the intercession of some sympathetic members of the younger generation of Rockefellers, managed to interview at length most of the members of this generation and to gain a limited access to the family's archives. Using this information and their research in published sources, the authors have written a massive book chronicling the history of the Rockefellers for four generations.

The authors told the head of the family's public relations staff that the book would present the Rockefellers as neither "saints or demons" but as human beings. It does exhibit their various personalities, and it is not denunciatory in tone. Nonetheless, *The Rockefellers: An American Dynasty* clearly shows that the immense power the Rockefellers wield is a great force for evil, and that the society that fosters this power is a plutocracy in essence, although a democracy in form.

In their own eyes, however, the Rockefellers have been upright citizens. The unscrupulousness and ruthlessness of John D. Rockefeller, Sr., in building the Standard Oil monopoly and his use of private armies to massacre striking workers and their families made him the most hated man of his generation. Yet he firmly believed that his "gift" for acquiring wealth came by the grace of God. "God gave me my money," he told a reporter.

His son, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., inherited this belief in God's special favor to the Rockefellers and piously instructed his five sons that the "responsibility" conferred on them by their immense wealth obligated the family to engage in "public service." He contributed vast sums to establish and support various foundations. As a result, the family saved millions in taxes, maintaining control of corporations through the foundations' stock holdings. Through these foundations the family's influence on national life was greatly extended, and all the while the money machine continued to churn, so

Paul Siegel is the editor of Leon Trotsky on Literature and Art (New York: Pathfinder, 1970).

that today the family fortune is greater than ever.

Despite their vaunted public spirit, the Rockefellers have not cared much for paying taxes. John D. Rockefeller III virtuously told a congressional committee that he "voluntarily gave" 10 percent of his income each year to the Internal Revenue Service, even though, he asserted, he could avoid paying any taxes at all by manipulating tax-deductible contributions. "The other brothers," their former chief accountant said, "would want to pay as little as they had to—or nothing if they could. . . . Their father would pay taxes one year and then have it arranged so that he would pay none the next." They no doubt regarded the fact that they were able to do this while poor people were paying taxes regularly as the work of a beneficent providence.

Although the Rockefellers' tax-deductible foundations did incidental good, their primary purpose was to support the capitalist system. This was explicitly stated in the articles of incorporation of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, which stated the fund's goal as continuing the family's "tradition of public service" by "aiding in the preservation and development of the republican form of government and the private enterprise system."

The role of the Rockefeller interests and of Nelson Rockefeller in particular in backing military dictatorships throughout Latin America demonstrates that preserving the capitalist system, and not the "republican form of government," is the family's chief concern.

Philanthropic foundations, however, were not the only objects of Rockefeller benevolence. As even Theodore White, the superficial chronicler of presidential campaigns, noted, the Republican Party has been "almost a dependency on the Rockefeller family, like the Rockefeller Foundation or Rockefeller University." Sen. Robert Taft, of Ohio, a representative of midwestern capital, was so piqued by his defeat in the 1952 convention that he complained bitterly, "Every Republican candidate for president since 1936 has been nominated by the Chase Bank."

But it has not been in the Republican Party alone that the Rockefellers have wielded influence. President-elect Kennedy sounded out David Rockefeller, head of the Chase Manhattan bank, for the office of Secretary of the Treasury, and Johnson offered it to him

outright. Although David Rockefeller declined the position, he "helped convince Kennedy to adopt" measures, including an investment credit, a greater depreciation allowance and a tax cut, which, as Collier and Horowitz state, "represented a massive redistribution of income from the poor to the wealthy."

Most of all, however, the Rockefeller family exerted its influence in politics through those who came from the executive levels of Rockefeller-supported institutions. Men like John McCloy, C. Douglas Dillon, James Forrestal, Robert Patterson, Robert Lovett, the Dulles brothers, and Winthrop Aldrich, although they were never elected to office, "wielded a power that was in many ways greater and more sustained than that of the elected officials they served." Such policy technicians as W. Rostow, the foreign affairs adviser of Johnson; Henry Kissinger, the foreign affairs adviser and secretary of state of Nixon and Ford; and Zbigniew Brzezinski, the foreign affairs adviser of Carter, were the products of Rockefeller institutes and think tanks.

Through such persons—and sometimes more directly—the Rockefellers were in on most of the epoch-making decisions of contemporary history. Thus, in 1949 Secretary of State Dean Acheson appointed a three-man committee to visit Asia and report on the happenings in China. It consisted of Philip Jessup of the State Department; Raymond Fosdick, president of the Rockefeller Foundation; and Everett Case, a director of the Rockefeller-sponsored Institute for Pacific Relations.

The committee presented its findings to China experts convened at the State Department, among whom was John D. Rockefeller III. Expressing the consensus of the Rockefeller-supported Council on Foreign Relations, he argued for the "hard line" that was to prevail for two decades. "They will say we are starving the Chinese people by not continuing our trade," he stated. "But . . . whatever position we take . . . the Chinese Communists will develop propaganda . . . against us."

In the mid-1950s Nelson Rockefeller served as special assistant for cold war strategy under Eisenhower. The function of the office "officially was to give 'advice and assistance in the development of increased understanding and cooperation among all peoples,' but was in fact that of Presidential Coordinator for the CIA," Collier and Horowitz report. In view of his service in this post and on the Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board, which helped guide the CIA "destabilization" efforts against Salvador Allende's government in Chile, Rockefeller's appointment by President Ford to head the commission investigating the CIA was the assignment of a supervisor of the spy agency to evaluate his own supervision.

When the National Security Council decided to organize the April 1961 invasion of Cuba, five persons present were associates or close friends of David Rockefeller. They included Secretary of State Dean Rusk. One of them, the State Department Latin American expert A. Berle, a Rockefeller family advisor, was also chairman of the board of SuCrest Corporation, a giant sugar refining company interested in Cuban sugar. SuCrest was financed by Chase Bank. The bank had helped finance the Cuban dictator Fulgencio Batista and his predecessors for half a century.

In 1965 David Rockefeller, together with other members of the Chase board (Eugene Black of the World Bank, John McCloy, and C. Douglas Dillon), organized the Committee for an Effective and Durable Peace in Asia to propagandize for the intensification of the war in Vietnam. When Johnson sent the first official American ground troops to Vietnam, the vice-president in charge of Chase's Far Eastern operations reported to the bank, "The U.S. actions in Vietnam this year—which have demonstrated that the U.S. will continue to give effective protection to the free nations of the region—have considerably reassured both Asian and Western investors."

Thanks among other things to such connections, the Rockefeller family fortune flourished through two world wars and after. In 1917 Walter Hines Page, a Rockefeller Associate and the ambassador to England, wrote to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., "If we manage wisely the opportunity that these great tragic events have given us, we will put ourselves distinctly in the lead of the English-speaking world and therefore in the lead of the whole world."

Further encroachment upon British power took place in World War II, when Nelson Rockefeller was Coordinator of the Office of Inter-American Affairs (OIAA). Joseph Rovinsky, the head of Chase's foreign department, whom Rockefeller appointed assistant coordinator, "came up with a complex plan to compel the British allies to put up some of the most valuable holdings in Chile and Argentina as collateral for food supplies in their war effort. . . . An OIAA memo in connection with the Rovinsky plan could not resist the stock-market analogy. It noted that there were 'good properties in the British portfolio' and then recommended that 'we might as well pick them up now,' adding that there was 'a lot of trash which Britain should be allowed to keep.'"

In cultivating Latin American businessmen, Nelson Rockefeller was not too concerned about their political sympathies. Nicolo Tucci, the head of the Bureau of Latin American Research in the State Department, resigned because, as he told Collier and Horowitz, "my bureau was supposed to undo the Nazi and fascist propaganda in South America and Rockefeller was inviting the worst fascists and Nazis to Washington." This was in line with the policy followed by Standard Oil, which renewed its cartel agreement with the German petrochemical monopoly I. G. Farben in 1939, after World War II had opened.

But if the Rockefeller family fortune has flourished, Collier and Horowitz believe that there will not be the same concentration of personal power that there has been up to now. The wealth will be dispersed among the progeny of the five brothers, and the authors find among them little of the sense of family mission that animated the first two generations and most of the male members of the third generation of the family. The authors expect, therefore, that the family "will move toward a merger with the nation's general aristocracy of wealth" instead of remaining a uniquely powerful dynasty. Be that as it may, the American plutocracy as a whole will continue to stand in the way of "the good of mankind" that the Rockefeller philanthropies have professed to serve.

National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



New strikes, new tactics

Continued from page 10

plantation with massive croplands, pasturelands for its cattle, etc. But fresh food is practically nonexistent for us. Portions of meat are so tiny, when given, that protein is almost absent from our diets. When meat is served a guard stands behind the prisoners' foodserver to see that each prisoner gets only one ridiculously tiny piece and no more.

Thanks for the sub.

A prisoner
Graterford, Pennsylvania

Another view on Ali

It's good to see some sports coverage in the *Militant*. Far from being a sideshow for children and overgrown children, sports are a major cultural institution. Participants number in the tens of millions, viewers in the hundreds of millions, and the importance of sports in society is growing.

Now that that is said, I have two criticisms of Jon Hillson's article on Muhammad Ali. (See October 21 *Militant*). You cannot reasonably expect every article on boxing to analyze how the rottenness of capitalism is reflected in the sport, so Hillson should be exonerated on that charge. But you can expect some knowledge of the subject and some clarity in its treatment.

Hillson is a good writer, but he gets carried away on the wings of his imagery here. It is stale, used-up imagery at that. Sports journalism has gone beyond the chandelier jaws that Hillson serves us. This "feel" for the phrase gets him in trouble, particularly in the derogatory descriptions of Ali's opponents. "Ken Norton of the glass jaw, awful awkwardness, and 'Mandingo' movies," says Hillson. The same boxer beat Ali once in his prime, lost a very close and disputed decision to Ali a year later, and beat Ali last year—at least as far as everyone but the judges was concerned. When you try to imitate the style of the hardboiled sportswriter, it is easy to adopt their attitude of contempt for the athlete. In essence, Hillson calls Ali's opponents bums. Ali would not agree, and Hillson probably doesn't either.

Finally, should Ali retire? I agree with Kirk Fowler. Let's leave it up to him. He is a smart man, and has made \$44 million boxing. Who knows how much he has spent? He fights for the money now, and that is it. He will always mean a lot to Blacks all over the world, and to the opponents of the Vietnam War who were inspired by him, despite the fact that the symbol of resistance and pride has been replaced by the businessman.

Bob Bresnahan
New York, New York

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

The strike is not the same as it was a few years ago. Where unions became established institutions, as they now are in most basic industries, strikes became part of the negotiating process.

They were used to test the union-management relationship or to convince workers that a compromise settlement was the only solution. Very often some or all the issues in dispute were submitted to arbitration as a way of settling the strike.

There was seldom any threat of breaking off labor-management relations. It was understood that the union would remain the collective bargaining agent regardless of the strike settlement, whether good or bad. The company rarely tried to hire scabs. Union officials often agreed to provide a partial work force, allowing for production of "essential" commodities.

A strike of about 2,500 members of the steelworkers and other unions against six Anaconda Company Brass Division plants is different. This strike, which began September 30, was provoked by the management of Anaconda Brass, the world's largest brass fabricating company. Anaconda is part of the giant Arco corporation, which also controls the Anaconda copper mines.

At the outset the company prepared to break the unions by notifying all workers that "brass mills will remain open," and mailing them instructions on their "legal right" to ignore picket lines.

In a series of letters and leaflets, management appealed to the workers to desert the union and work under the terms of Anaconda's "fair offer." This amounts to an extension of the prestrike contract for another year, minus cost-of-living benefits and with the stipulation that wages will be lowered to "parity" in the industry.

Anaconda claims that it pays higher wages and benefits than other companies, "approximately \$2.00 per hour above parity (the industry average)."

The company appeals directly to the workers and seeks to establish a new "partnership" with them, excluding all unions. It claims that union wages will make its prices noncompetitive. "The customer will not

give much weight to doing business with Anaconda," it says.

One appeal reminds the workers that some unions in recent years have accepted pay cuts to keep employers in business. Reports on "today's business climate" show hard times and layoffs, not only in the brass industry.

The company propaganda is slick—one basic point made on each leaflet in big, easily read type, illustrated with many graphics.

Striking members of United Steelworkers Local 5726 at Anaconda's Los Angeles plant have answered the company arguments on the "parity" issue in their local union bulletin.

"If the company is getting priced out of the market and losing all its customers, why are we working ten hour days to make products for those non-existent customers?" they ask. "Fact is," say the strikers, "Anaconda is 'first in brass'—all the competitors are smaller operations. . . ." They wonder "if the profit rate of Anaconda is at 'parity' with their competitors."

The company arguments in this case are the same as those the big steel companies (and others) are making against their competitors, with the difference that some are foreign and others domestic.

One of the ways to crack such false arguments is to open the books of these giant corporations that claim low profits, as the Los Angeles strikers imply ought to be done.

The world crisis of the capitalist economy has created the "economic climate" for the corporations to launch their current antiunion drive. But the long period of class collaboration between union officials and the corporations has created the political climate that makes this possible.

The time is past when the strike can be conducted according to "fair" rules of labor-management bargaining. It is now a defensive weapon against union busting. And effective strike tactics have to include exposing the big lie that workers must depend upon the well-being and high profits of bosses for jobs and a decent livelihood.

By Any Means Necessary

John Hawkins



Thanksgiving to remember

Thanksgiving won't be much of a holiday for the friends and relatives of Randolph Evans.

A year ago, Thanksgiving night, he walked to the bus stop from his Brooklyn home. On the way back he passed a group of cops. For no reason, one of them drew his revolver and cut down the fifteen-year-old Black youth with a bullet fired point-blank through the brain.

Initially following the murder, lawyers for the white cop, Robert Torsney, claimed their client had been temporarily insane. Newspaper accounts tried to create sympathy for the killer, reporting that after the shooting Torsney was "unresponsive and not necessarily lucid."

When that wouldn't wash, the standard lie was dragged out: action in self-defense. As head of the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association said, when bailing the killer cop out of jail, "In the dark shadows of a high-crime area, he did what he had to do to protect himself."

Now, a year later, Torsney is trying to cop the original plea in embellished form: psychosis brought on by a rare form of epilepsy. He even has a battery of witnesses to prove it.

Torsney's sister testified of their tyrannical and brutal father, who beat his children with particular vengeance. Robert, she said, was singled out for the worst—obviously a cause of his derangement.

She also described another tragedy that befell the mentally ailing pillar of law. In 1975, it appears, he

suffered a jarring motorcycle fall. Since that time he has been, in his sister's words, "very edgy or extremely depressed."

And of course there's the expert in the field, a doctor of forensic psychiatry, whose testimony will undoubtedly back the killer's alibi with medical proofs.

That Torsney is psychotic is beyond challenge. But the disease he suffers from is not so rare.

It's simple unadulterated race hatred that translates itself quickly into contempt for Black lives.

Whether they'll own up to it or not, Torsney, his superiors on and off the police force, and his fellow cops all know that disease is a prime prerequisite for doing the job they get paid to do.

After all, it's a lot easier to shoot that suspect, beat back that riotous crowd, pistol-whip that prisoner, evict that shiftless, lazy welfare mother if you actually enjoy your work. And furthermore, it's good preparation for future jobs—like busting in a few picketers' heads.

Torsney's only fault is he enjoyed his brutal work a little too much.

Whatever the outcome of Torsney's trial, justice will not be done. Because those responsible for the insane social system that needs such psychotics to protect it—the ruling rich—will still be at large.

But they will stand trial one day, before the families and friends of hundreds of Randolph Evans's and working people as a whole. And there's no doubt what that jury's verdict will be.

Should socialists back quotas?

Crucial issue in 'Bakke' debate

Bakke Decision



By Fred Feldman

The debates, protests, and demonstrations sparked by the impending Supreme Court decision on the *Bakke* case are having an impact on radical organizations in the United States, as well as on the working-class movement as a whole.

Alan Bakke, a thirty-seven-year-old former marine captain, claims his rights were violated when the University of California Davis Medical School rejected his application while maintaining a program that admitted 16 minority students out of an entering class of 100.

Bakke claims this constitutes "reverse discrimination" against whites. He is asking the Supreme Court to uphold the California State Supreme Court that ruled the UC Davis program unconstitutional.

A decision in favor of Bakke will open up all existing affirmative-action programs to attack. Without affirmative action, including enforceable quotas, it will be impossible to make a dent in racist and sexist hiring and school-admissions practices.

The attack on affirmative action is at the front of a ruling-class assault on the gains won by working people in past decades. By abolishing the limited protection women and oppressed nationalities such as Blacks and Chicanos have won through affirmative action, the bosses hope to compel them to accept the worst jobs and the lowest wages, while reinforcing their last-hired, first-fired status. Such

an outcome would make it easier for the ruling class to divide working people and push down living standards.

The attack on affirmative action has created a sharp polarization of opinion. The Black community, recognizing its most basic rights are imperiled, has been virtually unanimous in condemning the *Bakke* decision. The women's movement, also threatened, has taken a similar stance.

On the other side, big business and capitalist politicians of both conservative and liberal stripes have denounced efforts to win equal opportunity as "racism in reverse." The Carter administration, reluctantly taking its distance from Bakke himself, heads the pack in denouncing quotas and cutting back on affirmative-action programs.

This polarization has confronted the labor movement with a basic choice. It must either line up with the bosses against women and the oppressed nationalities in an effort to preserve the privileges of a few white, male workers. Or it can support the fight for affirmative action and thus gain powerful allies in the fight for the rights and needs of all workers.

The trade-union officialdom has begun to divide under these contending pressures. Although they maintain their positions by defending the privileged status of a layer of older, white males through collaboration with the bosses, many union bureaucrats fear the loss of Black support that would

result from outright support to *Bakke*. While Albert Shanker of the American Federation of Teachers loudly defends the *Bakke* decision, leaders of the United Auto Workers and the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees have spoken out softly in opposition to *Bakke*. But these misleaders maintain their opposition to quotas and have refused to throw the powerful resources of their unions into the developing movement to overturn the ruling.

The same pressures have been felt by radical organizations, forcing them to choose sides.

Two organizations that have had a consistent record of supporting affirmative action and quotas as a means of combating discrimination are the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For many years other "socialist" organizations denounced this stand, claiming it "divided the working class."

What Lenin had to say

As opposed to such groups, the SWP and YSA stood on the view put forward by Lenin in discussing the relationship between the oppressor Great Russian nationality and oppressed nationalities in the Tsarist empire:

"Internationalism on the part of oppressor or 'great' nations, as they are called (though they are great only in their violence, great only as bullies), must consist not only in the observance of the formal equality of nations but even in an inequality of the oppressor nation, the great nation, that must make up for the inequality which obtains in actual practice.

"Anybody who does not understand this has not grasped the real proletarian attitude to the national question, he is still essentially petty-bourgeois in his point of view and is, therefore, sure to descend to the bourgeois point of view."

The SWP and YSA know that working-class unity against the capitalists cannot be achieved by placing the demands of women and oppressed nationalities on the back burner.

Against 'Bakke'

As the polarization of forces around the *Bakke* decision has continued, other tendencies in the workers movement have felt impelled to take a stand on the side of the oppressed on this question.

A striking example is the Socialist Labor Party. For many years the SLP abstained from all social struggles, claiming it was wrong to support anything less than socialism.

Recently the SLP has been rethinking this view. It now defends affirmative action and quotas, backing protests against the *Bakke* ruling. The September 24, 1977, issue of the SLP's *Weekly People* stated: "Both the establishment and the maintenance of affirmative action programs have required incessant effort on the part of civil rights groups and workers against the continual opposition of industry, which views racist and sexist hiring practices as sacred management prerogatives, and of labor bureaucracies whose control of job markets is threatened."

The International Socialists and Maoist-oriented weekly *Guardian* have also taken strong stands in support of affirmative action.

The Communist Party has frequently declared its opposition to the *Bakke* decision in the pages of its newspaper, the *Daily World*.

The position taken by the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party indicates the heat felt even by "socialists" who often bitterly oppose the Black struggle. The RCP disgraced itself in 1975 by denouncing busing for desegregation and glorifying the racist mobs that tried to attack Black children in Boston.

The RCP is singing a different tune on the *Bakke* case, however. In opposing the decision, the November 1977 issue of the RCP's monthly *Revolution* held: "The success of affirmative action programs, in almost all cases, requires a concrete, quantifiable goal, for example demanding the percentage of minorities admitted be at least equal to their representation in the population. In this way, quotas can be a weapon to force the bourgeois educational apparatus to accept minorities into higher education. Still it would be wrong to advocate a 'quota system' everywhere and always as a cure-all for inequality and national oppression."

While the last sentence may prove an escape clause for the RCP leaders, this stand is an advance over the support given by the RCP to the racists in Boston.

The fact that a wide range of radical organizations have declared their support for affirmative action and quotas is very positive. It is an indication of the possibilities that exist for building a broad and potent movement against this attack on civil rights.

Other currents, finding a pro-*Bakke* stand to be

politically untenable, have tried to combine opposition to the *Bakke* decision with varying degrees of opposition to affirmative action. Examples of this are *In These Times*, a weekly newspaper published by radicals in the orbit of Michael Harrington's Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, and the Spartacist League, an ultrasectarian grouplet.

An editorial in the September 28 *In These Times* criticizes the *Bakke* decision. However, the editors denounce quotas as "dangerous in that they may become in practice ceilings . . . on the opportunities available to the disadvantaged. They are also demeaning in so far as they may be taken to suggest that those selected under a quota are otherwise not worthy."

What do the editors of *ITT* suggest to replace quotas in the struggle against pervasive hiring discrimination? Perhaps the oppressed should rely on the "good will" of racist corporate chiefs, government officials, and union bureaucrats to accomplish vague "goals." The racists aren't worried that affirmative action may become a "ceiling" for minorities. They think the ceiling is already too high—and that's why they want to get rid of quotas.

The delicately phrased hint that recipients of affirmative action may be viewed as "otherwise not worthy" is a slur borrowed from the racist opponents of equal opportunity. There is nothing "demeaning" about demanding enforceable guarantees of real equal treatment—and that means quotas.

The Spartacist League expressed its views in the October 14 issue of its weekly newspaper *Workers Vanguard*. The lead article carried the banner headline "Down with Bakke"—but the article that followed was an attack on struggles for affirmative action.

The *Workers Vanguard* writer managed to denounce the pro-*Bakke* slogan of "reverse discrimination" as racist, while simultaneously endorsing it in different words: "But we are opposed to systematic discrimination against any sector of the work force, including white males." Those mythical white, male "victims of discrimination" have found yet another champion!

To the surprise of readers who dwell in the real world, where affirmative action is under government attack, the Spartacists declare that "the capitalist government loves 'affirmative action.'" The reasons? "First because it gives them a precedent for tearing up labor contracts. And second because it sets blacks and organized labor at each others' throats." Because of such considerations, the SL labels government action against hiring discrimination "union-busting affirmative action."

To these sectarians, it is the demands of women and oppressed nationalities for affirmative action that divide the working class, not the racist and sexist policies of the employers and their servants in the union bureaucracy. Blacks and women who go to court to challenge provisions in employer-union contracts that sanction discrimination are "union busting" scabs, in the SL's twisted view. The real scabs, of course, are the union bureaucrats who join the employers in defending such racist practices.

Working-class unity

The only road to real working-class unity is for union members to support the struggles against racist and sexist discrimination, whether these take place in the courts, the unions, or the streets.

To replace affirmative-action programs, the SL proposes "union-run minority-recruitment" programs. (It should be noted that construction-union bureaucrats have already instituted several such programs, admitting a token number of minority workers in order to fend off more sweeping antidiscrimination measures.) What are women and oppressed nationalities to do until the unions adopt real antidiscrimination programs and are able to impose them on the employers? Apparently, they must accept discrimination in deference to the SL's false conception of "working-class unity."

The SL's pledges to fight discrimination in the unions rings hollow in view of its refusal to defend even the limited gains made thus far through affirmative-action programs.

The repercussions of the *Bakke* case will continue to be felt in the coming months. Those such as *In These Times* and the Spartacist League who echo—with whatever radical verbiage—ruling-class attacks on affirmative action and quotas will be pushed by the logic of their position into more reactionary postures unless they reverse their course.

As for the unions, civil rights groups, and radical organizations that oppose the *Bakke* decision and claim to support affirmative action, they will be tested not only by their words, but by their willingness to throw their energies and resources into the struggle that will be necessary to defeat this ruling-class assault on equal rights.

'Militant' gains new union readership during drive

By Lynn Henderson

"Women are doing a lot of stuff these days, aren't they?" That was the reaction Diane Sarge got from a woman co-worker at Hughes Tool Company who was leafing through the *Militant*. The woman decided to get a ten-week introductory subscription to the paper.

Sarge and other steelworkers in Houston, Texas, have sold thirty-three subs to their co-workers during the fall subscription drive.

They set a goal of selling thirty-five subs to other steelworkers during the drive and expect to surpass that in the final week.

Sarge is a member of United Steelworkers Local 1742, which was on strike for more than a month during September and October. "We sold a lot of subs around the *Militant's* strike coverage," Sarge said. "It was one of the few places Local 1742 members could read the truth about what was happening."

The strike ended with a settlement that many workers viewed as inadequate. At an angry meeting of 2,000 local members in October to hear the return-to-work proposal, ten workers who had read the *Militant* during the strike decided to subscribe.

Sarge points out that other coverage in the *Militant* is also popular. "Women's issues, civil rights coverage, and even the article on the New York City power failure some months back have been good for sales," she said.

"There was a big discussion in the plant on whether the so-called looting during the New York blackout was right or wrong.

We are constantly ripped off by the candy machines at work. So when the company that services them accidentally left a big box of candy bars behind, everyone naturally helped themselves. Workers got back a little of what those machines had stolen from us the previous months.

"In the blackout discussion people used the *Militant* to point out the similarities with what happened in New York City, where those businesses had been ripping off people for years."

Local 1742 is an example of one of the most successful aspects of the *Militant's* fall subscription drive—the sale of subs by socialist workers to fellow union members.

Bill Breihan, a steelworker and member of USWA Local 1996 in Milwaukee, sold eight subs at Wehr Steel.

"I leave back copies of the *Militant* around the shop. People read them and get 'hooked.'"

Breihan said the coverage of the Mesabi Iron Range strike created a lot of excitement. "That strike has been inspiring for Local 2996 members. They really enjoy the *Militant's* coverage and say that's the kind of unity we need here to begin making some changes."

Teacher unionists in New York City have sold twenty-five subscriptions to members of the United Federation of Teachers.

"The biggest selling point for us," said UFT member Judy Kleinberg, "has been the *Militant's* coverage of the fight against the *Bakke* decision."

Jeff Mackler, a leader of American Federation of Teachers Local 1423 in Hayward, California, has sold eighty subscriptions to other teachers. He and other socialist teachers in the Oakland area expect to sell more than 100 teacher subs by the end of the drive.

"Teachers are deeply affected by increasing layoffs and cutbacks," said Mackler. "They're more and more interested in socialist ideas."

Mackler also explained that there was growing disenchantment with the policies of AFT President Albert Shanker. "Teachers identify with the struggle against Shanker," said Mackler, "and they see the *Militant* as a leading part of that struggle."

In New York City Vangie Eidsvik and Fran Collet have sold seventeen subs to other members of District 1199, National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees.

"I've sold most of my subs to union delegates in delegate training classes," said Eidsvik. "One delegate I sold a sub to early in the drive always reads it before the class begins. I often forget my copy, so I sit near him, and when someone else gets interested I sell them a sub."

The subscription drive has been successful among hospital workers in other cities as well. In Philadelphia, at the Medical College of Pennsylvania, members of District 1199C had sold twenty-six subs—twenty to 1199 members and the others to restaurant workers and medical students.

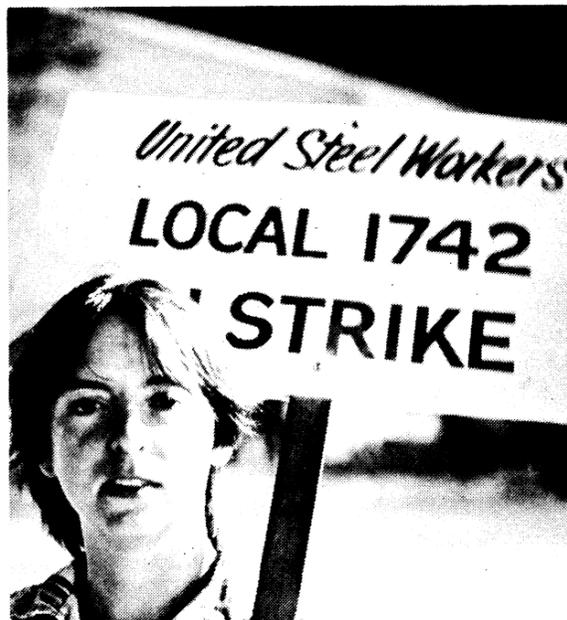
"A majority of the work force here is Black," said

Joel Hodroff. "The *Militant's* coverage of union struggles, civil rights, and the *Bakke* case all get a good response, of course.

"But the biggest factor in our sales is interest in the Socialist Workers Party. The paper is closely identified with the SWP, and a number of the new subscribers have started to come to public forums and other SWP events."



Jeff Mackler sold eighty subs to teachers. They're more and more interested in socialist ideas.



Militant/Stu Singer

Diane Sarge on picket line at Hughes Tool where many 'Militant' subs were sold.

New York tops 1,800

November 21—With a big push during the last week of the drive, the New York local of the Socialist Workers Party has topped its goal of 1,800 subscriptions, the highest goal in the country! Other cities that fell behind earlier in the drive have also made their goals during the final target week.

Next week's issue of the *Militant* will carry the scoreboard with the final results of the fall *Militant/Perspectiva Mundial* subscription campaign.

1,100 at Democratic Agenda conference

Union chiefs back Carter's phony jobs bill

By Fred Feldman

WASHINGTON—About 1,100 people attended the Democratic Agenda conference held here over the weekend of November 11-13 at the Mayflower Hotel. The gathering, focusing on the problem of unemployment, was described by its organizers as "the beginning of a movement to make sure that President Carter and the Democratic Congress keep the promises contained in the 1976 Democratic Platform."

The Democratic Agenda was initiated by top union officials such as Douglas Fraser of the United Auto Workers, William Winpisinger of the International Association of Machinists, Murray Finley of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, and Jerry Wurf of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. J. C. Turner, president of the International Union of Operating Engineers, and William Lucy, president of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, also participated. Other prominent trade-union figures in attendance were Ed Sadlowksi, presidential candidate of Steelworkers Fight Back in last February's United Steelworkers election; Jim Balanoff, director of USWA District 31; and Harry Patrick, secretary-treasurer of the United Mine Workers union.

The new formation is supported by Democratic Party liberals such as Bella Abzug and U.S. Rep. John Conyers, both of whom addressed the closing session.

The Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, led by Michael Harrington, played a major role in organizing the conference. Harrington gave the keynote address.

No provision for voting

There was no provision made for those attending to vote on a course of action for the Democratic Agenda. The conference consisted primarily of speeches, panel discussions, and a Saturday luncheon addressed by Nobel Prize-winning physicist George Wald and IAM President Winpisinger. The meeting was not a decision-making gathering but an effort to recruit foot soldiers for carrying out a policy already set by the sponsors.

That policy, favored by union leaders such as Winpisinger and Fraser, seeks to pressure Carter into providing jobs for the unemployed and taking a less antilabor stand. These officials view themselves as a "progressive" alternative to AFL-CIO President George Meany and see the Democratic Agenda as an alternative to the Meany-backed Coalition for a Democratic Majority.

The conference reflected these officials' awareness that working people are getting angry at Carter and expect some action by the unions to protect their interests. Thus, there were few kind words for Carter, and sharp attacks on his policies got an enthusiastic audience response.

Nonetheless, the main proposals emerging from the Democratic Agenda Conference hewed closely to those endorsed by the Carter administration. They were identical in all essentials with the proposals of the Meany wing of the labor bureaucracy.

The radical proposals voiced by many speakers on slashing military spending, protecting the environment, and other issues found little expression in action proposals. Angry speeches about Carter allowed the conferees to let off steam before settling down to business as usual.

Humphrey-Hawkins

The central goal pushed at the conference is congressional passage of the Humphrey-Hawkins bill (the "Full Employment and Balanced Growth Act," as its proponents misnamed it). This bill was endorsed in modified form by Carter the day before the conference opened.

In his keynote address Harrington stressed, "On Thursday Carter endorsed the Humphrey-Hawkins principle. This is a victory, an organizing tool. The question is, will Hawkins-Humphrey be just another hollow promise or a beginning?"

The question was not only rhetorical, but demagogic. The leaders of the Democratic Agenda are well aware of the emptiness of the "Humphrey-Hawkins principle."

The bill was first put forward in 1975 as a campaign ploy aimed at helping Democratic candidates get maximum mileage out of the jobs issue and at making it easier for union bureaucrats to corral the labor vote for the Democrats.

The bill never provided for full employment. It proposed a "goal" of reducing unemployment to 3



Auth/Philadelphia Inquirer

percent in four years. The bill's provisions were included in the Democratic Party platform. After Carter was elected the bill was allowed to become dormant, having accomplished its real goal of providing jobs for Democratic office-seekers.

Instead of taking measures to slash unemployment, Carter escalated the Nixon-Ford assault on the living standards of working people. Unemployment remained high, reaching phenomenal heights among Black youth. The ruling class, seeing labor was on the defensive, saw no need for the empty promises of the Humphrey-Hawkins bill.

Now the 1978 elections are approaching. Blacks and union members are getting increasingly fed up with the Carter administration. Under these circumstances, the bill has been exhumed to provide Democratic politicians and labor misleaders with promises that can be used to keep working people in the Democratic fold.

In tow behind Democrats

Little had to be offered, of course, since the labor officialdom is securely in tow behind Carter and the Democrats. The bill was therefore further modified to assure big business that no rash promises are being made.

The new version sets a target of 4 percent unemployment to be achieved in five years, provided this can be done without inflationary consequences. The bill thus endorses the capitalist lie that blames workers for inflation and presents unemployment as an anti-inflation weapon. The bill authorizes no new federal jobs or spending.

The real nature of the legislation was shown in an article in the November 19 *New York Times*: "Moreover, the sponsors accepted language that would let the President propose modifications of the job goals. . . . That would surely be embarrassing to Carter. But the bill is so drawn that such recommendation could come no earlier than January 1981, after the next Presidential election. For Mr. Carter's political strategists, this was an important point."

The fact is that capitalist politicians such as Carter (and Humphrey and Hawkins) are opposed to providing jobs for all. The capitalist class that they represent needs a pool of jobless in order to keep down wages and working conditions while maximizing profits.

The Humphrey-Hawkins bill was a controversial point at the Democratic Agenda conference. Some speakers couldn't stomach the prospect of trying to sell this fraud to skeptical workers. "It is a mistake to pretend you have won something when you haven't," said Robert Lekachman, a one-time economic adviser in the Kennedy administration.

Nonetheless, Winpisinger, Fraser, and Wurf gave the bill strong support.

The labor bureaucrats have no choice. To expose Humphrey-Hawkins as a fraud would mean a break with the Carter administration. It would be an admission that the Democrats are doing nothing for working people. Since this course is unacceptable to the union officialdom, they have to help the Democrats con workers into accepting Humphrey-Hawkins.

Other proposals stressed at the conference were support for labor-law reforms backed by Carter

and the AFL-CIO and electing "pro-labor" delegates to the Democratic Party's midterm convention in 1978.

No action proposals

Speakers at the conference stressed the need for mass backing in the fight against unemployment. "We need a movement," Harrington proclaimed. At a Sunday morning plenary session, Heather Booth, director of the Midwest Academy, pointed to the anti-Vietnam War, civil rights, and women's movements as examples for the struggle for full employment.

When it came to action, however, Booth focused on "accountability sessions" in which Democratic legislators were to be shamed and cajoled by their constituents into voting correctly—on the threat of being replaced by some other capitalist politician on election day.

That is not how mass movements are built. The civil rights, antiwar, and women's movements didn't tailor their demands to win approval from the Democratic politicians. They mobilized the independent power of working people and their allies in mass actions that challenged ruling-class policies.

A mass movement cannot be built around the Humphrey-Hawkins fraud. Such a movement would have to make demands meeting the needs of working people—for a shorter workweek, for massive public works programs, for union-scale unemployment compensation, and for using the billions now spent on military hardware to meet human needs.

Leaders of the Democratic Agenda such as Fraser and Winpisinger oppose building a movement against unemployment because it would place the unions on a collision course with Carter and the Democratic Party—and pose the necessity for working people to form their own party, based on the unions, in opposition to the capitalist parties. The Democratic Agenda is their alternative to such a movement.

Despite the anger vented toward the Carter administration and the militant tone of the speeches that were made by some, no movement for full employment emerged from this conference. The course advocated by the Democratic Agenda does not challenge Carter's antilabor policies, but merely follows in their wake.

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Labor meeting urges shorter workweek

By Frank Lovell

Mass unemployment is a blight on society and a growing threat to the union movement. Yet with more than 10 million persons presently out of work, neither the government nor most union officials pay much serious attention to this problem.

The highly publicized "debate" over the Humphrey-Hawkins bill in Congress is a typical effort by politicians in the Democratic and Republican parties to create the impression of "seeking a solution" without looking.

The real solution to unemployment was highlighted by a conference this fall of secondary union officials who hope to revive the movement for a shorter workweek with no cut in pay.

This gathering was held October 25 in Detroit at the United Auto Workers Local 22 hall. It was attended mostly by local union presidents. They came from several states and about a dozen international unions, including the Mine Workers, Meat Cutters, Longshoremen, United Electrical Workers, Steelworkers, and Machinists.

The conference set up an "All Unions Committee to Shorten the Workweek," headed by Local 22 President Frank Runnels. It plans a national conference next April in Detroit and hopes to win broad support in the union movement for its goal.

In his welcoming remarks to the conference, Runnels observed that since 1955 the number of production workers has increased only 3 percent, but those workers produce 225 percent more.

"We have a constant erosion of jobs through automation and productivity," Runnels said, "and when you have something eroding you must take positive steps to prevent that erosion."

"But instead of taking the steps that are necessary to create new jobs, there has been a wall built around all the jobs in our nation, and a sign hung on that wall that says, 'Forty hours or starve.' And that's exactly what a big percentage of our population is doing—starving."

"It's a fact of life," Runnels said, "that we are not going to effectively combat unemployment until we commit ourselves to reduce the workweek in this country."

And he emphasized, "When I talk about shorter hours, I'm talking about shorter hours with no reduction in pay."

Henry Foner, president of the joint board of the Fur, Leather & Machine Workers Union, spoke on the "Background of the struggle for a shorter workweek."

His talk was based on research by Prof. Philip Foner about workers' struggles for the ten-hour day and the eight-hour day. He described how these gains were won against determined opposition by the employing class.

He also told how the six-hour day, thirty-hour week, was almost enacted. And how it was lost.

On April 4, 1933, the U.S. Senate passed the thirty-hour bill, introduced by Sen. Hugo Black of Alabama. "However," said Foner, "Roosevelt opposed the bill and joined with big business in fighting it in the House."

If nothing more than this study comes from the Detroit gathering, it will still be a gain. It should be published and widely distributed to union members and unemployed workers.

The committee for a shorter workweek is more ambitious and hopes to do other things. Runnels called for a fight on two fronts, "the collective bargaining front and the legislative-political front."

"I'm talking about a campaign for shorter hours that will take this demand into every legislative chamber in the country," he said, "... and on to Congress and the White House."

There was no indication at the conference that any of those present were preparing to break with the Democratic Party. They talked about ways to pressure the capitalist politicians for a shorter-workweek law.

But this is different from the craven practice of top union officials who throw money into the campaign coffers of political "friends" in the vain hope that some favors will be returned.

At least Runnels and his committee are advancing a serious demand and trying to rally mass support behind it. Runnels says he wants "a legislative-political movement that will elect men and women to public office who know the hell of high inflation and the terror of mass layoffs."

How much of this is pure rhetoric remains to be seen. The fact is that the kind of public officials Runnels says he wants are not to be found in the Republican and Democratic parties. They will have to come from the ranks of the working class and be elected by a labor party based on the unions.

The "All Unions Committee to Shorten the Workweek" has picked the right target to shoot for, and it deserves support on that account.

And they should rally in every way possible the millions of workers—employed and unemployed together—to demand and demonstrate as their predecessors in every previous generation have done since the carpenters in Boston and Philadelphia "turned out" in 1827 for shorter hours.



Jobless in Atlanta. Shorter workweek would put millions of unemployed to work.

Democratic Party strikebreakers

'Lesser evil' brings grief to Atlanta labor

By Linda Millwood

ATLANTA—Mayor Maynard Jackson won a second term this fall in what was billed a landslide victory. He received 63 percent of the vote.

Earlier in the year Jackson achieved universal acclaim among Atlanta's rich for crushing a strike by city workers.

His image among Atlanta business executives was further enhanced when he tried to deny Local 1644 of the American Federation of State, County

Linda Millwood is a hospital worker in Atlanta and a steward in American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1644.

and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) the right to represent city workers.

Understandably, Jackson's 1977 campaign was openly supported and financed by the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce.

The labor movement in general and AFSCME Local 1644 in particular had the opportunity during the months between the strike and the election to break with both big-business parties and run an independent labor campaign.

Deep doubts in the Black community over Jackson's strikebreaking against a predominantly Black union created a

favorable atmosphere for such a campaign.

Instead, union leaders continued the same dead-end policy of supporting the protectors of privilege and profits.

AFSCME interviewed two candidates for mayor—Democrat Emma Darnell and Vince Eagan of the Socialist Workers Party. Neither had much chance of winning. The endorsement was clearly to be an educational and symbolic one.

By endorsing Darnell, AFSCME demonstratively refrained from supporting Jackson the individual... but continued to support his party and his politics.

Emma Darnell served as a high-level bureaucrat in the administrations of both Jackson and his predecessor, Democratic Mayor Sam Massell. Jackson fired her early this year.

By her own admission, Darnell never opposed any of Massell's policies, including canceling dues checkoff for AFSCME after a 1970 strike. And she never opposed in actions or words any of Jackson's attacks on city workers.

Many AFSCME members, particularly members of the city chapter, which had suffered the most from Jackson's strikebreaking policies, expressed support for Vince Eagan's campaign on the Socialist Workers Party ticket. Eagan defended the rights and needs of public workers and

called for the formation of an independent labor party.

The Darnell endorsement barely squeaked through. At a very small meeting of Local 1644, held to ratify the endorsement, the vote was tied but then narrowly broken in Darnell's favor.

AFSCME's present staff-dominated leadership has built a career on putting Democratic Party "friends" in office and relying on them to grant union recognition and higher wages.

Maynard Jackson was one such "friend." AFSCME contributed tens of thousands of dollars and campaigned hard getting support from the Black community and the labor movement to elect this Black liberal Democrat, who had walked in AFSCME's picket lines as vice-mayor.

That campaign in 1973 was supposed to demonstrate that city workers could not be treated as Sam Massell had treated them in breaking their 1970 strike. Massell had also been elected to office with AFSCME's support.

The elections are now long over in Atlanta. A few positions changed hands but nothing else.

However, the fact that only 43.8 percent of the registered voters voted indicates more than a boring election. Most people, even most people who register to vote, now expect little from

the ordinary breed of candidates.

They just don't bother to vote.

Others don't even bother to register.

That is a negative response to political dissatisfaction. A positive response would be expressed in political action directed against the capitalists and their electoral agents.

A political party with a program fitted to the needs of workers, oppressed minorities, and women is desperately needed to make that kind of positive political response possible. We need a party based on the trade unions, which are the only mass organizations the working class now has.

Workers have interests different from and opposed to the interests of the bosses. We need to organize independently at every level of politics, whether fighting for economic gains on the job or for political control.

Any working person recognizes that a union must be independent of the bosses. You don't invite the boss to join your union. Similarly, you can't fight the boss politically by joining the bosses' political party.

I hope that the next time members of Local 1644 have the chance to express an opinion on what the union will do in an election, they will express their dissatisfaction not by staying away from the union meeting but by going and demanding an entirely new course.

By José G. Pérez

The October 28-30 National Chicano/Latino Conference was a powerful demonstration of united opposition to President Carter's proposed crackdown on immigrants without work or residence permits.

Some 1,500 people, representing virtually the entire spectrum of Chicano and Latino organizations, attended the San Antonio gathering, dealing a mighty blow to Carter's schemes.

This unity was marred, however, by an outburst of red-baiting at the closing plenary session. Led by CASA, a Los Angeles-based sectarian organization, the red-baiters made innumerable slanderous and scurrilous charges, and even threats of physical violence, against the Socialist Workers Party, the Texas and New Mexico Raza Unida parties, and against the conference itself.

Many people, including most reporters from the big-business-controlled press, interpreted the outburst as a power squabble between different radical groups.

This interpretation is wrong. Actually, the red-baiting was a continuation of earlier attacks designed to discredit the conference. What is at stake is not the power or prestige of one or another organization, but differing viewpoints over what strategy can best achieve the goals of the antideportation movement.

'Call for Action'

One strategy, which has been clearly presented and openly argued for, is embodied in the "Call for Action" issued by Texas Raza Unida Party leader José Angel Gutiérrez. There is a common thread tying together the "Call for Action" that initiated the conference, the activities that mobilized participation in the conference, and the action proposal passed at the conference.

This strategy calls for putting together a broad-based action coalition of all those who defend the human and civil rights of undocumented workers, regardless of their other positions or affiliations. It calls for relying primarily on educational and protest activities to win the majority of the American people to support our cause and force concessions from the government.

The red-baiters' strategy (or strategies) were never openly presented. But the evolution of the red-baiting campaign makes clear their differences with the "Call for Action" perspective.

CASA opposed the conference when it was first called last spring. It was part of a committee in southern California that threatened to hold a counterconference the same weekend as the San Antonio gathering.

After Carter submitted the details of his crackdown to Congress, however, support for the conference mushroomed, and CASA changed its tactics. It said it would attend the conference "to work as a counterforce" to the Socialist Workers Party. It urged some of its political allies to do the same.

Nonetheless, CASA joined in the red-baiting

The politics of red-baiting

Behind CASA's disruption of nat'l Chicano conference



Militant/Harry Ring

1,500 people attended the National Chicano/Latino Conference, dealing a powerful, united blow to Carter's crackdown on immigrants.

attacks from some forces still opposing the gathering. It tried to split the coalitions building the conference by demanding that the SWP be excluded. This idea was rejected overwhelmingly at a national planning meeting of conference organizers. Participants in that meeting issued an appeal to those still opposing the conference asking them to drop their sectarian stance and join in the effort to defend undocumented workers.

Events in San Antonio

CASA stayed on the same course at the conference. It began by trying to disinvite SWP leader Pedro Camejo, who was among the scheduled speakers. After losing by a 250-to-50 vote at a preconference meeting called to complete the agenda, CASA again switched tactics.

Together with some allies, it tried to filibuster and disrupt workshops and the decision-making plenary session.

It wanted to prevent the conference from calling any specific future activity. It especially wanted to prevent the adoption of the modest action resolution for local protests November 18-20, which would give the nonexclusionary local coalitions that organized the conference an ongoing perspective.

In one workshop, after this resolution was passed CASA staged a disruptive walkout. When the proposal came up for discussion at a plenary session, CASA and its allies exploded in a torrent of red-baiting, preventing any thorough, reasoned discussion of proposals. After again losing the vote, CASA walked out of the conference altogether.

At no time during the conference did CASA or its supporters explain politically why they found the proposal for local actions objectionable. Nor did they present an alternative plan of action.

Then what accounted for CASA's disruptive behavior?

CASA's sectarianism

One factor is sheer sectarianism. The SWP, Raza Unida parties, League of United Latin American Citizens, and many other groups had put aside their differences on other questions to unite around the defense of undocumented workers. Although CASA too supports unconditional amnesty for immigrants, it proved unwilling to follow this example. It viewed the conference as tainted with original sin

because of the SWP's participation.

CASA also felt its image in the Chicano movement was on the line. In the early 1970s CASA, under a different leadership, had won widespread respect as an antideportation group. Since then its new leaders have transformed it into what is for all practical purposes a multi-issue political party. Despite this change, CASA pretends that by itself, with a few of its closest political allies, it can lead the masses of Chicanos, *mexicanos*, and their allies against the Carter plan, misusing the prestige associated with CASA's earlier activities.

The emergence of any broadly based coalition against deportations threatens these pretensions.

Another clue to explaining CASA's behavior appeared in an interview with Antonio Rodríguez, CASA's general secretary, and one of his associates published in the November 3 *La Nación*, a Los Angeles Spanish-language newspaper.

Convincing Congress

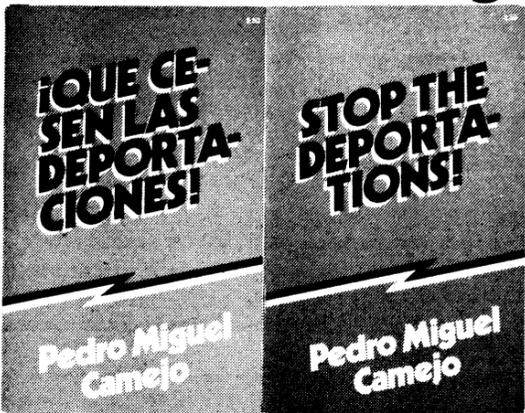
The two managed to avoid even mentioning the November 18-20 actions called by the conference. Instead, they said "that the Californians would concentrate their efforts on convincing the Congressmen of this state of the inadequacy of the Carter plan"—that is, lobbying.

The same approach seems to be embodied in the resolutions of a CASA-initiated preparatory conference held in Los Angeles. At the San Antonio conference these resolutions were distributed by CASA under the imprint of the National Coalition for Fair Immigration Laws and Practices. There are many good suggestions in the eleven-page handout. But the only action advocated against the Carter plan is lobbying. Not a word about protests or demonstrations.

CASA combines this lobbying perspective with abstract calls for "resistance" to immigration cops. Once in a long while they also sponsor a street protest. But their demonstrations aren't organized with the aim of drawing in broad forces looked to among masses of people for leadership. Instead, CASA keeps tight-fisted control over all aspects of the actions, narrowing participation to CASA's members, sympathizers, and people from organized radical groups.

There is, of course, nothing wrong with involving people who also do lobbying in a protest-action

Further reading



¡Que Cesen las Deportaciones!/Stop the Deportations! by Pedro Miguel Camejo. A leader of the Socialist Workers Party explains what's wrong with Carter's immigration plan—and how to fight it. 32 pp., 50 cents.

Also available:

The Politics of Chicano Liberation edited by Olga Rodríguez. 160 pp., cloth, \$8.00. Paper, \$2.45.

Chicano Liberation and Socialism by Miguel Pendás, 16 pp., 25 cents.

Available from bookstores listed in the Socialist Directory on page 31 and from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.

coalition. *The problem is with lobbying as a strategy.* La Raza can't afford to rely on "friends" among the Democratic and Republican politicians. Instead, we must build a powerful, independent antideportation movement to convince masses of people and mobilize them in actions that can win concessions.

A strategy based on visible public protests and educational activities requires clear demands directed against the government—demands that provide real solutions to the problem. Such demands are at the heart of the conference's action resolution:

- Immediate, unconditional amnesty for all undocumented people;
- Stop deportations; and
- Full civil and human rights for immigrants.

The tendency in lobbying, on the other hand, is to water down the program to build bridges to the politicians.

This may account for some ambiguous formulations included in the "Legislative Action" resolution included in the handout distributed by CASA at San Antonio.

Reform 'la migra'?

For example, it calls for "a revamping of immigration law and the I.N.S. [Immigration and Naturalization Service]." But all the immigration cops and laws are repressive tools used by this country's capitalist rulers to divide working people, pitting "citizen" against "resident" against "illegal." *La migra* doesn't need to be "revamped." It needs to be abolished.

Another formulation is "that the [immigration] quota for the Western Hemisphere be increased." This accepts the idea of having quotas.

But the job of the antideportation movement isn't to help the government figure out how to limit immigration. Instead, we should devote all our time and effort to defending the rights of undocumented people and demanding an end to all deportations.

The lobbying perspective may also be related to CASA's unexplained vote at the San Antonio conference against a resolution calling for an open border between the United States and Mexico. The resolution passed overwhelmingly despite CASA's opposition.

That political differences such as these were a key motivation behind the disruptions at San Antonio became clear in an article by Delfino Varela in the November 16-22 issue of *In These Times*. Varela, who allied with CASA's disruptive red-baiting at the conference, is a member of the New American Movement, an organization that calls itself socialist, and National Coalition for Fair Immigration Laws and Practices, in which CASA members play a major role.

One disrupter's plan

Varela's article counterposes a three-point program to the Carter plan.

- Raising the immigration quota from Mexico to 70,000;
- Lowering the residency requirement for applying for citizenship from five to three years;
- Allowing any undocumented immigrant who has been in the United States for five or more years to register with INS and become a permanent resident.

This plan does nothing about the real problem—the brutal oppression and exploitation of millions of people living in the United States without any rights. Nor does it do anything about the 1 million or more *mexicanos* who, desperate to escape poverty and hunger, seek to enter the United States each year. Even Democrat Herman Badillo has proposed an amnesty resolution providing for all those who entered before July 4, 1976, to remain as permanent residents—a much bigger concession than that offered by "socialist" Delfino Varela.

Need for discussion

These political positions should have been openly put forth by those who hold them in the process leading up to and at the San Antonio conference.

But CASA and its allies took an entirely different course; opposing this antideportation effort, and laying down a heavy smokescreen of red-baiting to avoid a political discussion of their differences with the "Call for Action" perspective.

But this discussion will not go away, because Carter is deporting people in record numbers and continues pushing his plan. We don't need red-baiting and slanders. All of us who support the rights of undocumented immigrants need to discuss how we can best organize to defeat the Carter plan and stop deportations.

Having done that, we have to put aside our differences on other questions and act together on the basis of agreements reached democratically through our discussions.

Marroquin case: big news in Texas and Mexico

By Mark Schneider

SAN ANTONIO—"Héctor Marroquín is innocent," attorney Margaret Winter told a news conference here November 16.

"He has committed no crime. Yet because of false charges of subversion, sedition, and murder lodged against him by the Mexican government, his life is at stake."

Winter is defending Marroquín, a Mexican political activist. Marroquín fled to the United States in April 1974 after learning Mexican police had falsely charged him with the murder of a librarian in Monterrey.

Marroquín was arrested by the U.S. Border Patrol last September as he returned from a visit to Mexico to consult a lawyer about the charges against him.

He is now serving a ninety-day sentence in the Maverick County jail in Eagle Pass, Texas.

"We are seeking to halt Marroquín's deportation," said Winter. "If returned to Mexico, he faces torture and death without any trial. Therefore, we have applied for political asylum under a United Nations Protocol that the United States has signed."

The protocol says any refugee fearing political persecution at home has the right to political asylum.

Winter told reporters she has filed a court action in Washington, D.C., challenging the procedure under which political asylum is granted. "Claims for asylum are handled administratively by the Immigration and Naturalization Service district director," she said. "The refugees are not given the right to call witnesses. That makes due process a joke."

Also speaking at the news conference was Sister Mario Barrón of HERMANAS, an organization of Hispanic nuns. Sister Mario released names of prominent endorsers of Marroquín's asylum appeal.

"We are supporting Marroquín's right to political asylum," said Sister Mario, "because it involves the right of a Mexican national to justice, and as a

Hispanic organization we are concerned. Secondly, it involves the right to cross the border for political rights, and we support that too."

The news conference was called by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners. Two San Antonio radio stations, three TV stations, and both daily newspapers reported on the event.

In other developments in the Marroquín defense effort:

- The case continues to get wide publicity in Mexico. *Zocalo*, a daily paper in Piedras Negras, near the Texas border, published a full-page interview with Marroquín. Articles have also appeared in papers in Monterrey. The liberal Mexico City magazine *Proceso* conducted an interview with attorney Winter.

- Marroquín had an "interview" with an official from the INS San Antonio office November 15. An interview is all INS rules grant refugees who request asylum.

Winter told the *Militant* she had been given only eleven days notice of the interview.

Eleven days, she commented, was completely insufficient for preparing Marroquín's case for asylum.

For example, Winter explained, she wanted to interview people in Mexico and in Texas who would back up Marroquín's claim that his life would be in danger if he is forced to return to Mexico.

The final decision on asylum is up to INS District Director Joe Staley. Staley is supposed to consult the State Department before arriving at a ruling. No decision is expected for some time.

- Pressure to grant asylum to Marroquín has been mounting on Immigration and Naturalization Service Commissioner Leonel Castillo. Castillo told a Marroquín supporter here November 11 that he had already received more than 500 letters and telegrams supporting Marroquín.



Hector Marroquin and attorney Margaret Winter

USLA's Thanksgiving appeal

The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) has opened a campaign to get Héctor Marroquín out of jail so he can be reunited with his wife and baby son for Thanksgiving.

A letter signed by Dr. Armando Gutiérrez, director of the Chicano Legal Defense Fund, and Raza Unida Party leader José Angel Gutiérrez has gone out to the hundreds of Chicanos, unionists, civil libertarians, and others who have endorsed Marroquín's right to political asylum in this country.

The letter asks Marroquín's supporters to sign a mailgram to Immigration and Naturalization Service Commissioner Leonel Castillo. The mailgram reads:

"Historically Thanksgiving was a holiday for giving thanks for a bountiful harvest. Now it is more a time for family reunions. We ask that you give the Marroquín Manríquez family reason for giving thanks by releasing Héctor Marroquín Manríquez so that he might be reunited with his

wife, baby son and parents for this holiday."

The letter from the two Chicano leaders also asks Marroquín's supporters to give money to his defense effort.

Margaret Winter, Marroquín's attorney, explained how the money would be spent. "For the deportation hearing, we have to get evidence and witnesses from all over the United States and Mexico to prove that Marroquín's life will be in danger if he is sent back to Mexico.

"That means trips to Mexico. It means perhaps having to bring witnesses to San Antonio.

"Also, we still have a court suit against the INS's procedures in hearing asylum requests. That's in federal court in Washington, D.C.

"So we have a lot of travel expenses, phone calls, and investigative expenses. We urgently need funds to cover these costs," Winter said.

To sign the mailgram, or to make a contribution, write: USLA, 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, New York 10003.

—Arnold Weissberg

Charge cops did it

Thousands in P.R. hit murder of union leader



By José G. Pérez

Thousands of unionists and students marched on the capitol building of Puerto Rico in San Juan November 10 to protest the brutal assassination of a local Teamsters union leader and police harassment of the labor movement.

The recently formed Comité Sindical Contra la Represión (Labor Committee Against Repression) sponsored the action, with the backing of labor, proindependence, student, and other organizations. The committee includes a dozen leaders of unions with a total of 60,000 members.

Police responded to the protest with highly visible patrolling. No incidents were reported, however.

The demonstration was prompted by the death of Juan Rafael Caballero Santana, whose decomposing body was found October 24 in El Yunque, a tropical rain forest.

Caballero worked for a shipping company and was a delegate from his shop to a Teamster local. He disappeared October 13 after leaving his home to go to work.

His corpse was found with the larynx crushed and his hands bound to his neck with heavy electrical cables. Pathologists said the murder was professionally done and estimated Caballero had been dead eight to ten days. In reply to questions, they said the advanced state of decomposition of the body made it impossible to determine whether Caballero had been tortured.

Puerto Rican Teamster leaders have charged that Caballero was kidnapped, tortured, and murdered by three high-ranking police officials. These charges have been echoed in the October 28-November 3 *Claridad* (newspaper of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party). They say the officials are part of a death squad.

Both *Claridad* and the Teamsters say they have located witnesses who saw Caballero in police custody. One said he had seen Caballero held by the police as late as October 21. However, neither the statements nor the identities of these witnesses were made public.

The November 4-10 *Claridad* presented two items as corroborating evidence. One was a reproduction of utility company records of the house allegedly used for torturing Caballero. The house is listed under "Police of P.R."

The second is an account of a March 1976 incident originally reported in *El Nuevo Día*, a prominent capitalist daily. A young man charged that he had been picked up by persons who wouldn't identify themselves. They blindfolded him, took him to a house in El Yunque, and beat him trying to extract a murder confession. *Claridad* says the house was the same one used in the Caballero case.

Claridad and the Teamster leaders

say Caballero was killed in retaliation for the death of Allan Randall, a corporation lawyer said to have specialized in union busting.

Randall was assassinated September 21. An unnamed "workers' commando" issued a communique taking credit for the action.

Although this terrorist assassination was condemned by many labor unions and leading proindependence organizations, including the PSP, the police "investigation" of the case quickly focused on the labor movement, especially the more militant sectors identified with the proindependence movement.

On September 28 dozens of labor officials called together by the Teamsters union issued a statement charging: "The violent death of company lawyer Allan Randall is now being used as a pretext to attack the unions and labor leaders."

A few days after Caballero's disappearance, two other Teamster leaders were picked up by police. They were questioned about Randall's death, and one was placed in a lineup. They were released without formal charges.

For their part, police deny all charges of harassment. Caballero was never in custody, they say, and the questioning of the other teamsters is unrelated to the Randall case.

Hence, the full story of Caballero's assassination has not yet emerged. Whatever happened—as we will find out if and when the truth is ever discovered—the government clearly bears the entire responsibility for creating a witch-hunt atmosphere against the labor movement. It was in this atmosphere that Caballero was murdered.

The CSCR is demanding that Gov. Carlos Romero Barceló appoint a commission of inquiry to investigate Caballero's death. Among those proposed by the CSCR to serve on such a commission are former Gov. Roberto Sánchez Vilella.

This proposal, however, doesn't have unanimous support. The Liga Internacionalista de los Trabajadores (Internationalist Workers League), a sister organization of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party, says what is needed is "an inquiry commission independent of the government to probe deeply and bring before the public all the information about Caballero's assassination."

An LIT leaflet urging participation in the November 10 demonstration added, "We workers and students have to stop this repression. We have to do it effectively. To do this we have to seek the support of the majority of the population in mass actions."

The government has responded to the accusations and demands by placing the investigations of the deaths of both Randall and Caballero under Puerto Rico's Justice Department.

Calendar

BOSTON: ROXBURY

BLACK ART & REVOLUTION. Speakers: Alta Starr, poet, member of SWP; others. (Entertainment before and after with refreshments.) Fri., Dec. 2, 8 p.m. 612 Blue Hill Ave., Dorchester. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 288-0753.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

WHAT IS HAPPENING IN CHINA TODAY? Fri., Dec. 2, 8 p.m. 2 Central Square, 2nd fl. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 547-4395.

CLASSES ON SOCIALISM. Thursdays, 7:30 p.m. Dec. 1: Racism, sexism, and revolution; Dec. 8: What is socialism?; Dec. 15: Making a revolution. 2 Central Square, 2nd fl. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (617) 547-4395.

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CHICAGO: NORTH SIDE

PUERTO RICANS IN THE U.S.: THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM. Speaker: Catarino Garza, former SWP candidate for mayor of New York City. Sat., Dec. 3, 7:30 p.m. 1870 N. Halstead. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 642-4811.

CINCINNATI

ISSUES FACING TEACHERS. Members of the Cincinnati Federation of Teachers discuss affirmative action & the *Bakke* case; why the Cincinnati teachers went on strike; how should the schools be funded; busing & school desegregation. Speakers: Kathy Courtney; Wayne Robey, vice-president of CFT; Rick Mitts, SWP; Lynn Marmar; others. Fri., Dec. 2, 8 p.m. 970 E. McMillan. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (513) 751-2636.

CARTER'S FIRST YEAR: A SOCIALIST VIEW. Speaker: Jack Barnes, SWP national secretary. Fri., Dec. 9, 8 p.m. 970 E. McMillan. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (513) 751-2636.

DETROIT: EAST SIDE

SOUTH AFRICA: NEW CRACKDOWN ON BLACK RIGHTS. A memorial meeting for Steve Biko. Speakers: A. J. Stovall, professor of sociology, Shaw College; Nan Bailey, SWP; Jo Carol Stallworth, DSCAR. Sun., Dec. 4, 7:30-9:30 p.m. 12920 Mack. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 824-1160 or 961-5675.

HOW TO DEFEND WOMEN'S RIGHTS. Report from International Women's Year conference; report from Wayne County Community College women's conference; report on the *Bakke* decision, affirmative action, and women's rights. Sun., Dec. 11, 7:30-9:30 p.m. 12920 Mack. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 824-1160 or 961-5675.

LOUISVILLE, KY.

THE HISTORY OF THE WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT. Speaker: Dianne Feeley, member SWP National Committee, former head of New York NOW ERA subcommittee. Sat., Dec. 3, 12 noon; Sun., Dec. 4, 1 p.m., 4 p.m. Slide show on women in industry, Sat., Dec. 3, 3 p.m. 1505 W. Broadway. Donation: \$1.50 per session. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

RALLY FOR THE 'MILITANT.' Speakers: Jack Barnes, SWP national secretary; Debby Tarnopol.

1977 SWP candidate for mayor of Louisville: Bob Cunningham, Louisville Black community activist; others. Sat., Dec. 3, reception, 6:30 p.m.; rally, 7:30 p.m. 1505 W. Broadway. Adm. free. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

NEW YORK: BROOKLYN

WHAT IS SOCIALISM CLASSES. Every Thursday in December, 7:30 p.m. 220-222 Utica Ave., Brooklyn. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (212) 773-0250.

NEW YORK: THE BRONX

FEMINISM AND SOCIALISM. Speakers: Pearl Clark, YSA; Marian Gladhill, Bronx NOW. Fri., Dec. 9, 8 p.m. 2271 Morris Ave. (near 183rd). Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 365-6652.

INTRODUCTION TO SOCIALISM CLASS SERIES. Saturdays, 3 p.m. 2271 Morris Ave. Ausp: Bronx SWP. For more information call (212) 365-6652.

SAN FRANCISCO: MISSION DISTRICT

AMERICA'S SOCIALIST FUTURE. Speaker: Art Sharon, SWP. Fri., Dec. 2, 8 p.m. 3284 23rd St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 824-1992.

Reports back from IWY

LOS ANGELES: SOUTHEAST

HOW WOMEN FIGHT BACK: THE INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S YEAR CONFERENCE. Speakers: Susan Chacin, CLUW; Jeanne Cordova, publisher of *The Tide*; Janice Lynn, SWP; Bernadette Cormier, Coalition for Human Rights. Thurs., Dec. 8, 8 p.m. 2554 Saturn Ave., Huntington Park. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 582-1975.

NEW YORK

REPORTS FROM THE HOUSTON INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S YEAR CONFERENCE. Speakers: Noreen Connell, president of NOW-N.Y.; Cheryl Adams, lesbian rights activist; Elaine Livingston, UN representative. Thurs., Dec. 1, 7:30 p.m. 47 E. 19t

NEW YORK: THE BRONX

THE FIGHT FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS: REPORTS FROM THE INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S YEAR CONFERENCE. Speakers: Geraldine Miller, founder of Household Technicians in New York State and member of Bronx NOW; Marcia Gallo, former SWP candidate for U.S. Senate. Fri., Dec. 2, 8 p.m. 2271 Morris Ave. (near 183rd). Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 365-6652.

PHILADELPHIA

DEFENDING WOMEN'S RIGHTS: REPORT FROM HOUSTON INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S YEAR CONFERENCE. Thurs., Dec. 1, 8 p.m. First Unitarian Church, 2125 Chestnut St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: SWP, YSA. For more information call (215) 844-2874 or 387-2451.

SAN FRANCISCO: MISSION DISTRICT DEFENDING WOMEN'S RIGHTS: REPORTS FROM THE INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S YEAR CONFERENCE. Speakers to be announced. Fri., Dec. 9, 8 p.m. 3284 23rd St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 824-1992.

...Sadat

Continued from page 4

Policies such as the "Judaization" of Galilee and the savage repression aimed at Palestinians who stand up for their rights can only lead to further resistance among the Palestinians within Israel. And such resistance cannot help but arouse solidarity among the Arab masses outside Israel. The justice of the Palestinian cause is too well known.

As a result, in trying to hold down the Palestinians under its own rule the Zionist regime inevitably comes into conflict with its Arab neighbors. The latest example of this was the Israeli attack on Lebanon November 11.

At the same time, Israel comes into conflict with the Arab masses because of its role as an imperialist outpost in the Middle East. In September 1970, for example, when the Jordanian people rose up against the dictatorship of King Hussein and threatened to install a regime less favorable to Israel, Washington and Tel Aviv prepared a joint invasion of Jordan.

A similar joint invasion of Egypt was carried out by Israeli, British, and French armies in 1956, following Nasser's nationalization of the Suez Canal. The character of continued Israeli aggression against the Arab countries was further demonstrated during the civil war in Lebanon. Israeli troops invaded southern Lebanon and established a Zionist-dominated enclave there, while the Israeli government declared that it would go to war to prevent the installation of any government in Beirut that it considered too radical.

Peace can be won in the Middle East, but not by endorsing the dispossession of the Palestinian people and recognizing Israel. Of course, what the Israeli regime and its backers in Washington demand is precisely such a "peace"—one that can only lead to new wars.

The real fighters for peace, despite the self-serving rhetoric of Carter, Sadat, and Begin, are those who continue to oppose the Israeli state and demand the establishment of a united Palestine where both Arabs and Jews can live together.

Socialists and the Fight Against Anti-Semitism

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Reign of terror in Iran

By David Frankel

Nov. 22—As the *Militant* nears press time, we have received reports from oppositionists in Iran of a massive reign of terror. Between 5,000 and 7,000 persons have been arrested in Tehran alone. Hundreds have been beaten and scores murdered.

The big-business-controlled media, which gave such lavish coverage to the shah's visit to Washington, has almost completely blacked out news of these dramatic events.

According to information supplied to the *Militant* by the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI), the repression began November 15, the same day the shah was being welcomed at the White House. Its first target was a meeting at Tehran's University of Aryamehr sponsored by the Iranian Writers Association.

Some 7,000 persons turned out to hear a speech on "The Present Situation of Theater in Iran." This topic was apparently considered threatening by the regime. Police intervened, and people who objected were beaten and arrested.

The meeting turned into a sit-in to protest the repression. A resolution was adopted demanding the release of all those arrested and calling for a strike of all colleges and universities if that demand was not met by November 21.

When the sit-in ended November 16, people were attacked by plainclothes police. At least sixteen protesters were killed.

Police also attacked gatherings at Tehran University and Aryamehr University November 21. At Aryamehr, two leaders of the Writers Association, Dr. Homa Nateq, a woman historian, and the writer

Memat Mirzazadeh, were arrested and beaten so brutally that they were listed in critical condition.

More police attacks occurred November 22. Mosques in particular were singled out because this was a Muslim holiday, and mosques have been traditional gathering places for dissidents.

On the west side of Tehran, a crowd described by one eyewitness as "too many to estimate" was attacked. Many were reported killed.

Dr. Reza Baraheni, an Iranian poet and former political prisoner now living in the United States, told the *Militant* that he sent a telegram of protest to Carter: "I told him that one handshake has cost the lives of hundreds of people and the imprisonment of thousands."

"The green light given to the shah of Iran by Carter," Baraheni continued, "has allowed him to crack down

on all the human rights groups. . . . I asked Carter to stop sending arms to the shah and to stop the moral and political support that the American government is giving the shah."

Right now, agents of SAVAK—the shah's secret police—are visiting the houses of those suspected of opposition to the regime. CAIFI has asked that letters and telegrams of protest be sent to the White House and the Iranian Embassy. Copies should be sent to CAIFI, 853 Broadway, Suite 451, New York, New York 10003.

While the shah's secret police can arrest individuals, it remains to be seen how long they can hold back the demands of the Iranian masses. As one opposition leader explained, "I think this will go on. This is not a small movement—it is a very widespread movement. The shopkeepers are in the streets; the city is very excited."

Support grows for Stearns miners

By Bronson Rozier

LEXINGTON, Ky.—Five hundred people turned out here November 18 for a benefit in support of striking miners in Stearns, Kentucky.

The evening of speakers and Appalachian and folk music was sponsored

An editorial on the coal miners' strike in Stearns, Kentucky, appears on page 10.

by the Lexington/University of Kentucky Stearns Strike Defense Committee.

More than twenty people from Stearns itself attended—miners and members of the Justus Mine Women's Club.

Through ticket sales and donations, the event raised \$1,200 for the miners, on strike now for sixteen months.

The strike entered a new stage in mid-October when Kentucky Gov. Julian Carroll sent state police units to Stearns to aid Blue Diamond Coal Company in running scabs into the

mine. More than 100 miners and supporters were arrested and more than a dozen injured when the cops attacked those gathered at the mine entrance.

On October 26, Circuit Judge J. B. Johnson, Jr., sent eleven of those arrested to jail for six months. One striker, Arnold Roy Keith, has been conditionally released because of serious injuries he received during the cop attack.

"All Blue Diamond is after is to mine coal and make a profit," United Mine Workers organizer Lee Potter told the meeting here. "And Gov. Julian Carroll is willing to help. Judge Johnson, the troopers, and Governor Carroll are nothing but strikebreakers."

Defense committee member Rus Dowda opened the benefit and urged people to sign petitions demanding that Governor Carroll remove the state police from Stearns.

Dowda also announced that representatives of the West Virginia University Stearns Mine Workers Support Committee were present. The Morgantown committee has announced plans

for a December 1 meeting in defense of the strikers.

Endorsers of the benefit here included Lexington Central Labor Council; Charles Abner, organizer, Kentucky American Federation of State,

County and Municipal Employees; University of Kentucky Employees AFSCME Organizing Committee; Eastern Kentucky National Lawyers Guild; Young Socialist Alliance; and Lexington Bluegrass National Organization for Women.



UMW Journal

Judge holds hostages

Ten striking miners are being held in jail as "hostages," charges United Mine Workers organizer Lee Potter.

Kentucky Circuit Court Judge J. B. Johnson, Jr., denied bail November 14 to ten miners from the Justus mine in Stearns, Kentucky. The strikers are appealing their six-month sentences (see accompanying story).

"The only reason he's holding those guys there is to protect Blue Diamond Coal Company," Potter said.

Sixty-eight other strikers also face jail if they don't conform to Johnson's condition of "good behavior."

"Our hands are tied," striker Lemuel Meadows told the *Militant*. "If we even run a stop sign, they're going to lock us up for six months."

Meanwhile, the number of scabs Blue Diamond runs past the picket line each day has grown to seventeen. The company has announced plans to resume production as soon as the mine is "in shape."

Support for the strike is needed now more than ever. Contributions, statements of support, and requests for speakers can be addressed to the strikers at Old Post Office Building, Whitley City, Kentucky 42653. Telephone: (606) 376-8047.