

THE MILITANT

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

SAY NO TO BAKKE RULING!

The U.S. Supreme Court ruling upholding the *Bakke* decision has dealt the most staggering blow in many years to the long-denied hopes and aspirations of

do nothing whatsoever to end race and sex discrimination and ensure true equality.

The New York *Amsterdam News*, the country's largest Black weekly, summed up the meaning of the ruling in its banner headline: "Bakke: We lose!"

Trade unions, civil rights organizations, women's rights supporters, and student groups need to organize emergency protests.

We must sound the alarm nationwide on the sweeping implications of this ruling for all working people.

The justices' callous decision is a major new thrust in the drive engineered by the ruling rich and executed by the Carter administration to take back every gain won through decades of hard-fought battles.

In this sense, Attorney General

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An editorial

oppressed nationalities and women.

The court's message is clear: *the U.S. government intends to*

Att'y general faces jail

Bell defies judge in Socialist Workers lawsuit

By Diane Wang

NEW YORK—An historic confrontation took place in a federal courtroom here June 27, as the Socialist Workers Party argued that Attorney General Griffin Bell should be jailed for contempt of court.

That battle is far from over. At the June 27 hearing, the Justice Department continued its flagrant defiance of federal Judge Thomas Griesa's order to turn over to attorneys for the SWP uncensored files

on eighteen FBI informers. The socialists are suing for a halt to FBI spying and harassment.

Bell has stonewalled on the files, even though the Supreme Court has upheld Griesa's order. Bell's refusal to comply prompted the contempt motion.

As the *New York Times* reported the day after the hearing, "Judge Griesa said that he was not indicating what decision he might reach, but his com-

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Militant/Diane Wang

Supporters of Socialist Workers Party picket outside federal court building June 27

20,000 demand: 'No nukes!'

Say no to Bakke!

Continued from front page

Griffin Bell was right when he said that the ruling "confirms our position and what we've been doing."

By ordering the University of California to admit Allan Bakke—the white plaintiff in the suit—to its Davis medical school, the court explicitly gave legal credence to the false, racist notion of "reverse discrimination." In doing so, the court condemned Blacks, Chicanos, Asian Americans, Puerto Ricans, Native Americans, and women to continued *real* discrimination on the job and in education.

It is this *real*, persistent discrimination that accounts for a Black unemployment rate double that for whites—and even higher for Black youth.

It is this *real* discrimination that locks women workers into low paying jobs.

It is this *real* discrimination that accounts for the scandalously low number of female and minority doctors, dentists, professors, and other professionals.

It is *this* discrimination that must be reversed.

The only way to end this inequality is through preferential hiring, promotions, and school admissions. And bitter experience has proven that the only way to enforce such preferential treatment is quotas.

But the court now says quotas are unconstitutional.

Conscious of the outrage their ruling could provoke, the justices gave lip service to the idea of affirmative action.

But their pious declarations simply camouflage their true loyalties to another quota system—one that has existed for centuries and still exists today. It is the quota system—written and unwritten—that *excludes* the vast majority of oppressed nationalities and women.

With the authority of the Supreme Court behind them, big business and its twin political parties will be emboldened to step up their attacks. Philadelphia Mayor Frank Rizzo, commenting on the decision, said what many of them think, but few admit. He promised to get rid of the city's affirmative-action programs "as fast as you can say Yankee-doodle-dandy."

That is the real intent of the court's ruling—a calculated escalation of the attacks on equality for oppressed nationalities and women. And as such, it is a calculated assault on the entire working class.

The move to gut affirmative action is part of the broader offensive against women's right to abortion and to the Equal Rights Amendment, against school desegregation, against the right to social services, and against the wages, working conditions, and livelihoods of all working people.

The frontal attack on affirmative action is aimed at weakening the organized labor movement, for which steps toward equality for Blacks and women have been a big victory.

As long as discrimination against any working person exists, the union movement is weakened. The job of the employers in dividing labor's strength—through pitting white against Black, and male against female—is made easier. Their ability to drag down the wages and working conditions of all workers is given a boost.

Thus the *Bakke* decision is a direct threat to the labor movement, a threat that must be met head on.

Already, demonstrations and other protests against this ruling have been called by the National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision and other organizations. The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance have joined in urging such emergency actions.

These protests can be a stepping stone to organizing the kind of massive response—from the union movement, the Black movement, the women's movement, students, and other equal rights supporters—that will let Carter and the Supreme Court know we are bent on reversing their drive against equality.

On July 9 thousands will march in Washington, D.C., in support of the Equal Rights Amendment. This action is an important starting point for answering this new blow to equal rights. . . .

All out July 9!

With the Equal Rights Amendment three states short of ratification, and the 1979 ratification deadline fast approaching, supporters

of women's rights across the country are mobilizing for the July 9 ERA march called by the National Organization for Women.

The call to action comes at a time when an outpouring of protest against the Supreme Court's *Bakke* decision—a body blow to the fight against inequality—is urgently needed.

The same forces out to crush affirmative-action gains for oppressed nationalities and women are determined to kill the ERA. They know that a victory for the ERA would be a victory for affirmative action and all civil rights.

All ERA supporters—from women's groups to the labor movement to those fighting the *Bakke* decision—need to redouble their efforts to make July 9 a powerful, united show of support for equal rights.

The majority in this country supports the ERA.

And we can make our power felt July 9 if thousands of women, Blacks, trade unionists, and others come to Washington and raise our voices loud and clear:

Ratify the ERA!

Extend the ERA deadline!

Equal rights now!

**NATIONAL
ERA
MARCH**
FOR EXTENSION AND RATIFICATION
WASHINGTON, D.C.

**SUNDAY
JULY 9
1978**

● ASSEMBLE 11am AT THE 14th STREET END OF THE MALL, WASHINGTON

● MARCH EAST ON CONSTITUTION AVENUE TO THE U.S. CAPITOL

● RALLY AT THE CAPITOL FOLLOWING MARCH

PARTICIPANTS ARE URGED TO DRESS IN WHITE

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The Militant

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ERA forces unite for July 9

By Cindy Jaquith

NEW YORK—Standing just a stone's throw from the spot in Bryant Park where tens of thousands of women marched on August 26, 1970, a broad spectrum of women's rights supporters urged a massive turnout for the July 9 demonstration in Washington for the Equal Rights Amendment.

The June 27 news conference, initiated by the New York National Organization for Women (NOW), featured New York Gov. Hugh Carey, former Congresswoman Bella Abzug, feminist author Betty Friedan, and a host of women's rights leaders from the labor movement and the city's Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese communities.

National NOW has called the July 9 march to demand passage of the ERA and extension of the 1979 ratification deadline to 1986.

"Since we originally marched on August 26, 1970," said Friedan, "the women's movement and the women of America have not faced the kind of emergency we face today. Everything we have won, all the gains women have made, are in danger."

"That's why we will march on July 9," she declared. "It will be a march on Washington as women have never done before." She compared the upcoming action to the 1963 march on Washington by Blacks demanding their civil rights.

Friedan blasted President Carter and "the political leaders, Democratic



Militant/Cindy Jaquith
BETTY FRIEDAN: 'We must march to show this nation is for equality.'

and Republican, in Congress, who have been giving the merest lip service to the Equal rights Amendment.

"I hope that women from grandmothers to granddaughters, white and Black, suburban women, housewives, women who work in offices and factories, stewardesses, nurses, and secre-

taries will march . . . and let it be known that this nation is for equality."

Governor Carey issued a proclamation in support of the ERA and extension of the ratification deadline and joined in urging participation in NOW's march.

Abzug followed Carey, stating that the July 9 demonstration and the July 10 day of lobbying Congress, also called by NOW, are "a time when citizens can act."

Ruby Jones, president of the New York Coalition of Labor Union Women, told the media that "labor is once again in the forefront" of the fight for women's rights.

"We want everyone to know that union women and union men are for the ratification of the ERA."

"As dedicated union members know, solidarity is important. We're forming solidarity with other representatives here today to let everyone know that we're all working together."

"The July 9 march will be an opportunity for minority women and men to demonstrate the overwhelming support for the ERA which exists in our communities," said a statement to the press by Veronica Brown, coordinator of NOW-New York's Minority Women's Issues Committee.

"The civil rights movement is a firm supporter of equality for women. The NAACP, the National Urban League, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and Operation PUSH all support the ERA."

Lucia Ramirez, president of the National Conference of Puerto Rican Women, announced that her group is organizing community participation. Goldie Chu and Ester Kee, Asian-American women's rights leaders, pledged the backing of their organizations.

NOW-New York President Noreen Connell chaired the news conference. Also speaking were New York City Council President Carol Bellamy, Lt. Gov. Mary Anne Krupsak, and Carrie Fisher, who played the lead in the movie *Star Wars*.

In San Francisco, NOW national president Eleanor Smeal addressed the 250,000-strong gay rights march June 25, urging support for the July 9 demonstration.

Bay Area NOW chapters held a news conference and cocktail party where Smeal appeared, to publicize the action and raise funds.

News conferences also took place in Boston, Chicago, and Philadelphia.

At the Philadelphia news conference, Augusta Clark, of the Pennsylvania International Women's Year Committee, told reporters that Black and Latina women "see no inconsistency in fighting for civil rights for minorities and for women's rights. We expressly reject all divisive tactics used to pit one group against another for 'left-over rights.'"

'This is a civil rights issue'

By Toba Singer

BALTIMORE—"I'm hoping for an outpouring of working people on July 9," said David Wilson, president of United Steelworkers Local 2609. He was speaking at a June 21 news conference here to announce labor support for the July 9 march on Washington for the Equal Rights Amendment.

Other participants in the news conference included Frances Brown, local president of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; Mary Johnson, Metropolitan Council, AFL-CIO; Martha Murrill, president of Communications Workers Local 2110; and Joseph Kotelchuck, president of Steelworkers Local 2610.

Wilson and Kotelchuck initiated the news conference. They told reporters the Steelworkers will charter a bus to the July 9 march from Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point plant.

"This is a civil rights issue," said Kotelchuck. "More and more women are coming to work at [Sparrows] Point. We feel that they should have

equal pay for equal work and equal rights with the men."

"Labor is helping to give the ERA a push because, as unionists, we are here to look out for the rights of women workers as well as men."

Frances Brown said the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists "fully supports the ERA. We are fearful of what will happen to all of us if there are problems getting the ERA passed."

Pamela Hutner, president of the Baltimore National Organization for Women and a member of the Maryland State Teachers Association, chaired the news conference.

"The ranks of labor include workers of diverse race, color, sex, and nationality," she explained. "Employers have historically played upon these differences, seeking to set one group against the other in order to divide, weaken, and depress the standards and conditions of all workers."

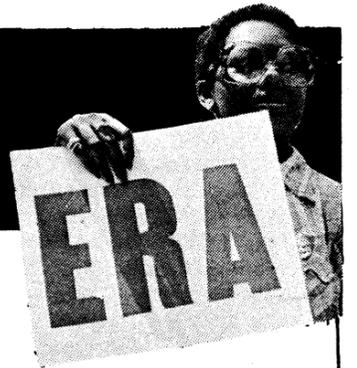
"Labor's way of forging unity and solidarity within its ranks," she concluded, "is to fight relentlessly against all forms of discrimination."



Baltimore unionists at June 21 news conference

Militant/Stephen Fuchs

Marching toward July 9



The National Organization for Women is sponsoring a national march on Washington for the Equal Rights Amendment on July 9.

Buses come rolling in . . .

Hundreds of chartered buses will bring ERA supporters to the July 9 march:

Pittsburgh is sending eleven buses. The international of the United Steelworkers of America is sending one, as are District 6 of the United Electrical Workers and the YWCA.

Toledo is sending seven buses, including one from an abortion clinic, another from the Toledo Federation of Teachers, and three from the United Auto Workers.

New York has buses chartered by many groups, including NOW, the New York Coalition of Labor Union Women, District 65 Retail Clerks, District 13 Nurses, United Store Workers, employees of Equitable Life, the National Conference of Puerto Rican Women, the Coalition for Abortion Rights and Against Sterilization Abuse, and two buses from Local 1199 of the hospital workers.

New Jersey is sending thirty buses, also chartered by many labor and women's groups. And Philadelphia NOW has announced that fifty buses are reserved.

Backing with bucks

Many trade unions have backed up their endorsement of the ERA march with financial donations.

District 37 of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) in New York City gave money and also printed 20,000 leaflets for the march.

UAW Region 4, in the Midwest, chartered a plane. In Toledo the UAW gave \$4,000 to charter buses for unionists.

AFSCME 1644 in Atlanta is paying two-thirds the cost of bus tickets for its members. And United Steelworkers District 9 is paying the bus fare for its unionists.

Sendoff and solidarity rallies

Albuquerque Mayor David Rusk has declared July 8 "Women's Equality Day." On that day NOW is sponsoring a rally at noon at the federal building.

Atlanta will hold a rally on July 8 at 4 p.m. at Georgia State University to send people to Washington.

A Seattle march in solidarity with the national demonstration is being sponsored by the Washington ERA Coalition on July 8. ERA supporters will gather at the Federal Courthouse at 11:30 a.m. and march to the Westlake Mall.

—Diane Wang

20,000 say: no nukes!

Seabrook '78—biggest U.S. protest yet

By Arnold Weissberg

SEABROOK, N.H.—Twenty thousand people rallied in this seaside village June 25 in the largest protest against nuclear power ever held in this country. The rally was sponsored by the Clamshell Alliance, the Seacoast Anti-Pollution League, and other New Hampshire environmental groups.

The action marked an important step forward for the anti-nuclear power movement in winning support from the labor movement, the women's movement, and others fighting for social justice.

Protesters came from all over the country. The New York City Shad Alliance chartered a bus. Some demonstrators marched onto the rally site Saturday and camped there.

Messages of support came from antinuclear groups around the United States, Europe, and Japan.

The crowd gave a standing ovation to comedian and activist Dick Gregory, who remarked, "There's a lot of people at Exxon who didn't sleep good last night 'cause you're here."

The rally featured a number of Seabrook-area residents who oppose the reactor, as well as scientists and environmentalists speaking on the dangers of nuclear power, such as John Gofman, Barry Commoner, and Amory Lovins.

Dr. Benjamin Spock noted that nuclear power is "the greatest threat short of nuclear war" and declared that the movement needs "bigger demonstrations every year." The anti-Vietnam War movement, Spock recalled, forced Lyndon Johnson out of office, kept Richard Nixon "fuming all the time," and had the government "frustrated and powerless to fight it."

Labor support

This year for the first time the speakers platform reflected the growing support for the antinuclear movement in the unions.

The first labor speaker was Joe Frantz, representing United Steelworkers of America District 31. Frantz is head of the environment committee in USWA Local 1010 in northern Indiana. District 31 voted last month to oppose construction of a nuclear plant on the Indiana dunes of Lake Michigan.

Frantz said the steelworkers had voted against nuclear power because they wanted "a better quality of life for the members and for the community."

"The environmental movement needs the labor movement, and the labor movement needs the environmental movement," Frantz declared.

Hundreds buy 'Militant'

"There are only two sides to the question of nuclear power—profits vs. human needs," read a statement issued by the Socialist Workers Party candidates in Massachusetts and New York.

SWP campaign supporters sold 400 *Militants* and sixty buttons reading "No Nukes" issued by the Young Socialist Alliance. —A.W.

Representing the labor task force of the National Organization for Women, Sara Nelson noted that "we too are in a pitched battle" to pass the Equal Rights Amendment. She urged participation in the July 9 march for the ERA in Washington, D.C.

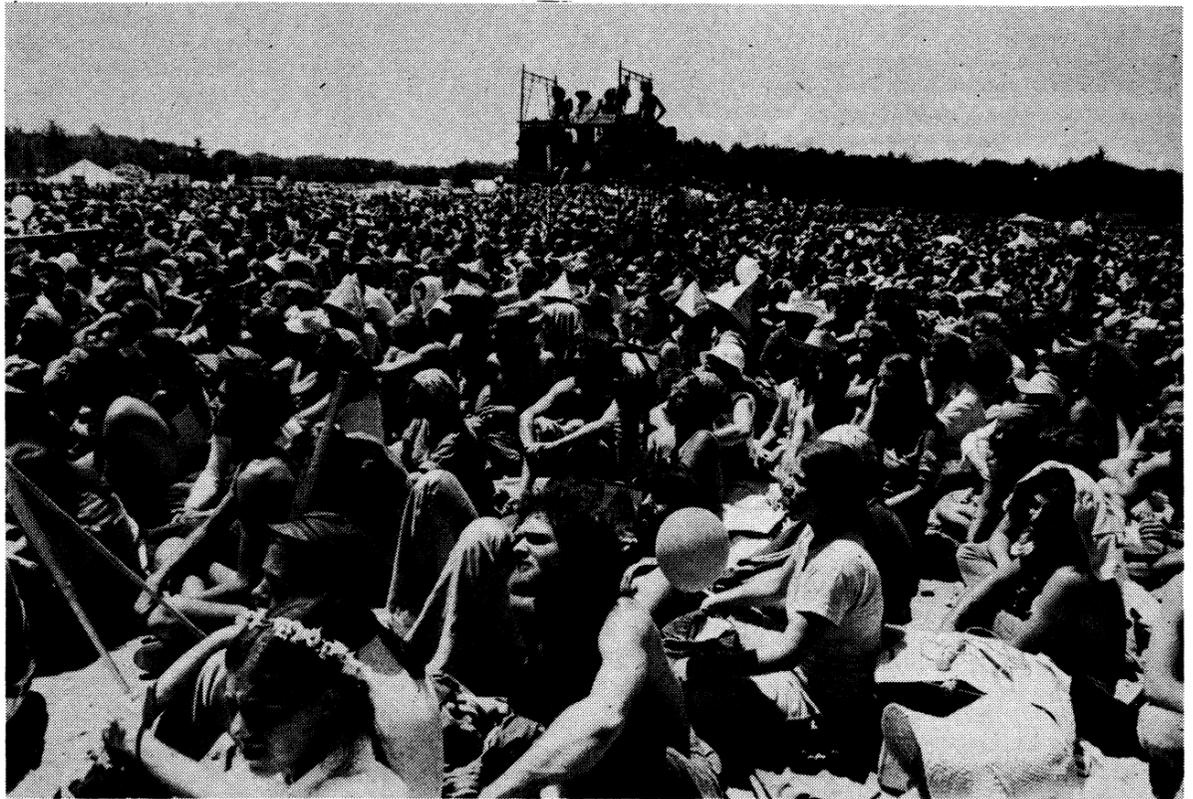
She went on to describe recent developments in the Karen Silkwood case. Silkwood worked in a plutonium processing plant in Oklahoma. In 1974, on her way to talk to a reporter about dangerous safety violations in the plant, she died in a mysterious auto accident. A lawsuit filed by Silkwood's parents has unearthed evidence of wiretapping and harassment involving local cops, the FBI, and Silkwood's employer, the giant Kerr-McGee energy firm.

Also speaking was Ken Hunter, a staff member of the United Mine Workers union, who works on the *UMWA Journal*.

One of the final speakers was Jerry Gordon, an international representative of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen's union. Gordon was a prominent leader of the anti-Vietnam War movement.

Gordon emphasized the need for the antinuclear movement to reach out to allies in the labor movement—"especially in rallies like this," he said.

"That's how a movement of thousands can transform itself into a movement that embraces millions."



Militant/Susan Ellis

Gordon underlined the importance of countering "the big lie that the labor movement is the enemy" of the environmental movement.

"The enemy is the same as the enemy of the labor movement," Gordon said, "the big corporations and the politicians who carry out their desires."

"Working people care about pollution," he said.

In an interview, Gordon told the *Militant* that the issue of nuclear power is basically a question like health and safety on the job.

Music at the rally was provided by Arlo Guthrie, Pete Seeger, Utah Phillips, and others. Representatives of the Longest Walk, a Native American march for equal rights, made a moving presentation.

Dangerous boondoggle

The Seabrook nuclear plant is expected to cost more than \$2 billion. Seabrook residents have voted against building it, voted against permitting radioactive materials to be transported through the town, and voted against supplying water for construction.

But their opposition has been ignored.

The plant will create unmanageable radioactive wastes, constantly emit radioactive poisons, and irreparably damage marine life.

The large turnout for the rally, which surprised many of the organizers, was a powerful indication of the growing opposition to nuclear power nationwide. The action followed a series of large antinuclear power and anti-nuclear weapons demonstrations this spring.

At the last minute, Clamshell leaders had decided to hold a legal rally, instead of attempting to occupy the construction site. The change came after New Hampshire authorities threatened to use tear gas,

water hoses, and even "deadly force" to keep protesters out. (Last year, New Hampshire cops arrested and jailed more than 1,400 Seabrook protesters.)

This decision was discussed and debated all weekend in workshops, regional caucuses, and informal discussions.

Some activists argued that once the initial decision to engage in civil disobedience had been made, it should not have been changed. They said the turnout would have been very large anyway.

However, Clamshell spokesperson Cathy Wolff responded that "when we changed from a civil disobedience to a legal occupation, we opted for a chance to reach thousands of people who could not risk arrest."

While the Seabrook rally was going on, a counter-demonstration in Manchester, New Hampshire, called for more nuclear power. The Manchester rally was sponsored by business interests and some officials of New Hampshire construction trade unions.

Despite the presence of Gov. Meldrim Thomson, two U.S. representatives, a U.S. Senator, and a clambake, the pronuclear rally could only muster between 500 and 1,000 participants.

At least twenty actions in support of the Seabrook antinuclear protest took place across the country.

On June 26—the day after the Seabrook rally ended—2,000 opponents of nuclear power marched through Manchester to the county courthouse where the U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission and the Environmental Protection Agency were holding hearings on the Seabrook plant. The march called on the agencies to withdraw the Seabrook construction permit, citing potential damage to marine life from the plant's cooling system.

Supreme Court: nuclear risks don't count

The U.S. Supreme Court struck another blow on behalf of the \$100 billion nuclear industry June 26 when it upheld the federal Price-Anderson Act. The act limits the liability of a utility corporation in the case of a nuclear power plant accident to \$560 million.

"This ruling deprives all of those Americans living near power plants of any possibility of recovering full damages after a serious accident," said a Clamshell Alliance spokesperson. Government estimates put possible damage as high as \$17 billion. Thus, the insurance would cover a paltry three cents on the dollar—not to mention the human toll that can't be counted in dollars and cents.

Insurance companies have refused to write policies to cover the full amount. Many opponents of nuclear power ask why—if nuclear power is so safe—the insurance companies won't insure it.

Without insurance, no utility would build a nuclear power plant. So the federal government stepped in twenty-one years ago and set the \$56 million liability limit. \$110 million comes not from insurance coverage, but directly from the federal treasury—the tax dollars of working people.

Washington argued that the court should uphold Price-Anderson because overturning it "could stand as a major impediment to further private development of nuclear energy in this nation."

The court agreed. Chief Justice Warren Burger wrote that the \$560 million limit "bears a rational relationship to Congress's concern for stimulating the involvement of private enterprise in the production of electric energy through the use of atomic power." —A.W.

All affirmative action in danger

High court upholds 'Bakke,' rejects quotas

By Nancy Cole

The highest court of the land has declared itself on the side of anti-Black, anti-woman bigots with its June 28 decision legitimizing the false concept of "reverse discrimination."

The Supreme Court ruled five-to-four that Allan Bakke—a white civil engineer—must be admitted to the University of California Medical School at Davis. The justices found unconstitutional the school's special admissions program, which sets aside 16 of 100 slots for oppressed minorities.

It was a clear rejection of affirmative-action quotas.

Within hours 250 angry pickets demonstrated at the federal building in San Francisco to protest the ruling. The National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision (NCOBD) moved ahead with plans for June 29 protests in major cities across the country. In some places, additional demonstrations are planned for the weekend.

The ruling "represents a devastating attack on hard-won affirmative-action programs for minorities and women," declared the New York chapter of NCOBD.

On the other hand, Attorney General Griffin Bell proclaimed it "a great gain for affirmative action." The ruling "confirms our position and what we've been doing," he said. Bell was referring to the Carter administration's opposition to quotas while it professes an abstract commitment to affirmative action.

Unfortunately, some leaders of the civil rights movement—while disagreeing with the ruling against quotas—have nonetheless echoed Bell. NAACP Executive Director Benjamin Hooks called the overall decision a "clear-cut victory for voluntary affirmative action."

Black leader Jesse Jackson, however, noted that first there was the California cutback measure Proposition 13, compounded by rising unemployment, and now the *Bakke* ruling. "The Black community has its back against the wall," he said. "We must come out with a commitment to massive disciplined struggle."

Bakke sued the university after his application for admission was rejected in 1973 and again in



Front-page cartoon from July 1 'Amsterdam News,' a Black weekly, under banner headline, 'Bakke: We lose!'

1974. Despite the fact that he was rejected for one of the eighty-four regular slots, he charged discrimination for being excluded from one of the sixteen slots reserved for minority students.

Prior to establishing the special program, the first class at the medical school in 1968 had no Blacks, no Chicanos, no Native Americans, and only three Asians.

Davis students responded grimly to the high court ruling June 28. "I believe the cycle, the vicious cycle minorities are put in, has to be broken up," Byron Froman told the *New York Times*. "We have to

right past injustices, and this decision seems like a step backwards to before the sixties."

Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall shared his feeling in his dissenting opinion. "I fear that we have come full circle," he wrote. "After the Civil War our government started several 'affirmative action' programs. This Court in the Civil Rights cases and *Plessy v. Ferguson* destroyed the movement toward complete equality."

Marshall went on to note that almost a century passed before the court upheld civil rights with the 1954 decision outlawing school desegregation.

"Now, we have this Court again stepping in, this time to stop affirmative action programs of the type used by the University of California."

In a particularly odious twist of the knife, four of the high court justices based their pro-Bakke ruling on the 1964 Civil Rights Act—the very legislation that Blacks won to help end Jim Crow discrimination.

Under Title VI of the act, racial discrimination is banned for any program or activity funded by the federal government. The court held that Bakke was discriminated against because of his white race and that therefore the admissions program was illegal.

Justice Lewis Powell found that Bakke's constitutional rights had been violated, but—to cover his tracks—did concede that race can be a "legitimate" factor as long as it is only one of many considerations in fashioning a "diverse" student body.

The four justices favoring a reversal of the *Bakke* decision also agreed that race is one "legitimate" factor. This "majority" opinion thus allowed Carter and Bell to praise the court for its stand in favor of affirmative action.

But it is clear that the "reverse discrimination" poison legitimized by this ruling will quickly spread not only to affirmative-action plans for women and oppressed minorities at all levels of education, but in employment as well.

As Justice Marshall wrote, "It has been said that this case involves only the individual Bakke and this University. I doubt, however, that there is a computer capable of determining the number of persons and institutions that may be affected by the decision in this case."

Hundreds in NY camp out four days for jobs

By John Hawkins

NEW YORK—"On Thursday, when we first started camping out here, I was number 258 in line," said Sarah Brown early Monday morning. "Now I'm number 1,008. I had to get off line over the weekend to go see about my kids."

Brown, together with hundreds of others, had come to apply for an apprenticeship at the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Local 3, in Queens, New York.

The official age to apply to become an apprentice electrician is between eighteen and twenty-two. But Brown, forty-four, was not deterred. She needs a job.

Beginning Thursday, June 22, hundreds of job-seekers lined up across the street from the IBEW hall in Queens and in front of Plumbers Union, Local 2, in Manhattan. They set up tents, erected makeshift shanties, and unrolled sleeping bags.

If you left the line for more than fifteen minutes, you forfeited your spot.

Twelve hundred applications were to be given out Monday at the IBEW hall. But only 500 will be chosen for the apprenticeship program. Across the river in Manhattan, the Plumbers Union was distributing 500 applications for 50 places.

Though crowds at neither site swelled into the thousands—as they have at some other places here and around the country—the hundreds who spent four days on line just to receive applications dramatized the depth of unemployment in New York City.

Brown was typical of a number of women who stood in line in Queens. Unemployed, Black, and a welfare recipient, she had attended classes to prepare for the trade.

"This is a chance to get a good-paying job," she told the *Militant*, "a chance to get a skill, support my family, and get off welfare at the same time."

Twenty women along with Brown came from the All-Craft training school, where they had learned the basics of plumbing, electrical work, carpentry, and cabinet making.

"If they are fair and equitable," said Marilyn Adams, assistant program director at All-Craft, "our women should get a good share of the jobs. They can do the work as well as any of the men who are applying can."

Supporters of Dianne Feeley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of New York, campaigned at the Plumbers' Hall, selling last week's issue of the *Militant*, which featured a four-page insert on "Why can't everybody have a job?"

"The fact that so many people spent four days standing in line," Feeley said, "shows that those out of work want work. It's criminal that people have to go through all this just to apply for a job, and even more criminal that 1,150 of those who apply won't get a job at all."

"That's why I and socialist candidates across the country are proposing an emergency bill to guarantee everyone a decent job at a decent wage by shortening the workweek and launching a massive, federally funded public works program."

Reprints of the SWP's proposed emergency full employment bill and the article "Why can't everybody have a job?" can be ordered in bulk quantities for distribution. See the accompanying ad to find out how.

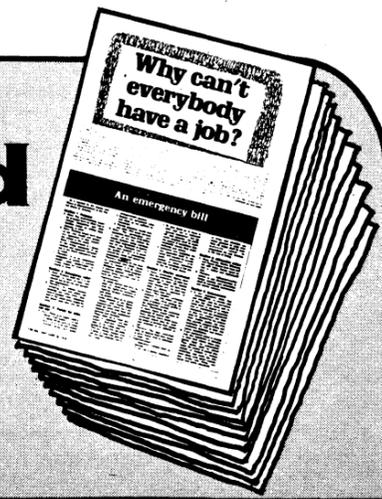


Waiting for apprenticeship applications in Queens

Militant/John Hawkins

Help get it around

Socialist Workers Party candidates have proposed an "Emergency Bill to Provide Jobs for All." You can help distribute this bill and the accompanying article, which explains the causes and solutions to unemployment, by ordering copies (2½ cents each, 2 cents each for 1,000 or more) from the Socialist Workers National Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.



By Larry Seigle

(First of a series)

A chain of extraordinary developments has once again thrust the socialist suit against the FBI onto center stage. The issue is the government's right to use informers to infiltrate, disrupt, and spy on its opponents.

The rulers' informer network constitutes the main operational arm of their political police and of their war against labor, oppressed minorities, the women's movement, and the entire left.

Thus, the unfolding struggle over this issue involves very high stakes.

In a major public address on May 3 of this year, William Webster, Carter's new FBI chief, put it this way:

"Not many people know very much about informants; and to many people it's kind of a queasy area. People are not comfortable with informants. There is a tradition against snitching in this country.

"I have to say to you, however, that the informant is *The*, with a capital 'T,' *The* most effective tool in law enforcement today—state, local, or federal."

The immediate topic of Webster's concern is not "law enforcement" in general, but the FBI's political war against critics of the government. In this underground struggle, informers are essential.

The government is prepared to go to great lengths to prevent any weakening of its informer system. That is why Carter is willing to have his attorney general risk contempt of court and is ready to pay the political price for such a move.

The Carter administration's naked refusal to obey a court order makes Nixon's gang, by contrast, look like a troop of law-abiding boy scouts. It truly amounts to a declaration that the government and its spies are above the law. If Carter can get away with this, it will be at the expense of the rights and liberties of all Americans.

Legal fireworks

The legal fireworks now exploding in Judge Thomas Griesa's courtroom are unmistakable signals that the case known as *Socialist Workers Party versus Attorney General* has reached a decisive round. After nearly five years of preliminary sparring, the SWP and the attorney general are now slugging it out, toe to toe, over the informer issue.

The earlier rounds produced dramatic exposures detailing the nature and extent of FBI crimes. These disclosures have played a significant role in educating the American people about the true character of the capitalist government and its political police.

The government was forced to turn over tens of thousands of pages documenting massive illegalities carried out in the name of "national security." These revelations were concessions the rulers were forced to make, under the pressure of the massive outcry against government crimes, and under the unrelenting and skillful prodding of the SWP and YSA case.

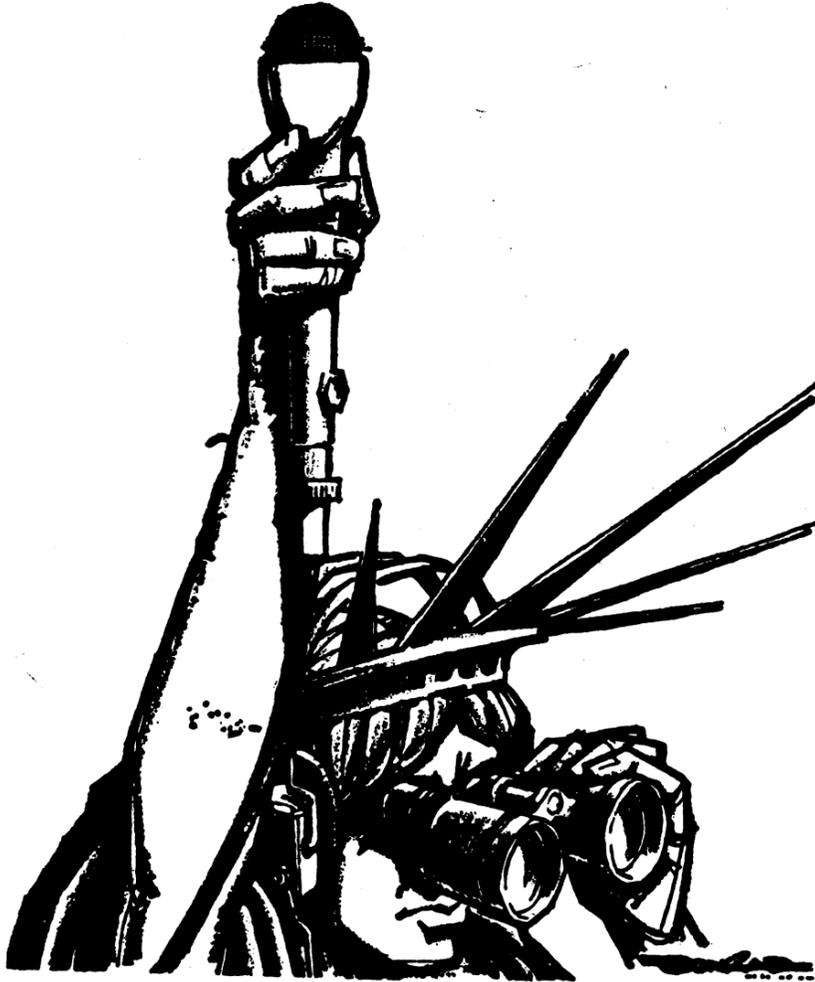
Government officials, politicians, and the capitalist press all joined in criticizing the FBI for its excesses of the past. They promised that such evils would be ended.

Newspapers such as the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*, authoritative organs of the ruling class, gave prominent and generally sympathetic coverage of the SWP suit. This was part of their campaign to make the FBI serve the rulers' needs more effectively, by forcing an adjustment in tactics and rhetoric in light of the new political climate of post-Watergate and post-Vietnam America.

In November 1976, the Ford administration went so far as to announce that it had directed the FBI to halt its investigation of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance. Of course, the "investigation" wasn't stopped, nor was it intended to be. But the statement represented

Battle over FBI informers

Why Bell won't release spy files



another bow to public opinion and to the widespread support for the socialist lawsuit.

No concession on informers

However, the concessions the government made didn't include any weakening of their right to use informers or of their right to keep the facts about these informers behind an iron curtain of secrecy.

In fact, in 1974, when Judge Griesa issued a temporary order to block informers from attending the Young Socialist Alliance convention in St. Louis, the Justice Department immediately took an emergency appeal to the higher courts in a successful bid to get that order overturned.

And when Griesa, in May 1977, ordered the FBI to produce unexpurgated files on eighteen of the informers it has used against the SWP and YSA, the government dug in its heels.

The order to turn over the files, said the FBI, "strikes at the heart of this entire [informer] program." It would have "a devastating impact on the overall investigative effectiveness of the FBI."

The government is worried about the new revelations contained in these undeleted files, comprising some twenty-five drawers of raw reports. But it is far more worried about the "devastating impact" that handing over the files would have on what the government claims is the "informer privilege."

This privilege amounts to an absolute rule that protects the activities and identities of government snitches from disclosure even in court proceedings.

The government insists this privilege must be preserved, because people won't agree to become informers for the cops unless they are guaranteed anonymity. They also argue that the finks would be harassed and subjected to physical retaliation if their identities are disclosed.

The Supreme Court has generally, although not under all circumstances, upheld the "informer privilege" for people who give evidence of a *crime* to the police.

But there is not a single piece of evidence pointing to any illegal acts by the socialists in all the material collected by the FBI stool pigeons. Griesa himself, who has reviewed the files, says they contain "a consistent recital of peaceful, lawful, personal activities, and a total absence of any criminal activities or plans of any nature whatsoever."

The real criminals

There is evidence of crimes in these files. But it is the crimes of the FBI informers, not of the socialists.

In fact, the informer files will help the socialists prove in court that not only did the informers commit a multitude of specific criminal acts, but that the entire so-called investigation by the FBI has been an unconstitutional violation of fundamental rights.

No "informer privilege" can be used to cover up these crimes. The FBI can't hire informers to commit illegal acts and then claim immunity from disclosure under the "informer privilege."

Yet that is exactly what the Carter administration is trying to establish as the law.

The refusal of the Supreme Court

last month to overturn Griesa's order on the files was a significant victory. It weakens the "informer privilege." It will be easier for others in the future to force disclosure of spy files.

But that is only a dent in the privilege. What would really blow it out of the water, legally, would be for the SWP attorneys to actually gain possession of the files. Once that historic step is completed, the FBI will never again be able to claim that its informers believed their identities would not be disclosed. Any informers still working for the FBI or any other government agency would obviously be well aware of the decision in the SWP case. Therefore, the major rationale for the claim of "informer privilege" would disappear.

What's more, since there would be no harassment or physical retaliation against the identified rats, that ridiculous argument would also collapse.

In other words, the actual delivery of the informer files would deal a devastating blow to the "informer privilege."

What a victory that would be!

Ruling-class voices

But that is exactly what the Carter administration is taking such extreme measures to prevent. And that is why voices of the ruling class, such as the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*, have suddenly turned around and started arguing *in favor* of FBI secrecy. They are worried that the SWP and YSA are now going too far. They may seriously damage the political police apparatus that the *Times* and *Post* are fervently committed to.

That is why there has been no editorial outcry against the spectacle of the attorney general, supposedly the nation's top law enforcement officer, declaring open defiance of a court order. Rather, what we get are embarrassed apologies for this outrageous stand.

Said the liberal *Washington Post* in its lead editorial on June 17: "At first glance, the position of Attorney General Griffin Bell in the Socialist Workers Party case seems outrageous . . . Once you examine this case closely, however, Mr. Bell's action is neither outrageous nor even illogical. He believes the government has a legal right to protect the confidentiality of its sources." Says the *Post*, "Mr. Bell has a strong legal position."

In the words of the *New York Times*, in a lead editorial June 20: "The Justice Department says giving up the files would violate a basic law-enforcement principle: that the identity of informants must be scrupulously protected.

"That principle may not be absolute, but it is not trivial, either. Informers are often essential. . . It is surely conceivable that violating that pledge [of secrecy] in this case would reverberate in many others."

The *Times* argues that there is good reason for Bell "to say he will not obey Judge Griesa's order, even if held in contempt. . . It is permissible to resist an order so as to test it. . ."

Adding a note of caution to this novel advocacy of civil disobedience *by the government*, the editors hastily add, "but that subtlety is not widely understood and a contempt citation would make the Attorney General appear defiant."

Indeed it would.

As the battle escalates, papers such as the *Times* and the *Post* find themselves more and more defending the FBI and its illegal practices. Pro-Carter forces may find all kinds of arguments to justify Bell's defiance of a court order—and more importantly, his defiance of the right of the American people to learn the truth, not just about *past* FBI crimes, but about the FBI's *continuing* crimes.

All the more reason then to bring about the widest possible unity of all the victims and potential victims of the nation's secret police. It is time to rally these forces with renewed determination to support the efforts of the SWP and YSA in this landmark case.

The stakes have never been higher.

(Next: *An army of informers*)

Turning point in socialists' lawsuit

Judge hears motion to jail att'y general

Continued from front page
ments to both sides made it clear that he was seriously considering the contempt motion."

Television reports on the hearing, which appeared on CBS, NBC, and ABC evening news, reached the same conclusion.

Before the hearing, supporters of the SWP fight against the FBI picketed the courthouse in Manhattan's Foley Square, chanting, "The people have a right to know—hand over the files!"

Judge Griesa's courtroom was packed with reporters, socialists, civil liberties supporters, government employees . . . and FBI agents. The gallery and jury box were filled. People lined the walls up to the judge's bench, sat on tables, and spilled out into the corridor.

Leonard Boudin, chief attorney for the socialists, explained why the SWP is asking the judge to cite Bell for contempt and order him imprisoned.

The eighteen files are only a small sample of evidence about the army of informers used against the SWP and other political dissenters.

This evidence is crucial to the \$40 million lawsuit, Boudin insisted. It will help prove the suit's charge that the FBI "used informers not for the purpose merely of gathering information," said Boudin, "but for the purpose of actively disrupting the plaintiff organizations [the socialists] and for the purpose of engaging in burglaries, wiretapping, and a larger variety of activities all for the purpose, as I say, of destroying the plaintiffs' organization."

"If the remedy here sought appears extreme," explained the socialists' court papers, "it is because the course the Attorney General has chosen is



LEONARD BOUDIN

Militant/Harry Ring



'People have a right to know' declared pickets in front of courthouse June 27

Militant/Diane Wang

extreme and no other remedy can effectively secure compliance with the Court's order."

In response, U.S. Attorney Robert Fiske complained that obeying the judge's order would have "a major adverse effect on law enforcement in general and also on foreign counterintelligence."

The attorney general is defying the court, the government says, because the FBI's entire spy network is threatened. If informers no longer have the privilege of keeping their activities—that is, their crimes—secret, they may refuse to work for the government.

As if to dramatize the FBI's point, an unidentified informer served notice of a lawsuit on June 27 asking \$750,000 in damages and an injunction against release of the informer files. The snitch claims he or she would suffer "economic duress, blacklisting and social ostracism" if exposed. What's more, the informer said in an affidavit, "I would be interested in working in a similar capacity in the future."

The suit names Judge Griesa, the U.S. government, and the SWP as defendants. The anonymous fink is represented by Jack Solerwitz, a lawyer who has spent much of his time in recent years defending FBI agents charged with crimes.

At the June 27 hearing U.S. Attorney Fiske offered what he called a compromise. The FBI, he said, is willing to turn over four of the eighteen files—once they have been cleaned up

by an FBI censor. These four informers have agreed to the release of their files.

Griesa challenged the suggestion, pointing out to Fiske, "I am prepared to tell you there are some very important files that would not be available from your proposal."

The judge reminded Fiske of former government lies and cover-ups in the case. One FBI agent, for example, had sworn under oath that informers had not carried out burglaries. But when the complete file of FBI informer Timothy Redfean was made public, it showed that the agent's testimony had been false, Griesa recalled.

When pressed by Griesa to say whether the attorney general would ever comply with the court order—even if it were again reviewed and again upheld by higher courts—Fiske squirmed. "I am sure it would not be correct to say that the Attorney General would not comply," he said, "but I would speak to him and get his directions."

The Carter administration, like the Ford administration before it, considers defense of informers' secrecy important enough to risk a major confrontation with the federal courts. Important enough to continue defying a federal judge's order.

This ensures that the battle will become increasingly prominent, as the socialists continue to defend the American people's democratic rights against the government's claims of "informer privilege."

Political Rights Defense Fund

The FBI thinks it is worth millions of dollars to harass people who disagree with governmental policy. It spent \$1,683,000 on informers to disrupt the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance alone.

And that's just a bit of the budget. The FBI had to pay bonuses to agents who broke into offices. There had to be money for its poison-pen and other disruption schemes. Plus the money for electronic wiretapping.

The SWP and YSA have exposed many of these illegal operations through their lawsuit against government harassment.

Won't you help us get out more of the government's secret files and fight these attacks on all our democratic rights?

We need money for legal expenses and to sort and organize the thousands of pages of evidence. Please contribute to the Political Rights Defense Fund, the group organizing support for the lawsuit.



Enclosed is my contribution of _____
Name _____
Address _____
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State _____ Zip _____

Send contributions to: PRDF, Post Office Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Questions on women's liberation

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by Dianne Feeley
24 pp., 35 cents

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Women's Fight for the Right to Choose
by Linda Jenness et al.
24 pp., 35 cents

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

Seattle women set August 26 march

Barbara Hennigan

SEATTLE—The second annual Northwest Women's Action Conference, attended by 600 women here June 17-18, called for an August 26 women's rights march in Seattle to demand ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment, and to defend abortion rights, affirmative action, and gay rights.

The conference also endorsed the July 9 ERA march on Washington, D.C., called by the National Organization for Women, and July 8 solidarity marches to take place here and in Portland.

Other resolutions passed included:

- A proposal to support a July 1 gay rights action here, and to oppose Initiative 13, a ballot measure that would repeal Seattle's gay rights ordinance;

- A resolution in support of affirmative-action programs in education, hiring, and promotion, including strict quotas for women,

oppressed nationalities, and women of oppressed nationalities;

- A statement opposing any restrictions, including funding, on the right to abortion.

Black, Chicana, Native American, and Asian women played an active role in workshop discussions, which ranged from "Abortion Rights" to "Women, Peace and Disarmament."

A rally featured as speakers Phyllis Chesler, author of *Women and Madness*; Yvonne Wanrow, the Native American woman framed for defending her children from sexual assault; and Deb Brown of Womyn Emerge, the University of Washington feminist group that initiated and helped organize the conference.

A tragic incident occurred when Emily Cannell, a conference participant, was shot by an unknown assailant and seriously wounded on her way to one of the sessions. The conference presiding committee issued a statement denouncing the shooting.



Seattle demonstration last August 27 turned out 1,500 protesters.

Militant/Karl Bermann

California tax swindle: how to fight back

By Roland Sheppard

SAN FRANCISCO—Passage of Proposition 13 in California follows on the heels of growing discontent against higher taxes across the United States over the past several years.

Democratic and Republican party politicians have tried to exploit this discontent by blaming taxes and inflation on social-welfare programs and excessive wages for public employees.

Actually, however, higher taxes are the result of government efforts to shift

Roland Sheppard is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for treasurer of California.

more and more of the tax burden onto the poor.

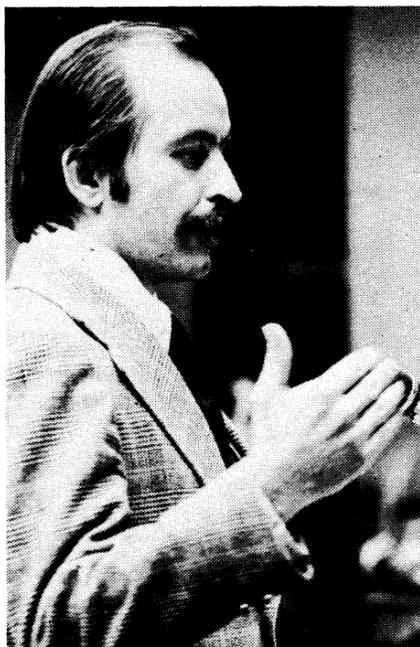
Through taxation, the government cuts the spendable income of the working class and distributes the money to the capitalist class through tax loopholes and incentives for big business.

The *San Francisco Chronicle* recently reported, for example, that "last year . . . Pacific Telephone had a profit of \$405 million . . . [but] by using perfectly legal tax credits, the company showed an accounting loss of \$7 million on its federal income tax return."

Big swindle

Small farmers and the owners of small businesses are exploited through mortgages and bank loans by individual capitalists. But these middle class layers are also exploited by the capitalist class through taxes.

The Democrats and Republicans try to swindle the outraged victims of



Militant/Ron Payne
ROLAND SHEPPARD: 'Tax the rich'

higher taxes and prices into voting for cuts in vitally needed social services.

Meanwhile, these politicians piously defend such social services for the wealthy as tax-free interest on municipal, state, and federal bonds, and war spending to protect profitable overseas investments.

As passage of Prop 13 shows, such hypocrisy has become highly refined in California.

There were two property-tax propositions—8 and 13—on the ballot in the recent election. Prop 13 backers collected 1,200,000 signatures to put

their measure on the ballot, reflecting the widespread opposition to skyrocketing taxes.

The state legislature put Prop 8 on the ballot after Prop 13 got on.

Both propositions told homeowners that tax breaks had to be coupled with reduced government services. Both gave the bulk of their proposed tax cuts to big business.

Prop 13 promised immediate and substantial reductions in property taxes. Prop 8 did not. Angry taxpayers passed Prop 13 by a two-to-one margin.

Capitalist assault

The capitalists were able to take advantage of the ground swell of anti-tax sentiment—tapped by the right-wing initiators of Prop 13—to launch an attack on public employees' unions and to initiate cutbacks in social services that fall most heavily on Blacks, Chicanos, and other minorities.

But the leaderships of the trade unions and Black and Chicano organizations, tied to the Democratic Party, were incapable of offering an alternative to this divide-and-rule offensive.

They—along with the Communist Party and some other radical groups (but not the Socialist Workers Party)—urged a vote for Prop 8 because they said it would mean less drastic cutbacks.

This policy not only led to big cutbacks and layoffs, but placed the union movement in opposition to the needs of middle class and working-class taxpayers.

Instead, the trade-union movement should have called for shifting the burden of taxation onto the shoulders

of the wealthy. If it had done this, the labor movement could have emerged from this election as a powerful political force.

Tax the rich

The working class could have forged unity with its potential allies to fight with them against a common enemy by raising demands such as:

Abolish the property tax for homeowners, small businesses, and small farmers.

Abolish the sales tax.

Tax the wealthy. For a 100-percent tax on the profits of the polluting corporations and war profiteers.

Open the books of the corporations to reveal how they avoid paying taxes.

If the trade unions took such a stand, they would soon come into direct conflict with the Democratic Party.

It should come as no surprise that since the Democratic Party is leading living standards of working people—and collecting the taxes that squeeze them dry—it will also attack any struggles by working people to put their own interests first.

This shows the need for working people to have a party of their own, a labor party, that could counter the bosses' offensive in the political arena.

The question of who will lead the struggle against higher taxes is a burning one. The reactionary impact of Prop 13 underscores the need for a new labor leadership with a class-conscious program—a leadership willing to fight uncompromisingly for the interests of working people and their allies among the oppressed minorities, small business people, and farmers.

Prop 13: cutbacks with a racist edge

By Andrea Lubrano

LOS ANGELES—Howard Jarvis, author of Proposition 13, called it "the best thing that ever happened to them [minorities]. It will help minorities more than anything else has."

In the same statement, Jarvis justified possible cutbacks in summer school classes for the predominantly Black and Chicano students in the Los Angeles school district. "If they have baby sitting for nine months, I don't think they need it for three months more," he said.

Many of Prop 13's right-wing promoters subscribed to racist views like this.

But most of the hard pressed homeowners who voted for the initiative thought they were simply voting themselves a tax cut. They were desperate to keep their homes afloat in a sea of rising taxes. The polls show that most of them believed Prop 13 would let them do this with few harmful effects on public services.

The cutbacks and layoffs that the state government began after passage of Prop 13 shows that these beliefs were not well-founded. In fact, Prop 13 constitutes a major attack on all working people.

Because Governor Jerry Brown is now maneuvering with a multi-billion-dollar state surplus to ease the pre-election impact of Prop 13, it is hard to say exactly how fast the cuts will be made.

But it is already clear that the intent of California Democratic and Republican Party politicians is to make Blacks and Chicanos bear the brunt of these attacks in an effort to weaken any united opposition to them.

In Los Angeles a limited busing plan is scheduled to go into effect this fall. But desegregation is now being counterposed to continued health benefits for teachers.

On June 19 teachers here rallied to demand no cuts be made in these benefits as a result of Prop 13. A hand-lettered sign was circulated through the crowd. It said, "Don't Bus Our Benefits."

Officially the United Teachers of Los Angeles supports busing and opposes any layoffs or cutbacks. But the rally chairperson saluted the sign from the speakers' stand, saying, "Now there's a good sign."



Chicano high school students protest cutoff of funds for Los Angeles summer schools and other educational facilities.

The general feeling at the rally was that some cuts were inevitable, and remarks like that one were aimed at targeting busing as a good candidate for the trash heap.

Antibusing forces see the passage of Prop 13 as their big chance. A week after the election, the state senate passed a constitutional amendment intended to block court-ordered school busing in Los Angeles.

The author of the resolution, State Senator Alan Robbins (D-Van Nuys), declared in the debate on the measure, "We're going to have to choose between priorities. Compulsory busing, or teachers and books."

Mayor Thomas Bradley of Los Angeles has pointed to another blow that implementation of Prop 13 will deal minorities and women. "The affirmative-action program [in city government] has been in operation only five years," he said.

"Women and minorities are going to be the first to be laid off because they were the last to be hired. And by charter, by law, we are required to go cut on a seniority basis."

Some 75,000 predominantly Black and Chicano Comprehensive Employment Training Act workers are similarly threatened by Prop 13.

While these blows are being aimed at the Black and Chicano communities, the Democrats and Republicans have exempted at least one government department from the sweeping cuts. It is now law that police departments will have priority funding out of the state surplus.

No more "baby sitters" for Black and Chicano students. But plenty of cops on the streets to intimidate young people angry over being forced out of schools and jobs.

This is all part of the racist antilabor swindle known here as Prop 13.

For a public workers conference

Teachers need action to halt massive cutbacks

By Ed Fruit
and Jeff Mackler

When school let out in California this year, teachers, students, and parents wondered if public education would ever be the same again.

Passage of Proposition 13—the so-called tax relief measure—had prompted officials to eliminate summer school programs in Los Angeles and in many other districts. Teachers had lost scheduled pay raises. And varying estimates had placed the number of possible teacher layoffs as high as 100,000.

It is a startling illustration of what is happening on smaller scales in school systems across the nation. Some Ohio schools have gone so far as to close down for extended periods. Teachers everywhere are regularly presented with demands that they "give back" gains won in previous years. Educational programs are cut right and left.

And it's not just the schools. Social services of all kinds are under all-out attack and, along with them, the public employees who provide those services.

Working people are told we must pay for the California "tax relief" measure with fewer social services, more unemployment, and more sales and income

taxes. Yet corporations and landlords still reap \$4.6 billion from Proposition 13.

Working people across the country are blamed for inflation because of our fight to keep up with rising prices. Yet billions of our tax dollars are poured into the real cause of inflation—the war budget.

The 1.8-million-member National Education Association is meeting in Dallas, Texas, July 1-6. At its last convention in Minneapolis, the NEA called for a national conference of public employees that could develop a strategy to fight the attacks on public workers.

A year has now passed. The public employees conference did not come to be, but the reasons for calling it have increased. There is no more urgent time than right now for the NEA to implement the 1977 proposal.

A conference of public employees could wage a campaign against the catastrophic effects of Proposition 13 and other such attacks on public education around the country. It could propose alternatives to such measures. Homeowners do need tax relief, but it is the corporations that should make up for it by footing the bill for needed services.

The conference of public employees could also take up other problems of concern to working people:

- **Affirmative action.** Phony charges of "reverse discrimination" are threatening to wipe out modest gains made with affirmative-action programs in education and employment. Currently there are some 2,000

court cases—with the California Supreme Court racist decision on Bakke as the most prominent—challenging affirmative-action plans.

- **Desegregation.** Racist opponents of equal education continue to try to sabotage busing to achieve desegregated education.

- **Women's rights.** Despite its introduction into Congress fifty-five years ago, the Equal Rights Amendment is still not a part of the U.S. Constitution. It is three states short of ratification with a March 1979 deadline.

- **Undocumented workers.** Texas officials have stepped up victimization of undocumented workers with a ruling that their children cannot receive a free public education.

- **Gay rights.** California State Sen. John Briggs announced last month that a half-million signatures were filed to put an initiative on the ballot to ban gays from teaching in public schools.

- **Independent labor candidates.** During the last year, the so-called friends of labor in government have time after time stabbed us in the back, from Carter's use of Taft-Hartley against the coal miners to California Gov. Jerry Brown's jump onto the Proposition 13 bandwagon.

Public employees need to run candidates from our own ranks, responsible to us and independent of the Democratic and Republican parties.

The NEA has traditionally taken progressive stands on many of these issues. But we must do more—we must mobilize our membership and unite

with other unions in action against the attacks on our rights.

The July 9 March on Washington in support of the ERA is an excellent example of the kind of action we should be involving teachers and other public employees in.

We need to demonstrate our power. One step teachers can take toward realizing that power is uniting our own forces. We should end the factional warfare between the NEA and the American Federation of Teachers. Our basic goals are the same: to defend teachers' rights and living standards and to protect and strengthen public education.

Teachers Under Attack



An alternative to the "business unionism" of Albert Shanker

by Jeff Mackler

32 pp., 50 cents
Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.
Include \$.25 for handling.

Ed Fruit is a member of the board of directors of the Atlanta Association of Educators. Jeff Mackler is a member of the board of directors of the Hayward Unified Teachers Association in Hayward, California.

New mood among city workers in New York

By Ray Markey

NEW YORK—District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees represents nearly one-half of New York City's public workers.

As a delegate from Local 1930, New York Library Guild, I attended District Council 37's June 19 meeting where the proposed new city-wide contract for municipal employees was discussed—and ultimately approved by a four-to-one margin.

Discussion at the meeting made clear that delegates—regardless of how they finally voted—were under pressure from their ranks to oppose the contract.

This meeting was very different from the one at which the previous city-wide contract was ratified. At that time, despite the fact that the agreement froze wages, only I and perhaps one other delegate voted against it. But not this time.

Joe Sperling, president of Local 371, Social Service Employees Union, explained that his executive board had instructed him to speak against the contract. Sperling said the proposed agreement increased wages by only 5-5.5 percent, not the 8 percent District Council 37 literature implied.

Sperling noted that the \$750 bonus replaced a cost-of-living adjustment (COLA) formula that had brought his members \$882 last year. He pointed out that the \$672 lump sum COLA payment that District Council 37 members were to receive after ratification of this contract was not new money. This sum was already owed to them from last year.

Rick Izzo, president of Local 375, Technical Guild, speaking on behalf of his executive board, also urged a no vote. He stressed that his members, many of whom are engineers, had deferred their entire 6 percent increase two years ago. They needed a contract that brought real wage gains.

I also spoke against the contract. The new pact means that all members of District Council 37—particularly those in the lower-pay categories—would have their standard of living drastically

reduced by the time it expired in 1980, I explained.

Supporters of the contract argued that it was the best that could be won at this time. We should all rally around our leadership, they urged. We should bite the bullet—even if it didn't taste so good.

Victor Gotbaum, executive director of District Council 37, ended his speech in support of the contract with what he called his favorite statement. "I don't know anyone who couldn't negotiate a better contract when they themselves aren't at the negotiating table," he said.

Many delegates appeared to disagree. This was reflected not only in the votes against, but also in the very large number of delegates who abstained.

PUBLIC EMPLOYEE PRESS

8% RAISE!

NO GIVE-BACKS!

\$672 CASH

PLUS \$28.76 RAISE

BI-WEEKLY FOR COLA

See pages 2-3

Contract terms, as 'Public Employee Press' tried to present them. Despite the hard-sell, many AFSCME members didn't buy this attack on their living standards.

But the District Council 37 leadership seems to not only want us to bite the bullet—but swallow it too. Later on the agenda, the union's political action committee brought in a recommendation that we endorse some forty or fifty Democratic and Republican party candidates in the upcoming New York primary elections.

I spoke in opposition. I'd refrain from speaking against each of these candidates individually, I said (much laughter from the delegates)—and speak against them all collectively (much applause).

District Council 37 probably had at least a 70-to-80 percent record in backing winning candidates on the city, state, and federal levels, I explained. Yet all these supposedly prolabor and pro-District Council 37 candidates controlling the presidency, the Senate, the House of Representatives, the governor's office in Albany, the New York State Assembly, and the New York City Council were repeatedly stabbing labor in the back (loud applause).

These politicians say over and over again that there is "no money" for public employees. But Koch's first act as mayor was to give all management personnel a \$7,000 a year raise. The New York City Council just voted to give themselves a \$11,000 a year raise.

"No money"? What these politicians really mean is that there is no money for working people.

It's time we ran trade unionists for public office instead of backing candidates of big business, I proposed.

We should get together with other unions and community organizations and run our own candidates. We should run on a program that puts the interests of working people first. We should run as a labor party.

When a voice vote was taken, the ayes and nays were about even. They had to ask for a standing vote. It was approximately three-to-one for endorsement of the Democrats and Republicans, again with many abstentions.

As I said, all this shows the pressure of a new mood among the ranks of city workers.

Support grows for July 9 action

Anti-Nazi mobilization planned in Chicago

By John Studer

CHICAGO—Plans for an anti-Nazi counterdemonstration here July 9 are moving ahead. A civil rights coalition including the Jewish Council on Urban Affairs, NAACP, Urban League, Latino Institute, Operation PUSH, and other groups has pledged to confront the Nazis, who have announced plans to march July 9 in the Marquette Park area.

The Nazis had originally announced plans to march June 25 in the largely Jewish town of Skokie. But they were forced to back down, as support swelled for a planned anti-Nazi counterdemonstration.

Because the all-white Marquette Park neighborhood has been the scene of large racist mobilizations in the past, the Nazis—who have had a headquarters in the area for years—consider it friendlier ground than Skokie.

However, if enough support is built for a united counterdemonstration in Marquette Park, the victory that was won in Skokie can be repeated.

On June 25 Rev. Jesse Jackson, director of Operation PUSH, addressed more than 200 people at the Niles Township Jewish Congregation Synagogue, who had come to Skokie from California to demonstrate against the Nazis.

Jackson said, "We must ask ourselves, shall we draw together or shall we panic. If the Nazis come to Marquette Park they will spread."

Merton Brody, president of the Niles congregation, said Skokie had become a symbolic site "where men and women of goodwill have joined against evil. Our presence here today in this quiet sanctuary is proof of our momentary victory. We know that the real racists and anti-Semites still lurk in the world's sewers."

Sol Goldstein, a victim of Hitler's concentration camps and a leader of the canceled Skokie counterdemonstration, made a pledge to the Black leaders at the service. "I have good news for you," he said. "On July 9 don't worry, we're all together. We're brothers and sisters."



Chicago cops defending Nazi pickets June 24

Marquette Park has long been a battleground in the fight for Black rights in Chicago. Open-housing marches led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., were viciously attacked when they entered the area.

When the Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Movement tried to demonstrate in Marquette Park in 1976 to revive that struggle, they faced organized racist violence in which the Nazis participated.

A massive, united demonstration by Black, Jewish, Chicano, and Puerto Rican groups, and by the trade-union

movement, will thus not only give a fitting answer to the Nazi hate propaganda. It will also be a blow against the racist opponents of school desegregation and housing desegregation in Chicago.

Meanwhile, a June 24 picket line by twenty Nazis from around the country, held in downtown Chicago, drew 1,500 counterdemonstrators. Various left-wing groups, the right-wing Jewish Defense League, and a number of anti-Nazi activists who had come to demonstrate in Skokie, participated.

Some in the crowd attempted to charge the Nazis.

More than 900 Chicago cops were mobilized. They smuggled the Nazis into the building, sneaked them into the federal plaza, and surrounded them in a ring of cops six-deep. Thirteen of the anti-Nazi protesters were arrested.

One anti-Nazi demonstrator, Rich Kaufman, commented: "I've been involved in civil rights demonstrations and peace demonstrations. The police never gave us the protection they're giving these lunatics. When I marched with Martin Luther King in Marquette Park in 1967, the crowd was throwing bottles and rocks at us and there were no police."

On the legal front, the Chicago Park Department announced June 26 that it will appeal a federal court decision allowing the Nazis to march in Marquette Park. The court decision, handed down June 20, struck down a requirement that a \$60,000 insurance policy be posted before any demonstration could be held in a park.

Although this antidemocratic ordinance came into prominence as a result of being used to bar the Nazis from city parks, it was originally passed to prevent antiracist demonstrators from using Marquette Park.

The Park District is seeking a stay of all demonstrations—including the planned antiracist, anti-Nazi counterdemonstration—until its appeal is decided.

New York protest

By Rich Robohm

NEW YORK—A rally against nazism called by the Jewish Community Relations Council drew about 1,000 protesters here June 25. Virtually every prominent political figure in the state from Gov. Hugh Carey on down showed up to speak.

The rally was endorsed by major religious organizations in the New York area, the Hellenic-American Neighborhood Associations, the Irish Societies, and 100 Black Men, an organization of Black civic leaders.

Many speakers, including Carey, demanded a government ban on pro-Nazi demonstrations. The politicians and Zionist leaders who spoke also affirmed their commitment to Israel and sought to equate anti-Zionism with anti-Semitism.

Dr. Mohammed Mehdi of the Action Committee on Arab-American Relations came to the rally to express his opposition to anti-Semitism and solidarity with the anti-Nazi struggle. But because Mehdi is an Arab and a supporter of the rights of

the Palestinian people, he was attacked by a gang of Zionist thugs. Police had to rescue Mehdi.

Socialist Workers Party members at the rally carried a banner saying, "Stop Racist Terror—from Crown Heights to Skokie" and petitioned against the racist police murder of Black Crown Heights community leader Arthur Miller. This sparked a sharp debate with others at the rally who denied any connection between anti-Black racism and Nazi anti-Semitism.

...Brooklyn

Continued from back page

But Gold is pressing charges against Samuel Miller stemming from the incident where his brother was murdered. At a June 26 hearing, a judge again postponed, at the prosecution's request, a preliminary hearing on trumped-up charges of resisting arrest and assault.

The government's attitude was summed up by Mayor Koch during an unannounced visit to a Crown Heights block festival. In response to shouts of "What about Arthur Miller?" Koch responded: "Where'd all the crazies come from?"

This attitude is a green light for more cop terror. On June 22, Charles King, the Black owner of a Crown Heights liquor store, was brutally beaten by a traffic cop.

Many witnesses saw the incident, including a radio reporter. The officer involved, Joseph Benedetto, was arrested for assault and criminal possession of a weapon and suspended from the force.

The community has been outraged by the wave of attacks. There have been several protests in addition to the funeral that have drawn up to 1,500 people. In addition, thousands of people have signed petitions demanding punishment for the cops who killed Miller and abolition of the 77th Precinct, the police station involved in Miller's murder.

The protests are being coordinated by the Arthur Miller Community Defense Committee, which has also announced that it plans an independent investigation into the death of Arthur Miller.

In addition, the New York State NAACP has sent a telegram to the Justice Department asking it to investigate the racist attacks to see whether anyone should be prosecuted under federal civil rights laws.

A Justice Department spokesperson responded by claiming investigations have already begun—the same excuse for inaction being used by Koch, the cops, and Gold.

Also joining the protests was Ken Miliner, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from New York's Nineteenth District.

Speaking at a Militant Forum June 23, Miliner backed demands that the cops who murdered Miller be indicted for first-degree murder and that the 77th Precinct be abolished.

Miliner said he supports the idea raised by leaders of the Arthur Miller Community Defense Coalition to carry out an independent investigation of the murder. He urged testimony and evidence be presented at a mass community meeting. "That's the only way the truth can be uncovered," he said.

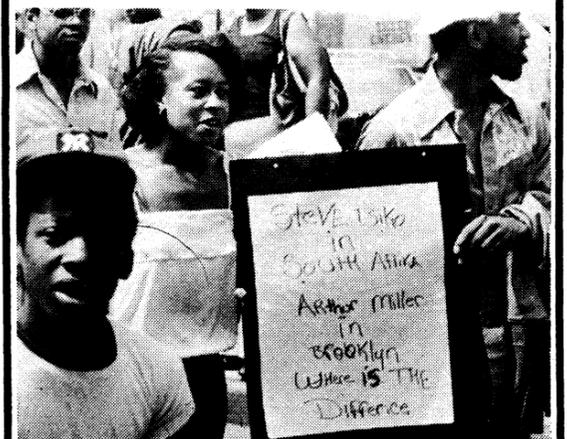
Miliner demanded that Mayor Koch act to stop killer cops. "Koch has the highest authority over the police. It's his police force that killed Arthur Miller."

Miliner and supporters of his campaign canvassed in the Crown Heights community the following day, collecting hundreds of signatures on the defense committee petitions. They also sold 125 copies of the *Militant* to help get out the truth about the murder. Some 10,000 copies of a statement by Miliner on Miller's murder are being distributed by SWP members.

Another group that has joined protests of Miller's death is the Brooklyn and Long Island Baptist Pastors Union, representing 170 churches with 500,000 parishioners. They are demanding "immediate suspension of all officers directly involved in the Miller assassination."

The head of the police investigation responded to the pastors June 26—twelve days after Miller's murder—"I don't have enough evidence to suspend anybody."

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'A vote for socialism'—Blanco analyzes his recent election to assembly in Peru

By José G. Pérez

How does Hugo Blanco assess his recent election to the 100-member constituent assembly in Peru?

Some of his initial thoughts were published June 21 in an interview with the French Trotskyist daily *Rouge*.

Blanco is a leader of the Peruvian Socialist Workers Party, a sister organization of the American SWP. He and eleven other candidates of the FOCEP—Spanish initials for Workers, Peasants, Students and Poor People's Front—were elected to the assembly in late June.

Blanco is the best known of the FOCEP candidates, having led a mass peasant land reform movement in the early 1960s. He has faced almost permanent persecution, imprisonment, or exile by the Peruvian government ever since.

In the recent election, the vote for parties that presented themselves as socialist—28 percent in all—was generally regarded as an indication of mass discontent with the military junta's severe austerity policies.

FOCEP—a bloc of Trotskyists, some unions and peasant organizations, and unaffiliated socialists—polled 11.5 percent of the total vote. This was higher than that of better established left-wing forces, including the pro-Moscow and pro-Peking Stalinists and the demagogic former cabinet ministers and military officers who head the Revolutionary Socialist Party. (For fuller results, see box.)

'A vote for socialism'

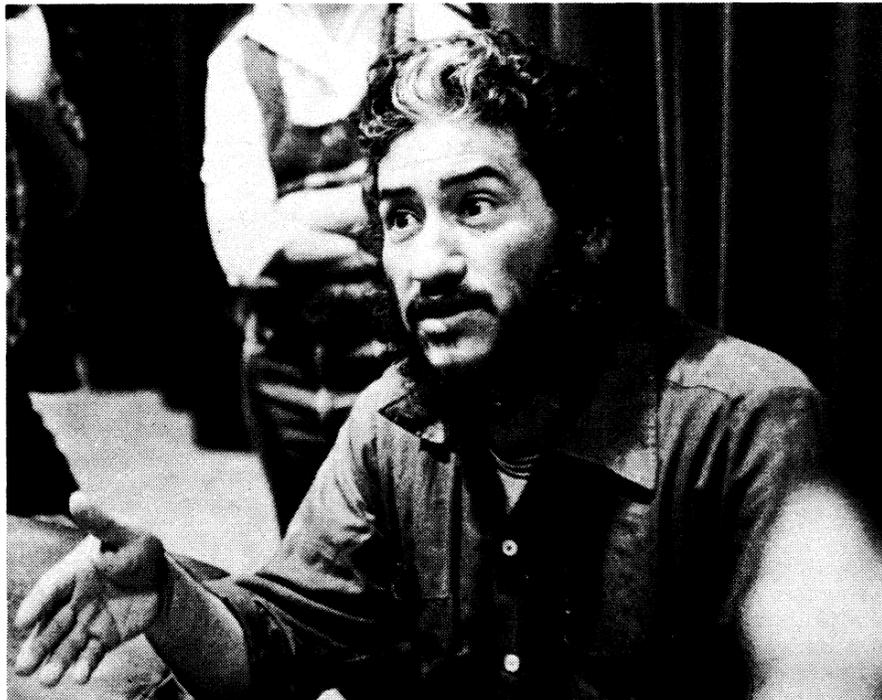
Blanco told *Rouge* that he considered the vote for FOCEP "to be a vote for socialism, for the mobilization and organization of the masses to struggle, a vote against the electoral fraud."

He said that "the FOCEP platform contained three central points—class independence, the struggle against the government, and giving an impulse to popular struggles."

"The recent, and even less recent history of Peru," Blanco explained, "shows that all the gains made by the workers had to be won by their organizations in struggle. So each FOCEP committee had to be organized with this in mind."

One of the main FOCEP activities, for example, was mobilizing support for the May 22-23 general strike and other protests against government-imposed price hikes.

Blanco explained that, in addition to



HUGO BLANCO

Militant/Mike Alewitz

upholding the FOCEP's common platform, each of the participating groups was free to raise its own full program.

"My organization, the PST, stressed the fact that the crisis Peru is currently undergoing is the crisis of a rotten capitalist system; that the country needs a social, economic and political reorganization.

"That is why we drew up a general draft of a constitution that includes nationalization without compensation or indemnity of all industrial enterprises, cancellation of the foreign debt, and the planning of public works to be chosen by the popular sectors—workers, peasants, and slum-dwellers—to solve both the question of unemployment and development.

"Of course, we explained that these measures could only be put into effect by a workers and people's government that can only be based on assemblies of workers, peasants, and shantytown dwellers' committees. We even added that the members of such a government should not earn more than a worker, and that they should be recallable at any time.

"The armed forces should be set up on the basis of committees to defend the workers, peasants, and so on. It was this draft constitution that was our central weapon in the campaign."

Blanco explained that the election was very undemocratic.

Indians denied voting rights

"In the first place, illiterates did not have the right to vote, which excluded some of the most conscious sectors of Peruvian society, such as the Indian peasants who do not speak Spanish, that colonial language." Some 3 million Indians—out of Peru's total population of 15 million—fell under this provision.

"Second, soldiers do not have the right to vote, in a country where the military junta rules 'in the name of the armed forces.'"

Blanco also explained that the junta's laws made it very difficult for working-class slates to even get on the ballot.

As if the ground rules of the elections weren't bad enough, the last month of the election campaign was conducted under martial law, as the government tried to crush anti-austerity protests. Scores of protesters were killed and thousands jailed.

Publication of leftist periodicals was prohibited. Free access to the government-controlled radio, televi-

sion, and newspapers was withdrawn from the FOCEP.

Dozens of candidates were arrested, and nine were deported, including Blanco and two other FOCEP candidates.

Ten days before the election the martial law was formally lifted, but two days before the election a joint rally of the FOCEP and another slate was broken up by cops.

Arrested while voting

The day of the elections the head of the Revolutionary Socialist Party, which is led by former military offic-

ers, was arrested as he went to vote. He was subsequently also deported.

The day after the elections Hernan Cuentas, another FOCEP candidate, was arrested. Cuentas is a central leader of the Revolutionary Marxist Workers Party, and former general secretary of the union at Peru's largest copper mine. Cuentas is among FOCEP's most widely known leaders and is expected to be among its deputies in the constituent assembly.

Blanco's role

One factor behind FOCEP's vote that Blanco did not address was his own reputation. He is one of the most prominent political personalities in Peru and is viewed as a symbol of uncompromising struggle for the rights and demands of the workers and peasants.

Blanco returned to Peru from forced exile last April 12, and immediately became FOCEP's principal spokesperson. He appeared on television several times and spoke at rallies and meetings all over the country.

Peruvian election authorities say they will certify everyone elected as a delegate to the constituent assembly, whether they are in the country or not. But so far the military government has refused to say whether Blanco and the other exiled deputies will be allowed to return, and whether those arrested during the recent anti-austerity protests will be freed. The assembly is scheduled to convene July 28.

Independent periodicals in Peru have already raised the demand that Blanco and the others be allowed to return. This demand should be joined by an outpouring of protests from around the world telling the military junta to allow the exiles back in and to free the political prisoners.

Voting results

Following are as complete results of the June 18 constituent assembly elections in Peru as were available at press time.

Of the three slates put forward by working-class parties and organizations, the FOCEP received the highest vote, 11.5 percent.

The Communist Party (Unidad)—one of the two wings that emerged from a split in the pro-Moscow CP a few months ago—received 5.7 percent.

The Democratic People's Union—a bloc led by the other pro-Moscow CP faction, called Communist Party (Mayoría), and by centrist and Maoist parties—received 4.2 percent.

The Revolutionary Socialist Party—a capitalist party that uses much socialist demagoguery but is led by former military officers and cabinet officials—received 5.9 percent.

Socialist Revolutionary Action—another capitalist party that uses socialist rhetoric—received 0.65 percent.

The top vote went to the capitalist Peruvian Aprista Party, also known as American People's Revolutionary Alliance (APRA), which has long been Peru's largest party. It received 36 percent.

The right-wing Christian People's Party received 26 percent.

The other three slates, all presented by capitalist parties, received 3 percent or less of the popular vote.

In addition to casting a vote for a slate, each voter also cast one vote for a candidate of that slate. Each slate receives seats in the 100-member constituent assembly on the basis of its percentage of the vote.

The vote for individual candidates determines which candidates in each slate become deputies.

Initial results showed Blanco being preferred by 80 percent of FOCEP voters. More detailed results are not yet available.

The FOCEP outpolled all other slates in three of Peru's fourteen departments. It won 62 percent in Pasco, and 40 percent in Moquegua and Tacna. Pasco and Moquegua are copper-mining centers. Tacna is where Blanco was put on trial before a military court in the mid-1960s for his role as a central leader of a land reform movement among Quechua-speaking Indian peasants.

Of the twenty-five election districts in metropolitan Lima, Peru's capital, FOCEP came in first in four districts and second in two others, with totals ranging from 15 to 36 percent.

The main political forces in the FOCEP are three Trotskyist parties: Socialist Workers Party (PST), of which Blanco is a leader; Front of the Revolutionary Left/Workers and Peasants Party (FIR/POC); and Revolutionary Marxist Workers Party (POMR). The PST and FIR/POC are sister organizations of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party and are affiliated with the Fourth International. The POMR is affiliated to the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International.

The FOCEP also included a Maoist party, local miners, bank workers, peasant and other unions; organizations of shantytown dwellers; and several well-known unaffiliated socialists. —J.G.P.

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District 31 steel union prepares for fall international convention

By Wendy Lyons

CHICAGO—More than 700 delegates attended the District 31 United Steelworkers conference here June 16-17. Most of the discussion and debate aimed at preparing the district for the union's international constitutional convention slated for this September.

In his keynote speech District Director James Balanoff said, "According to recent economic forecasts from the White House our economy is supposed to be on the road to recovery. But every time I go into a supermarket and I see that prices are higher this week than last, every time I hear of layoffs or plant closings, I wonder whose economy is on the road to recovery."

"Perhaps big business is on the road to recovery, but our economy is not on the road to recovery."

Balanoff hit hard at unemployment, pointing out that the rates for Black and youth joblessness are much higher than government figures for overall unemployment. He called for a federal law to shorten the workweek with no cut in pay.

This theme was picked up by guest speaker Frank Runnels, president of United Auto Workers Local 22 in Detroit and head of the All Unions' Committee for a Shorter Work Week. The committee is lobbying among members of Congress in behalf of the Conyers Bill, which would lower the official workweek to thirty-five hours by 1982.

Women's rights

A lively discussion took place around women's rights. The gathering went on record, nearly unanimously, in support

of the Equal Rights Amendment and of the July 9 March on Washington for the ERA. A District 31 contingent will join the march.

But a debate ensued over a resolution calling for the formation of women's committees on all levels of the union.

Doreen Labby, a delegate from Local 1010 (Inland Steel, East Chicago, Indiana), explained, "If the company can speed me up, violate my contractual rights, then everyone's rights are in danger of being violated."

As the resolution was about to be voted on a Black male delegate yelled out from the balcony, "Why do we have to get into the business of splitting up men and women? Why can't we just all be steelworkers?"

An older Black man answered "It's time for us to fight for the rights of the women. They are being discriminated against the way we were when we first came into the mills. Sometimes worse. People laugh and say, 'Why fight for the women?' but I say it's time for all of us to stand up and fight."

Several women pointed out that women steelworkers want to work through the union but they need a special union committee to deal with the particular forms of discrimination they face. Women's committees would strengthen the participation of women and strengthen the union as a whole, they argued. After a full discussion, the resolution was passed.

The conference also voted to support affirmative-action programs for Blacks and women and to oppose the racist *Bakke* decision by the California Supreme Court.

Union democracy

Union democracy was a major theme of the conference. Local presidents announced a drive to win the right of all members to vote on their contracts (see accompanying story).

Delegates approved a resolution in favor of retaining the right of the membership to elect international officers and district directors by referendum vote.

Many union militants fear that the international leadership will try to take this right away in wake of the wide support for Steelworkers Fight Back candidate Ed Sadlowski in the 1977 election for union presidency. District 31 Director Balanoff won office in that election as a Fight Back candidate.

Delegates were concerned about international President Lloyd McBride's appointment of a "monitor" over Local



Militant/Bill Lerman
November march in support of Mesabi strikers. Such backing helped iron ore miners to hold out for better contract, conference was told.

6787 at Bethlehem Steel in Burns Harbor, Indiana. They consider this action, though short of placing the local in receivership, an escalation of factional moves McBride has made against District 31 since the election.

A resolution demanding that the "monitor" be removed was adopted overwhelmingly.

One exception to the trend of voting for the extension of union democracy was the defeat—without discussion—of a resolution calling on District 31 "to work for the elimination of the undemocratic and illegal anti-communist clause in our International Constitution." At the District 31 conference last October, such a resolution passed.

At one point in the gathering, international Vice-president Leon Lynch delivered a tirade against imports of steel made by workers in other countries. There was no response to this by the delegates. In the past many officials in the district have gone on record against such procompany protectionist schemes.

Solidarity

Two representatives of recent strike battles sounded the themes of labor solidarity and rank-and-file control of the unions. They were Joe Samargia, President of USWA Local 1938 on the Mesabi Iron Range, and Kenneth Dawes, president of United Mine Workers District 12 in Illinois.

Samargia thanked the leaders and members of District 31 for their financial and moral support during the iron ore miners' 138-day strike.

He told how rank-and-file support from all over the country enabled both the iron ore miners and coal miners to hold out for better contracts.

Dawes talked of the role of national support for the 110-day coal strike and stressed that in the miners union "every man and woman who works under our agreement has a right to vote for that agreement."

One resolution passed at the conference opposed construction of the Baily nuclear plant in Indiana and called on that state to hold referendum votes on whether any such plants should be built. Another demanded that U.S. Steel cease operations in racist South Africa.

USWA presidents start drive for right to ratify

By Wendy Lyons

CHICAGO—A number of local union officials began an effort here to win the right for all steelworkers to vote on their contracts.

As the United Steelworkers District 31 conference opened June 16, some delegates sported "Right to Ratify" stickers.

While many USWA-organized workers now vote on their contracts, those in basic steel, can, aluminum, and nonferrous mining do not have that right. Instead, under the Experimental Negotiating Agreement, a no-strike deal between the steel corporations and the top union officials, only the local presidents vote on contracts.

The District 31 conference approved a right-to-ratify resolution directed at the upcoming September constitutional convention. It proposed that "the constitution of USWA be changed to provide that no collective bargaining agreement be entered into without the approval of the total membership by referendum vote."

"We have to look at the coal miners," said one delegate. "They were able to turn down those lousy contracts the bosses wanted to shove down their throat. We need to be able to do the same."

In his keynote address, District Director James Balanoff said of the ENA, "Any benefits it had have all gone to the companies. Remember the jobs we were supposed to save by eliminating the strike threat? Where are they now?"

One delegate declared, "If the membership had the right to ratify, we wouldn't be living under the ENA now."

At the end of the first day's session, seven local presidents held a news conference to declare their support for the right of membership ratification.

Speaking for the group, Bill Andrews, president of Local 1010, said, "We hope to come into the constitutional convention in September with enough signatures to show that those presidents representing a majority of the nation's steelworkers would not object to such a change."

"What the coal miners did woke us up and showed us what sticking together can do," Andrews said.

During the question period Andrews and the other local presidents stressed that they were uniting around the one issue of the right to vote. "We think the right to ratification will be beneficial to all members, and everyone should support it," said Andrews.

Also appearing at the news conference were local presidents Robert Bambic, Local 2; Stanley Maciejczak, Local 5200; Joe Samargia, Local 1938; Floyd Watson, Local 1066; Paul Kaczocha, Local 6787; and Rudy Nichols, Local 6103.

Andrews said other presidents who so far have endorsed the right of a membership vote on contracts include: Richard Alexander, Local 1657; Jack Parton, Local 1014; John Chico, Local 65; Joe Romano, Local 15271; and Ron Marshall, Local 6102.

Also, Leonard Tomaszewski, Local 3061; Ted Smolarck, Local 3745; Norman Purdue, Local 1011; Joseph Kotelchuk, Local 2610; David Wilson, Local 2609; Richard Whitwam, Local 2659; Ed Mann, Local 1462; and James Paradine, Local 2697.



Militant/Andy Rose
BALANOFF: Calls for shorter workweek with no cut in pay.

Steelworker runs for senator

CHICAGO—Supporters of Socialist Workers Party candidate Pat Grogan campaigned at the steel conference here. Grogan, a steelworker at U.S. Steel South Works, is running for U.S. Senate from Illinois.

Many of her campaign issues strike a responsive chord among steelworkers, as shown by the discussion at the conference. These include support for a shorter workweek with no cut in pay to provide jobs, opposition to the racist *Bakke* decision, and support for the Equal Rights Amendment.

In a statement distributed to delegates, she solidarized herself with efforts to win more democracy in the union. Such efforts, she says, will strengthen the union to better meet attacks by the employers.

Grogan also raises the idea of a new political strategy for the labor movement. She proposes to end the pattern of "giving our money and votes to the Democrats and Republicans who are our 'friends' when they

are campaigning and stab us in the back when they are elected." She urges the formation of a labor party based on the unions.



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky
PAT GROGAN

Dissident Teamsters map contract fight

By Peggy Brundy

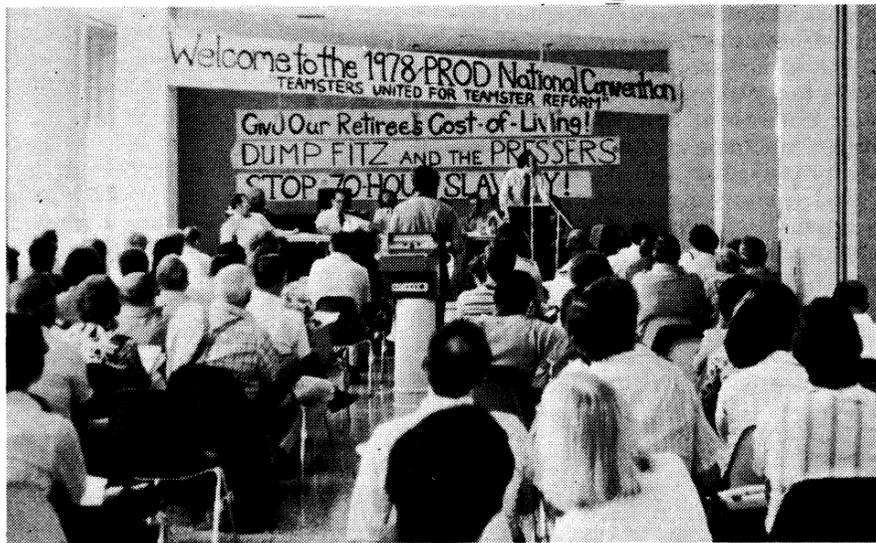
CINCINNATI—More than 200 members of the Professional Drivers Council for Health and Safety (PROD), a nationwide Teamster dissident group, met here June 10 and 11.

PROD emerged out of a 1971 conference on truck safety sponsored by Ralph Nader. In 1975, after the disappearance of Jimmy Hoffa, the group turned its attention to union reform. In 1976 it released a book-length exposé of corruption in the International Brotherhood of Teamsters bureaucracy.

In the past year PROD has concentrated its efforts on building up a base of rank-and-file support. According to conference organizers, PROD now has a membership of 6,400 in twenty-five chapters—more than twice the members and four times the chapters organized a year ago.

In preparation for this conference, PROD's staff surveyed the membership to find out what its major concerns are in the 1979 National Master Freight Agreement.

Negotiations for the 1979 contract are set to begin this December. Although many of the 2 million Teamsters are not covered by this agreement,



Militant Teamsters want more time off, changes in the grievance procedure, the local right to strike, and job safety.

its provisions set wage and pension guidelines for non-trucking divisions as well.

The priorities of PROD members, staff attorney Steve Early reported, are much like those the coal miners fought for in their recent 110-day strike.

Teamsters want more time off and limits on compulsory overtime (the standard workweek for many drivers is now seventy hours); changes in the grievance procedure so it can be used to fight for better working conditions; the local right to strike; and job safety.

During 1977 nearly 1,000 road drivers died in accidents.

Members also called for the right to elect their international officers; protection of their wages through an effective cost-of-living clause; and the safeguarding of their pension funds, notoriously spent to enrich trucking employers, Teamster bureaucrats, and organized crime.

The conference here approved a strategy of lobbying for legislation to benefit Teamsters, selective lawsuits against IBT officials, and recruiting other Teamsters to PROD's fight as the way to implement the adopted resolutions. The dissident Teamsters also plan to run campaigns aimed at voting corrupt union officials out of office.

In his keynote speech Burton Hall, a New York attorney, placed great emphasis on the necessity for unity. "Politics and religion should not be used to divide workers from each other in terms of the union," he said. "Republicans, Democrats, and socialists have the same right that Fitzsimmons does to their political views."

"This is the first PROD convention

Continued on page 21

PROD's review of Teamster books

'Dobbs contribution should not be forgotten'

The May-June issue of 'PROD Dispatch' carried a feature headlined 'Teamster History: Fact vs. Fiction.' Part of the two-page spread was a scathing review of the movie 'F.I.S.T.' The other part reviewed the first two of Farrell Dobbs's series on that union's history, 'Teamster Rebellion' and 'Teamster Power.'

Major excerpts from the review of Dobbs's books by PROD staff attorney Steve Early follow.

Dobbs was a leader of the 1934 Minneapolis strikes. He is a leader of the Socialist Workers Party.

The one good thing about "F.I.S.T."—Hollywood's thinly veiled account of the rise and fall of Jimmy Hoffa—is that it may stimulate greater interest in Teamster history.

Like many unions, the IBT doesn't want Teamster rank-and-filers to know too much about their own union's past.

This is because a lot of unions today—including the Teamsters—no longer resemble the militant, democratic labor organizations that American working people struggled and died to build—particularly in the 1930's.

Although the IBT was not a CIO union, it was actively involved in the great labor upsurge that took place during that period.

And between 1934 and 1940, Minneapolis was one of its strongholds, a center of successful Teamster organizing drives that firmly entrenched the union in the long-haul trucking industry.

Farrell Dobbs was a key figure in the Minneapolis Teamsters, a leader of the 1934 general strike in that city, and, according to Jimmy Hoffa's autobiography, the "master architect" of the union's over-the-road organizing efforts in the Midwest.

Dobbs has written four books about his experiences. The first two—*Teamster Rebellion* and *Teamster Power*—are worthy of study by every rank-and-file Teamster reformer today.

Dobbs' story of early Teamster organizing battles will be particularly instructive for those Teamsters who still tend to look to others—namely, lawyers, the courts, public officials, and government agencies—to solve the problems they have with their employers or the union leadership.

In 1933, when Dobbs first got involved in the union as a Minneapolis coal yard worker, Team-

sters had no one to turn to but themselves. Powerful judges, politicians, private thugs, the police, and even some of their own top labor officials were all arrayed against them in their struggle to unionize.

In his books, Dobbs shows how strong rank-and-file organization, democratic leadership, and mass action enabled the fledgling Teamster movement in Minneapolis to overcome these obstacles and make the city a "union town."

He recounts in exciting detail how rank-and-file Teamster organizers then fanned out to sign up non-union workers in other Midwestern states and cities using road drivers to spread the word.

The 11-state organizing drive directed by Dobbs eventually led to negotiation of the first area-wide trucking agreement and formation of the Central States Drivers Council. He describes how his local and others were then able to consolidate their contract gains by building a strong system of elected job stewards and using the Teamsters' new joint committee grievance procedure.

The local right-to-strike was preserved and used selectively but effectively, in the event of deadlock, to force reinstatement of unjustly discharged workers or immediate action on other major unresolved contract grievances.

Readers of his books will quickly discover that his own later troubles with the International stemmed in part from the fact that he and other leaders of Minneapolis Local 574 (re-chartered as 544) were also socialists and members of a small left-wing political party.

But the threat they posed to the Teamster leadership really involved something else—what even Hoffa acknowledged was "a vision . . . enormously beneficial to the labor movement."

It was quite simply Dobbs' vision of the union as an organization run by and for the working members who belong to it.



DOBBS

Some PROD members may not like *Teamster Power* and *Teamster Rebellion* simply because they disagree with Dobbs' political views. No doubt there were many members of Local 574 who elected and re-elected Dobbs as secretary-treasurer who disagreed with them also.

But the membership backed Dobbs and his associates, because, in the words of the *Missouri Teamster*, "They were outstanding trade unionists with a genius for organization and a keen sense of union politics."

Dobbs' contribution to building the Teamsters should not be forgotten and might even lead some readers to re-examine the red-baiting attacks on a few Teamsters active today in the movement to regain rank-and-file control over the union.

For the facts

By Farrell Dobbs

- Teamster Rebellion 192 pp., paper \$3.95
- Teamster Power 256 pp., paper \$4.45
- Teamster Politics 256 pp., paper \$4.45
- Teamster Bureaucracy 256 pp., paper \$4.45

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Calif. steelworker's firing weakens seniority rights

By Sandi Sherman

SAN JOSE, Calif.—Cerro Metals has succeeded in firing a union activist with seven months seniority, further chipping away at workers' right to a secure job.

Tom Tomasko, a member of United Steelworkers Local 5649, was fired in April, supposedly for falsifying his job application. Last month he lost his appeal before a union-management grievance board. The USWA declined to take his case to arbitration.

That such phony excuses are regularly used to weed out workers the company finds "undesirable" is shown by a "memorandum of understanding" with the union that workers cannot be fired for falsifying applications after one year on the job.

Tomasko was a leading Bay Area activist in support of the coal miners' strike last winter. Cerro began an investigation of his background in March, shortly after he wrote a story for the *Militant*. In it he detailed unsafe working conditions at the Newark, California, plant.

The company detectives discovered such "relevant" information as Tomasko's voter registration with the Socialist Workers Party.

"What this has to do with being a brass melter is beyond me," says Tomasko. "It never occurred to Cerro, apparently, to spend the hundreds of dollars it cost to hire those spies on something worthwhile—like the water fountain we have been demanding for months."

Holding possible application falsification over workers' heads is another way the company can intimidate workers into not standing up for their rights.

The Cerro-USWA "memorandum of understanding," although not part of the contract and not legally binding, supposedly lifts that threat after one year. But it means that a Cerro employee is not on probation for 60 days, as the USWA contract states, but for at least 365 days.

Without a union, as unorganized workers are painfully aware, it is all too easy for an employer to discipline and fire workers arbitrarily. The first victims of such firings are those most

vocal and active in favor of unions and in defense of workers' rights.

The union movement has several ways to try to ensure job security. The very existence of a union contract to begin with limits the employer's ability to fire workers at will.

The seniority system in contracts is a means unions use to protect job security. Where workers lack seniority rights, employers fire at will workers too old to work as fast as younger people, union militants or other "troublemakers," or those whose political ideas they disagree with.

Companies whose workers are in unions are usually forced to resort to more roundabout ways to whittle away job security. That was the case with Tomasko's firing.

But the issue was clearly one of seniority rights and job security. And, unfortunately for all Cerro workers, the company got away with it.

Before the union declined to take the case any further, a number of union officials spoke out for Tomasko's right to reinstatement.

For example, Walter Johnson, president of Retail Clerks Local 1100 in San Francisco, and Mike Nye, business agent of the Santa Clara County Central Labor Council, both made statements in support of Tomasko.

Two representatives of the United Mine Workers who worked with Tomasko in the Bay Area coalition to support the coal miners also came to his defense.

"There is only one reason for the discharge of Tom Tomasko by Cerro Metals—his political beliefs," said Joe Jurczak, staff coordinator for the Pennsylvania Coal Miners Political Action Committee (COMPAC).

"In the coal camps of Pennsylvania forty years ago," Jurczak continued, "you had to be a registered Republican to get a job, and you had to vote Republican in order to keep it. If they can take away the political rights of any one individual, the rights of all of us are in jeopardy."

Terry Fry, western regional coordinator of COMPAC, declared that Tomasko's firing was "not only an act against his rights, but an act against the whole union movement."

National picket line

Labor Law Reform Bill back to committee

After a nineteen-day filibuster, the Senate sent the Labor Law Reform Bill back to the Human Resources Committee June 22. Proponents of the bill were never able to muster the sixty votes necessary to force discussion and vote on the legislation.

For some time the bill has been the rallying cry of the country's union officialdom. Its supporters portrayed it as a modest effort to strengthen the powers of the National Labor Relations Board in union organizing drives. But by the time it reached the Senate floor, it had been "compromised" into a strikebreaking amendment to the Wagner Act. One provision grants the courts new authority in breaking "wildcat" strikes.

In a bid to placate the bill's opponents, Democratic Sen. Robert Byrd offered an amendment that gutted the bill's positive features. For instance, union organizers' access to workers would be restricted to certain times and places.

The Byrd amendment also lowered rates for back-pay awards, allowed employers more time to stall representation elections, and required the secretary of labor to remove the law's corporate violators from federal contract sanctions once they took steps to comply.

The bill could possibly be returned to the Senate floor after July 15. If it is, its sponsors say it will be considerably changed. According to Democratic Sen. Harrison Williams, union access to the workplace might be dropped altogether and the time for stalling elections extended even more.

But, says Williams, "the principles of the bill will be preserved!"

Dissident Teamster challenges Fitzsimmons

Pete Camarata, a leader of the dissident Teamsters for a Democratic Union, announced June 23 that he will run against Frank Fitzsimmons for the Teamsters presidency at the union's 1981 convention.

International Teamster officials are elected by convention delegates—overwhelmingly loyal local officials—rather than by membership referendum. Nevertheless, Camarata and his supporters intend to press for their right to access to the union's magazine during the three-year campaign.

Asked to respond to Camarata's announcement at his news conference the same day, Fitzsimmons dismissed it with the quip, "I didn't bring my flit gun today."

Fitzsimmons's news conference, the first since December 1975, followed perfunctory union hearings of charges against the Teamster chief. PROD, another union reform group, has accused Fitzsimmons of squandering union funds, condoning nepotism, and allowing the union to be controlled by organized crime.



Court OKs right to distribute union literature . . .

In two related decisions June 22 the Supreme Court reaffirmed a union's right to distribute its literature on company property. National Labor Relations Board restrictions still limit such distributions to non-working areas and hours inside the plant.

In a seven-to-two vote the court majority decided the United Paperworkers International has the right to pass out its union newsletter inside a Texas subsidiary of Time Inc. Management had banned the newsletter's distribution, claiming it discussed "outside" political issues.

A management spokesperson testified that he "didn't see any way" that articles criticizing Texas "right to work" laws or Nixon's veto of minimum-wage legislation were "related to our association with the union."

In a second decision the court unanimously ruled that hospital workers have the right to distribute union literature in hospital cafeterias. Boston's Beth Israel Hospital charged that such distribution disrupts patient care.

. . . but denies right to enforce strike call

In a five-to-four decision June 21 the Supreme Court found the Writers Guild guilty of violating federal labor law because the union had disciplined writer-producer and writer-director members who worked during a 1973 guild strike.

According to the court majority, labor unions can't discipline supervisory members who cross picket lines to perform their regular supervisory duties.

"In short," Justice Stewart wrote for the minority, "the court's decision prevents a union with supervisory members from effectively calling and enforcing a strike."

Study exposes coal strike layoff hoax

The federal Bureau of Labor Statistics conducted six surveys between February 12 and March 25 to assess the employment impact of the 110-day coal strike.

At the time, big business—backed up with an hysterical campaign in the news media—charged the miners would be responsible for millions of workers being thrown out of work.

But the government's findings now show that layoffs of factory workers never exceeded 25,500. Even counting the 20,000 transportation workers laid off, the total number of affected workers was less than 1 percent in the eleven states most dependent on coal.

"When asked each week what employment cutbacks in their plants they anticipated during the following week, the employers surveyed consistently overestimated layoffs," reports the U.S. Labor Department.

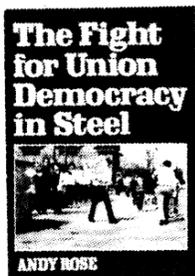
—Shelley Kramer

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Behind Washington's threats against Africa & Cuba

By David Frankel

A new charged international atmosphere has been created by the Carter administration's repeated attacks on Soviet and Cuban involvement in Africa.

Carter's anticommunist campaign reached a peak following the rebellion in Zaïre's Shaba province in mid-May. At the same time, lurid stories of atrocities against whites were splashed across the capitalist press.

Under cover of this racist and anticommunist propaganda, French and Belgian paratroopers intervened in Zaïre. U.S. transport planes and some U.S. military personnel participated in the intervention.

Billed as a "rescue mission," this imperialist adventure was responsible for the deaths of hundreds of people. Of course, it had nothing to do with saving human life. Its immediate aim was to prop up the corrupt dictatorship of Zaïrian President Mobutu Sese Seko.

As the editors of the *New York Times* admitted June 15: "With or without Cuban involvement, Mr. Carter seemed determined to lend a hand in rescuing the Mobutu Government, and giving its bankrupt treasury yet another infusion. Zaïre is a mess and seems destined to remain a mess for a long time while Western interests—as foreign to Africa as the Cubans—seek to salvage their investments in Katangan ores and Mobutu bonds."

This was a sharp shift for the *Times*, which had previously hailed the intervention in Zaïre as a response to "the Soviet-Cuban legions in Africa."

Caught in the lie

Prompting the shift was Carter's June 14 news conference. After weeks of repeated attacks on the Cuban government for being behind the Zaïre rebellion, Carter virtually admitted that he did not have a shred of proof for his charges. He lamely suggested that if the Cuban government really opposed the insurgents, it could have done more to stop them—even using its own troops against them.

Not surprisingly, the *Times* editors thought it prudent to back up a bit. "President Carter's vigorous charges that Cuba bore responsibility for last month's invasion of Zaïre were unworthy of American diplomacy to begin with. They turned out to be unprovable except by a kind of guilt-by-association," said the *Times*.

It was a diplomatic way of noting that Carter had been caught in his lie.

Similarly, *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent James Nelson Goodsell reported June 16: "President Carter's apparent shift away from confrontation with Cuba over whatever role it played in the Katangan invasion of Shaba Province in Zaïre has come none too soon for many in the Washington intelligence community.

"The evidence of Cuban involvement in the recent Zaïrian fighting was, in the view of these intelligence sources, simply 'too flimsy' to stand up under close scrutiny."

But the crisis in Zaïre was not an isolated incident. Carter's intervention there, and his threats against Cuba, come in the context of an ongoing upsurge in the African liberation struggle.

How to halt this upsurge, and how to stop the

Imperialism
confronts
new rise in
liberation
struggles

Cuban government from extending aid and solidarity to the Black masses fighting for their liberation, has become the central concern of imperialist policy in Africa. From this point of view, the threats against Cuba and the groundwork being laid for further U.S. military intervention in Africa pose serious dangers.

Carter, of course, has moved with great caution. As one administration official recently acknowledged, "It's our general assessment that the mood of the U.S. as a whole is one of reservation about . . . military involvements overseas, and that anything that raises that possibility has to be very clearly justified. . . ."

Carter has attempted to justify such moves by attacks on the "red menace." Thus, his red-scare campaign around the Shaba rebellion ties in directly to broader U.S. policy in Africa. This becomes clearer if we recall the events of the past few years.

Imperialist strongholds crumble

Since the spring of 1974, two pillars of the imperialist status quo in Black Africa—the Portuguese empire and the Ethiopian monarchy—have crumbled. At the same time, a third pillar—the racist, white minority regimes in southern Africa—is under increasing pressure from the Black majority.

The April 1974 revolt of the Armed Forces Movement in Portugal came about largely as a reaction against the devastating impact on Portuguese capitalism of the brutal, thirteen-year-long colonial war waged by the totalitarian Salazar regime against the Black population of Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau. The first declaration of the new military government in Portugal was a promise to negotiate peace in their colonies.

Naturally, this was a tremendous inspiration to the African masses. Strikes and demonstrations in the cities reflected their increased combativity. The armed struggle also stepped up. In Mozambique, for example, whole Black units of the Portuguese army deserted to the liberation forces, taking their equipment with them.

Although the new Portuguese regime tried to stall in hopes of finding some way to retain influence over its African colonies, it was finally forced to concede to the demands for independence. Angola, the last of the Portuguese colonies to gain its independence, celebrated the end of 500 years of Portuguese rule on November 11, 1975.

How did Washington react to these advances by the African liberation movement?

It was *dismayed*.

While giving lip-service to the struggle against colonial rule, and while claiming to abhor the racist

Continued on next page

Continued from preceding page

regimes in Rhodesia and South Africa, Washington's real policy all along had been to support the Portuguese empire and the white minority regimes.

Kissinger's 'Tar Baby'

In April 1969, shortly after his inauguration, Richard Nixon ordered his National Security Council to review U.S. policy toward southern Africa. Carried out under the direction of Henry Kissinger, the study advised that "whites are here [in Africa] to stay and that the only way that constructive change can come about is through them. There is no hope for the blacks to gain the political rights they seek through violence, which will only lead to chaos and increased opportunities for the communists."

Nicknamed "Tar Baby" by White House advisers, the policy adopted by Nixon was to "maintain public opposition to racial repression but relax political and economic restrictions on the white states. . . ."

Of course, for many decades prior to this the colonial regimes in southern Africa had depended on U.S. and other imperialist support in order to survive. But the "Tar Baby" policy represented a more open tilt in their direction. Washington backed Lisbon's colonial wars in Africa with extensive military aid and financial assistance, while stepping up loans, trade, and investment designed to strengthen the South African and Rhodesian regimes.

John Stockwell, the former chief of the CIA's Angola task force, comments on the result of the "Tar Baby" policy in his book, *In Search of Enemies*. Stockwell notes that during the colonial war, "American bombs and napalm fell on the Angolan nationalists," and that, not surprisingly, the collapse of the Portuguese empire "caught the United States by surprise, without graceful policy alternatives and out of contact with the African revolutionaries."



Fall of Portuguese dictatorship propelled mass mobilization in capital of Angola, celebrate independence in November 1975

Angola & South Africa

At first, Washington intervened in Angola to stoke the fires of civil war among the three competing nationalist organizations.* By preventing what Stockwell calls a "cheap" MPLA victory, the U.S. rulers hoped to exhaust the Angolan masses and weaken the ability of an independent Angola to stand up to imperialist demands.

Helped by Soviet aid, however, the MPLA began to get the upper hand. Washington responded by encouraging the South African regime to invade Angola. By October 1975 there were 3,000 South African troops deep inside Angola.

This imperialist invasion of Angola altered the character of the conflict. It was no longer primarily a civil war. It posed a deadly threat to the anti-imperialist struggle of the people of Angola and their right to self-determination.

The U.S.-South African axis

For about two months, the capitalist news media around the world almost completely blanked out news of the South African invasion. Meanwhile, Kissinger kept up a barrage of threats and denunciations against the Cuban government, which sent troops and aid to help the MPLA resist the imperialist invasion.

As news of the South African invasion did come out, the U.S. imperialists lied through their teeth, vehemently denying that they had encouraged it. (Later, during the Somali invasion of Ethiopia, similar denials came from Washington. It's hardly surprising that the imperialists lie about their role in such adventures. Imagine what the reaction of the American people would have been back in 1965 if Lyndon Johnson had told the truth about what he was doing in Vietnam.)

Looking back at Kissinger's statements on Angola, one is struck by how similar they are to those of the Carter administration today. On November 10, 1975, Kissinger warned that Soviet policy in Angola "was not compatible with the spirit of détente"—a formula that was echoed by Carter aide Zbigniew Brzezinski May 28 when he said Moscow's behavior was not "compatible with what was once called the code of détente."

On November 24, 1975—at a time when South African troops had driven more than 600 miles into Angola!—Kissinger declared that "the United States cannot remain indifferent" to Soviet and Cuban support for the Angolan government.

Once again, Kissinger's words recall Carter's May 30 speech in which he insisted that NATO "cannot be indifferent" to Soviet and Cuban policies in Africa.

The collaboration between Washington and South Africa became so apparent that former U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Patrick Moynihan tried to minimize it by stating December 14, 1975, that there was only a "convergence of policy" between the two governments. "We are doing the same thing, sort of," added the former Harvard professor.

The full measure of Washington's hypocrisy in this matter was exposed when South African Defense Minister Pieter Botha indicated that top U.S.

officials had urged the South Africans to go into Angola. An anonymous South African "high official" also told *New York Times* correspondent Henry Kamm, according to a February 6, 1976, article, that "we accepted the utterances of Mr. Kissinger and others. We felt surely he had the necessary pull to come forward with the goods."

According to Stockwell, the CIA collaborated closely with the South African secret police, and at one point Washington was even considering the direct shipment of U.S. arms to the South Africans in Namibia.

But despite his best efforts, Kissinger was unable "to come forward with the goods." The majority of the American ruling class did not think it could get away with large-scale involvement in Kissinger's dirty war in Angola. They knew the American people would not tolerate another Vietnam.

'An international outlaw'?

Ford and Kissinger were joined in their propaganda campaign by an obedient big-business press. For example, the *New York Times* editorialized against "Soviet imperialism" in Africa in its November 26, 1975, issue, saying:

"Since October the MPLA has been reinforced by a 3,000-man force of Cuban personnel. Whatever military supplies have reached other factions in Angola from American sources are paltry and tardy by contrast."

The *Times* editorial tried to blame the Soviets and Cubans for the escalation of the Angolan war—a lie that is so outrageous in light of the initial U.S.-South African intervention that it deserves equal place with Ford's claim that he was only trying to give the Angolans "an opportunity to make the decision for themselves" on who should run their country.

Unlike Kissinger, however, the *Times* editors realized that a U.S. show of force in Angola was "something that the American people would never countenance now."

Despite such warnings, Ford and Kissinger seriously considered a direct attack on Cuba. Ford himself assailed the Cuban government as "an international outlaw" and "a regime of aggression" for its role in countering the South African invasion. He threatened to take "appropriate measures" against the Cuban revolution.

Among the measures considered, says Stockwell, was "the feasibility of making an overt military feint at Cuba itself to force Castro to recall his troops and defend the home island."

According to the account of the Cuban role in Angola by Colombian author Gabriel García Márquez (an account published by the official Cuban news agency, Prensa Latina) there were other threats too. García Márquez says that Cuban planes going to Angola were stopped from refueling in Guyana when "the ambassador of the United States personally threatened it with the bombardment and destruction of the airport at Georgetown."

In light of such threats, one might well ask, who was the real "international outlaw"?

Of course, the Cubans carefully weighed the threat of U.S. action. "The possibility that the United States might intervene openly, rather than through the mercenaries and South Africa as it had been doing for some time, was obviously one of the most disturbing unknowns," García Márquez noted.



Cuban troops aided Angolans in resisting imperialist invasion



Soweto, 1976. South African capitalism is creating its own g

* The Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA—People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola); the União Nacional para Independência Total de Angola (UNITA—National Union for the Total Independence of Angola); and the Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola (FNLA—Angolan National Liberation Front).



Blacks against colonial rule. Above, workers in Luanda,



avediggers.

"But a rapid analysis suggested that at least Washington would think twice about doing so:

"It had just freed itself from the morass of Vietnam and the Watergate scandal. It had a President no one had elected. The CIA was under fire in Congress and low-rated by public opinion.

The United States needed to avoid seeming—not only in the eyes of African countries, but especially in the eyes of American blacks—to ally itself with racist South Africa. Beyond all this it was in the midst of an election campaign in its Bicentennial year."

Cuba's role

Certainly the decision of the Cuban government to stand up to Washington and its South African allies in Angola was a move of extraordinary courage. A small country of 10 million people successfully defied the mightiest imperialist power in the world. The South African army was forced to withdraw, and that threat to the Angolan independence struggle was beaten back.

What an inspiration this was to the Black freedom fighters in Namibia, Zimbabwe, and South Africa itself!

In fact, the defeat of the imperialist intervention in Angola was accompanied by the intensification of the guerrilla war in Zimbabwe. The regime in Mozambique felt strong enough as a result of the victory in Angola to close its borders to Rhodesian trade.

And only three months after the South African withdrawal, the Black township of Soweto exploded. The ensuing strikes and demonstrations among Black workers and students throughout South Africa revealed to the whole world the explosive potential building up in the main bastion of imperialist rule in Africa.

No wonder Ford and Kissinger considered going to such lengths against the Cuban revolution. Just as the Cuban leadership was among the first to call for international solidarity with the liberation fighters in Vietnam, and just as they sought to extend the socialist revolution to Latin America by aiding anti-imperialist guerrilla movements there, they are now aiding the African liberation struggle.

Limits of anti-imperialism

The Socialist Workers Party disagrees, however, with Cuban President Fidel Castro's portrayal of the Angolan regime as a revolutionary or a socialist government. In reality Angola, like Egypt under Nasser, has a bourgeois government administered by a petty-bourgeois nationalist apparatus that defends capitalist property relations, and that suppresses the democratic rights of the masses and the independent organization of the working class.

Of course, revolutionists fight together with such regimes against any assault by imperialism. Chinese Trotskyists in the 1930s even fought in the same camp as the reactionary bourgeois regime of Chiang Kai-shek when that was necessary to oppose the invasion of semicolonial China by Japanese imperialism.

But it is one thing to support a military struggle against an imperialist invasion, and another to give political support to a bourgeois government that carries out repressive actions against the working class.

Despite this Cuban political support to the Angolan regime, however, the Cubans played a progressive, anti-imperialist role in helping to beat back the South African aggression. Certainly the American imperialists have not lost sight of this fact.

At the same time, to the extent that the Cubans fail to distinguish between working class and procapitalist currents within any particular anti-imperialist struggle, they are unable to help propel the socialist revolution forward. The Cuban revolution itself would never have triumphed if Castro had not been willing to split from those forces within the anti-imperialist July 26 Movement who wanted to shackle the revolution to the maintenance of capitalist property relations.

The weakest link

The presence of thousands of Cuban troops in Angola has introduced a new factor in southern Africa. It creates a powerful obstacle to imperialism's ability to intervene there at will.

In the case of Angola, the South Africans were faced with the choice of either getting out of the country or substantially escalating their military aggression.

The role that Cuban troops could play was also raised in regard to Zaïre.

After the first rebellion there, in 1977, Castro ridiculed charges that Cuban troops had been involved. Had that been the case, Castro said in an interview in the May 22, 1977, issue of *Granma*, the

newspaper of the Cuban Communist Party, "there wouldn't be a single soldier of Mobutu's or of King Hassan's [of Morocco] left in that province."

If the French and Belgian regimes had really thought there were Cubans in Shaba during the uprising there this May, they would have thought several times before sending their paratroopers in.

Carter and Brzezinski, just as Ford and Kissinger before them, are deathly afraid that the Cubans will begin to take an active part in the struggle in Zimbabwe. The June 6 announcement by Joshua Nkomo, one of the major Zimbabwean nationalist leaders, acknowledging that Zimbabwean freedom fighters were being trained by Cuban troops, underscored this danger to imperialism in southern Africa.

Certainly Castro has made no secret of his intentions. Calling Africa "the weakest link in the imperialist chain today," he said in the interview quoted above:

"Only the continuation of the armed struggle of the people of Zimbabwe can develop the required strength and mobilization to overcome the Rhodesian racists and guarantee true national independence. I don't think that peaceful or diplomatic solutions will convince the Rhodesian racists and their allies to give up their regime. . . .

"Zimbabwe, South Africa and Namibia will never be freed without the most energetic struggle ever, weapon in hand, so these peoples oppressed by colonialism and racism may achieve freedom and dignity. We must keep in mind that the tiny racist minority that oppresses those peoples will never resign itself to their freedom—which will never be obtained by any diplomatic or peaceful means."

Soviet pawns?

One can look in vain for such statements from the Stalinist leaders in Moscow. This is not the language of "peaceful coexistence" and "détente."

Of course, the imperialists have tried to discredit the Cubans by calling them pawns of the Soviet regime—even mercenaries. This latter charge sounds strange, coming from governments whose only mission in life is to protect the investments and markets of a tiny minority of super-rich capitalists. Unlike them, the Cubans have no economic interests in Africa at all.

The Cubans themselves insist that they took the initiative in Africa on their own, without first consulting Moscow. According to García Márquez's account of the Cuban move in Angola: "Far from what has so often been said, it was an independent and sovereign act of Cuba. Only after the decision was made, not before, was the Soviet Union informed."

Stockwell, the CIA's former chief in Angola, agrees. "After the war," he says, "we learned that Cuba had not been ordered into action by the Soviet Union. To the contrary, the Cuban leaders felt compelled to intervene for their own ideological reasons."

The impact that the Cubans have made in Africa—so out of proportion to the size of their country—is testimony to the power of the Cuban revolution. Moscow has never been able to make such an impact, not because of lack of resources, but because it has insisted on subordinating any support for the African liberation struggle—most of which is purely verbal anyway—to its diplomatic relations with Washington.

If the Cubans held that perspective, they would never have sent their troops to counter the South African invasion of Angola, and they would not today be trying to aid the struggle in Zimbabwe.

In fact, Washington has insisted that any improvement in its diplomatic relations with Cuba can come only on condition that Cuban troops are withdrawn from Africa.

But Castro has steadfastly refused to use the African liberation struggle as a bargaining chip in return for a few favors from Washington. In answer to newscaster Barbara Walters's question last fall, "Will you remove your troops from Angola?" Castro answered:

Continued on next page



Demonstration in Addis Ababa. Washington feared Dergue would not be able to contain masses

Continued from preceding page

"... we can discuss this problem only with the Angolans and the government of Angola. We cannot and are never going to discuss this problem with the United States."

From the Kremlin's point of view, Cuban aid to the African liberation struggle is quite useful. Havana runs the risks, while the threat of further anti-imperialist successes gives Moscow greater leverage in bargaining with Washington.

In analyzing Cuba's foreign policy, two negative pressures must be kept in mind. One is the constant attempts by the Kremlin bureaucracy, backed by the leverage of Soviet economic aid to Havana, to

mold Cuba's policy to fit Moscow's counter-revolutionary line of "détente."

The second negative pressure is the contradiction contained within the Cuban line itself. Cuba's unhesitating military backing for anti-imperialist struggles is combined with political support to selected bourgeois nationalist governments. This was true of Cuban policy in Latin America since the coming to power of the Castro regime, and it remains true in Africa today.

This policy elevates the role of armed forces—whether guerrilla movements, or Cuba's well-trained troops—above the question of a correct revolutionary socialist political course.

Ethiopian revolution

How do events in the Horn of Africa fit into this picture?

When the Portuguese empire entered its final crisis in April 1974, the peoples of Ethiopia were already deep in rebellion against the ancient monarchy ruling their country. *Washington Post* correspondent David Ottaway commented at the end of March 1974:

"Shaken to its foundations by military mutinies, a general strike, the fall of a government, a devastating drought, a major economic crisis and protests by everyone from priests to prostitutes, the millennia-old Ethiopian monarchy appears to be crumbling."

For more than forty years Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie's regime had served as a reliable bulwark of backwardness, reaction, and collaboration with imperialism on the African continent. Suddenly, the imperialists were faced with a situation that threatened to become a source of rebellion and destabilization of the status quo. With a population of 30 million people—nearly 10 percent of the total population of sub-Saharan Africa—Ethiopia was a force that had to be reckoned with.

The enormous power unleashed by the Ethiopian revolution is best understood by recalling the character of the old regime. Ninety percent of the population of Ethiopia lives on the land. Yet two-thirds of these millions of peasant families subsisted on less than six-tenths of an acre. Ninety percent of peasant households cultivated less than two acres.

In contrast, an aristocratic landlord class of about 30,000 people owned more than 70 percent of the arable land, and most of the rest was owned by the Coptic church—the state church under Selassie.

Nor was the semifeudal character of Selassie's regime limited to land tenure. In addition to being forced to hand over some 50 percent of their produce directly to the landlords, peasants had to pay tithes

to the church and numerous special fees and taxes. Moreover, the peasantry was forced to render physical services to the landholders, such as transporting their grain, building their houses and barns, and performing domestic duties for their families.

This system of feudal obligations was defended by an absolute monarchy whose character was summed up in the 1955 constitution as follows: "The person of the Emperor is sacred, his dignity is inviolable and his power is indisputable."

Famine and war spark rebellion

An article by Tony Thomas in the May 1974 *International Socialist Review* noted that the Ethiopian monarchy "is a truly reactionary government, not merely in the vernacular sense of being repressive, but in the formal sense that it defends to the hilt a social order that properly belongs to an earlier era of human history. It resists industrialization and modernization; it struggles against being dragged into even the modern capitalist world, although capitalism itself is so overripe as to have been in decline for more than half a century."

Two things—the disastrous famine of 1973, and the ongoing colonial war against the Eritrean people—finally led to the crumbling of the monarchy.

At least 100,000 people died in the famine. Instead of speeding relief efforts, the regime tried to cover up the fact that thousands were starving. At the same time, food exports continued and the landlords took advantage of the situation to buy land and cattle at a fraction of their worth.

Resentment among the masses was reflected in one leaflet distributed in Addis Ababa, which showed a photograph of a starving child next to one of Selassie feeding his dogs on the grounds of his Jubilee Palace.

At the same time, the cost of living in the cities

was skyrocketing, and there was deep disaffection in the ranks of the army, which was losing the Eritrean war.

The Ethiopian revolution began early in February 1974 when 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 junior officers, seized Asmara, the capital of Eritrea, to press their demands for higher pay.

Concessions failed to stop the spreading rebellion. In March, most of the larger cities and towns were paralyzed by workers' strikes. About 100,000 Muslims marched in Addis Ababa to demand an end to religious discrimination. On March 17, thousands of women demonstrated to demand equal pay and equal rights with men. Even prostitutes demonstrated for the right to form a union and the right to free medical examinations. In the countryside, peasants began to seize crops and burn the homes of landlords.

The Dergue comes to power

Unable to halt the upsurge, the discredited Selassie was finally deposed in September 1974 by a junta of junior army officers known as the Dergue. The Dergue tried to establish control over the situation through a combination of repression and concessions.

Among its first actions was to ban strikes and demonstrations and to arrest some of the country's top trade unionists. Moreover, the Dergue refused to change the policies of the Selassie regime toward the oppressed nationalities within the Ethiopian state. In December 1974 it began a new offensive against the Eritrean liberation fighters.

On the other hand, the Dergue was forced by the pressure of the masses to adopt socialist rhetoric and to carry out wide-ranging reforms.

"In early 1975," Ernest Harsch wrote in the December 1977 *International Socialist Review*, "the Dergue nationalized all banks, credit institutions, and insurance companies, as well as many imperialist and some local concerns. . . ."

"In March [1975], 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."

Regardless of the Dergue's intentions, the legal recognition of the peasant demands was an immense progressive gain. The old landowning aristocracy, which had leached off the labor of the peasantry for centuries, was broken. Its members were either exterminated or driven into exile.

Destruction of the landlord class and its institutions—the absolute monarchy and the feudal fees and obligations extorted from the peasantry—and the separation of church and state, represented a profound revolution in the economic and social relations in Ethiopia.

Under these circumstances, Washington was faced with a big problem. The urban masses, as indicated by the Dergue's radical rhetoric, wanted socialism. They showed no inclination of stopping



Christian Science Monitor

their mobilization just when they were beginning to win some gains. Could the Dergue be depended on to keep things under control?

Imperialists look for alternatives

At first, Washington hoped to achieve its aims by working through the Dergue. For two and a half years after the ouster of Selassie, it continued military aid and military sales to the Ethiopian regime, backing the Dergue's war against the Eritreans. However, under the pressure of the masses, the Dergue continued in turmoil, with numerous splits and purges. And it continued to lose ground in Eritrea.

In February 1977, Washington cut back its aid program to the Dergue, which responded by shutting down American offices and military installa-

tions in Ethiopia and turning to Moscow for aid.

Meanwhile, the U.S. imperialists were looking for some other way to slow down the upsurge in Ethiopia. None of their options were very good.

As in Angola, sending U.S. troops was ruled out by the antiwar temper of the American people. At the same time, Selassie had been the main imperialist front man in the area, and there was no ready replacement.

U.S. military aid to the pro-imperialist regime in Kenya was stepped up. Threats against the Ethiopian revolution were voiced by the Sudanese, Egyptian, and Iranian governments.

But in retrospect, it is clear that the most substantial imperialist-inspired probe against the Ethiopian revolution was the Somali invasion of the Ogaden in July 1977.

War in the Ogaden

The Somali population in the Ogaden, like the Eritreans, is an oppressed nationality within the Ethiopian state. The *Militant* correctly called attention to this, and to the need for unconditional support to the right of the Somali people to self-determination. Insofar as the Somali people rebel against national oppression—whether carried out by Selassie or by the Dergue—their struggle must be supported by revolutionists.

But the invasion of the Ogaden by the regular army of Somalia—under the orders of the Somali regime—was not the same as the national liberation struggle of the Somali masses. The invasion introduced a new element into the situation, one which the *Militant* did not assess correctly at the time.

An imperialist-inspired probe

The intervention of the Somali regime, despite its propaganda, had little or nothing to do with the liberation of the Somali population in the Ogaden. The decisive factor was the encouragement of the Carter administration, which hoped to use the territorial ambitions of the Somali regime to strike a blow against the upsurge of the Ethiopian masses. In light of this, it was necessary to support Ethiopia against the Somali invasion.

Referring to the U.S. role in the Ogaden war in a June 14 article, syndicated columnist Joseph Kraft said, "In that case, the United States—and, indeed, Carter personally—played the jackal, and the Russians reacted defensively."

Kraft reported that "on April 18, 1977, he [Carter] allowed Time magazine to overhear him telling Vice President Mondale that he wanted Vance and Brzezinski to do 'everything possible to get Somalia to be our friend.'"

In keeping with this directive, the State Department, according to a report by Arnaud de Borchgrave in the September 26, 1977, issue of *Newsweek*, sent a message to Somali President Siad Barre assuring him that Washington was "not averse to further guerrilla pressure in the Ogaden."

This message was followed up with a U.S. offer to sell arms to the Somali regime. As *New York Times* correspondent David Shipler reported June 18:

"It was last July 23, just eight days after the United States informed Somalia it would discuss supplying American arms, that the Somalis invaded the Ogaden desert in Ethiopia. This seemed to confirm the Soviet view that Washington had, at least indirectly, encouraged Somalia's sense of military confidence. . . ."

Surely something must have encouraged the "sense of military confidence" of the Somali regime. A country of 3 million doesn't attack a neighbor with ten times its population unless its government has reason to expect substantial assistance.

Left in the lurch

Within three months, the Somali forces had taken almost the entire Ogaden, except for two key cities, from the surprised and disorganized Ethiopian forces. However, the arms promised by Washington, which were needed to hold what had been taken, never materialized, although the U.S. offer remained open until September.

The Carter administration had to weigh the diplomatic difficulties of openly siding with the aggressor in the Ethiopian-Somali war; the cost of trying to turn the military balance when Ethiopia was beginning to get massive Soviet aid; and the likely response of the American people to such an adventure.

Certainly, after having left its close South African ally in the lurch in Angola, it is unlikely that the U.S. imperialists had any qualms about doing the same to Siad Barre.

Of course, the Somali regime tried to wrap its aggression in the flag of the struggle for national liberation. But its real attitude toward this struggle was indicated in a report in the June 3, 1978, issue of the British weekly, *The Economist*. According to *The Economist*:

"The Somali government seems determined to convince the Kenyans—and the west—that it no longer entertains any claim to Kenya's north-eastern province, where a quarter of a million Somalis live. As one official now puts it:

"Why should we want the north-eastern province? We know that the Somalis there have a good life—even that they receive priority from the Kenyan government in development projects. Their situation is quite different from that of the Somalis in the Ogaden."

But the real difference is not in the treatment of the Somali people. The difference is that in Ethiopia—in spite of the military regime trying to gain control and hold back the masses—a deep-going revolutionary process was unfolding, while no such revolution was going on in Somalia or Kenya. In the face of this revolution, previously hostile regimes tried to find some common ground.

"The idea of creating a kind of federation or confederation that could include Somalia, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Ogaden and possibly Djibouti was discussed, analyzed and meditated on at length. . . ."

Castro confirmed this account in a speech given March 15: "Today we realize that when we met with Somalia's leader in March of last year in Aden," Castro said, "they had already worked out the plan—which they later put into practice—to invade Ethiopia, because they felt that the historical opportunity had arrived since Yankee imperialism and the NATO nations would welcome news of the invasion of Ethiopia with open arms."

Castro continued, "But the critical situation created by the invasion in late November led the Ethiopian government to make an urgent request that we send tank, artillery and aviation specialists to help the army, to help the country, and we did so."

The first Cuban units arrived in December 1977 and January 1978, according to Castro. Washington responded by stepping up its campaign against Cuba, and in early February it even sent two U.S. warships to the Red Sea in what was called by the *Christian Science Monitor*, "a possible show of American force in the region."

But events moved too fast for Carter to do much more than bluster. In seven weeks—from January 22 to March 14, according to Castro—Ethiopian forces, aided by the Cubans, recaptured the Ogaden.

Commenting on Washington's role in the affair, Castro pointed out:

"The imperialists have assumed a very hypocritical position during the conflict, because they knew that Somalia was invading Ethiopia right from the start, in July. The United States and the NATO countries knew about it and remained silent; they didn't say a word and they were delighted. They provided weapons for the aggressors—weapons from the United States and from NATO member states—by way of Saudi Arabia, Iran and other countries, and as the Somalis advanced they didn't say a word. When Somalia had occupied nearly all of Ogaden, the imperialists were optimistic; but when the Ethiopians began receiving international aid, when they started to get weapons from the socialist camp and internationalist Cuban fighters began to arrive, the imperialists raised a real hue and cry. Then they insisted that there had to be a meeting of the OAU, the UN, etc., etc., and they talked about the need for a cease-fire. When, though, did they start talking about a cease-fire? When the aggressors started to lose the war."

Self-determination for Eritrea

There were, in effect, two wars going on at the same time in the Ogaden. There was a national liberation movement on the part of the Somali people living in the region, and there was an aggressive, expansionist invasion by the regular Somali army—aimed ultimately at the advances of the Ethiopian revolution. But it was the intervention of the Somali regime—and through it, of imperialism—that became the decisive element in the Ogaden war.

This is not the situation in Eritrea. No capitalist regime or imperialist maneuvering has been able to

Continued on next page



Eritrean liberation fighters. Castro has been caught between his support for capitalist government in Addis Ababa and his recognition of Eritrean right to self-determination.

Castro's view

Several months prior to the Somali invasion, Fidel Castro traveled to the Middle East and Africa. In an interview published in the May 22, 1977, issue of *Granma*, shortly after his return, Castro gave his assessment of the situation in Ethiopia:

"There's a profound revolution in Ethiopia, a powerful mass movement and a thoroughgoing agrarian reform in a feudal country in which the peasants were practically slaves.

"There has been an urban reform, and the main industries in the country have been nationalized. . . . This reminds us of the French and Bolshevik Revolutions because of the intense class struggle waged between the workers and peasants on the one side and the large landowners and

bourgeoisie on the other and because this country is now being criminally attacked from abroad by the Arab reaction, acting in complicity with imperialism."

As was the case in Angola, Castro gave political support to the petty bourgeois leadership that is attempting to channel and straitjacket the mass radicalization and consolidate a new capitalist regime. Castro stressed his view that Mengistu Haile Mariam, the leader of the Dergue, "is a true revolutionary."

Also as in Angola, Castro stressed the possibilities for dealing blows to imperialism. According to the interviewer, when Castro met with the heads of state of Somalia, Ethiopia, and South Yemen in March 1977:

Continued from preceding page

control, or turn on and off, the sixteen-year-long struggle of the Eritrean people for their independence.

In fact, the tenacious war waged by the Eritreans was, as mentioned above, one of the main factors that sparked the Ethiopian revolution.

A policy of recognizing the right of the Eritrean people to self-determination—in this case, supporting their fight for political independence—is the only course that is in the interests of the Ethiopian people and the Ethiopian revolution. Such a policy could help lay the basis for friendly relations between Eritrea and Ethiopia.

At the same time, recognition of the right of the Eritreans to determine their own future would help restrict the maneuvers of the imperialists and of the reactionary Arab regimes. The Eritreans would be in a better position to resist pressures from these quarters if they were not in a position of having to fight for their lives against the Dergue.

Castro, to his credit, insists that he supports the right of self-determination for the Eritreans. However, because of his political support for the Mengistu regime, he has been forced into contortions on this question.

The truth is that the bourgeois Mengistu regime, like many similar governments in the semicolonial world, comes into conflict with imperialism, and

tries to base itself on the anti-imperialist sentiment of the masses. But ultimately it fears even more the revolutionary anticapitalist dynamic of its own working class. Either forces must come forward to lead the anti-imperialist struggle to completion through the establishment of a workers state, or imperialism will maintain its hold and eventually roll back many of the gains.

So far, the Cubans have resisted pressures from the Dergue for an all-out offensive against the Eritreans. "The Cubans still want the Ethiopians and the Eritreans to negotiate," according to the June 3 issue of *The Economist*.

A representative of the Eritreans, speaking for the two main groups involved in the struggle, said in Paris June 21 that Cuban forces had not taken part in any military operations in Eritrea since February.

Were the Cubans to get involved in trying to crush the Eritrean struggle, it would be a blow not only to the Ethiopian revolution, but to the Cuban revolution as well. Castro is doubtless well aware that such a move against the Eritreans, whose cause is supported by working-class parties and national liberation fighters around the world, would heavily damage the prestige of the Cuban leadership. (For more on this, see Joseph Hansen's article, "Castro differs with Mengistu on Eritrea," in last week's *Militant*.)

ade Rhodesia, where 300,000 white fascists are oppressing six million Africans. . . ? They blockade Cuba instead. . . What is understood by the African peoples is that while the Yankee imperialists have sided with South Africa, Rhodesia, the repressive and reactionary African governments, we've sided with the revolutionary and progressive peoples of Africa. We're fighting against fascism in Africa, we're fighting against racism in Africa."

Rhetoric vs. reality

Of course, U.S. officials from Carter on down also claim to be opposed to the apartheid regime in South Africa. "We have made it clear to the South African government that a failure to begin to make genuine progress toward an end to racial discrimination and full political participation for all South African citizens can only have an increasingly adverse impact on our relations," Secretary of State Cyrus Vance declared June 20.

No U.S. government, in light of the massive support for majority rule in southern Africa in this country—particularly among Blacks—is in a position to come out openly for the status quo there.

At the same time, U.S. imperialism needs the South African state. Semicolonial regimes such as Kaunda's in Zambia and Mobutu's in Zaïre are too weak and unstable for Washington to rely on. The iron rod of the apartheid regime is the ultimate guarantee of imperialist domination in Africa.

A similar situation prevails in the Middle East, where no matter how servile Arab rulers such as Sadat and the Saudi royal family may be, they can never replace the Israeli colonial-settler state as the main bulwark for imperialist interests in the region. U.S. policymakers will issue statements deploring the Israeli occupation of Arab land, just as they deplore apartheid in South Africa, but their actions are a different matter.

In the case of South Africa, Washington is concerned not only with maintaining a military power that can act against the threat of socialist revolution in the region, but also with the protection of its \$1.7 billion in direct investment in South Africa itself.

However, as Karl Marx pointed out more than 100 years ago, capitalism produces its own grave-diggers. In order to build up the industrial base that is the foundation of its military power, and to produce the superprofits that fuel its economy, South African capitalism has created a working class.

Deprived of property, deprived of all democratic rights, 8 million Black workers run the South African economy. How long can they be held in bondage by even the most repressive system?

Castro was not merely boasting when he declared in his December 24 speech that "no matter what they do, the imperialists have already lost the battle in southern Africa."

Stakes for imperialism

However, the imperialist campaign against Cuba's role in Africa has absolutely nothing to do with any sympathy for the Eritreans. The imperialists were the ones who sold the Eritreans down the river in the first place, and they originally armed the Ethiopian military in its war against Eritrea.

The Cuban presence in Africa has become a major preoccupation of U.S. foreign policy because Carter and his advisers know that the Cubans are playing an important role in helping to advance the African liberation struggle as a whole.

For the imperialists, the stakes are immense: an entire continent, larger than all of South America and Europe combined, whose immense wealth has barely begun to be discovered, let alone tapped.

As Ernest Harsch pointed out in an article in the June 5 issue of *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*: "Zaïre and Zambia are among the world's top copper exporters, and Zaïre supplies 75 percent of the cobalt used in the United States. Nigeria, Libya, and Angola have valuable oil deposits. Guinea has about two-thirds of the world's known bauxite reserves. . . .

"Zimbabwe has some of the biggest chrome reserves in the world and Namibia, a South African colony, is the world's second-largest producer of gem diamonds and has important deposits of copper, uranium, lead, zinc, and other minerals.

"South Africa itself has the most varied mineral resources of any country except the United States and the Soviet Union. It produces around three-fourths of the capitalist world's gold output, and has three-fourths of the world's chrome ore reserves, one-third of the known uranium reserves, and the largest known reserves of platinum, vanadium, and coal. It also has important deposits of diamonds, nickel, asbestos, titanium, and numerous other minerals."

Moreover, this mineral wealth is extracted by a superexploited Black labor force that makes possible fabulous profits for the international cartels. According to Harsch, "Although the rate of return for direct American investments worldwide during the 1960s averaged about 11 percent, they earned 18.6 percent in South Africa itself."

Fear of a collapse

But can the imperialists maintain the political stability necessary for the extraction of these superprofits?

Since 1974, the imperialists have suffered the Ethiopian revolution, the collapse of the Portuguese empire, and the upsurge of the struggle in southern Africa. At the same time, the world economic crisis has undermined pro-imperialist regimes throughout Africa. Zaïre is one obvious example of this, and the imperialists are also worried about the survival of the Kaunda regime in Zambia.

The June 26 issue of *Business Week*, reporting on what it called a "vital international salvage operation to prop up the regime of President Kenneth D. Kaunda," pointed out that "by last fall basic commodities such as tea, coffee, sugar, cooking oil,

and cornmeal were short. In November, Kaunda warned of a collapse."

Imperialist banking institutions came to Kaunda's aid with a package of new loans that *Business Week* estimates will eventually total \$800 million to \$1 billion. But in light of the gloomy prospects for the world capitalist economy, such measures can only serve as stopgaps.

Fear of the African masses has prompted greater attention to Africa in Washington. That fear is also behind Carter's complaints that his "hands are tied" by restrictions on his ability to intervene with U.S. forces. And it is fear of the African revolution, and of Cuban aid to the anti-imperialist struggles of the Black masses, that is behind Carter's campaign against the Cubans in Africa.

Washington Post correspondents Robert Kaiser and Don Oberdorfer summed up the recurring nightmare of U.S. policymakers in a June 4 article. According to them:

"A senior State Department official said that after the experience in Ethiopia, the United States had to assume that—in the absence of countermeasures—the communist forces will be prepared to move on to the explosive black-white conflicts of southern Africa. That could mean Soviet-backed Cubans in Rhodesia in the near future, a prospect so ominous to the administration that its top priority now is to avoid it."

Carter's hypocrisy

Castro, speaking on December 24, 1977, before the National Assembly of People's Power, replied appropriately to the hypocrisy of the imperialist campaign against Cuba. He asked:

"What moral basis can the United States have to speak about Cuban troops in Africa? What moral basis can a country have whose troops are on every continent, that has, for instance, over 20 military bases in the Philippines, dozens of bases in Okinawa, in Japan, in Asia . . . in Europe, in Spain, in Italy and everywhere else? What moral basis can the United States have to use the argument of our troops being in Africa when their own troops are stationed by force on Panamanian territory, occupying a portion of that country? What moral basis can the United States have to speak about our troops in Africa when their own troops are stationed right here on our own national territory, at the Guantánamo naval base?"

Castro continued: "We don't deny it: we support and we have sent military advisers to many countries in Africa. . . . We're now helping and we'll go on helping Angola! We're now helping and we'll go on helping Mozambique! We're now helping and we'll go on helping the Ethiopian Revolution! If that's why the United States is blockading us, let them go on blockading us.

"Why doesn't the United States blockade South Africa, a racist, fascist country whose troops are committing crimes in Africa and whose minority is oppressing 20 million Blacks? Why doesn't it block-

Books on Cuba and Africa

Dynamics of the Cuban Revolution: the Trotskyist View, by Joseph Hansen.

400 pages; \$5.45.

Is Cuba's African policy dictated by Moscow? Or does it reflect an independent effort to extend the revolution internationally? Has the Cuban revolution degenerated to such a degree that a Stalinist bureaucracy has usurped power? Such questions cannot be answered without analyzing the nature of the Cuban government and economy, and the political character of the Castro leadership. This is an essential book for those who seek to understand the role of Cuba today.

Available in August from Pathfinder Press.

A special 20 percent discount off the regular \$5.45 price will be available for those attending the Active Workers and Socialist Educational Conference in Oberlin, Ohio, August 5-12.

Also from Pathfinder:

Angola: The Hidden History of Washington's War, by Ernest Harsch and Tony Thomas.

157 pages; \$2.45.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Please add 25 cents for postage and handling, and 50 cents for orders of more than one book.

At August educational conference

Socialists & the African revolution

By Bernie Senter

Just as defense of the Vietnamese revolution was a major test for socialists in the 1960s, today the African revolution poses a similar challenge.

The Active Workers and Socialist Educational Conference, sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party in Ohio August 5-12, will take up the African freedom struggle in a series of classes, panels, and workshops.

SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes will deliver a major presentation on the growing intervention of the U.S. government against the African revolution.

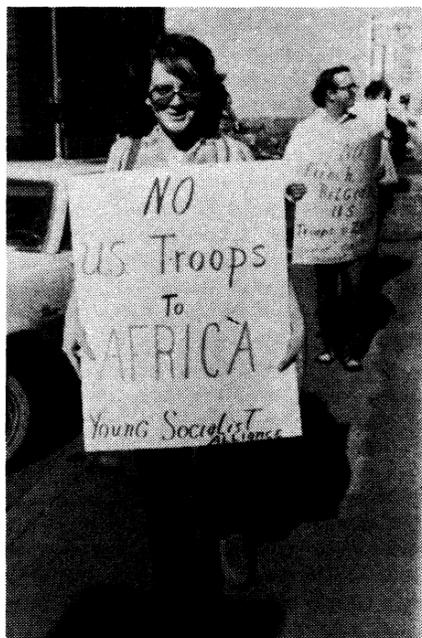
Some of the questions the conference will examine were elaborated in a recent interview with Omari Musa and David Frankel, staff writers for the *Militant*, and Ernest Harsch, a reporter for *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.

"We will have workshops and panels to discuss the political campaigns of the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance against the U.S. role in Africa," said Musa. "We will discuss the divestment fights on college campuses, and solidarity work in the Black communities, the labor movement, and among Africans living in the United States."

"The whole history of American involvement in Africa has been to maintain the exploitation of the Black masses," Harsch noted. "We will examine how U.S. imperialism supports and benefits from the white supremacist regimes in southern Africa."

"We will evaluate the roles of Cuba, the Soviet Union, and China," added Musa, "and discuss defense of the Cuban revolution against the mount-

Bernie Senter is coordinating plans for the Active Workers and Socialist Educational Conference.



Tacoma socialists: 'The freedom fight in Africa is our fight.'

ing threats by the Carter administration."

"The purpose of these discussions," Frankel explained, "is to better prepare socialists for our tasks in aiding the African liberation struggle."

"The fight in Africa is our fight. We educate ourselves to prepare for action, and then we act."

The theme of the conference as a whole is the deepening radicalization of American workers and the prospects for socialism.

Attending the conference will be steelworkers, auto workers, rail workers, and people from many other industries and unions. Members of the Young Socialist Alliance will come from college and high school campuses across the country.

International guests from Europe,

Latin America, Canada, and other parts of the world will attend.

If you would like to participate, phone the SWP branch nearest you (see page 31), or clip and mail the coupon on this page to: SWP, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

I am interested in attending the Active Workers and Socialist Educational Conference. Send me more information.

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Big gain for Texas socialists

33,547 say 'put SWP on ballot'

By Rick Berman

HOUSTON—In just five weeks, supporters of the Texas Socialist Workers Party election campaign collected 33,547 signatures to place the party's candidates on the November ballot. The total is twice the 16,550 signatures required by state law.

The Democrats and Republicans make it as difficult as possible for any party to challenge them in the elec-



Militant/Susie Winsten Miguel Pendás (left) and Sara Johnston campaigning at Houston plant gate.

tions. They demand that parties such as the SWP obtain thousands of signatures, while Democratic and Republican candidates have virtually automatic ballot status.

An additional obstacle in the Texas election law forced the socialists to sign up only those registered voters who had not voted in a primary election in the past year.

The SWP ticket is headed by Sara Jean Johnston, who is running for governor, and Miguel Pendás, the candidate for U.S. Senate.

What response did the socialist petitioners find for their ballot drive?

"Workers were pleased that the socialist candidates are people who work in steel mills, refineries, and other industries," reported Bob Robertson, a Houston steelworker. "Some people wanted to be sure the SWP was a prounion party before they would sign a petition."

Campaign supporters working in industry found many co-workers willing to sign petitions.

Agnes Chapa, a San Antonio socialist running for attorney general, reported, "Many Chicanos signed my petition when I told them I wanted to stop deportations of Mexican workers who have no papers."

"The biggest single reason people signed our petitions was simply to support the SWP's democratic right to appear on the ballot," explained Ruth Getts, who is the Socialist Workers state campaign manager.

"The petition drive was a big step

forward for the Socialist Workers Party in Texas," Getts continued. "We faced several new challenges."

In order to meet the outrageous ballot requirements here, previous socialist campaigns have had to organize teams of petitioners to gather signatures on a full-time basis, often for weeks at a time. "But with the growing strength of the party and the establishment of branches in Dallas and San Antonio since 1976, we were able to complete the ballot drive this year solely through the efforts of supporters who petitioned after work and on weekends," said Getts.

Pat O'Reilly, who helped coordinate the ballot effort in Houston, explained, "I work on the railroad, for Southern Pacific. We organized petitioning teams seven days a week from early morning until late at night so that people like myself who worked different shifts or worked weekends could help."

Industrial workers were among the top petitioners statewide. This was especially true in Dallas, where campaign supporters who have steel jobs turned in some of the highest signature totals.

More than 8,000 signatures were obtained in Dallas; more than 6,000 in San Antonio; and about 19,000 signatures in Houston.

The 33,547 signatures will now be checked against official lists of registered voters and handed over to Texas Secretary of State Steven Oaks by the July 10 official deadline.

Cops beat Atlanta Blacks

By Don Davis

ATLANTA—Club swinging Georgia state troopers attacked forty Black student protesters outside of a Board of Regents meeting here June 14. The students were demanding that the regents rehire five teachers at Atlanta Junior College. The teachers had been fired because they supported the students' year-long struggle to desegregate the nearly all-Black school.

Only six days earlier, club-wielding troopers attacked another peaceful picket line supporting the teachers outside AJC graduation ceremonies.

In that attack, the cops arrested nine people and sent six to the hospital.

The June 14 attack took place just as one of the teachers was finishing a press statement denouncing the regents' refusal even to grant the five fired teachers a hearing on their demands.

Television cameras recorded the whole thing. News coverage showing the troopers choking and beating students and teachers ignited a storm of protest.

"Those Channel 11 films show it was a clear-cut case of police brutality," Gene Duffy, deputy director of the Atlanta Community Relations Commission said.

But Gov. George Busbee announced the next day that he would not look into the charges of police brutality.

More than 100 picketers marched outside the state capitol following Busbee's announcement.

They chanted: "Busbee, Busbee, you can't hide—we know you're on the racist side" and "We demand the right to speak—we're tired of getting beaten every week."

That night, some 150 people including Southern Christian Leadership Conference leaders Hosea Williams and Tyrone Brooks and several ministers turned out to support the students at a protest meeting.

...PROD

Continued from page 13

open not only to PROD members but to all Teamsters who want to rebuild the union," Hall continued. "It begins a process of ending sectarian rivalry between organizations within the Teamsters like Upsurge [a dissident grouping of UPS drivers], PROD, and the Teamsters for a Democratic Union."

Conference participants were anxious to discuss the real history of the Teamsters. This was stimulated in part by anger over the distortions of the movie *F.I.S.T.* But it also represented the desire of Teamster dissidents to learn about the successful organizing methods of their predecessors.

In a one-hour slide show called "The Hidden History of the Teamsters Union—What You Won't Learn from Watching *F.I.S.T.*," University of Wisconsin Prof. Bob Halstead challenged the movie's main theme—that the IBT owes its early successes and strength today to organized crime.

"The proof that this is false," Halstead said, "lies in the organizing drive in Minneapolis in 1934. That effort was totally democratic, relying on the power of the rank and file, and it laid the basis for the large influx of drivers and others into the IBT."

The drivers were successful, he continued, because they had a "first-rate leadership, like the Dunne brothers, Carl Skoglund, and Farrell Dobbs, who were, incidentally, socialists working closely with the Socialist Workers Party, followers of Leon Trotsky."

Marroquin tour in Arizona a success

By Page Tulloch

PHOENIX, Ariz.—An enthusiastic audience of more than eighty people rallied here June 16 in support of Héctor Marroquín, a former Mexican student activist forced to flee his homeland in 1974 after being falsely accused of murder. Marroquín, a member of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance, is seeking political asylum in the United States.

He spoke here as part of a national tour bringing the facts of his case to the American people.

Speaking at the rally were Clovis Campbell, state president of the

NAACP; Solomon Leija, from the Arizona State University MEChA; Gustavo Gutierrez, a longtime activist in the Chicano community; Larry Visetzky from the Committee for Human Rights in Latin America; and Jessica Sampson, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor.

Jess López, a Chicano activist who has been imprisoned on frame-up charges here, sent a taped message.

A message from State Rep. Tony Abril read in part, "If the U.S. government can bring in hundreds of thousands of refugees from thousands of miles away, like Vietnam, then they

can certainly allow one man from next door in Mexico to have political asylum."

Clovis Campbell recalled the civil rights battles by Blacks, comparing these to Marroquín's fight for justice. "The NAACP is with Marroquín," he said.

When Marroquín rose to speak, he got a standing ovation.

The three major Phoenix TV stations and the city's largest daily newspaper carried stories about Marroquín's case. He did two radio interviews, one on a Spanish-language station.

By Michael Boys

TUSCON, Ariz.—Fifty people attended a rally here June 17 in support of Héctor Marroquín's right to political asylum. The event was covered extensively by local media.

Representatives of the Southern Arizona chapter of the National Lawyers Guild and the Tucson Committee for Human Rights in Latin America expressed their group's support.

Also speaking was a representative of the Mexican Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (Revolutionary Workers Party—a sister organization of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party).

The PRT speaker discussed the kind of repression faced by political activists in Mexico and said that Marroquín would certainly be a victim if he were forced to return there.

Marroquín told the audience that forcing the U.S. government to grant him political asylum would aid political dissidents throughout Latin America and the world.

In granting asylum, Marroquín said, the U.S. government would be admitting there is political persecution in Mexico, "which is supposed to be one

of the democracies in Latin America."

Both daily papers here reported on the gathering, and the local CBS affiliate carried the rally as the top story on its nightly news show. Marroquín was interviewed by KTKT radio, and another radio station, KWFM, taped his speech and broadcast it in two parts.

Message from Cinn. CP

The following message was sent by Peter Clayton, press director of the Cincinnati Club of the Communist Party USA, to a May 23 rally in Cincinnati in support of Héctor Marroquín's right to political asylum.

The death rattles of U.S. imperialism pose new challenges to the forces of socialism, as well as all progressive forces around the world. In the context of hypocritical bleatings about human rights, President Carter and others of the most reactionary sectors of finance capital continue the wholesale violation of the Helsinki accords, in the context of their continued attack on détente. They have moved from the global terrorism of the neutron bomb to an accelerated program of genocide in the Horn of Africa.

On the home front we find a renewed offensive against the labor unions. Therefore, this rally in defense of Héctor Marroquín is a particularly significant manifestation of proletarian internationalism.

How you can help

MY STORY By Héctor Marroquín



The Struggle for
Political Asylum in the U.S.

This pamphlet, available in English and Spanish, outlines the facts of Marroquín's case and shows that he is innocent of the charges of terrorism leveled against him by the Mexican government. The price is fifty cents, or thirty-five cents a copy in orders of ten or more.

You can help save Marroquín's life by ordering and selling this pamphlet in your area.

You can also help by:

- Donating money to the defense effort;
- Circulating petitions demanding asylum for Marroquín;
- Endorsing the defense committee;
- Getting your union or other organization to endorse Marroquín's request for political asylum.

Write: Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee, 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, New York 10003.



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Legal workers organize union

By Michael Smith

One hundred seventy-five legal services workers from thirty states met in Detroit over the June 9 weekend to found the National Organization of Legal Services Workers (NOLSW).

The participants all work for legal services programs, which practice non-criminal law and are funded by the Legal Services Corporation, a quasi-governmental agency formed in 1975.

The Legal Services Corporation provided \$217 million this year for programs offering free legal representation to the poor.

The programs that are already unionized—such as those in New York City, Chicago, and Detroit—have organized all nonmanagerial personnel, both lawyers and nonlawyers, into one union. This strengthens the union by preventing the corporation from trying to set lawyer against nonlawyer.

Members of these unions from around the country attended the conference. Also attending were people who are presently involved in or are considering organizing drives.

Nationwide some 3,000 legal services attorneys are on the corporation's payroll. This is less than its goal of 2 attorneys for every 10,000 poor people. There are 11.2 attorneys for every 10,000 people in the general population, and poor people have more legal problems than others.

Some 4,500 nonattorneys work for the corporation. While the unionized

programs have won contracts, other nonunion programs lack health benefits, sick leave, and have pay scales so low that some workers are on public assistance.

In Arkansas a program was paying a Black female attorney less than a white male counterpart. After a union was formed, it won a contract that provides for equal pay for equal work.

The Detroit conference was attended by paralegals, secretaries, and social workers, as well as attorneys. Regina Little, an organizer of the conference, told the *Militant* that "this shows that people who are not professionals are interested in the direction of the legal services program. Minorities and women were broadly represented. It was more of an integrated gathering than the corporation ever organized."

"The National Organization of Legal Service Workers," Little stated, "supports affirmative action and supports the concerns of its clients as well as the fight for better working conditions and wages."

Horace Sheffield, assistant to the president of the United Auto Workers and an officer in the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, was one of the keynote speakers, as were former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark, and Marian Kramer, a welfare rights organizer from Detroit.

Workshops were held on how to organize a union, how to negotiate a contract, and how to develop and maintain alliances between legal service workers and clients.

"We are now in the process of forming a national union," said Little. "That is our goal."

Michael Smith is a member of the Legal Services Staff Association, an initiator of the National Organization of Legal Services Workers.

World Outlook

News, analysis, and discussion of international political events

Vietnamese nationalize last capitalist strongholds

By Fred Feldman

The Vietnamese revolution has taken a big step forward in recent months. Measures promulgated by the government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, and backed up by mass actions, have abolished the last strongholds of the capitalist class in the South. The two zones of Vietnam, which were united politically in July 1976, have now been fused economically into a single planned and nationalized economy.

The new stage opened with a March 23 decree abolishing 30,000 commercial and business enterprises in South Vietnam. The main target of these measures was businessmen in the Cholon district of Ho Chi Minh City (Saigon) who have long dominated trade in the South. Nayan Chanda, a journalist who has closely followed developments in Indochina since the end of the war, described the Cholon district as "a capitalist heart beating within the socialist body of Vietnam."

Writing in the May 26, 1978, issue of the Hong Kong weekly *Far Eastern Economic Review*, Chanda described how this decree was carried out:

"Tens of thousands of youth volunteers, communist cadres and security force members were mobilized to close all businesses and make a thorough search to prepare inventories of goods held in shops or businessmen's residences. After the inventory was made, guards were posted in front of every shop to prevent dispersal of goods pending takeover by the government."

On April 16 the regime once again mobilized its supporters to close down illegal operations in Ho Chi Minh City's open-air markets, centers of black market operations.

Although many small shops continue to operate, these measures effectively placed the government in control of large-scale wholesale and retail trading operations. "Like their compatriots in the north, Vietnamese in the south have now started queuing to buy supplies from state and cooperative shops," reported Chanda.

The regime is evidently taking steps to block any comeback by the expropriated capitalists. According to Chanda, thousands of businessmen and their families "have been asked to prepare to leave Ho Chi Minh City to go either to their native villages or to New Economic Zones—resettlement areas on virgin land." Some have been offered the chance to remain in the city if they invest their remaining capital in government projects.

Single currency

On May 3 a single currency was established for the whole country. Previously the two zones had different

currencies, a reflection of the different economic structures that existed. Strict measures were taken to block hoarding and other forms of currency manipulation.

The measures taken in the South spilled over into the North, where new tight controls have been placed on private trade.

(About 90 percent of the expropriated merchants were ethnic Chinese. The Peking regime has utilized this fact as a pretext for a propaganda offensive against Vietnam, based on unsupported allegations of discrimination against the Chinese minority.)

The measures carried out in March, April, and May constitute the extension to the South of the planned economy that has existed in the North for two decades. It marks the completion of a process of social revolution that began with the entry of the liberation forces into Saigon on April 30, 1975. These moves contrast sharply with the policies which the Vietnamese Communist Party regime sought to pursue after the victory.

The victory of the armed forces of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (former name of North Vietnam) and the National Liberation Front in April 1975 destroyed the military and administrative apparatus of the old regime. As the liberation forces approached Saigon, most of Vietnam's top capitalists scrambled into the departing planes of their imperialist masters. In many cases workers, usually led by NLF or DRV cadres, took over factories, protecting them from theft or destruction until the rebel forces completed their conquest of the city, and trying to keep them in operation while a new administration was being established.

Desire for reunification

The fall of the corrupt capitalist regime was greeted with enthusiasm by workers and young people throughout Vietnam's cities, as well as by most peasants in the countryside. They wanted the reunification of their long-divided country and the complete abolition of landlordism and capitalism. With as much as 70 percent of industry already in government hands owing to the flight of the owners, it was within the power of the DRV-NLF leaders to carry out a socialist revolution and reunify Vietnam.

They chose to follow a different course. Instead of reunifying Vietnam, a "Provisional Revolutionary Government" was installed as the government of a formally independent state in the South, although the party and military apparatuses of the two zones were fused. Vietnamese Communist Party leaders indicated that reunification



Black market in Ho Chi Minh City. Until recent nationalizations, most trade in South remained in private hands.

was at least five years off. The new regime promised to preserve capitalist property relations in the South. This was in line with the class-collaborationist program put forward by the rebel leaders in the years preceding their victory.

Communist Party Secretary Le Duan predicted on May 15, 1975, that this course would lead to the creation of "a fine national democratic regime, a prosperous national-democratic economy" in the South.

Le Duan's statement expressed the VCP's adherence to the Stalinist two-stage theory of revolution. According to this concept South Vietnam had to go through a period of development under capitalist auspices before moving on to a socialist revolution.

The VCP leaders hoped that maintaining capitalism in the South would attract imperialist aid and investment to Vietnam, particularly the \$2.2 billion in reconstruction assistance promised by the Nixon administration in the 1973 Paris accords. The need for such assistance was real and desperate.

For a decade the rural areas of South Vietnam were pounded by U.S. bombs and sprayed with defoliants, bringing ruin to South Vietnam's agriculture. Once an exporter of rice, South Vietnam eventually required massive imports. Millions of peasants were driven into overcrowded cities as refugees. The entire economy became dependent on outside aid, and hundreds of thousands of people made their living by providing services for the American occupiers.

When the U.S. forces finally pulled out in April 1975, the devastation inflicted by the Pentagon remained. Unemployment soared to 3.5 million. Hundreds of thousands of homeless children needed to be cared for. The cities were plagued by prostitution, drug addiction, and disease.

Washington's crimes

The hoped-for assistance from capitalist governments and corporations failed to materialize, although modest investments were initiated by Japan, France, and Sweden. Despite considerable interest in Vietnam's oil resources, most capitalist investors shied away from the regime because of its roots in a revolutionary upsurge and its close ties to the workers state in the North.

The U.S. imperialists followed this up with further crimes against the Vietnamese people. All assistance was cut off. The White House reneged on the treaty promise to help reconstruct Vietnam. Trade with Vietnam was barred. (This was particularly damaging because most South Vietnamese factories were dependent on raw materials from the United States.)

The State Department has refused to accord diplomatic recognition to the government and has sought to disrupt its United Nations delegation with phony spy charges. And the White House has continued to surround Vietnam with client regimes like Thailand, U.S. military bases, and the Seventh Fleet.

The goal was to punish the Vietnamese for defeating the imperialist invasion and discredit the new regime by forcing it to confront grave economic problems in isolation. Thus the U.S. capitalist press has published numerous articles depicting the difficulties of life in Vietnam today, while delicately omitting to mention the miserable conditions of the great majority of people under the old regime, or the heavy responsibility borne by Washington's invasion and subsequent economic blockade.

USSR & China

The VCP leaders have also been disappointed in their hopes for massive aid from the USSR and China. The bureaucrats who rule these workers states viewed the end of the war as a good excuse for reducing their assistance to the Vietnamese people and imposing more stringent terms. Thus Moscow has replaced grants to Vietnam with interest-bearing loans, while Peking has demanded payment for shipments of rice to the hard-pressed Vietnamese.

The Vietnamese experience once again demonstrates the fallacy of the two-stage theory of revolution. It proved impossible to construct "a fine national democratic regime, a fine national democratic economy" in the South. Despite their promises, the VCP leaders have been compelled, step by step, to do away with capitalism in the South, extending to that region the economic and political structures of the workers state in the north.

The regime was pushed in this direction not only by objective necessity,
Continued on next page

...Vietnam abolishes capitalism in South

Continued from preceding page

but also by the mass pressure for decisive measures to organize the economy. Although the bureaucratic structure of the regime denied the populace any political voice, the leaders could not ignore the basic economic needs of the workers and youth who provided its popular base in the cities.

Merchant sector survived

The major sector of the capitalist class that survived the fall of the puppet regime was the merchants. They controlled the distribution of most goods—even the products of many nationalized factories. The regime's class-collaborationist perspective was based on the assumption that they could be cajoled and pressured into participating cooperatively in the new order. Nothing of the kind happened.

In August 1975 shortages and price inflation, coupled with continuing unemployment, sparked a crisis. Banking was nationalized, a new currency introduced for the South, and a few key traders had their property confiscated as an example to the rest.

Explaining the reasons for this action, Prime Minister Huynh Tan Phat said: "Everything was in their [the compradors'] hands. They disrupted the markets, artificially created shortages, and sent prices spiralling upwards and there was little we could do about it. They controlled everything from the purchase, transport, and distribution of virtually all commodities. . . ." The initial anticapitalist moves were supported by demonstrations of thousands in the streets of Ho Chi Minh City.

Timetable sped up

The combination of economic difficulties, the hostility of the merchant capitalists, and popular discontent persuaded the VCP leaders to speed up the timetable for reunification. A National Assembly was elected in April 1976. On July 2, 1976, this body proclaimed the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, and selected a government headed by the leading figures of the former Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Le Duan promised:

"In the south we must immediately abolish the comprador bourgeoisie and the remnants of the feudal landlord classes, undertake the socialist transformation of private capitalist industry and commerce, agriculture, handicraft and small trade through appropriate measures and steps, combine transformation with building in order actively to steer the economy of the south into the orbit of socialism, and integrate the economies of both zones in a single system of large-scale socialist production."

An article, "New Advances in Vietnam's Course Against Capitalism," in the October 18, 1976, issue of *Intercontinental Press* summarized the significance of the reunification and the perspectives it posed:

"Through these measures the deformed workers state that was established in North Vietnam in the years after 1954 formalized the extension of its political apparatus and control to the South. In doing so it has come face to face with a major contradiction.

"In contrast to the North, the economy of the South remains capitalist in nature although it is a weak and battered capitalism. The Vietnamese rulers are thus confronted with the choice of coexisting with capitalist forces in the South or completing the social revolution in the South through the overturn of capitalist property relations and the creation of a planned economy.



Family in 'new economic area.' Vietnamese government is resettling urban population as part of plan to develop rural areas devastated by U.S. bombs during war.

"Should the Vietnamese leaders decide to coexist with a capitalist economy in the South, the recovery and growth of capitalist forces would be encouraged. Their penetration into the government and into the economy of the North would be facilitated. The ground could thus be prepared for the reactionary overthrow at some future time of all the progressive gains of the Vietnamese revolution, including the planned economy in the North.

"In reality, however, Vietnam is moving toward a progressive resolution of this contradiction, despite the hesitations and class-collaborationist practices of the Stalinist leadership."

Destruction of landlordism

Some anticapitalist measures followed the meeting of the National Assembly. The destruction of landlordism was pressed through the nationalization without compensation in mid-1977 of imperialist-owned rubber plantations like those of the Michelin firm.

Despite its proclamations, however, the regime continued its efforts to collaborate with the industrialists and merchants who dominated a section of industry and the bulk of commerce. The measures taken against a few merchants in August 1975 were not followed up. On April 30, 1976, Nayan Chanda wrote in the *Washington Post*: "Despite some tough measures against big-business operators of Cholon . . . many of the business community have apparently survived the currency reform last September by quickly dispersing their holdings. Nor has it been possible to unearth their hidden stocks of goods.

"After an initial lull of a few months, Cholon is again doing a brisk business. Hoarding and blackmarketing, combined with a general shortage of goods this country has imported in the past, have caused prices to rise. . . ."

A dispatch by Richard Ward from Hanoi in the June 21, 1978, issue of the *New York weekly Guardian* quotes Father Tran Tam Tinh, a professor living in Québec who has visited Vietnam several times since liberation, as saying that the Saigon merchants "formerly controlled almost the entire import-export network, almost all road transportation and they had monopolized commerce in rice, meat, fabrics and other basic necessities."

Although the National Assembly had proclaimed an economic plan for the whole country in July 1976, the scope of capitalist economic power blocked the integration of the Southern economy into the plan.

Furthermore the economic power

and wealth of the capitalists and merchants enabled them to forge close ties with the state administration in the South. Cadres sent from the North to organize the bureaucratic apparatus often developed cozy and profitable ties with the business community.

Threat from corruption

Corruption became a threat to the government's control of the new administration in the South, and alienated popular support. In the North, too, complaints against bureaucratic corruption became rife.

In a 1976 article in *Hoc Tap*, a VCP journal, Foreign Minister Nguyen Duy Trinh said that corruption and tyrannical behavior by some cadres have "more than slightly tarnished the prestige of the Party, State and Army in the eyes of the people" and warned that "if not promptly rectified they will lead to degeneration and deterioration."

According to Nayan Chanda, writing in the March 3, 1978, *Far Eastern Economic Review*, an anticorruption campaign was "launched with added urgency in the south, particularly in Ho Chi Minh City, where the danger of moral degeneration of the cadres is greater—as is the need to keep the party's image untarnished.

"Since last July when the Ho Chi Minh City party committee adopted resolutions to combat corruption (according to an official, during the congress the party received 10,000 letters from the local population making complaints and suggestions), a sizable number of veteran party cadres and officials have been jailed, including directors of a nationalized company and of Saigon's port and the chairman of a people's committee in the city."

The anticorruption campaign gained steam as the necessity for moves against the capitalists became more apparent. A Southern leader, VCP Politburo member Nguyen Van Linh, was removed from his post as chairman of the committee for the transformation of private industry in trade. "He, in fact, has been held responsible for not being able to reform the capitalists faster," asserts Chanda. "A few months before the reshuffle several thousand cadres from the north were sent south to take over administrative and managerial jobs from incumbents believed to be incompetent and corrupt."

Popular demands

The steady drumfire of popular demands both in the North and the South for more consumer goods led the regime to reorient its economic plan-

ning toward consumer goods and agriculture rather than heavy industry, and placed it under pressure to rationalize distribution. This was necessary to meet the needs of city dwellers, provide inducements for moving to New Economic Zones, and provide goods which could be supplied to the peasants in exchange for rice.

Matters were brought to a head when drought and flooding reduced crops in 1976 and 1977. Shortages of food resulted in reduced rice rations, and required a further de-emphasis of industry in favor of agriculture in economic planning.

The impact of these and other shortages was exacerbated by hoarding, currency manipulation, and other practices indulged in by the merchants. This contributed to an inflation rate in the South of about 80 percent.

Military considerations also pressed the leadership toward decisive action. In addition to the border conflict with Cambodia, the regime has been under increasing pressure from Peking on its northern border. Vietnamese troops are at present combating rightist and royalist guerrillas in Laos.

In the face of rising discontent and economic disruption, the government decided to break capitalist economic power. In the May 26 *Far Eastern Economic Review*, correspondent Chanda quotes an April 13 editorial in the party daily *Nhan Dan*, which conceded that "the experience of the past three years showed that despite restrictions the capitalist economy continued to rule the roost." The editorial ridiculed the idea that "the good points of the capitalist and private economic systems can be of use." Such claims about the value of capitalism for the economic development of the South had been part of the standard rhetoric of the VCP leaders.

The editorial concluded that "so long as [the private sector] exists, the reorganization of agriculture and handicrafts along the socialist line will be very difficult. Similarly, as long as capitalist trade survives, it will be impossible to build a strong socialist trade."

Remaining private trade

The elimination of large-scale private trade does not mean that Vietnam has eliminated all capitalist enterprise. On the contrary, a sector of industry still operates on a capitalist or mixed state-private basis (this accounts for perhaps as much as 30 percent of industrial production in the South). This sector is closely supervised by the government, and control will now be

Continued on next page

Iranian writer visits U.S., denounces shah's repression

By David Frankel and Rich Robohm

NEW YORK—One of Iran's most prominent intellectuals and writers, Dr. Gholam-Hossein Sa'edi, charged June 15 that "contrary to the claims of government authorities, outrageous repression and censorship in Iran have destroyed all forms of freedom of expression and publication."

Sa'edi, who is on a brief visit to the United States, spoke at a news conference held at the offices of the Association of American Publishers. Jailed and tortured for nearly a year by the shah of Iran's repressive regime, Sa'edi was released from prison in March 1975, after an international campaign in his behalf.

However, he was denied the right to go abroad until this January, when the Iranian government lifted its travel ban. This retreat by the Iranian regime came about as a result of pressure from groups such as the Association of American Publishers Freedom to Publish Committee, the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran, the American branch of the International PEN, and the International League for Human Rights.

Answering claims that the shah has been easing up on repression, Sa'edi said, "Those people who have recently been freed are people whose sentences have terminated. At the same time, at least 800 have been arrested. Real changes in Iran will come when the apparatus of repression has been dis-



Dr. Sa'edi (left) and Nemat Jazayeri, national secretary of the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran, at June 15 news conference.

mantled, the SAVAK [secret police] and the other repressive parts of the state."

Sa'edi was born in 1935 in Tabriz, the capital of the Turkish-speaking province of Azerbaijan. The Azerbaijani Turks are an oppressed nationality in Iran, where the shah has attempted to stamp out their language and culture.

Trained as a psychiatrist, Sa'edi has attained prominence as a playwright, novelist, and short story writer. Several of his stories have been turned into feature films based on Sa'edi's own film scripts. *The Cow*, a depiction of poverty among Iranian peasants, won the Best Film Award at the Venice Film Festival in 1969. *The Blue Dome*, describing the dehumanized

living conditions in the slums of Tehran, won the Critics Award at the International Paris Film Festival in 1977.

Many of Sa'edi's literary works have been banned by the shah's regime.

At his news conference, Sa'edi explained that "the absence of freedom of parties and associations has resulted in government suppression of all forms of organization. (According to the Fundamental Laws of Iran, the right to assemble and to organize is one of the inalienable rights of all Iranians.)"

In this regard, Sa'edi singled out his experience as a founding member of the Writers Association of Iran.

"All true writers, poets, translators and scholars of the country had gathered together in the Writers Association of Iran. Their demands were: official recognition of the association; permission to hold meetings without police harassment; freedom of expression, and the publication of an official periodical by the association. After ten years of forced inactivity, during which a good number of poets and writers were incarcerated and tortured, the association set out to revive itself. . . . because of changes in police tactics during the last few months, many members of the association were beaten up, or, put more bluntly, were openly tortured in the streets. The meetings of the association were disrupted."

Sa'edi urged continued international solidarity campaigns of the type that first won his freedom from prison, and then his right to travel abroad. He said that such "international pressure can be effective in putting the spotlight on the conditions in my country."

...Vietnam

Continued from preceding page

enhanced by the fact that industrialists no longer have the option of marketing their goods through private traders.

The remaining capitalists lack internal cohesion and strong organization, such as the Cholon traders possessed. Above all they hold no decisive levers of economic power. The last capitalist strongholds in South Vietnam have been crushed.

The new measures further place the government in a strong position to assure food supplies to the cities and to guide the development of agriculture, since merchants can no longer outbid the state for the peasant's production. The potential danger of a merchant-peasant alliance against the regime has been forestalled.

Taken as a whole, the measures constitute a positive resolution of the contradiction between the regime that arose out of Vietnam's long revolutionary struggle (beginning in 1945) and the surviving capitalist property relations. Capitalist property relations no longer predominate in South Vietnam.

Gains of revolution

Despite the difficulties that have plagued Vietnam as a result of imperialist exploitation, war, and economic blockade, compounded by the activities of native capitalists, some major advances have been scored. Abolition of capitalism and independence from imperialism are the most important. Unemployment has been reduced to 1.5 million. Hundreds of thousands of people have been induced to leave the cities for their native villages or New Economic Zones, where progress is being made under difficult conditions

in restoring and expanding Vietnam's agriculture. Despite crop failures, the regime has been able to feed the entire population—something that its predecessor, despite vast amounts of aid from the United States, could never accomplish.

"Thanks to a campaign for adult education and community schooling for children," writes Nayan Chanda, "the literacy rate has risen appreciably. Notwithstanding shortages of equipment and medicine, a cleanliness and vaccination drive has prevented major epidemics [a regular occurrence under the U.S. puppet regime—FF]. International agency officials say they are impressed by the purposefulness and devotion with which a rudimentary health service has been set up in the south."

Such measures—which are regularly omitted in news stories about Vietnam that appear in the U.S. capitalist press—help explain the continuing deep loyalty of the Vietnamese people to their revolution despite the great difficulties that they have had to endure. The establishment of a planned economy for the whole country lays the basis for further conquests.

More than this is required, however, to truly eliminate want and inequality in Vietnam. Workers democracy and freedom of thought must be instituted, so that the masses can direct and control the regime. This is the only way to eradicate corruption, which is endemic to a regime based on bureaucratic command and a hierarchy of privilege.

Fight against bureaucracy

The attainment of socialism requires that the policy of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism advocated by the VCP leaders be replaced by a

policy aimed at fostering anti-imperialist and socialist victories all over the world. The effort to get aid, trade, and investment from imperialist countries and other sources is absolutely necessary for Vietnam's development at the present time, but it is fatal for the Vietnamese leaders to subordinate revolutionary struggles elsewhere to this effort. Socialist and anti-imperialist victories are the surest defense of the Vietnamese revolution and create the basis for international socialist planning which can decisively overcome Vietnam's poverty.

The VCP leadership, trained in the Stalinist school and committed to bureaucratic tutelage over the masses, cannot institute the program that is

needed. For that the Vietnamese workers and peasants will have to carry out an antibureaucratic revolution to cleanse their workers state of privilege and corruption, and set it on the road of working-class internationalism.

New advances in the Vietnamese revolution make it all the more imperative that socialists step up their demands on the White House to meet its obligation to assist Vietnam, to establish diplomatic relations with the regime, and to drop the economic blockade raised against this heroic people. Washington must end its efforts to encircle the Vietnamese revolution with military bases and reactionary client regimes.

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Will a 'low profile' win gay & lesbian rights?

By Wayne Hieber

LOS ANGELES—California is becoming a national battleground for gay rights. No longer content with campaigns to repeal gay rights laws, right-wing bigots, led here by State Sen. John Briggs, are attempting to legalize discrimination against gays and lesbians.

The Briggs initiative on the ballot this fall aims to drive lesbians and gays out of the California school system.

The referendum is a dangerous escalation in the campaign against gay rights. We need a nationwide effort to defeat it. The question is, how?

The June 14 issue of the *Advocate*, the most widely read gay newspaper in the country, has given one answer.

David Goodstein, the *Advocate's* owner and publisher, suggests that "in the [anti-Briggs campaign] ahead almost all gay people could help best by maintaining very low profiles. Constructively, we should assist in registering gay voters, stuffing envelopes in the headquarters, and keeping out of sight of non-gay voters. . . ."

In other words, Goodstein says gay men and lesbians should oblige Briggs and go back into the closets.

"Spokespeople for our side . . . should be non-gay mothers, police officers, and clergy. Rather than speaking for us, they should speak up for teachers," Goodstein urges. The issue should be "the right to privacy and free speech of teachers."

Teachers' rights are an important issue in this campaign. The Briggs initiative would not only victimize gay and lesbian teachers, but any other school employee who advocated gay rights. All teachers have a stake in this fight. That's why the California Federation of Teachers voted at its last state convention to oppose the Briggs initiative.

But there is no need to counterpose the defense of all teachers' rights to defense of gay rights.

Wayne Hieber is a coordinator of the Committee Against the Briggs Initiative/Los Angeles and a member of the Socialist Workers Party.

...Briggs

Continued from back page

where there have been recent defeats for gay rights. "I'm from Wichita. Don't let it happen in California," read the sign carried by one man.

Banners identified hundreds of organizations and groups, including: National Lawyers Guild, Lesbians of Color, Lesbian Teachers, chapters of the National Organization for Women, Physicians for Gay Rights, Grey Panthers, Deaf Gays of San Francisco, Asian Gays, Alliance for Survival, People Against Nuclear Power, Parents of Gays, Pacific Telephone Employees for All Human Rights, Socialist Workers Campaign, and many campus groups.

About one-third of the marchers were women. Thousands were Black, Chicano, Asian, and Native American.

Some of the handmade picket signs read: "Gay teachers fight back," "Out of the closets and into the schools," "How about human rights for all, President Carter?"

One of the best-received signs was mounted on a green pickup truck. It read, "We are your children." In the back of the truck, small children held signs demanding, "Gay rights for my parents."

The militancy and determination to



New York, June 25. A national campaign against the Briggs initiative is needed to involve large numbers, convince the undecided, and increase the turnout of gay rights supporters at the polls.

And it is simply not possible to dodge the main issue in this referendum, gay rights.

After all, the ballot description that will be printed in big capital letters at the top of every ballot on November 6 will say: "SCHOOL EMPLOYEES—HOMOSEXUALITY — INITIATIVE STATUTE."

Moreover, the bigots campaigning for the initiative will focus their efforts—as they have done already—on a smear campaign portraying gay people as immoral child molesters. We have to answer these twisted lies.

Goodstein's pessimism is based on a poll that showed, according to the *Advocate*, that a "vast majority" of people thought that a person's sexual preference has nothing to do with the ability to teach, but "73 percent feel that a strong argument in favor of the initiative is that it is important to

fight the Briggs initiative was expressed by speaker after speaker. Raoul Teilhet, president of the California Federation of Teachers, was introduced to the rally by a teacher from Hawaii who had been denied a job because he is gay.

"I am here to say that this will not happen in California," Teilhet said. The crowd roared its approval. "The CFT unanimously voted to oppose the Briggs amendment."

"As teachers and citizens we are committed to human dignity and human rights, not just for some people, but for all. We want the John Briggses and the Anita Bryants of this country to know that we are not going to tolerate a return of the stench of fear to the classrooms of this state."

"We will use all of our force and our legal counsel and our resources, our money, to defend any single teacher and single student or administrator that is attacked on the job for free choice of life style in this state."

Speakers—along with banners and placards—expressed the unity of gay rights supporters with others: women fighting for the Equal Rights Amendment; those fighting against the *Bakke* decision; the disabled; the Coors boycott; the anti-nuclear power movement; and others.

This solidarity was also expressed by Eleanor Smeal, president of the

protect impressionable children from the influence of gay people."

But last fall another survey reported that 51 percent of the people questioned said they would not favor discrimination against gays in teaching.

A recent *Los Angeles Times* survey, taken on primary election day as people left the polls, reported that 59 percent of the voters said they would have voted for the antigay initiative if it had been on the ballot that day. Forty-one percent would have voted no.

These polls indicate that the question is not settled. There is a great deal of confusion. But the most important thing the polls show is growing support for gay rights. Who could imagine, for example, 41 percent of the population supporting gay teachers ten years ago?

We need to expand that support by waging a public educational campaign

National Organization for Women. "We stand proudly with those who fight for Black civil rights and minority rights of all kinds, and we stand proudly with the gay rights movement," Smeal declared.

"We are working very hard, as you know, for the Equal Rights Amendment. On July 9 there will be a march in Washington for women's rights.

to explain that the real issue is human rights, countering the reactionary myths of the bigots.

Goodstein advocates "following the advice of professional, paid consultants." Professional media advertisements can play a useful role in the fight against Briggs—but not if they are used to substitute for an active campaign by gay rights supporters.

Goodstein explains his thinking this way: "Despite many people's false beliefs in right triumphing in democratic ways, history clearly shows that success for minority groups has been the result of patient, careful and sophisticated political power applied skillfully and persuasively to rulers and legislatures, not to the votes of the masses."

Goodstein should read his history books again. It is only when the masses of people have been won over that the rulers and legislatures are forced to make concessions.

Take the civil rights movement of the 1960s for example. Blacks did not win rights by maintaining a "low profile," by relying on "professionals" or politicians to fight the battles for them.

Blacks confronted the racist rulers of this country with a high, loud, and angry profile, expressed in the mobilization of masses of Blacks in protests ranging from sit-ins to marches.

We must take the same approach to win gay rights.

Rallies, demonstrations, teach-ins, and massive distribution of literature can involve large numbers of people, convince many of the undecided, and increase the turnout of gay rights supporters at the polls in November.

These activities can appeal to the Black and Chicano communities, which will recognize that they too may be targeted by bigots. We can appeal to the labor movement, which has a big interest in defending democratic rights, especially the rights of teacher unionists.

The most important resource in this campaign is the thousands of gay and lesbian rights activists who are looking for ways to organize the sentiment for human rights into a vote against the Briggs initiative.

Success in November depends on that effort.

And as we march together we will not cut any movement. That's what our opposition wants us to do—to be divided and conquered. And we will not be divided. We will not be the conquered."

Smeal urged "every person here join the coalition and get out that vote here in California against the Briggs initiative."



San Francisco, June 25

Militant/Howard Petrick

'I Just Wanted Someone to Know'

I Just Wanted Someone to Know. A play by Bette Craig, assisted by Joyce Kornbluh. Directed by C.R. Portz. With Hortensia Colorado, Dorothy Lancaster, Phyllis Look, Valerie Morrell, Catherine Slade, and Margay Whitlock. A Labor Theatre production.

I Just Wanted Someone to Know is a documentary play about the lives of working women. The play—unlike many other attempts to portray working people—successfully avoids casting its characters into one-dimensional ruts.

Perhaps this is because the people the play is about had a hand in writing their own parts. Playwright Bette Craig relied on oral histories collected from working-class Black, Hispanic, Asian, Jewish, Irish, and Italian women in New York in developing her characters and their stories.

The lives of these women are hard ones. But this comes through in a style that is neither heavy-handed nor strident.

Six actresses sensitively and sympathetically portray the reality and aspirations, laughter and despair, triumphs and defeats of working-class women.

The separate pieces weave together into a tapestry of working-class life beginning with turn-of-the-century immigrants and continuing through today.

This is a hidden history. One that has yet to penetrate textbooks, TV shows, or movies. "Maybe they can only hear screaming," the title song goes. "They've never heard my story or asked my name. I just wanted someone to know."

The characters tell their stories through monologues, conversations, and songs.

In one dramatic scene, a Chinese garment worker relives the horrible Triangle fire of 1911 in which 143 women shirtwaist workers lost their lives. In a nightmarish trance she recalls the working conditions responsible for the deaths: 200 women on two



Cast of 'I Just Wanted Someone to Know' in subway-riding scene

floors, inflammable scrap, no fire escapes, locked doors.

This flashback is effectively combined with the modern-day testimony of an older cotton mill worker plagued by Brown Lung disease.

"The boss says it costs too much to clean up the dust," she gasps. "I just want everyone to know what it costs me that this mill wasn't cleaned up years ago."

A female truck driver hired on during World War II captures the excitement and satisfaction so many women felt then at finally breaking into skilled and better-paying "male" civilian jobs.

Then the war ends, and the women are ordered to carry out their "patriotic duty" by returning home. In "Rosie the Riveter" the cast sings its reply:

"Keep on truckin', Rosie, fight for

our freedom too. Buddy, I'm not trying to steal your job, that's my job too!"

Contemporary vignettes pick up on the same struggles for equal work today. A secretary bemoans the frustrations of "traditional women's work," while a tool and die maker enthuses over her skilled job. "It gives me a handle on what makes the world work," she says.

A series of quick exchanges highlight the oppression poor women, especially women of the oppressed nationalities face today.

A Spanish-speaking woman is rudely denied assistance at the unemployment office.

A poor woman must wait months for an abortion. When she tells this to a nurse, the nurse blithely warns, "Well, it's your health."

Women on a food stamp line discuss

the impossibility of making ends meet on welfare. "The social workers think that if you've got anything at all, it's more than you need," one says.

Critics of the women's liberation movement often claim it is out of touch with working-class concerns. But the historic struggles and aspirations of working women depicted in *I Just Wanted Someone to Know* show this isn't so.

I Just Wanted Someone to Know recently completed a run in New York. But next spring the show will tour in several cities, including Detroit, Pittsburgh, New Haven, and New Brunswick. In some places performances will be sponsored by Local 1199 of the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees. If it plays near you, don't miss it.

—Shelley Kramer

'The Last Day'

The Last Day. By Steve Friedman. Directed by Denny Partridge. Performed by the Modern Times Theatre on June 16-17 and in an abridged version at the twenty-fifth anniversary tribute to Julius and Ethel Rosenberg held in New York City's Union Square.

Why do you do these plays about the Rosenberg execution? I asked director Denny Partridge, after seeing this most recent of the plays on that theme done by the Modern Times Theater.

"We feel like we've never exhausted it," she answered. "It brings together so many things in terms of personal lives. Each play is like scraping away the layers."

This play is not really about Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. In fact, the two victims of the 1950s witch-hunt are never portrayed on stage. Instead, it is about remembering the Rosenbergs.

Looking around at the audience, I concluded that most people there would not remember June 19, 1953, firsthand. Most of us were too young. Most of us first went through the Rosenberg case by hearing someone else remember it or by reading *Invitation to An Inquest*.

The play is based on interviews with people who were at the last vigil for the Rosenbergs in Union Square in 1953.

These include a Puerto Rican student who can't believe a torn jello box was enough to condemn two people to death. Jews who don't like the Rosenbergs' politics, but who hate the anti-semitism that

helped frame them. A terrified Gypsy girl whose grandmother, a refugee from Europe, warns her, "This is what they do to people, remember." Black people who pay respect to fellow victims of American lynch "justice." A machinist who understands that the execution is meant to scare and tame the labor movement.

To read this is to see a list of valid political points. But the drama's purpose is to do more than just recite political lessons.

Anyone can review the events. Read a book, see a documentary, hear a speech, and you can review what happened.

Remembering is different. Remembering is reliv-



STEVE FRIEDMAN

Militant/Diane Wang

ing the events (even if you were not originally there). Going again through the feelings of horror and rage.

And better, more hopeful feelings too. The play uses an adapted version of Bertholt Brecht's "Song of the Moldau," sung by John Barker, to turn from grief about the past atrocity to determination about the future. "The long night has twelve hours, but then comes the dawn. . . The whole world is changing; there's nothing they can do."

When the play was done at the recent tribute to the Rosenbergs in Union Square, it was interrupted by applause at several points.

I don't think the crowd clapped just because they agreed with the statements. Nor were the lines so poetic in themselves. But they caught what people were feeling, what they remembered feeling. They were moved.

This is not sentimentality—there is plenty of that oozing from movie and TV screens every day. It is different to be inspired, to think about the past and call up those strong emotions.

Those emotions and lessons from the past fuel the political work people do today. At the end people in the play mention the struggles they have fought since 1953 for unions, child care, and lesbian mothers—the point being that because they can remember the past, they can fight in the present.

That is why the Modern Times Theater does these plays year after year along with their other dramas. It is good to remember the martyrs and history and feelings of working people.

As one woman in *The Last Day* concludes, "I am alive today because I remember these things."

—Diane Wang

Quote unquote

"Where'd all these crazies come from?"

—New York City Mayor Edward Koch in Brooklyn's Crown Heights, as Blacks demanded punishment of the cops who killed Black businessman Arthur Miller.

KKK SURFACES IN ATLANTIC CITY

The Ku Klux Klan has begun a scare campaign in Atlantic City, New Jersey. The KKK recently hung in effigy a Black community leader, Kaleem Shabazz, and Klan members have paraded around town in their robes.

When city officials tried to hush up the effigy hanging, about 100 people jammed a city commission meeting to protest the policy.

Half of the city's population is Black or Hispanic, and many residents are Jewish.

COLLEGES RESIST AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

Dr. Mary Berry, Assistant Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, said June 23 that 86 percent of the full professors at U.S. campuses are white males, and that Blacks make up only 5 percent of all faculty members.

"We have barely given [affirmative action programs] a chance to succeed," Berry said. "Instead, we have succumbed to efforts to pretend that affirmative action means hiring minorities and women who are unqualified. It does not."

LITTLE PROTECTION FOR GOV'T WORKERS

"We do have serious deficiencies . . . and we do have Federal employees subjected daily to serious hazards we should not tolerate in private employment," admits a letter from the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) to President Carter.

OSHA does not have the

power to inspect federal workplaces, and must rely on cooperation from other agencies. However, many federal agencies refuse—including the Navy, which has one of the worst job safety records.

In addition, workers who complain about job safety or who cooperate with OSHA inspectors are harassed.

Clinton Wright, an OSHA official, wrote that the lack of enforcement of health and safety rules has led to "an unacceptably high price to pay, both in tax dollars and in lives lost or seriously disrupted."

OSHA is seeking a presidential order giving it the power to inspect federal workplaces.

HOUSE OKS TUITION TAX CREDIT

The House of Representatives June 1 approved a bill that would allow parents of private school students—including private religious schools—to deduct part of the tuition costs from their income taxes.

The measure is opposed by the American Federation of Teachers, National Education Association, NAACP, and many other groups. At a time when public school budgets are being slashed, this bill would subsidize private schools, including "alternative" institutions established to undercut desegregation.

HOW ABOUT LOOKING IN THE SWEATSHOPS?

The U.S. Census Bureau says it will hire Chicano and other oppressed minority "street-wise" census takers to count immigrants without visas in 1980.

Chicano leaders have criticized the census bureau because in 1970 it missed up to 25 percent of Latinos who are legal residents or citizens. This means Latinos have been illegally denied social services and legislative representation they are entitled to.

The bureau is certainly not trying to count undocumented Latinos to improve their access to services or representation. Capturing the government's racist attitude, the bureau announcement said the search

will center on bars, pool halls, and skid rows.

MEEROPOLS TO GET \$200,000

The Justice Department has agreed to pay nearly \$200,000 for legal expenses to Michael and Robert Meeropol, sons of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. The Meeropols spent that much money in fighting for the right to see some of the 800,000 government documents on their parents' case.

The government resisted turning over the papers and the Meeropols were forced to go to court under the Freedom of Information Act.

The award is the largest of its kind to date.

PROTEST PRISONER DEATH

About a hundred people rallied at the New York State Office Building in Harlem June 24 to protest the mysterious death of prisoner Musa Abdul Mu'Min (William Peterson) in Green Haven prison May 10. Musa was burned to death in his cell.

Akil Al-jundi, a leader of the Emergency Committee to Gain Human Rights at Green Haven Prison, told the *Militant* that guards at Green Haven have boasted that they are all members of the Ku Klux Klan.

The rally was also called to support a group of Black and Latino prisoners at the Eastern Correctional Facility in Napanoch who were indicted following a prison rebellion.

HIT GOV'T INACTION ON SEX DISCRIMINATION

Several hundred women and men rallied in Washington, D.C., June 26 at the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to call for speeded up enforcement of laws that forbid sex discrimination in schools receiving federal money.

The 1972 Title IX amendment to the education law prohibits such discrimination, but, according to the National Coalition for Women and Girls in Education, more than 150 sex discrimination cases have been bogged down for eight months. "Although the Carter admin-

More on Birmingham spying



Birmingham cops attacked civil rights demonstrators with water hoses and police dogs during 1960s.

Recently uncovered city documents in Birmingham, Alabama, have revealed a vast web of police spying on the civil rights movement in the 1950s and 1960s. The cops used both wiretaps and informers to gather their information.

The spy operations were set up by Eugene (Bull) Connor, police commissioner and diehard racist, but continued even after he left office. In fact, under his successors, surveillance was

widened to include such politicians as Hubert Humphrey.

The cops were assisted by the FBI, at least one airline and bank, as well as a Birmingham newspaper.

The cops also sought and received full cooperation from officials at Birmingham-Southern College in harassing civil rights activists, and arranged to get a student expelled after she participated in a sit-in.

istration came in with ringing promises to enforce Title IX, [HEW] Secretary Califano has added his own brand of red tape and delay," charged Dot Ridings, a board member of the League of Women Voters.

tion for Women President Cathy Helmbock and Susan Flannery, director of an abortion clinic that has been the target of an anti-abortion group.

CINCINNATI RIGHT TO CHOOSE

The Cincinnati Chapter of the National Abortion Rights Action League recently held two events supporting a woman's right to choose abortion. On June 15, NARAL sponsored a "Freedom of Choice Day." Groups supporting abortion rights gathered at downtown Fountain Square to distribute their literature. Two days later, a meeting on "How the abortion issue affects you" heard Cincinnati National Organiza-

HARLEM RAT PLAGUE

Harlem is threatened by a rapidly growing rat population, said Manhattan Borough President Andrew Stein June 19. Stein reported a 37 percent increase in rat bites this year. The city estimates there are 6.5 million rats in the city, with one of the heaviest concentrations in Harlem.

The rats are on the increase, Stein said, because city budget cuts have prevented picking up the more than 16,000 tons of

What's Going On

CALIFORNIA LOS ANGELES

THE FIGHT AGAINST THE BRIGGS INITIATIVE. Speakers: Bernadette Cormier, Committee Against the Briggs Initiative; Judy Solkovitz, United Teachers of L.A.; Wayne Hieber, Socialist Workers Party; Morris Knight, Stonewall Democratic Club; Peter Nicholas, American Civil Liberties Union; and a representative from New Age. Fri., July 7, 8 p.m. 3660 Wilshire Blvd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 482-1820.

FLORIDA MIAMI

THE FIGHT AGAINST POLICE BRUTALITY. Speakers: Ken Hall, leader of anti-police brutality struggles; Leo Harris, member of Socialist Workers Party, plaintiff in antibrutality suit against police. Fri., July 7, 8 p.m. 7623 NE 2nd Ave. Donation:

\$1.25. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (305) 756-8358.

MISSOURI KANSAS CITY

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. July 22, July 29: 'The Third International After Lenin.' 3 p.m.; July 15-16: Socialists and the trade unions; July 6 and following four weeks every Thurs. at 8 p.m.: 'History of American Trotskyism.' First two class series will be held at Univ. of Mo., 5300 Holmes, Educ. Bldg. Room 33. Third class series will be held at 4715-A Troost. Donation: 50¢ per class. Aisp: Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

NEW YORK CHELSEA

'INCIDENT AT BROWNS FERRY': A FILM ON THE DANGERS OF NUCLEAR POWER. Fri., July 7, 7:30 p.m. 200 1/2 W.

24th St. (near 7th Ave.) Donation: \$1.50. Aisp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 989-2731.

UPPER WEST SIDE

MARCHING FOR THE ERA. Speakers: Rita Lee, NOW; Claire Moriarty, Socialist Workers Party; spokesperson for Comité Homosexual Latino-Americano. Fri., July 7, 8 p.m. 786 Amsterdam Ave. (98-99 St.). Donation: \$1.50. Aisp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

OREGON PORTLAND

BLACKS IN OREGON. Speaker: Bill Little, acting director, Portland State Univ. Black Studies Dept., co-author, 'A History of Blacks in Oregon.' Fri., July 7, 8 p.m. 3928 Williams Ave. Donation: \$1. Aisp: Militant Bookstore Forum, Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (503) 288-7860.

TEXAS DALLAS

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Class series on "Building the Revolutionary Party." Every Wed. evening, 7:30 p.m., thru July 26. Class series on 'American Labor Struggles,' every Sun., 2:30 p.m. thru July 16 (except July 9). 2215 Cedar Crest Blvd. Donation: \$1 each series. Aisp: Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (214) 943-6684.

HOUSTON: SOUTH CENTRAL SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL.

July 7: last class of series on "The economic basis of the class struggle"; July 11, 14, 18: series on 'In Defense of Marxism'; July 21, 25, 28: series on 'Struggle for a Proletarian Party'; July 22: two classes on Black nationalism with guest speaker Nan Bailey, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. All classes at 7 p.m. 4987 Martin Luther King Blvd. Donation: \$5 for

all three series or 50¢ per class. Aisp: SWP. For more information call (713) 643-0005.

UTAH

SALT LAKE CITY SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Series of classes on 'Labor's Giant Step.' July 5, 12, 19, 26, 29, 7:30 p.m. except for July 29 when 2 p.m. 677 S. 7th East. Aisp: Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

WASHINGTON TACOMA

'AMERICAN WOMEN: PORTRAITS OF COURAGE.' A film. Fri., July 7, 8 p.m. 1022 S. J St. Donation \$1. Aisp: Militant Forum. For more information call (206) 627-0432.



litter in vacant lots.

One Harlem resident said she had been unsuccessfully trying to get the city to clean up a vacant lot next to her home for two years.

PRESS DENIED RIGHT TO PRISON ACCESS

The Supreme Court dealt another blow to freedom of the press June 26 when it ruled

that the media have no right to visit prisons beyond the access granted to the general public.

"This court has never intimated a First Amendment guarantee of a right of access to all sources of information within government control," wrote Chief Justice Warren Burger.

The ruling will help keep hidden the inhuman conditions in many of the nation's prisons.

So long as you don't notice—The Agriculture Department OK'd adding ground bone to meat products, limiting the addition to 20 percent, and stipulating it may only be used in products "where it will not alter their textural or visual characteristics, such as sausage, frankfurters, scrapple and canned spaghetti with meat sauce."

toxic substance. Assuming that were true, wouldn't it make it more important not to be adding to the poisons?

Adult fare—Cody's bookstore on Telegraph Avenue in Berkeley is selling Nixon's *Memoirs* in a plain brown bag.

Afterthought—The EPA has decided to check out the effect of 14,500 drums of radioactive waste dumped off the Maryland-Delaware coast between 1946 and 1970. Divers will collect marine organism samples to check the effect of radioactivity. They'll also try to retrieve one of the drums, presumably to see if it's leaking.

A question—Dr. Rene Dubos, a Rockefeller University bacteriologist, says that if the same standards were applied to natural foods as processed, half the human food supply would be banned, since practically all natural foods contain some



"Our figures show that to maintain a middle-level standard of living, a family needs an upper-level income."

Cotton dust standards fraud

The federal Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) finally released its rules on cotton dust June 19. The regulations are supposedly aimed at curbing byssinosis, or brown lung.

An estimated 35,000 textile workers suffer from the disease caused by breathing cotton dust.

After a three-week "debate" within the Carter administration over the rules' "inflationary impact," they were substantially diluted to cut costs for the textile industry.

The Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union says no more than 100 micrograms of cotton dust per cubic meter of air should be permitted. But the new rules set the limit as

high as 750 for some textile processes.

The regulations were also changed to allow the textile companies four years to install "engineering controls." And the employers can apply for a "variance" to allow them to deviate from the standards.

ACTWU, joined by the AFL-CIO, immediately filed suit against the rules in federal court.

But Labor Secretary Ray Marshall proclaimed, "This standard demonstrates that one does not have to choose between inflation and effective regulation."

What it really demonstrates is that given the chance, capitalist governments always choose profits over workers' lives.



Union Talk

Longshore negotiations

This week's column is by Mike Downs, a member of the executive board of Local 19, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union.

West Coast longshore workers are negotiating a new contract under the same conditions that have hampered all other unions in negotiations this year: a justified fear of the antilabor offensive of the employers and the government, and no economic or political plan by the union movement to fight back.

The three-year contract between the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) and the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) expires July 1. Coast-wide negotiations began in earnest in San Francisco last May, and one of the first decisions of the "Joint Negotiating Committee" (employers and union) was that neither party would make public statements. This serves to keep the union membership uninformed and discourages rank-and-file participation.

The negotiator from ILWU Local 19 in Seattle, local President Dick Moork, says, "Because of the strict ground rules set forth by the committee, I am limited as to the details I can report. . . . Neither party wants to negotiate in the press, so anything in writing that could get in their hands had to be very general."

Some of the union's original demands were quickly dropped even before they got to the "joint committee." Among these were two presented by Local 19: for a six-hour day at eight hours pay, and against compulsory arbitration.

The strongest demand of the union, unanimously endorsed by all longshore workers except for a favored few, is elimination of Section 9.43 of the present contract. This clause, which was instituted with the 1966 contract, allows employers to bypass the union hiring hall and keep a steady group of trained equipment operators.

The "right" of the employers to preferentially hire workers for certain jobs was one of the main issues in the 1971 134-day strike. This section of the contract has weakened the union by limiting union control of hiring and dividing the work force.

The employers are unwilling to give up this weapon against the union without another strike, and all signs indicate that the ILWU top leadership is determined to avoid a strike at all cost.

International President Jim Herman assures us that we can make gains through collective bargaining, that strike action is not necessary. In the meantime PMA keeps stalling.

The executive board of Local 19 has constituted itself as a strike committee, and has held several meetings to discuss preparations for a possible strike. The local leaderships in other major ports are making similar preparations.

There has been some discussion among the leadership of our local about the possibility of working without a contract if no agreement is reached by July 1. The international leadership has not openly proposed it because they fear that the majority will not go along.

A good way to cut through all the stalling by the PMA would be to demand a public investigation of their books and of the big profits they are pocketing.

We make necessary strike preparations to defend ourselves from further attacks by the employers, but we could also greatly strengthen our defenses on the political front.

Since we are suffering from unemployment and short-time employment, why shouldn't the union demand a big public works program financed by the federal government? It could expand our mass transit systems, restore necessary city services, construct much-needed low-cost housing, rebuild our rundown schools and libraries and public parks, and do all the other useful things that are badly needed.

Of course, nothing like this is "practical" today because the union movement does not have a labor party that will take hold of government and start serving the needs of the vast majority in this country.

We need to mobilize all workers in a broad political offensive against the employers and their voices in the Democratic and Republican parties. Until now we have failed to do this. And for that our present difficult and seemingly isolated position is partly self-imposed.

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East Germany 1953

Ten years ago this summer, a massive upsurge of the Czechoslovak working class rocked the Soviet bureaucracy to its foundations. Throughout the spring of 1968, workers and students fought to take control of their lives away from the Stalinist rulers.

The upsurge ended in August when the Kremlin sent tanks into the streets of Prague to crush the movement.

The bureaucrats and their faithful followers in the American Communist Party claimed that the Prague spring was the work of "capitalist agents" seeking to overturn the nationalized property relations in Czechoslovakia. But nothing could be further from the truth. The Czechoslovak workers were fighting for *democratic socialism*.

Their fight has important roots in the struggles in East Europe that erupted in 1953 in East Germany and in 1956 in Poland and Hungary.

On June 16, in East Berlin, a workers' uprising was touched off by the decision of the East German government to impose an increase of at least 10 percent in the work norms (units of work to be produced in a given time).

The workers protested this speedup decision. When the government refused to back down, the workers marched on the trade-union headquarters, carrying a sign that read, "We Demand Reduction of the Norms."

As the strike progressed, other demands were raised: for free, secret-ballot elections, for democratic trade unions, for the removal of the Russian army.

On the morning of June 17, all the larger factories and shops of East Berlin were on strike. During the day, the strikes spread to dozens of other cities and towns throughout East Germany.

But the Soviet bureaucracy moved swiftly to aid their beleaguered fellow bureaucrats. By noon of June 17, Soviet tanks were in the streets of East Berlin. The military commandant issued an order prohibiting all demonstrations and imposing a curfew.

The demonstrators fought against the tanks, with cobblestones, crowbars, and whatever else they could lay hands on. But they were overcome.

Yet their example was not forgotten. And three years later, almost to the day, it was repeated in the streets of Poznan, Poland.

On June 28 a general strike began in Poznan against wage cuts.

This came just a few months after Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev, in a secret speech to the twentieth congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, had denounced many of Stalin's crimes. This denunciation provoked a deep crisis in the world Stalinist movement.

Reporting on the Poznan events, the *Militant* said in its July 9, 1956, issue, "Thursday morning, June 28, the workers of Stalin Locomotive Works struck the plant at 7 A.M. The workers gathered in a demonstration outside the plant and then began a march toward the center of the city. The movement spread to other plants and became general throughout the city of 365,000 people. Street car crews struck and joined the parade. So did the truck-drivers. Small shops closed up. The workers' parade, marching 20-abreast, moved into the center of the city."

By noon, tanks and anti-aircraft guns moved into the city and surrounded the demonstration. Many workers were killed.

Despite this brutal repression, the workers' demonstrations continued. Workers chanted, "Bread, bread, bread," and demanded that the Soviet troops leave Poland. They occupied factories and set up workers councils.

The *Militant* commented, "One immediate conclusion flows irrefutably from the events. . . . The Polish Communist Party, not to speak of the regime itself, is completely isolated from the problems, daily lives and struggles of the factory workers. Obviously the party and the regime form an upper crust of those who run the state apparatus and the various party institutions."

"The whole formation cannot be regarded as anything but a bureaucratic caste of arrogant, privileged and nervous appointees to power."

Although the Polish uprising was put down, its lessons were not forgotten. Just a few months later, another uprising—the biggest one of all—shook the Stalinist rulers of Hungary. Again, the Soviet bureaucrats had to send in tanks to preserve their rule.

The German playwright Günter Grass has written of the East German events of 1953, "After ten or eleven years, the prisons will vomit up the wreckage of this uprising. Accusation will run rampant, address and mail a thousand packages of guilt."

The events in East Germany, Poland, and Hungary left an irradicable mark on the consciousness of East European workers. After a period of relative quiet, the struggles continued: Czechoslovakia 1968; a series of worker rebellions in Poland in 1971 and again in 1976; a Romanian miners' strike in August 1977; and a rise of dissent throughout Eastern Europe.

The events of 1953 and 1956 will not be forgotten. In years to come, the workers of Hungary, Poland, East Germany, and all of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union will look to them to draw new inspiration in their struggles for socialist democracy.

—Peter Archer

ACLU member responds on Nazis

The following letter from Harold Ford of the Flint, Michigan, branch of the American Civil Liberties Union has been slightly shortened for reasons of space.

For more on the socialist view of this question, see 'How to defeat Nazi threat in Skokie,' by Steve Clark in the May 26 issue of the *Militant*. This and other back issues can be ordered from the Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

The June 23 issue of the *Militant* contains a column written by David Frankel at the American Civil Liberties Union for its role in the Skokie, Illinois, case. Unfortunately, heavy sprinklings of Frankel's socialist philosophy distort and blur the analysis and the issue.

Frankel prefaces his remarks by stating, "First of all, the SWP [Socialist Workers Party] opposes any law, including the one in Skokie, that limits the right of free speech and assembly. We think it is good that the Skokie law was struck down." If Frankel really believes what he writes, then the criticism that follows in his column seems strange indeed.

Frankel scolds the ACLU by asserting that "such legal battles must be conducted in the context of an overall policy aimed at mobilizing the masses against the government. . . ." Is Mr. Frankel suggesting that the goals, methods, policies, and scope of the SWP necessarily be adopted by the ACLU as a precondition to credibility? If so, then he misunderstands the intent and scope of the ACLU. The fundamental purpose of the ACLU is to preserve and defend the liberties guaranteed in the Bill of Rights. The ACLU endeavors to do this via litigation, lobbying, education, and other activities.

Frankel continues, "The ACLU's basic strategy is to rely on the capitalist government. . . ." I presume that Frankel is referring to the litigation and lobbying efforts of the ACLU in general, and the Skokie court contest in particular. Yet, I read with considerable interest an article in the same issue of the *Militant* about the four-year, \$40 million lawsuit of the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance against government spying and harassment—utilizing the courts for redress of grievances. Diane Wang, author of the article, writes, "Forcing release of the files would set a major precedent. It would be a big victory for civil liberties."

I suggest to Mr. Frankel that a socialist utopia is not just around the corner and that whatever means available to the ACLU or the SWP to create a more just and humane society ought to be used—including the courts and legislative bodies. Isn't

it true that the SWP exerts considerable effort to get socialists elected to these legislative bodies?

Frankel charges that the "ACLU has not said one word in support of those organizing a counterdemonstration." This is a misrepresentation of reality. Mr. Frankel forgets, perhaps, that the Skokie ordinance had already been used to bar a march by anti-Nazi Jewish War Veterans. Had the Skokie ordinance not been struck down by the court, most, if not all, of the groups planning to march in the counterdemonstration would have been hard-pressed to come up with a \$350,000 insurance bond.



Nazi Frank Collin

Further, Frankel contends that "by focusing on the Nazis' case, the ACLU blurs the important point that repressive laws such as those passed in Skokie pose the greatest threat to the working class. . . ." The ACLU agrees that Skokie-type laws pose a great threat to other groups, which is why Skokie-type laws ought to be struck down. However, the ACLU devotes its resources to a wide range of civil liberties concerns—sexual equality; racial justice; religious freedom; the freedom to control one's own body; the constitutional rights of students, prisoners, mental patients, service personnel, juveniles, the elderly; and the rights of privacy for all of us.

More than 6,000 court cases are undertaken each year by the ACLU to protect these rights. Only five or six of these are cases to defend free speech for racists or totalitarians. I suggest that it is the media, including the *Militant*, which has focused on Skokie and thus distorted it.

And Frankel ought not to forget the fact that the ACLU has defended the constitutional rights of socialists in the courts on numerous occasions.

The ACLU's responsibility—since its founding in 1920—has been to make sure that all are free to speak, no matter what their ideas. The attack by Frankel and others on the ACLU is unwise and undeserving. It might serve Frankel and others well to quit backing into an elitist, philosophical corner and rethink their positions on the ACLU and the Skokie case. It is the First Amendment, not the ACLU, that is on trial in Skokie.

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I have been receiving the *Militant* regularly, and I wish to continue getting the paper. In my opinion the *Militant* is an important part of the people's struggle, and I think that the paper handles most of the subjects in a positive manner. Even those positions that I fail to agree with are handled in what I think is a progressive manner.

Keep up the good work, and keep the paper coming.

A prisoner
Maryland

'Professional'

Now is as good a time as ever to congratulate the staff on the continuing success and professional performance in the field of journalism. I find the *Militant* on the top of my list to remain an informed part of the working class, an ideal newspaper to study (since journalism is one of my fields of study), and an ethical and concerned newspaper so desperately needed in these politically regressive times.

M.K. Ralls
San Francisco, California

'Valuable newspaper'

I neglected to send in my subscription, even though you sent a reminder the week before.

Keep this nation's most valuable newspaper coming to my door. This week's issue did not come, and it is, or will be, a lost week for me.

John Enestvedt
Sacred Heart, Minnesota

'Zoot Suit'

There was a small error in the credits listed with Angela Remedi's review of *Zoot Suit* (*Militant*, May 26, 1978). The play, written and directed by Luis Valdez, was described as being performed by El Teatro Campesino. Actually Valdez's work was a Mark Taper Forum Production.

Los Angeles readers who missed the original production will have a chance to see *Zoot Suit* again. The play will begin a six-week run on August 17 at the Mark Taper Forum.

Peter Seidman
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 you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

Do we need a war budget?

D.P.K., a reader in Easton, Maryland, recently wrote, "The Socialist Workers Party's call for abolishing the defense budget is confusing to me. I can see making big cuts in military spending in order to improve social services like education, but doesn't the United States need armed forces and modern weapons to defend itself against potential attackers?"

If SWP candidates were elected to Congress, they would vote against all military appropriations. Their slogan would be, "Not one cent for the Pentagon!"

The basic reason for this is that the misnamed "defense" budget has nothing to do with protecting the lives and rights of working people in the United States or anywhere else. It is a war budget used to build up a military machine for preserving and expanding the power of a small group of billionaires who run this country.

Capitalism requires ever-expanding markets for goods and investment. In the twentieth century, the competition among rival gangs of capitalists for these markets has led to two world wars.

After the Second World War the United States was by far the strongest world power, with a monopoly on nuclear weapons. The U.S. rulers tried to use their power to usher in what they termed the "American century."

The main target of the new U.S. war drive was not other imperialist powers, but countries that had successfully broken free from capitalist exploitation and imperialist domination—the Soviet Union, and later Eastern Europe, China, Vietnam, North Korea, and Cuba—and revolutionary struggles in other countries that the imperialists feared would lead to socialist revolutions. The U.S. imperialists hoped to crush new revolutions anywhere they broke out and restore capitalism wherever it had been overthrown.

To support the war drive, a major propaganda effort was made to persuade the American people that the workers states, the colonial rebels, and anyone else who defied the will of the U.S. rulers, was part of a "communist conspiracy" to conquer the United States and enslave its people.

Anticommunism was used to justify the U.S. war in Korea in 1950, the Vietnam War, the invasion of the Dominican Republic in 1965, the blockade of Cuba, and countless other aggressions. Today it provides the backdrop for threats against the African liberation struggle, Cuba, and the Soviet Union. Opposition to the capitalist war budget is a necessary part of the fight to keep the U.S. rulers from launching new Vietnam wars or even a third world war to accomplish their goals.

The war budget has hardly protected the American people. Tens of thousands of Americans, and millions of Vietnamese, Koreans, and others, have died as a result of Washington's military adventures. The danger of nuclear war hangs over the world because the U.S. imperialists see this as the ultimate threat to their intended victims. The ever-increasing sums poured into military hardware are paid for by working people in the form of inflation and deteriorating social services.

In addition to its function as an instrument of imperialist war, the U.S. war machine is also used to preserve the power of the capitalist minority at home. The U.S. armed forces have been utilized to break strikes and put down ghetto rebellions of Blacks. Carter threatened to use troops to break the miners' strike. The military is an instrument of repression for the ruling minority.

The growth of the war machine does not reflect a growing danger of a foreign invasion of the United States. Rather, it is the rulers' reaction to their fear of the working people, at home as well as abroad.

The military forces that were called into action yesterday in Zaire or Vietnam can be brought to bear tomorrow against the unions, the Black community, or others who resist the ruling-class attacks on working people. This military force is the capitalists' last line of defense against the majority of the people should they decide to replace a war-ridden capitalist order with socialism.

Of course, this does not mean that working people should not defend themselves and their rights in the unlikely event that another country invades the United States and tries to subjugate the American people. But they can place no confidence in the armed power controlled by the capitalists to carry out such a defense. Working people can gain nothing by building up this fundamentally hostile force. It cannot defend their interests. Its whole history proves that the capitalist military establishment is a threat to our rights and the rights of workers around the world.

D.P.K. and others who are considering this important issue will find useful material in *State and Revolution* and *Imperialism*, both written by V.I. Lenin. Both are available from Pathfinder Press and from bookstores located at the addresses listed below.

—Fred Feldman

Do you have questions about socialism? Send them in to "Learning About Socialism," c/o The Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

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THE MILITANT

300,000 demand gay rights

S.F.: 'Stop Briggs!'

By Nancy Brown

SAN FRANCISCO—A quarter of a million people poured into the streets here on June 25, chanting their message over and over again: "No on the Briggs initiative, gay rights now!" It was the largest gay rights march in the city's history.

The protesters' anger was directed against the antigay initiative sponsored by State Sen. John Briggs that will appear on the November ballot. The aim of the initiative is to drive lesbians and gay men—and anyone who supports gay rights—out of the California school system.

Thousands of banners and signs declared, "Fight Briggotry," "Keep my gay teachers in school. Beat Briggs," "Vote NO on Briggs. Gay rights now."

The parade was led off by gay American Indians, followed by a contingent of activists from the disabled movement. The first marchers reached the rally site at city hall at 1:00 p.m. At 4:00 p.m., marchers were still pouring into the rally.

Broad support

The largest and most vocal group in the march was led by a gigantic banner proclaiming, "Californians Against the Briggs Initiative: Nine Coalitions Strong." Behind it came banners reading, "Labor Unions Against the Briggs Initiative," "Women United to Defeat the Briggs Initiative," "Bay Area Committee Against the Briggs Initiative," and others.

Marching behind the labor banner were members of chapters of the American Federation of Teachers; Hotel, Restaurant and Bartenders Union (the largest union in San Francisco); and the Social Services Employees Union.

"We have that basic position," Charles Lamb, executive vice-president of the Hotel, Restaurant and Bartenders Local 2, told me. He was pointing



Largest demonstration for gay rights in San Francisco history challenged right-wing referendum

Militant/Howard Petrick

to a banner that read "An injury to one is an injury to all."

"I think this march represents the kind of unity that I hope unions will have in this city from now on, both in the fight around Briggs and other issues," Lamb said.

The Bay Area Committee Against the Briggs Initiative (BACABI) distributed thousands of picket signs stating, "NO! on the Briggs initiative." The signs hung from the floats and trees and were carried by every group that marched.

Lined up on both sides of the street, five and six deep, were tens of thousands of gay rights supporters who came, not just to watch, but to wave picket signs and cheer.

Among the best-received contingents were women marching behind a banner that said, "California NOW. Forty-second state to ratify the ERA [Equal Rights Amendment]." Onlookers cheered and raised clenched fists as the women shouted: "What do we want?"

"ERA!" the crowd roared back.

"When do we want it?"

"NOW!"

'Don't let it happen'

Protesters came from cities across the country and Canada—including Eugene, Oregon, and Wichita, Kansas,

Continued on page 26

N.Y. says: 'Pass Intro 384 now!'

By Michael Maggi

NEW YORK—"Gay rights, Right Now!" demanded the crowd of about 50,000 lesbians, gay men, and human rights supporters who marched here June 25.

Banners and signs from scores of groups brought the message home: "Pass Intro 384 Now!" Intro 384 is the gay rights bill pending in the New York City Council.

Banners identified many college campuses and gay organizations, including the Gay Teachers, the Association of Gay Psychiatrists, Lesbian Health Workers, Gay Nurses, and Gay Social Workers. Three gay Hispanic groups organized contingents, along with several Black groups.

At one point as the march moved up Fifth Avenue, gay rights supporters waving from windows showered the crowd with confetti. From some skyscraper windows banners hung declaring, "Gay Pride."

A loud, defiant chant went up as the march passed the huge St. Patrick's

Cathedral. "Cardinal Cook, take a look!" shouted the protesters. "Two, four, six, eight—separate the church and state!"

Speakers at the rally again and again urged a campaign to pass Intro 384. "Even though it has been defeated seven times, we have never given up the fight and never will," pledged Betty Santoro, a spokesperson for the Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights (CLGR).

Other speakers at the rally included Gordon Montador from the *Body Politic*, the Toronto gay newspaper fighting police harassment; a representative of the Gay Teachers Association; Leon Harris, president, Village-Chelsea NAACP; Kay Whitlock, National Organization for Women; Ruth Messinger, city council member and a sponsor of Intro 384; David Thorstad, CLGR spokesperson; and Martin Walker, chairperson of the Christopher Street Liberation Day Committee, the sponsor of the march.

Koch covers for NY killer cops

By Mary Jo Vogel

NEW YORK—On June 20, more than 2,000 people attended funeral services for Arthur Miller, a Black from the Crown Heights neighborhood of Brooklyn who cops strangled to death six days earlier.

Hundreds jammed the Trinity Baptist Church and 2,000 more stood outside, listening to the rites over loudspeakers. As Miller's widow left the church, clenched fists shot into the air amidst shouts of "Justice for Arthur Miller!"

That demand has galvanized the Crown Heights Black community. Miller was a very well-known and respected businessman and civic leader. His murder has revived bitter memories of two other widely publicized cases of police brutality in recent years—the killings of Black teenagers Randy Evans and Clifford Glover. In those two cases, the cops went unpunished.

The community was further enraged when, two

days after Miller's murder, white vigilantes beat Victor Rhodes, a sixteen-year-old Black, within an inch of his life. He remains hospitalized in critical condition.

The white vigilantes who assaulted Rhodes have been organized by leaders of a Hassidic Jewish sect with the cooperation of city cops and funds from the federal government. They have carried out similar beatings in the past.

Despite intimate ties with the white vigilantes, New York cops claim they don't know who most of the people who assaulted Rhodes were. Police admit that up to fifty goons were involved, but they have made only two arrests.

The story is almost the same in Miller's case. More than 100 eyewitnesses saw how dozens of cops swarmed over Miller and strangled him to death. His "crime" was trying to stop an altercation between his brother, Samuel Miller, and some cops.

Yet two weeks after the killing, not one police officer has been arrested. Not one has been indicted. Not one has been suspended or reprimanded. Mayor Koch hasn't even made the token gesture of transferring the cops involved.

Instead, Koch set up a Committee on Intergroup Relations headed by Deputy Mayor Herman Badillo. The first thing the committee did was to meet secretly with vigilante squad organizers at city hall.

For his part, Brooklyn District Attorney Eugene Gold says he won't even *begin* presenting evidence on Miller's murder to a grand jury until July 3.

Nevertheless, Gold is already hinting that no indictments will be handed down, promising a full explanation if that's the case. It will take some explaining to convince the Black community that it was necessary for police to strangle to death a man who offered them no provocation.

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