

THE MILITANT

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

KREMLIN SHOW TRIALS



A travesty
of justice
—PAGE 4

STEEL

Campaign for
right to vote
on contracts
—PAGE 11

ERA PROGRESS

The House Judiciary Committee voted July 18 to extend the deadline for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment by three years and three months. The committee also voted down a proposal to let states rescind ratification.

It is no coincidence that the committee—which had kept the bill bottled up for months—acted only days after the July 9 National March on Washington for the ERA. Rep. Don Edwards, a sponsor of the extension bill, said the massive demonstration had 'tipped the balance.'

The proposal now goes before the House. It must also be approved by the Senate.

For coverage of ERA and July 9, see pages 6-7.

STOP THE KILLER COPS

5,000 march in Bklyn.



Militant/Lou Howort

NEW YORK, July 16—Protesters voice outrage over police murder of Black civic leader Arthur Miller. See page 5. Also inside, Chicanos demonstrate against racist cop killings in Texas. See page 15.

Eyewitness report from Peru

Thousands cheer Blanco's return



HUGO BLANCO

Militant/Barry Chan

Peruvian workers and peasants lined the streets for miles July 16 to greet Hugo Blanco on his return from exile. The renowned peasant leader and revolutionary socialist was elected last month to the Constituent Assembly, his class-struggle slate winning 12 percent of the vote. Fred Murphy and Gus Horowitz are on the scene for the 'Militant' and 'Intercontinental Press/Inprecor.' In the weeks ahead they will report on the struggles of the Peruvian masses, the opening of the Constituent Assembly, and Blanco's campaign for the formation of a mass workers party. See page 3.

Andrew Young lets cat out of bag

Remember the arrests and beatings of civil rights demonstrators during the 1950s and 1960s? People who demanded the Constitution be enforced, who took part in freedom rides, who sat in at lunch counters, who marched for voting rights and for desegregation of buses and schools—all were victimized. Many were murdered, some with the complicity of the FBI.

Remember the political trials of those who protested the war in Vietnam? Some of the better-known victims, such as the Chicago Eight and Dr. Benjamin Spock, lost only money, time, and peace of mind. Thousands of less prominent antiwar activists and draft resisters served jail sentences for their activities.

And what about today? Hundreds of Indian activists, such as Leonard Peltier, have been railroaded to prison because they dared to stand up for the rights of their people.

Frame-ups of Black activists are an everyday occurrence in the United States. Amnesty International has singled out a few of the most notorious cases:

- The Wilmington Ten, civil rights fighters convicted of arson. The witnesses who testified against them later admitted their testimony was false—lies bought and paid for by the prosecution.

- Gary Tyler, a Louisiana Black youth framed up for murder. The only witness against him has recanted.

- The Charlotte Three, North Carolina Blacks convicted of arson. Two men with long criminal records who admitted carrying out the burning were freed, paid \$3,000 each, and given plane tickets to Mexico after they testified against the three activists.

Then there are the victims of the U.S. Border Patrol—such as Héctor Marroquín, Mexican student leader who was thrown in jail for seeking asylum in this country and who still faces deportation into the hands of the Mexican regime's torturers.

This leaves out the cases of those who never get to court, but are instead murdered by racist cops in the barrios of Houston and San Antonio, or in the Black communities of Crown Heights and Bedford Stuyvesant.

THE TERM "HUMAN RIGHTS" DEMANDS CLARIFICATION.



BY "HUMAN RIGHTS" I DO NOT MEAN LIBERAL, SIMPLISTIC, IRRESPONSIBLE "HUMAN RIGHTS."



WHAT I MEAN BY "HUMAN RIGHTS" IS COMPETENT, MANAGERIAL, ZERO-BASE BUDGETED "HUMAN RIGHTS."



SO I WOULD ADVISE OUR CITIZENS TO BE SURE THAT THEY SUPPORT QUALIFIED "HUMAN RIGHTS"



AS OPPOSED TO DISRUPTIVE AND UN-HELPFUL "HUMAN RIGHTS."



FOR VERIFICATION, PLEASE CHECK WITH ME, CY VANCE OR THE SHAH OF IRAQ.



But when Andrew Young states the simple truth that "there are hundreds—perhaps even thousands—of people whom I would call political prisoners" in U.S. jails, the capitalist politicians and the big-business media are prepared for an old-fashioned lynching.

Human rights, it seems, are far more precious to the Carter administration abroad than at home.

Calls for Young's impeachment and demands that he be fired by Carter drew applause in Congress. Carter himself telephoned to dress down his subordinate. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance bawled Young out over lunch. Senate Majority Leader Robert Byrd—a former member of the Ku Klux Klan—condemned Young's "irresponsible and rash statements," and suggested that "resignation should have been considered."

Byrd added, "If he makes another irresponsible statement that fits into this pattern of bad judgment, I think he should go."

Could there be a more telling example of the real character of Carter's sanctimonious rhetoric about human rights?

Defend Mark Allen

Attacks on the First Amendment are in vogue these days, led conspicuously by the supposed upholder of the Constitution—the U.S. Supreme Court. The high court's ruling at the end of May okaying unannounced cop

raids on news media offices encouraged opponents of a free press everywhere.

Now a reporter from the Communist Party's West Coast weekly, the *People's World*, is under attack. Mark Allen has been served with a subpoena ordering him to turn over notes, photos, and tapes from a strike he covered for the *PW* in 1976.

The company struck was Automatic Plastic Molding. It has since sued the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) for "damages" from the strike. Automatic Plastics is demanding Allen's cooperation in its union-busting efforts.

The Allen subpoena is clearly a violation of press freedom. It is an attempt to make reporters finks for the employers—and in the process to block working people's few opportunities to get out their side of labor disputes to the public.

Such actions aim to intimidate reporters and make strikers and other political activists reluctant to talk to all news media for fear of later harassment or prosecution.

Consider the recent coal strike, which Carter tried to make "illegal" by invoking the Taft-Hartley Act. Imagine the effect if the *Militant*, or any other newspaper telling the miners' story, had been subject to searches and subpoenas by the coal bosses or government.

Allen is refusing to honor the subpoena. His defense case merits the support of labor unions, political groups, civil rights organizations, and all those interested in protecting constitutional rights.

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Basque upsurge in Spain

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CUBA: July 26

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Blanco returns to Peru

Thousands line streets in militant welcome

By Fred Murphy
and Gus Horowitz

LIMA—Hugo Blanco returned to Peru July 16, and thousands turned out to greet him. There were 2,500 at the airport in the morning and about 5,000 at a rally in the late afternoon. But the most moving welcome of all was that of the thousands of people who lined the march route, several miles long, from the airport to the rally site in the center of town.

These were the common people of Lima—the working people, the poverty-stricken, who stood outside their homes, who leaned out their windows, who came hurrying in from the side streets to catch a glimpse of Hugo Blanco, their Hugo. “The incarnation of our people’s struggle,” as one work-worn man put it. They came to wave streamers, to clap, to wave or to raise their fists with Hugo, and even to join in on the march alongside

The truck on which Blanco rode would stop for a few moments, and someone would rush up to bring water, an orange, something to eat, or to hold up a baby for Hugo to kiss.

These were the people who gave Hugo Blanco’s slate more than 400,000 votes—12 percent of the total—in the June 18 Constituent Assembly elections. These were the people who, in greeting Hugo Blanco, were at the same time coming out to celebrate their own victory.

But what value will this electoral success have? This question was undoubtedly on the minds of many, and Blanco spoke to this point at the rally in Lima’s Plaza de la Unión.

“Our positions in the assembly will have no justification,” Blanco said, “unless we use them to carry forward the struggles that the workers are carrying out every day in the factories, in the shanty-towns, in the countryside, in the streets. . . . If we don’t use our posts for this task they won’t be worth anything.”



Hugo Blanco in Peru in 1976

Blanco was interrupted many times by chants and hand-clapping during his twenty-minute speech. He called for support to the teachers strike, unity of the workers parties—especially of the UDP (Democratic People’s Union), the FOCEP (Workers, Peasants, Students, and People’s Front), and the Aragón faction that has broken with the bourgeois generals of the PSR (Revolutionary Socialist Party).

Unity is possible, Blanco explained, on the basis of a clear class stance, without any reliance on capitalist forces. Along these lines, he said, pressure can also be put on the Communist Party to break from its false strategy of seeking allies among bourgeois parties and “socialist” generals.

Finally, speaking as a Trotskyist to members of Trotskyist groups in the crowd, Blanco urged reunification of the various Trotskyist groups in Peru.

Referring to the so-called “Blanco phenomenon” that has been made much of in the Peruvian press, he pointed out that in the last sixteen years he had been politically active in

Peru for only twenty months and that despite this the people have gone on struggling. “So it is not Hugo Blanco who is responsible for these struggles but the Peruvian masses,” he said.

The broad spectrum of speakers and organizations represented on the march and rally reflected the potential for united action that Blanco called for. The first speaker to address the rally was Sánchez Vicente, president of the Lima teachers union. The vast majority of Peru’s 140,000 public high school teachers have been on strike since May 8, demanding recognition of SUTEP, their national union, and a 100 percent wage increase. Support for SUTEP’s strike was a central theme of the rally.

Peasant leader Andrés Luna Vargas of the CCP (Peruvian Peasant Federation) welcomed Blanco’s return and spoke of Blanco’s leading role in the 1962-63 peasant struggles in La Convención valley. Blanco is a member of the CCP’s Executive Committee along with Luna Vargas.

Alfonso Barrantas Lingán, president

of the UDP, urged unity between the UDP and the FOCEP and read a message from exiled leaders of the UDP in Paris.

Socorro Ramírez, a leader of the Colombian teachers union and a revolutionary-socialist candidate for president in the recent Colombian elections, brought greetings to the rally. Her call for “a socialist Peru, a socialist Colombia, a federation of socialist republics of Latin America” was met with loud applause.

Representatives of the Trotskyist organization FIR-POC (Front of the Revolutionary Left—Workers and Peasants Party) and POMR (Revolutionary Marxist Workers Party) also spoke. The FIR (Cuarta Internacional) was also present with a contingent at the rally, along with other, smaller Trotskyist groups.

Antonio “Chango” Aragón was at Blanco’s side throughout the day. During the 1962-63 peasant struggles, Aragón was a leader of the Peruvian Trotskyist movement. Today he heads the wing of the PSR that split July 5 from the party of so-called progressive ex-military officers. Aragón’s PSR includes the bulk of the party’s trade-union and peasant leaders.

Aragón told the rally that the new PSR is “against reformism, against caudillos, and at the side of the UDP, the FOCEP, and the popular struggle.”

Hugo Blanco was the last speaker. He followed Enrique Fernandez, like Blanco a leader of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers Party) and a newly elected FOCEP deputy in the Constituent Assembly.

The rally, which had begun with chants of “Tierra o Muerte!” [“Land or Death!”] the famous slogan of the peasant struggles led by Hugo Blanco in the early 1960s, ended by chanting the closing words of Blanco’s speech: “Socialismo o Muerte! Venceremos!”

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

500 rally to support Stearns coal miners

By Chris Rayson

WHITLEY CITY, Ky.—Despite a steady rain, 500 people rallied here July 15 in support of the Stearns miners. The meeting marked the beginning of the miners’ third year on strike for a United Mine Workers contract.

The Blue Diamond Coal Company recently escalated its assault on the strikers at the Justus mine in nearby Stearns with its “recognition” of a company union.

Under state police escort, Blue Diamond has built up a work force of about eighty scabs. The company claims it is this crew of scabs, not the nearly 130 strikers on the picket line, that “represent” Stearns miners.

The UMWA’s charges of unfair labor practices by Blue Diamond are still pending before the National Labor Relations Board.

The rally here brought officials from surrounding UMWA districts and locals to pledge financial and moral support. The executive board of District 12 in Illinois promised \$3,000. James Hawkins, vice-president of UMWA District 23 in western Kentucky, gave \$2,000 and announced that a pickup truck filled with canned food waited outside.

Other contributions and pledges of support came from UMWA District 19 in eastern Kentucky and Tennessee and from UMWA locals 1893, 2117, and 9690.

Clarence Dowdy, from United Auto Workers Local 3 in Detroit, pledged \$550 to the strikers on behalf of the Coalition to Support the Stearns Miners.

Jim Varney, director of organizing for the UMWA, read a message of support from UMWA President Arnold Miller.

Also offering support was Angie Popielarchek from the Miners’ Widows Action Group.

The two-year-long strike is a battle for safe working conditions. Blue Diamond has refused to even consider the UMWA contract clause providing for a union safety committee with the power

to shut down dangerous sections of the mine.

Lou Lewallen, a miner from UMWA Local 1990 in Beckley, West Virginia, told the strikers at the rally here, “We know about your struggling. We know about the gun thugs. We know about the judge. But we know that you will win.”

“That’s why the bosses hate the United Mine Workers—because we’ve got guts, and we’ll fight til the last man and woman.”

Statements of support and contributions can be sent to: Stearns Miners Relief Fund, c/o Freddie Wright, 303 Yoakum Circle, LaFollette, Tennessee 37766.

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Shcharansky frame-up: a travesty of justice

By David Frankel

Is it possible for anyone with a conscience to read about the frame-up trial of Anatoly Shcharansky and not be outraged?

What kind of trial is it where the accused is not allowed to call any witnesses in his defense?

What kind of trial is it where the accused is not allowed an attorney of his choice?

What kind of trial is it where the accused is denied the right to cross-examine prosecution witnesses?

Who can believe in the fairness of a court that won't permit a single independent observer to view its proceedings?

This raises one more question. Why would the Soviet regime resort to such crude methods if it really had a case against Shcharansky?

After all, news of the Shcharansky trial was followed by millions throughout the world. Imagine the political victory Moscow could have scored by proving that Shcharansky really was a CIA agent!

Of course, Moscow had no such proof. Instead of a political victory, it has suffered a stunning defeat. The Kremlin rulers stand exposed before the world as liars, frame-up artists, and representatives of a 1984-style regime that cares nothing for justice or human dignity.

Communist parties divide

Not surprisingly, Moscow was unable to hold its international followers in line on this issue. *L'Humanité*, the daily of the French Communist Party, denounced the sentences of Shcharansky and Aleksandr Ginzburg (a second Soviet dissident tried at the same time) on its front page.

Protests also came from the Italian Communist Party, the largest in Western Europe, and from the British Communist Party.

But not a word of criticism came from the American Communist Party. Not a word.

The *Daily World*, the CP's newspaper, confined itself to rewriting the handouts of the Soviet propaganda machine. The July 14 *Daily World* commented:

"A third trial, to which little attention has been paid in the Western press, is also in process in Moscow. The defendant is Anatoly N. Filatov, who has admitted that he was a foreign agent, and has been giving detailed information about his spy activities. . . ."

The following day, *Daily World* writer Erik Bert repeated this point.

No other information is given to link the obscure Filatov with Shcharansky, Ginzburg, or the dissident movement. Apparently the Stalinists believe that it is enough to establish that foreign agents operate in the Soviet Union to justify the frame-up of political dissenters.

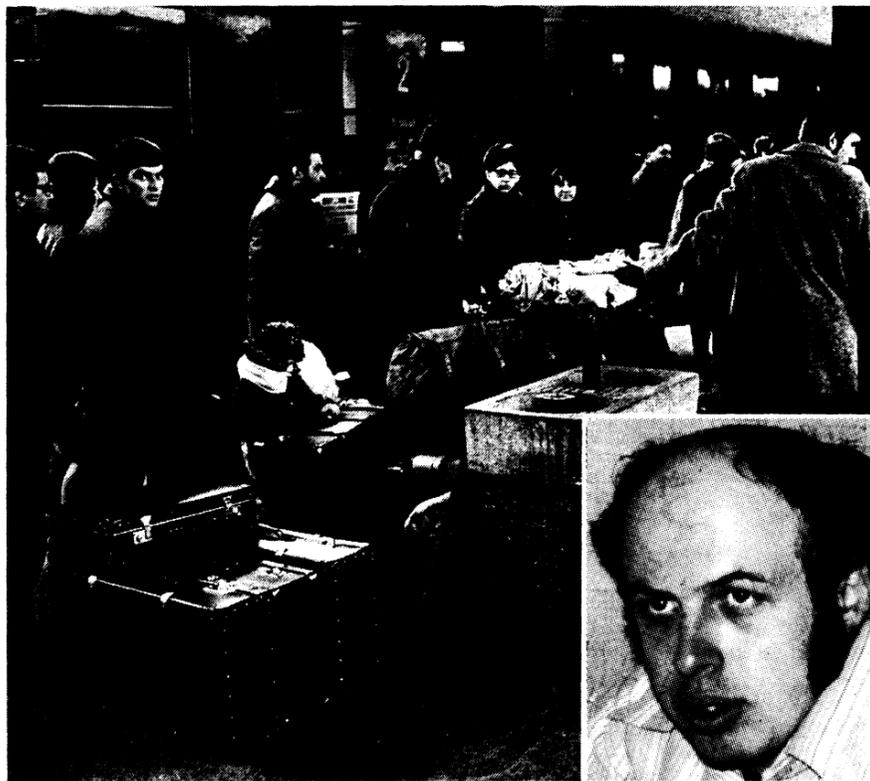
Or perhaps they reason that if the charges against Anatoly Filatov are true, how could those against Anatoly Shcharansky possibly be false?

Ginzburg's case

In regard to Ginzburg's trial, the July 14 *Daily World* reported that the defendant was "accused of spreading harmful lies about the Soviet Union."

One wonders what "lies" could have been more damaging to the Soviet regime than the example of Ginzburg's trial itself.

Going on to quote the official Soviet news agency, the article said: "According to TASS, witnesses testified that Ginzburg was leading the life of an



Soviet Jews arriving in Vienna. Anti-Semitic policies of Stalinist bureaucracy are reflected in emigration of Jews and in frame-up trial of Anatoly Shcharansky (inset).

idler, living off a permanent cash fund from abroad on which he paid no income taxes."

What a spectacle! The Stalinist bureaucrats—with their fancy limousines and vacation houses, their special shops and privileges—calling Ginzburg an idler!

Ginzburg has spent seven of the last eighteen years in prison simply for demanding the right of free speech and a free press and for exposing the Kremlin's violations of democratic rights. His latest sentence is a result of his administration of a fund to help the families of victimized dissidents.

But the *Daily World* thought the most noteworthy thing about his case was the humanity of the authorities. It proudly pointed out that "the prosecutor is asking for an 11-year sentence, two years less than the maximum on the basis that Ginzburg has two young children."

In the end, Shcharansky was given thirteen years and Ginzburg eight.

Anti-Semitic slander

One of the most appalling aspects of the Shcharansky trial was the use of openly anti-Semitic propaganda.

When *Izvestia*, the Soviet government newspaper, first printed the charges against Shcharansky in March 1977, it singled out Jews who had been demanding the right to emigrate from the USSR. It characterized the dissidents as "currency speculators and parasites"—slanders characteristic of anti-Semitic propaganda. Finally, *Izvestia* included a play on the word "zhid"—the Russian equivalent of "kike."

It is the anti-Semitic policies of the Stalinist bureaucracy that are to blame for reviving Zionism in the USSR and that enable the Israeli regime to pose as the savior of the Soviet Jews. The emigration of some 150,000 Soviet Jews to Israel is not the result of a U.S.-Israeli plot, but a reflection of the oppression of Jews in the USSR.

Marxism vs. Stalinism

Supporters of the Soviet regime argue that opposition to Moscow's shameful violations of democratic rights plays into the hands of imperialism. *But precisely the opposite is the case.*

Carter has been able to get away with his demagogic human rights campaign only because the Stalinist regime is continually handing him new ammunition. It is imperialism that benefits when the socialist movement is identified with crude police repression, frame-up trials, and anti-Semitism.

Both the Stalinist bureaucrats and the apologists for capitalism claim that the Soviet regime is the legitimate representative of the Bolshevik revolution, that Stalinism is Marxism. Millions of workers are repelled by events such as the Shcharansky trial. If this is what socialism is all about, they want no part of it.

The Socialist Workers Party and Trotskyists around the world have something to say to those millions. Our movement originated in the struggle against Stalinism. The pioneer Trotskyists were the first victims of the Stalinist frame-up system, including its anti-Semitism. Leon Trotsky himself was the chief defendant in the Moscow trials of 1936-38.

Throughout his seventeen-year struggle against the degeneration of the Russian revolution, which ended with his assassination by a Stalinist agent in Mexico in 1940, Trotsky insisted that Stalinism was not only antidemocratic, but also antisocialist.

Under the leadership of Stalin, a privileged bureaucratic caste consolidated its power in the USSR. It assured its position by systematically stamping out the revolutionary traditions of Bolshevism. The history of the Bolshevik party and of the revolution was rewritten. Lenin's revolutionary foreign policy was transformed into one based on diplomatic deals with imperialist governments at the expense of revolutions abroad. Finally, in the Moscow trials, practically the entire generation of Bolshevik leaders who had lived through the revolution and the civil war was murdered.

A new generation

From the beginning, the bureaucracy consciously fostered reactionary prejudices and narrow-minded Russian nationalism, counterposing these sentiments to the revolutionary internationalism of the Trotskyist opposition. Its use of anti-Semitism, that

hated weapon of the tsars, speaks volumes about the counterrevolutionary nature of the Stalinist regime.

But its use of such reactionary methods, and its inordinate fear of any dissenting voice, shows something else about the Stalinist regime. The Kremlin's hysterical campaign against the dissident movement reveals the fundamental insecurity of the ruling caste.

The Stalinist bureaucrats are afraid.

Today, there is a new rise of political struggle by the oppressed and exploited throughout the world—from southern Africa to the United States. This rise in the class struggle is being reflected in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe as well.

Many of the participants and leaders in the movement for democratic rights in the workers states have illusions about the situation in the imperialist countries. Others in this movement do not and are convinced socialists.

As this new generation of fighters continues its struggle, it will find its way to the true history of the Russian revolution and the Bolshevik Party. The experience of the workers' rebellions in East Germany, Hungary, Poland, and Czechoslovakia proves conclusively that the masses living under Stalinist rule are interested in establishing genuine workers democracy, not in handing back the factories and banks to individual capitalist owners.

A vision of the future

A massive struggle for the democratic rights usurped by Stalinism can restore the vision of a free, socialist future that has been clouded for so many by the crimes of the bureaucrats. If the world working-class movement lends its wholehearted support to such a struggle, side by side with its continued opposition to the crimes of imperialism, hypocrites such as Carter will soon be exposed.

For revolutionists, the rise of the dissident movement in the Soviet Union is the most favorable development there since the 1930s. We welcome the increased agitation for democratic rights in the Soviet bloc, and we say to the dissidents fighting Stalinist tyranny, "Your movement is our movement. Your struggle is our struggle."

It is only through this struggle for democratic rights that a new revolutionary leadership of the Soviet working class can be forged—a leadership that will stand at the head of the antibureaucratic revolution in the USSR and that will play its part in extending the socialist revolution throughout the world.

Samizdat Voices of the Soviet Opposition

An anthology of dissident writing circulated clandestinely in the Soviet Union, edited by George Saunders. This collection includes memoirs of the early struggles against the growing Stalin bureaucracy; accounts of personal experiences in the prison camps; and speeches, writings, and petitions of the recent dissident movement. A Monad Press book.
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5,000 say: stop killer cops

By Lou Howort

BROOKLYN—"Jail the cops, jail the killers! Justice for Arthur Miller!" chanted the crowd. "Police out now!"

Some 5,000 people marched in the Crown Heights section of Brooklyn on July 16 to protest inaction by city officials after the police murder last month of Arthur Miller, a local Black community leader. (See box on this page.)

The action was called by the Black United Front and actively supported by the Arthur Miller Community Defense Committee.

"Yesterday Arthur Miller, tomorrow maybe you," warned a sign carried in the march. "Who do you call when you need help? Murderers?" scoffed another. Some signs bore the names of Black young people who have also been murdered by local cops.

"Join us! Join us!" the crowd chanted to bystanders. Many did, and the march continually grew.

Demonstrators had assembled outside the Seventy-seventh Precinct police headquarters and marched down Eastern Parkway for a rally. After that, the crowd—larger than ever, having swelled during the rally—marched to the Seventy-first Precinct police building.

"What time is it?" several demonstrators shouted. "Nation time!" came the reply, with clenched fists raised high.

Only a mile from the rally site, about 500 out-of-uniform cops had gathered, supposedly to commemorate eleven cops who have been killed in the Crown Heights precinct.

Actually, the rowdy mob of cops was hoping to intimidate the Black protesters and quiet their demands that those responsible for Miller's death be prosecuted and jailed. "We're not going to let them do anything to our people," declared Sam DeMilia, president of the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association.

DeMilia said the crowd was there to "show support for members of the Seventy-seventh Precinct, who are having an awful time right now. . . . And to let everyone know the cops in the Seventy-seventh did nothing wrong, they just did their job."

About 175 cops broke away and stormed to the site of the Black rally. There they made obscene and threatening gestures at Blacks who were arriving and bellowed, "We're number one!"

But they were hustled off by other cops before most of the 5,000 angry marchers arrived.

The rally was held across the street from the headquarters of a Hasidic Jewish sect in Crown Heights. Federal and local police have funded and collaborated with a white vigilante group organized by leaders of the sect. The vigilantes have terrorized the Black



Arthur Miller's widow and children carry a picture of cops' murder victim.



Militant/Lou Howort

community. Two days after the cops killed Arthur Miller, a group of vigilantes beat Victor Rhodes, a Black youth, into a coma.

Even without the off-duty cops there, the scene was tense and intimidating. At least 200 cops in uniform were lined up, many of them wearing riot helmets. Helicopters flew over the march. And cops could be seen on rooftops.

"We will not be divided," Rev. Clarence Norman declared at the rally. "We are going to stand up and defend ourselves."

Jitu Weusi, a leader in organizing the demonstration, welcomed all groups and individuals—socialists, Muslims, Christians, conservatives, and whites—to join the Black United

Front. The only criterion, he said, is the desire to struggle against racist oppression.

"Malcolm X taught us that it is the government we must organize against," Weusi reminded the protesters. It is "government agencies that perpetuate our oppression," he insisted.

"Why hasn't Eugene Gold, the Brooklyn district attorney, indicted the police responsible for the Arthur Miller murder?" asked State Sen. Vander Beatty. "Where is Mayor Koch today?"

The demand that city officials take action will be pressed at a city-wide mass demonstration next month. Jitu Weusi and Rev. Herbert Daughtry announced that such a demonstration is being planned for early August.

FBI drops investigation

The U.S. Justice Department has secretly ordered the FBI to drop its investigation into the death of Arthur Miller.

New York radio station WCBS reported July 18 that it had learned of the order, which had been given verbally, not in writing, in order to avoid publicity.

The investigation was announced shortly after the June 14 strangling of Miller by New York cops.

Also on July 18, under the front-page banner headline "Civic leader was 'choked,'" the *New York Post* reported that Deputy Chief Medical Examiner Milton Wald is ready to testify that Miller was strangled to death.

Wald's conclusions would confirm the reports of eyewitnesses. They also give the lie to the police version that they choked Miller only momentarily.

According to the *Post*, Wald stated that the death resulted from "continuing pressure" to the throat for four to twelve minutes.

The following day the *New York Times* reported that Wald had called the *Post* story "inaccurate," but did not elaborate. Unnamed "other medical sources" told the *Times* that it was impossible to tell how long someone had been strangled before dying.

Wald, however, did officially confirm that Miller died of "asphyxia associated with laryngeal trauma"—in plain English, strangling.

Meanwhile, cops in Brooklyn have claimed another victim. José Mangual, a Black Latino, was fatally shot through the side of his head July 12 while he was being held, one hand shackled to a wall, at a housing authority police station.

Deputy Medical Examiner Wald told reporters, "It was not a close shot and there was no evidence of a struggle."

Killer cop Elliott Glover claimed his gun went off accidentally after Mangual made a grab for the pistol. Following a two-and-a-half-hour "investigation," authorities concluded this story was "consistent" with Wald's findings and declared Glover innocent of any wrongdoing.

Socialist: 'more actions needed to win justice'

The following statement was released July 17 by Ken Miliner, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress in New York's Nineteenth District.



The Socialist Workers Party joins with the Arthur Miller Community Defense Committee, the Black United Front, and the thousands of Blacks who demonstrated in Crown Heights July 16 in demanding the immediate arrest, prosecution, and jailing of the cops who murdered Arthur Miller.

We also urge the prosecution—to the full extent of the law—of the white vigilantes who beat sixteen-year-old Victor Rhodes into a coma two days after Miller's murder.

It has been more than a month since dozens of New York cops ganged up on brother Miller, strangling him in broad daylight before dozens of witnesses.

What has become of the "full investigation" and "no whitewash" that Mayor Edward Koch promised?

Not a single cop has been indicted. Not a single cop has been arrested.

Mayor Koch, the cops, and the district attorney are going full steam ahead on a cover-up.

We must stop them.

The Arthur Miller Community Defense Committee and Black United Front have already taken the first

steps. Through the protests they have organized, the case has been brought to the attention of millions in New York City. But further protests are needed to keep the spotlight on the case and force the government to act against the killer cops.

That's why I wholeheartedly endorse the idea raised by the Black United Front to hold a city-wide demonstration early in August.

Such a demonstration would be an opportunity to mobilize further support, not only in Crown Heights but also in Harlem, the South Bronx, Jamaica, the Lower East Side—all the Black and Latino communities of this city.

We can win other allies too. *Daily News* employees got a firsthand taste of police brutality on the picket lines

during their recent strike. The hospital workers of District 1199 received the same treatment during their strike two years ago. More and more working people—Black, Latino, and white—are learning that the cops are the enemies of all working people.

There have been many cases of police beatings and murders of Blacks and Latinos in this city over the past few years. By his inaction, Mayor Koch is giving his cops the green light to step up this reign of terror against the oppressed.

If Koch succeeds in letting the cops get away with murdering a respected civic leader like brother Miller, then none of us are safe. It is up to us to stop him.

Justice for Arthur Miller!

'Women know how to get things done'

On the ERA march with shipyard workers

By Craig Honts

The orange hard hats caught a lot of eyes at the national march for the Equal Rights Amendment.

After all, just a few years ago a common stereotype was of hard-hat workers jeering anti-Vietnam War or civil rights demonstrators.

But in Washington on July 9 there was a contingent wearing bright orange hard hats and carrying a banner that read, "Shipbuilders for the E.R.A.—Equal Rights for All." These were some of the 2,000 shipyard workers at the Brooklyn Navy Yard.

The United Industrial Workers of the Seafarers International Union (UIW) had chartered a bus for the ERA march and kicked in a free lunch to encourage its members to go.

Women are still a tiny minority of the Brooklyn Navy Yard's work force. The idea of the ERA march quickly caught on among them. They had circulated a petition calling on the union to charter a bus for July 9. The majority of male workers they approached readily signed the petition. In a very short time the women collected 200 signatures, including most of the shop stewards.

Why did the shipbuilders march?

Craig Honts works at the Brooklyn Navy Yard and is a member of the United Industrial Workers of the Seafarers' International union.



Union sent contingent from Brooklyn Navy Yard to July 9 women's rights march

Many saw what the ERA would mean for women's jobs. During World War II there were 35,000 women welders, laborers, shipfitters, riggers, and carpenters working in the yard. After the war, these women were totally driven out of the work force. It is only recently that women have started to work their way back in.

Failure of the ERA, these women workers feel, could nip the trend in the

bud. Defeat for the ERA would raise the question of whether women will once again be pushed out of places like the Brooklyn Navy Yard.

Others marched because the ERA is an issue of simple justice. "I'm doing this for the future of my five-year-old daughter," explained one pipefitter on the bus.

In addition, the march was a way to answer the Supreme Court's recent

ruling against affirmative action in the *Bakke* case. Ninety percent of the workers in the yard are Black or Latino.

The size of the demonstration, the participation of the other labor contingents . . . the march as a whole was a great experience. Women from the yard had a chance to compare experiences and working conditions with women steelworkers from Pittsburgh and women mine workers from West Virginia.

One woman shipfitter captured the sense of victory everyone felt. On the bus trip back she declared, "I'm never going to forget this demonstration. I'm going in to work tomorrow wearing my ERA button. I'm writing 'NOW' all over my hard hat, and I'm writing 'Never underestimate the power of a woman' on the back of my welding jacket."

Many agreed this was the kind of thing the union should do more often. Or as some put it, "It's about time they did something worthwhile with my dues money."

Back in the yard the next day, word about the demonstration spread quickly. One of the welders summed it up best when he said, only half-jokingly, "It goes to show that if you want to get something done in this yard, you'd better get the women on your side first. They're the ones around here that seem to know how to get things done."

Indians demand: 'Defend treaty rights!'

By José G. Pérez

WASHINGTON—More than 3,000 Indians and almost as many non-Indian supporters marched and rallied here July 15 at the culmination of the Longest Walk.

The walk started in San Francisco last February, covering nearly 4,000 miles. Some thirty demonstrators walked the full distance.

The walk dramatized Native Americans' opposition to eleven separate bills in Congress that would undermine or totally eliminate Indian treaty rights. It was also a reaffirmation of traditional Indian culture, with religious ceremonies combined with protest and educational activities in many towns and cities along the way.

American Indian Movement leader Clyde Bellecourt summarized the purpose of the walk at the rally in Washington's Malcolm X Park: "We are here to let America know, to let the world know, that we still survive, that everything we had hasn't been stolen from us, that we have a way of life that has existed for thousands of years."

The rally was preceded by a long march from a Maryland park where the walkers were camping.

Other speakers at the rally included Ernie Peters and other Indian religious leaders; Oren Lyons of the Iroquois confederacy and other representatives of Indian peoples; and prominent supporters such as U.S. Rep. Ronald Dellums; Rev. Joseph Lowery of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Black activist Dick Gregory; Chicano leader Reies López Tijerina; and actor Marlon Brando.

One young Indian woman from Maine captured the message of the rally in an interview with the *Militant*: "My people [the Passamaquoddy] are

Continued on page 13



After five months and thousands of miles on the road, the Longest Walk enters Washington

Militant/José G. Pérez

'I want my grandchildren to live without fear'

WASHINGTON—"I came here because it's our land, but the Indian in this country can't get anything. It's our land, and now the little we have left they want to take away."

Speaking was Agnes Lamont, an elderly Oglala Sioux who lives on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota. She was in Washington for the culmination of the Longest Walk.

"We are praying to the Great Spirit every day to stop the killing of the Indian," she told the *Militant*. "And we are here to tell that to the government."

"My grandmother and grandfather are in that grave at Wounded Knee," she said, referring to the 1890 U.S. army massacre of a band of unarmed Sioux.

Her son, Buddy Lamont, is also buried at Wounded Knee. "He's in that cemetery now, with our grand-

fathers. He volunteered, went to Vietnam. And he came back and went to the Wounded Knee occupation [in 1973] and they killed him there.

"The same army he fought for killed him. He was the only son I had."

"My son-in-law, he wanted to have this long walk. He's the one who started it. But he can't come."

Her son-in-law is American Indian Movement leader Dennis Banks. In 1975, a South Dakota jury convicted him on trumped-up rioting charges stemming from a police attack on a peaceful Indian demonstration in Custer, South Dakota. His life would be in danger if he were to turn himself over to racist state officials there.

So Banks is now a political exile in the country he is supposedly a citizen of. California Gov. Jerry Brown



AGNES LAMONT

Militant/José G. Pérez

has refused to extradite Banks. But South Dakota authorities still want him, so he can't leave California.

"I want Dennis to come visit me without fear," she said. "I want my grandchildren or their children to grow up without having to fear the whites because they are Indian. That's why I have come."—J.G.P.

What next to win ERA?

Why false friends say 'stop marching'

By Cindy Jaquith

The July 9 march on Washington for the Equal Rights Amendment was "an impressive turnout," admitted a July 11 *Washington Post* editorial.

It certainly was. Estimates of the size of the demonstration—the largest for women's rights in U.S. history—run as high as 100,000.

This gigantic display, called by the National Organization for Women (NOW), showed that the majority in this country support the ERA. It also showed that, given a chance, large numbers of people are willing to go into action to win ratification.

The demonstration sent a message to all those who have been blocking the ERA: Either you pass the ERA or you will reap more discontent. As one banner proclaimed it, "Never another season of silence."

And Democratic and Republican politicians quickly heard the message. When Republican Sen. Charles Percy found out about the numbers assembled in Washington, he hopped onto a plane and flew in from Illinois to speak to the crowd.

Three days later, Carter finally sent a letter to the House Judiciary Committee urging its members to vote for extending the deadline to ratify the ERA.

These Democratic and Republican politicians know that such massive mobilizations put them on the spot. They are already trying to undercut the momentum of July 9, urging women not to hold more actions.

Typical of their arguments aimed at slowing down the women's movement was the *Washington Post* editorial, written just two days after the demonstration.

Stop marching?

After conceding that the July 9 action had been an "impressive turnout," the *Post* editors went on to say:

"In our view . . . ERA advocates would do better to concentrate on mobilizing their friends around the country—not for marches, but for sharply focused political organizing, starting with this fall's congressional and state campaigns" (emphasis added).

At the July 9 rally, some speakers echoed similar themes. Carter appointee Patricia Harris, secretary of housing and urban development, tried to downplay the significance of the huge turnout.

"This march is the easiest part of achieving equality," she said. "The Carter administration is committed to achieving equality. But you must understand it is not enough for you to march. . . ."

The idea that demonstrations are either wrong or unimportant, that we should leave the job up to Democratic and Republican officeholders, is not new.

In fact, the huge response to July 9 was partly a product of the frustration felt by many women who had done just what the *Post* advised. Many women had given Carter the benefit of the doubt. They had campaigned and lobbied for legislators for months because the politicians assured them this was "more effective."

And then they watched the supposedly "pro-ERA" politicians they had campaigned for turn around and vote against the ERA!

As one marcher put it, "Carter hasn't done a thing. People can write so many letters and donate so much money, but then the bodies have to turn out."

And the bodies did turn out. What we saw July 9 was the united action of our real allies—not the Democratic and



Seattle march for ERA on July 8 drew 1,200

Militant/Karl Bermann

Solidarity with July 9 march

By Barbara Hennigan

SEATTLE—A demonstration of women's rights supporters swelled to 1,200 as it marched from the federal courthouse here to downtown Seattle on July 8. The Washington State ERA Coalition scheduled the action to coincide with the July 9 National March on Washington for the Equal Rights Amendment.

Leading the march were the rally speakers, including Anna Padia of the Coalition of Labor Union Women; Janie Pérez of MUJER, a Chicana organization; Diane Marasaki of the Asian Pacific Women's Caucus; Sister Margaret Casey, state coordinator of NETWORK, a religious lobbying group; Wilma Shaw, a high school student; and Valerie Harper, TV's "Rhoda."

In Albuquerque, New Mexico, 200 rallied at the federal building on July 8. The action was sponsored by the National Organization for Women and endorsed by the Retail Clerks union; the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 2112; the New Mexico State Employees Association; the Commission on the Status of Women; and the mayor's office.

A candlelight vigil for the ERA in Denver on July 8 drew 300.

A rally for the ERA in Portland drew 400.

On July 10 about 1,000 women visited congressional representatives in Washington D.C., to urge extension of the deadline for the ERA.

Republican politicians—but forces from the trade unions, from Black and Puerto Rican organizations, from campuses, the women from every walk of life who are our real strength and power.

'Political organizing'

Contrary to the *Washington Post*, July 9 did represent the kind of "sharply focused political organizing" we need. Through this call to action, women organized the representatives of majority opinion to confront the government with the most massive numbers ever to demand women's rights. We demonstrated that it is the Democrats and Republicans who are defying majority will.

This action helped cut through the lies of the politicians and the big-business press that public sentiment is turning against the ERA. It cut through the lies of those who have pointed to right-wing mobilizations as evidence of growing opposition to the ERA.

The demonstration also gave tens of thousands of people who have never been active in the fight for women's rights a chance to join in.

It is not surprising that the Democrats and Republicans try to argue against and minimize the effect of

such actions. This has always been the case when movements for social change evolve in a way that threatens to escape these politicians' control.

When the demonstrations against the war in Vietnam grew to mammoth proportions, President Nixon insisted, "I won't be affected." He announced that the November 15, 1969, demonstration of half a million in Washington was so unimportant to him that he would watch a football game that day.

But years later, when the Watergate tapes were published, we saw just how affected Nixon had been by the mobilizations. On one occasion, the press reported, a lone picket against Nixon's policies in Vietnam threw him into a rage.

Power of mass action

The anti-Vietnam War movement not only forced the government to withdraw from Vietnam, it also educated masses of Americans about the reactionary nature and brutality of that war. And by actively involving millions of people in demonstrations, it showed that we do have the power to change and affect society. The effects of that movement are still felt in every area of our life today.

If we understand the power of mass

demonstrations, such as we saw in the movement to end the Vietnam War—we can build on the momentum of July 9 and maximize our chances of winning the ERA.

What we need now is more pickets, more teach-ins, more rallies, and more marches for the ERA.

July 9 shows that we can bring into action larger numbers than ever before. The forces are there, ready to act.

By focusing on the ERA, by putting the government on the spot on this issue, and by uniting many different forces in action, we can strengthen the fight for other issues vital to women: abortion rights, affirmative action, and child-care programs.

Mobilizing around this issue, as NOW has done, provides an example of how to fight effectively for the rights not only of women, but of labor, of the Black and Puerto Rican and Chicano communities—of all who are victimized in society today.

To all those, such as the *Washington Post*, who say, "cool it," women should answer, "no!" We should keep the heat on those who are blocking the ERA. Not only that, but turn it up higher.

We need to go on from July 9 to build a movement that involves even larger numbers and broader forces to win the ERA.

By Andy Rose

"Reverse discrimination." That's what the *Bakke* decision is all about.

More important than all the legal hairsplitting over exactly what the various justices wrote, the Supreme Court ruling conveyed one central political point: that affirmative-action quotas "discriminate" against whites.

Thus, the Supreme Court gave its stamp of approval to the chief ideological prop of racism today. "Reverse discrimination" has become the war cry of all those trying to halt and roll back civil rights gains in housing, education, employment, and every aspect of life.

Baldly stated, the idea is that the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act ended discrimination against Blacks, Chicanos, other minorities, and women. In fact, minorities and women have now become the new *privileged* groups in society. They are getting the pick of jobs, preferential college placements, and so on. "Qualified" whites and males—such as Allan Bakke—are being pushed aside in favor of "unqualified" minorities and women.

Stated so crudely, the notion of "reverse discrimination" seems absurd. Yet this is exactly the myth that is propagandized day in and day out to millions of people. And it has a big impact.

A call-in poll conducted by the *New York Post* immediately after the court decision found that 76 percent of those responding approved of the ruling. Typical of many whites' reactions, it seems, were the comments of a thirty-three-year-old Long Island cop: "Past discrimination has nothing to do with

REVERSE DISCRIMINATION?

The new face of racism

whites—a key indication of the abysmal health care provided in the Black community. (Yet a long anti-quotas feature in the May 7 *Washington Post* smugly asserted: "The idea that the black community's doctors, lawyers, etc. should be black is an idea held by white liberals, but no such demand has come from the black community. . . .")

Forty percent of Black children live in families whose income is below the official government poverty level; only 11 percent of white children live in poor families (U.S. Bureau of the Census). And contrary to the racist stereotype of Blacks living it up on welfare, only 54 percent of Black families below the poverty line in 1975 were receiving any public assistance (National Urban League report).

Segregated schools

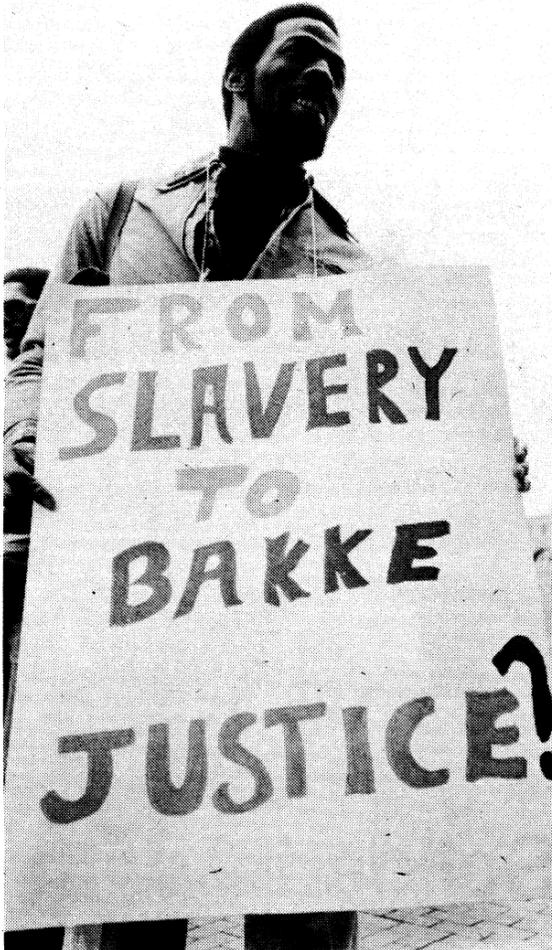
When they reach school age, Black children go to public schools that are becoming more segregated, not less. Black students are concentrated in big-city school districts that spend less per pupil than white suburban districts. Court rulings have noted the discriminatory nature of school financing based on property taxes but have failed to do much about it.

There is more involved than lack of funds. The *Yale Review of Law and Social Action* notes: "There is empirical evidence that school districts allocate substantially fewer dollars to schools in poor and black neighborhoods, indeed, within-district disparities may be as significant as disparities [among different districts] in a given state."

This, by the way, is what the school busing dispute is all about. It's not that Black students need to "sit next to whites" to learn. Rather, desegregation is the only way to break the deliberate pattern of school boards providing less money, fewer teachers, and worse facilities to segregated Black schools.

By the time they reach college age, a far higher proportion of Blacks than whites have been pushed out of school—onto the unemployment lines or into low-paying jobs. In 1975 only 8 percent of college seniors were Black, although Blacks are more than 11 percent of the population (U.S. Bureau of the Census).

In professional schools and programs leading to higher-paid jobs, Blacks are barely beginning to



Militant/Lou Howort

Supreme Court's 'Bakke' decision legitimizes hoax of 'reverse discrimination.'

The fact is that anti-Black discrimination is not a thing of the past—it is the systematic, all-pervasive reality *today*. Every objective measurement proves that.

It starts with birth and childhood. The infant mortality rate for Blacks is nearly twice that for

One of every 700 whites is a doctor. But only

- One of every 3,800 Blacks is a doctor.
- One of every 20,000 Native Americans is a doctor, and
- One of every 30,000 Latinos is a doctor.

Source: National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision

present problems. They have to sacrifice and study hard the way we did. This is how it goes in America."

Pollster Robert Beck reported that whites "were plainly tired of paying for hundreds of years of admitted injustice, 'committed by others,' and 'not our responsibility, not our fault.'"

Whites 'herded into ghettos'?

A recent letter to the *New York Times* ridiculed the hoax of "reverse discrimination." It asked: "What is being reversed? Are the whites to be herded into ghettos, removed from their professions, deprived of decent housing, forced into malnutrition and early death? . . ."

"Have we reversed the unemployment rate for blacks so that there are three times as many whites out of work on a per capita basis? . . . Have whites lost 40% of their income, suffered a five-to-ten year loss of longevity or a sharp drop in literacy?"

Socialists urge unity in anti-Bakke fight

By Peter Seidman

The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance believe that the broadest possible unity is needed to defend affirmative action against the reactionary Supreme Court *Bakke* decision, say Maceo Dixon and Osborne Hart.

Dixon is a member of the SWP National Committee and Hart of the YSA National Committee. They are leaders of the socialists' activity in the Black liberation struggle.

Because of their commitment to united action, the socialists welcome recent statements by the National Committee to Overturn the Bakke

Decision and the Communist Party.

NCOBD National Staff Coordinator Melinda Paras stresses the need for unity in an article in the June 28 issue of the *Guardian*. Paras criticizes certain organizations—in particular, the Maoist I Wor Kuen and August 29 Movement—for attempting to build the anti-*Bakke* movement on a narrow, exclusionary basis.

"Those who are seriously concerned to win the struggle against a force as powerful as the U.S. Supreme Court," Paras says, ". . . know that we must bring every possible political ally into the movement in order to maximize its political impact."

She says that "NCOBD's organizing work has clearly been directed to the masses of workers and students, especially third world people and women."

But, Paras explains, "NCOBD is convinced that trade union officials, ministers, politicians, social service professionals, lawyers, and the like are an integral part of the united front as well."

Paras says that groups such as IWK and ATM "are terrified" by such forces "because they fear they

would lose leadership in the midst of such a broad front."

Paras also says that unity in the anti-*Bakke* movement must include those whom she calls "revisionists, Trotskyists and dogmatists." She specifically singles out the SWP and the Communist Party, USA, in this regard.

"While we clearly have political disagreements with Paras," says Dixon, "we agree with her that these differences should not be an obstacle to unity against the *Bakke* ruling."

In a statement published in the July 8 issue of the *Daily World*, the Communist Party also calls for united anti-*Bakke* actions. The CP urges the labor movement, community, and religious organizations to join the fight.

It also says, "student action should be organized on every campus to block retreats on affirmative action and instead to demand new advances."

"We Communists will join with all democratic-minded persons, irrespective of political views or affiliations, who are prepared to do battle in this epic struggle," the statement concludes.

Dixon and Hart explained that the

NCOBD organized the April 15 demonstration of 10,000 people in Washington, D.C., against the *Bakke* decision. And the CP and its affiliated Young Workers Liberation League played a major role in organizing some 4,000 young people in a national march for jobs a week earlier—also in Washington.

"The SWP and YSA supported both of those action," says Hart. "These new statements point the way to more such united activities this fall."

"Despite the confusing language used by the Supreme Court to cloak the real meaning of its July 6 *Bakke* decision," he explains, "the racist and sexist character of this ruling will become increasingly clear."

"As this happens, oppressed minorities and women will struggle to defend and extend the gains they have won through affirmative action against new blows from racist forces."

Dixon added, "United action by those already involved in anti-*Bakke* activities will make it easier to involve still more powerful forces from the labor movement, the Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican communities, and the women's movement."



DIXON

HART

gain representation. In 1969-70, Blacks made up only 2.95 percent of all law students. Over the next seven years that figure inched up to 4.40 percent. (American Bar Association report).

The proportion of first-year medical students who are Black is 6.7 percent and has actually been declining for several years (Data gram: "U.S. Medical Student Enrollments 1972-73 through 1976-77"). Blacks receive less than 2 percent of the bachelor degrees in engineering and less than 1 percent of the master's and doctorate degrees (Brown, Frank, and Madelon Stent, *Minorities in U.S. Institutions of Higher Education*).

And this is after nearly a decade of supposed "good faith efforts" by colleges and universities to increase Black enrollment!

Less financial aid

The "reverse discrimination" myth holds that minorities are receiving all kinds of special aid in going to college. The facts show otherwise. For example, a study of the financial aid allocated by the University of California found that minority

WEEKLY EARNINGS OF FULL-TIME WORKERS (May 1977)		
Proportion who are paid . . .		
	Under \$150/wk	Over \$250/wk
White males	13.3%	53.1%
White females	44.9	14.9
Black males	28.6	32.9
Black females	51.6	14.6
Median weekly earnings*		
White males	\$259	
White females	157	
Black males	201	
Black females	147	
*Half earn above this amount, half below		
Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics		

students who received aid were given on the average slightly less than whites. More than 40 percent of the aid to minorities was in the form of loans to be repaid immediately after graduation, while only 17 percent of aid to whites was loans (cited in *Affirmative Action in Crisis* by National Lawyers Guild and National Conference of Black Lawyers).

Out on the job market, the evidence of discrimination is equally plain—and it is not "reverse discrimination."

The official unemployment rate for white males over twenty is 3.9 percent; for white women, 5.1 percent; Black men, 9.0 percent; and Black women, 10.8 percent. For Black youth sixteen to nineteen years old, the official jobless rate is nearly 40 percent, compared with less than 15 percent for white youth (Labor Department figures for first quarter 1978).

Despite civil rights laws and "fair employment" orders issued by every president since Franklin Roosevelt, Blacks are still segregated into lower-paid jobs (see chart of weekly earnings). In the building trades, Blacks made up 25.6 percent of the Laborers Union in 1974 but only 3.9 percent of the skilled craft unions (Equal Employment Opportunity Commission).

The pattern continues into old age. More than half of Blacks over sixty-five years old live alone and in poverty. They are nearly three times as likely to be poor as the white elderly (U.S. Senate Special Committee on Aging). They suffer higher rates of diabetes, strokes, and a variety of chronic diseases. They are at the mercy of the public hospitals and therefore are among the first victims of cutbacks.

This is the reality of anti-Black discrimination in American society today. It grows out of the legacy of 250 years of slavery and 100 years of Jim Crow segregation. It is maintained because of the profits coined by employers today through consigning Blacks to be last hired, first fired, and lowest paid.

In the never-never land of "reverse discrimination," these facts count for nothing. The opponents of affirmative action insist that any preferential treatment for Blacks and women—such as quotas—violates the "merit system." This argument will be taken up in a future article.

Shanker support to Bakke endangers teachers union

By Frank Lovell

The response to the Supreme Court ruling in the *Bakke* case was divided, like the decision. The victims of racism were dealt another blow and winced. The racists cheered.

There were no surprises in this respect. The Black "leaders" said the blow was not as heavy as it might have been and pretended to feel good on that account. The racists were gleeful that quotas are outlawed but complained that affirmative action is not.

As expected, among those who cheered the loudest and groaned the most was Albert Shanker, president of the American Federation of Teachers. His statement was published on July 9 as the AFT advertisement that appears regularly in the Sunday *New York Times*.

Shanker boasted that from the very inception of the case he had sided with Bakke. In the name of the AFT, Shanker had filed a friend-of-the-court brief arguing that Bakke had been denied admission to the University of California medical school at Davis because he is white. He urged that the Court order the university to admit Bakke.

Of the 100 students admitted each year at Davis, a quota of 16 places were reserved for qualified Blacks, Chicanos, Asians, and American Indians. "The facts were clear," says Shanker. "Allan Bakke was denied admission even though he scored well above the 16 students who were admitted under the minority group program."

Several state bodies of the AFT, including the California Federation of Teachers, supported affirmative action and opposed Shanker's position. AFT Local 2023 at Davis exposed how the school systematically discriminated against minorities in admissions, discipline, and grading.

Paul Goodman, president of Local 2023, told the *Militant* that "if people understood the reality of the medical school and other professional and graduate school admissions—the reality that historic patterns of discrimination against women, racial and ethnic minorities have been characteristic, and that it still goes on—[then] people would understand why there is a need for special admissions."

Other unions—including the United Auto Workers, the International Union of Electrical Workers, and the United Mine Workers—also supported affirmative action and urged the Court to put aside Bakke's spurious "reverse discrimination" claim.

Rooted for Bakke

Shanker was the only supporter of Bakke in the union bureaucracy who formally and officially endorsed his case. There were many other top union officials—probably most of them—who secretly rooted for Bakke. But none except Shanker publicly admitted their prejudices and undertook to commit the membership of their unions to the defense and perpetuation of the established racist patterns of the past.

The Court ruled in Bakke's favor. And Shanker is now boasting that he has been vindicated. But he complains that the decision was "a mixed bag" and fears that affirmative-action programs under the Court's ruling will lead to "hidden quotas."

"The fact that race may be taken into account could lead to hidden quota systems," says Shanker, "in which a university is really selecting by quota but masks its decisions by claiming to take many

complex factors into account."

He is evenhanded in his judgement, just like the justices. "There is also concern that the Supreme Court ruling will be used as an excuse to cut back on affirmative action and other efforts to aid minority groups. That would be equally tragic and equally dangerous," he says, "posing a grave threat to the future of our society."

Shanker is mostly worried about the future of a small group of privileged school administrators and white "educators" with high seniority, who fear any changes in the present discriminatory teaching-assignment practices in New York City.

Better future

Shanker submits a "fair" proposal—a way to overcome discrimination in the future by putting off integration for another generation. It is always too late to do anything for the present victims, but the racists promise that the future will be better. Shanker uses this time-tested formula for his particular needs.

"The key to affirmative action without quotas is in education," he says. "We should not wait until the application is at the door of a medical or law school and then decide to overlook educational deficiencies and give special treatment. . . . If we give special treatment early enough, there will be a fair distribution of successful applicants to professional schools from all ethnic and racial groups."

This argument is now palmed off as a logical consequence of the *Bakke* decision. But it did not wait upon the court ruling. It came long before *Bakke*, with the first hypocritical bigot, grinning sheepishly and counseling patience to the victims of prejudice and discrimination.

Most teachers are not foolish enough to offer such bromides to impatient Black students and their parents, who were fed the same sour dose a generation ago. Certainly the few remaining Black teachers in the New York schools would not try it.

They would get neither sympathy nor attention if they ever tried to make Black people believe that teachers like Shanker, doctors like Bakke, and lawyers like Justice Lewis Powell will ever prepare Black youth for admission to the professions. They are the kind who build barriers against Blacks and other minorities.

Shanker may think he can prevent change, perpetuate the status quo, and preserve "the future of our society." But his running attack on minority people jeopardizes the future of the Teachers union.

Teachers around the country who belong to the AFT—and the vast majority who do not but are members of the National Education Association instead—will watch the AFT convention next month with unusual attention to see if Shanker's racist policies are endorsed.

The *Bakke* decision is part of the general take-back drive of the employers and government against the unions, working people, and oppressed minorities. The unions are under attack now as never before since World War II.

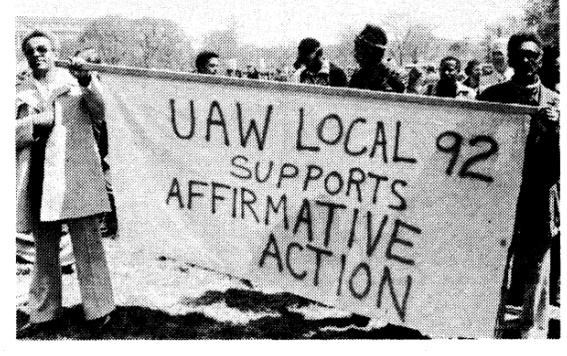
If the teacher organizations fail to win support of Black students and their parents, teachers stand little chance of improving the standard of education or their conditions of work in the schools. This is vital to the future of both the National Education Association and the AFT. And more teachers than Shanker knows are coming to understand this elementary truth.

Labor & affirmative action

Affirmative Action versus Seniority: Last Hired, First Fired by Linda Jenness, Herbert Hill, Willie Mae Reid, Frank Lovell, and Sue Em Davenport. 50 cents.

Teachers Under Attack: An Alternative to the 'Business Unionism' of Albert Shanker by Jeff Mackler. 50 cents.

The Battle of Boston: Busing and the Struggle for School Desegregation by Jon Hillson. 286 pp. paper \$4.45.



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

Public workers take on employer attacks

AFSCME convention hits Prop 13 cutbacks

By Ray Markey

LAS VEGAS—The American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees held its twenty-third international convention here June 26-30.

Some 2,500 delegates attended, of whom about 40 percent were women and 30-40 percent were Black or Latino.

International President Jerry Wurf, in his opening address, declared that public employees are no longer the stepchild of the labor movement. Since its merger with the 250,000-member New York Civil Service Employees Association, AFSCME now has the largest U.S. membership of any union in the AFL-CIO—slightly more than 1 million.

The central question facing the convention was how to respond to the offensive against social services and public employees symbolized by California's Proposition 13. Delegate after delegate reported that similar propositions are being put forward in their states.

Wurf pointed out how "tax relief" under Proposition 13 is a fraud, with two-thirds of the tax windfall going to big business, not to homeowners. He called for federal tax reform.

A progressive federal income tax is the only fair way to finance the government, Wurf said. Let the big shots pay, let the commercial interests pay, let business pay.

Benjamin Hooks, executive director of the NAACP, was among the guest speakers. He urged a coalition of Blacks, women, and trade unionists to fight against racism and the onslaught of Proposition 13-type attacks on working people.

Sweeping tax reform and an alliance of unions, Blacks, and women are certainly needed. The question is how to bring them about, and what such an alliance will fight for. On this crucial point, the AFSCME convention made it clear the union leadership has no

intention of changing the disastrous course it charted in the New York fiscal crisis—that is, reliance on the same Democratic and Republican politicians who are attacking us.

Wurf correctly pointed out that in New York our members have been the victims of the bankers and politicians, who are really to blame for the fiscal crisis. We have been abused by the Republicans and misused by the Democrats, he said. He felt there was a new game in American politics—the old conservatives say they don't need us and the new liberals say they can't afford us.

Wurf said it was "unfortunate" that Carter has singled us out for attack. But—incredibly—he concluded that it was still correct to have endorsed Carter.

Without a change in AFSCME's present political policy, the ringing call for tax reform is an illusion. The Democrats and Republicans are both moving in the opposite direction—raising taxes on workers while cutting taxes on big business. For AFSCME to remain tied to the two-party system can only mean more layoffs, wage freezes, and speedup for our members.

There will be no tax reform that benefits working people without a tremendous struggle—a mobilization of the union ranks, together with such allies as Blacks, women, and working farmers, against the policies of the Democratic and Republican parties.

As a delegate from Local 1930, I spoke in favor of a break with the Democrats and Republicans. An independent labor party is urgently needed, I said, if we are to effectively fight the Proposition 13-type attacks on our unions and living standards.

My speech received a warm response from many delegates. This indicated, I believe, that union activists are beginning to become dissatisfied with an approach that says we must continue to support the Democratic and Republi-

can parties no matter how many times they stab us in the back and then twist the knife for good measure.

Some positive developments at the convention included passage of a resolution calling on Congress "to extend the time allotted for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment at least seven years. . . ." It further stated that future AFSCME conventions and international executive board meetings will be held only in those states that have ratified the ERA.

The convention voted to remove the loyalty oath in the AFSCME constitu-

tion, but it also voted to retain the anticommunist clause. Many delegates lined up at the microphones and spoke against this clause. But the fact that the IEB came out for retaining it—reversing their position at the last convention—was enough to uphold the anticommunist provision in a close vote.

Ray Markey was a delegate from AFSCME Local 1930, New York Public Library Guild, to the recent AFSCME convention.

Phila. city employees strike over layoffs, pay

By Bob Stanton

PHILADELPHIA, July 19—This city's 19,600 public workers walked off the job July 14 in the biggest strike to hit Philadelphia since 1973.

The city workers—members of district councils 33 and 47 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees—are demanding no layoffs, and pay raises comparable to those granted city cops recently.

After binding arbitration gave police a 9 percent salary increase several weeks ago, Mayor Frank Rizzo announced he would lay off up to 4,000 nonuniformed city employees in order to pay the cops.

The city is now offering the strikers a 13.5 percent pay raise over two years and a promise that fire fighters and cops will be included among those laid off.

But, says ex-cop Rizzo, "If I got to decide between a policeman and sanitation man, a sanitation man loses."

City officials obtained court orders July 16 prohibiting mass picketing by the strikers and ordering 2,000 prison guards and court employees back to work.

Strikers have so far ignored both injunctions. Rizzo is threatening to fire

every one of the 2,000 if they don't return to work.

The big-business press immediately took sides against the city workers. On the first day of the strike, front-page photos depicted a group of nuns on a "mission of mercy" being turned back by pickets at a city-run retirement home.

The union leadership has thus far remained silent on its strike strategy. But to win against this antilabor alliance of city officials and news media, the strikers need to enlist the aid of their friends in other unions and in the Black and Puerto Rican communities.

Ben Bailey, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress from the Second District, released a statement in support of the strikers and is distributing it on the picket lines. Bailey is a member of the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers.

"Rizzo sees the municipal workers' strike as a warm-up for his fight with the teachers in the fall," Bailey said.

"All the unions and working people should rally to the support of the municipal workers, because they are fighting for us as well as themselves. We all have a stake in this fight."

Louisville fire fighters defy court, win raise

By Jim Burfeind

LOUISVILLE, Ky.—Having successfully defied a back-to-work court order, this city's 600 fire fighters finally voted to return to work in the early hours of July 18.

The strike, which began July 14, had 100 percent participation from the Louisville Professional Firefighters Local 345. And despite city charges that the fire fighters were endangering lives, the strikers won significant public support.

The fire fighters issued a city-wide appeal for support and distributed a leaflet detailing their side of the contract dispute. Cars honking in support, shouts of encouragement, and offers of refreshments were frequent scenes at the picket lines.

On July 17, more than 500 strikers and their supporters rallied outside the courthouse here as a hearing to overturn the back-to-work order went on inside. Picket signs read, "Your city leaders did this, not us!"

Inside, a county circuit judge dissolved the temporary restraining order he had issued several days before. It seems that Mayor William Stansbury had signed the complaint before the strike even began and then left town.

The city quickly obtained another order by the afternoon.

More than 200 members of the National Guard were called up to aid firehouse supervisors in strikebreaking.

The settlement included a 14 percent pay increase, instead of the 5.5 percent first offered. The city also agreed to drop contempt-of-court charges against the union for its refusal to return to work. No fire fighters are to be penalized for taking part in the strike.

Many Louisville unions have been crippled recently by antistrike court orders, and the fire fighters' militant defiance was an inspiration to the city's working people.

"Let's face it," said striker Michael Hasken, "if we are in jail, we can't fight fires."

And fire fighter Joe Layman warned during the strike that if Local 345 Acting President Granville Ennis were jailed for defying the court order, the city could "send a bus out here for all the rest of us."

Jim Burfeind is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from the Third District in Kentucky. A member of Lodge 2409 of the International Association of Machinists, Burfeind is currently on strike at the General Electric plant in Louisville.



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Steelworkers plan fight for right to vote

By Andy Rose

A renewed fight for union democracy is brewing inside the United Steelworkers of America. The immediate focus is on the international convention that will convene September 18 in Atlantic City, New Jersey.

On one side are rank-and-file steelworkers and some local union officers, who have announced a campaign to win the right to vote on contracts. In addition, they are determined to maintain the right of the membership to vote on top union officers.

On the other side stand USWA President Lloyd McBride and his small army of bureaucrats and hangers-on, whose privileges and power depend on stifling any voice of opposition to their procompany policies. McBride has raised trial balloons about abolishing the referendum election of officers.

The right-to-ratify drive was launched in June at the district conference of USWA District 31. It passed a resolution urging "that the constitution of the USWA be changed to provide that no collective bargaining agreement be entered into without the approval of the total membership by referendum vote."

This effort was spurred by the heroic 110-day strike by coal miners. "We have to look at the coal miners," one conference delegate said. "They were able to turn down those lousy contracts the bosses wanted to shove down their throats. We need to be able to do the same."

Bill Andrews, president of Local 1010 at Inland Steel, said, "What the coal miners did woke us up and showed us what sticking together can do."

Since the Steel Workers Organizing Committee was founded in 1936, workers in the basic steel industry have never had the right to vote on their contracts. They don't even find out the actual terms of a settlement until weeks or months after the fact.

An especially sore point among many workers in basic steel is that the international officers in 1973 signed a no-strike deal, the Experimental Negotiating Agreement, without membership approval. Those whose most fundamental union right was taken away

have never been allowed to vote on that agreement.

The right to vote on contracts and abolition of the ENA were among the central themes of Ed Sadlowski's Steelworkers Fight Back campaign for international president in 1976-77. Sadlowski won a majority in the basic steel sector of the union.

In the basic steel, aluminum, container, and nonferrous metals industries, the only vote on contracts takes place in industry conferences made up of the local presidents in that industry. These four conferences together cover only about half the USWA membership.

The rest work in smaller metal fabricating and miscellaneous manufacturing plants. Often these workers—fragmented into weaker units—are allowed to vote on their contracts.

Their right to vote is far from secure, though. The union constitution makes no provision for *any membership say whatsoever* over contracts and strikes.

To the contrary, Article XVI states: "No strike shall be called without the approval of the International President." And Article XVII, Section 1, provides that "the International Union shall be the contracting party in all collective bargaining agreements and all such agreements shall be signed by the International Officers."

So small-shop steelworkers also have a stake in the right-to-ratify effort. In addition, many small-shop contracts are patterned after basic steel, so they would directly benefit from the ability of the basic steel membership to win better settlements.

Most important, all steelworkers would gain because democratic functioning would strengthen the entire union in the fight against the employers.

Already the right to ratify has won support from coast to coast. Local union presidents from the Mesabi Iron Range, Youngstown, Detroit, and Baltimore joined those from Chicago-Gary in launching the drive. In addition, the June conference of District 38 in the western states voted overwhelmingly for the right to ratify.

The popularity of this democratic right is so great that McBride cannot count on a solid front among the

The case for ratification

The following are excerpts from a statement by Bill Andrews, president of USWA Local 1010, announcing the right-to-ratify effort.



BILL ANDREWS

The presidents gathered here have all signed a statement saying we would welcome and support transferring the right to ratify the basic steel contract from the local presidents to the rank and file steelworkers covered by it.

There are a few problems with the present method. Democracy is based on the principle of one person, one vote. Yet when I vote for my membership I have one vote for over 18,000 steelworkers. A local with 100 members carries as much voting power as my one vote. We feel this method of voting is unfair to the membership who must live under that contract.

Some people might say rank and file ratification is too costly or takes too long. Yet we are just about the only major union in this country who does not allow the membership to make the decision. Democracy is worth a few extra dollars and a few extra days. Decisions are always reached more quickly and inexpensively in dictatorships where only one man makes the decisions, but none of us in the trade union movement would want to trade democracy off for dictatorship.

I have great respect for the intelligence and responsibility of our membership. I do my best to try and vote

the way I believe they'd want me to. But I believe that the membership should vote on basic steel contracts. We local presidents are only part of the union; the entire union is made up of every member. Major decisions such as voting on a contract or electing an International President and Executive Board should rest in their hands.

Membership ratification of national contracts would not only be more democratic, it will also help produce better contracts.

We have all agreed that we will try and make the right to ratify a major question at this convention.

We feel that this will strengthen our union by involving all our members in making the decisions that will affect their working lives. This power rightfully belongs to the working members of our union.

Chicago, June 16

International Executive Board. The right to vote has the endorsement not only of the two district directors who were elected last year as pro-Sadlowski candidates—Jim Balanoff in District 31 and Linus Wampler in District 33—but also of some McBride backers, such as Robert Petris in District 38.

Ever since his election, McBride has sought to intimidate and silence the sentiment for union democracy that took national expression in the Sadlowski campaign. His inaugural speech set the tone for his administration by labeling Sadlowski's supporters as "outsiders" and "professional meddlers" who "attempted to take this union for their own personal and political purposes."

McBride has reportedly used recent conferences of the union staff to whip up his machine to "take care of" oppositionists at the September convention.

Last April McBride took another ominous step by filing suit against the Association for Union Democracy, which provided some legal aid for the Steelworkers Fight Back campaign. McBride, in essence, claims the Sadlowski campaign was a puppet for corporate interests out to break the USWA. His "proof" is that the Association for Union Democracy received funds from several liberal foundations, which in turn receive corporate money.

Some experts believe the suit to be legally frivolous. But its main purpose is political, not legal. McBride is trying to foster the idea that membership elections are open to "manipulation" by "outsiders" . . . so they should be replaced by election of officers at conventions, which are more readily stacked and controlled by the union bureaucracy.

Of course, McBride enjoys a cozy relationship with the steel bosses and backs their policies on all major questions. The only "outsiders" he worries

about are the union ranks.

What happens at USWA conventions—dominated by staff representatives beholden to the "official family"—is usually far removed from the lives and concerns of steelworkers in the mills. To affect the convention will require a massive show of rank-and-file sentiment.

In some areas steelworkers are beginning to circulate petitions, post stickers, write articles for local union papers, and campaign for delegates committed to the membership's right to vote on contracts and officers. These efforts—if sustained and spread—have the potential to win gains for union democracy and strengthen the USWA.



Militant/Nancy Cole

Power of coal strike—in which miners were able to vote down bosses' contracts—helped inspire right-to-ratify drive in steel.

Steel notes...

BELGIAN STEELWORKERS WIN SHORTER WORKWEEK:

Through a six-day strike at the end of June, some 45,000 steelworkers in southern Belgium won a shorter workweek to preserve jobs. The workweek will be shortened to thirty-nine hours on November 1 and to thirty-eight hours next July 1.

DISTRICT 29 WOMEN'S CONFERENCE: The June issue of *Steel Labor* reports that 150 women from Michigan and northern Ohio attended a District 29 women's conference in May. Until recently the USWA officialdom denied the need for women's meetings and committees, claiming that problems of sex discrimination could be handled through existing civil rights committees. But women steelworkers are making their voices heard and insisting on their rights in the workplace and in the union.

One observation: *Steel Labor* provides quotes from District 29 Director Charles Younglove and USWA Vice-president Leon Lynch. But it fails to tell us what any of the women said. Still a ways to go. . . .

GOOD READING FOR RIGHT-TO-VOTE ACTIVISTS: Steelworkers fighting for the right to ratify contracts will find valuable lessons in the pamphlet *A Struggle for Union Democracy: The story of the Right to Vote Committee in the United Transportation Union*. It tells about a rank-and-file revolt in the UTU that began in 1969 in the Chicago railroad yards. Ed Heisler, who was secretary of the Right to Vote Committee, tells how it was organized, how it defeated attempts by the union bureaucracy to destroy it, how it won a mass following among rail workers, and what it accomplished.

A Struggle for Union Democracy is available for seventy-five cents from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.

By Larry Seigle

(Last of a series)

How extensive is the government's network of police informers?

Carter's recently appointed FBI boss, William Webster, made headlines a few months ago by announcing that the FBI now has only forty-two informers working on "domestic security" cases. In 1975, the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence found, the FBI had some 1,500 "domestic intelligence" stool pigeons. In 1976, the FBI budgeted \$7,000,000 for the care and feeding of these spies.

Webster's figure of forty-two is pure fakery. For example, snitches used against the Communist Party are no longer counted in the "domestic security" totals because the CP has been reclassified into the "foreign intelligence" area.

Informers used against members of the Weather Underground and others forced to live under assumed names are not included in the forty-two either. They have been reclassified as "false identity" investigations. Other informers in the political arena are now simply listed on the rolls of "criminal informants."

Army of informers

No matter how many FBI informers there are, they comprise only a small percentage of the tens of thousands of secret agents now at work in this country.

In pleading his case for informer secrecy, Attorney General Griffin Bell has said that turning over eighteen spy files to attorneys for the Socialist Workers Party would "adversely [affect] the ability of other law enforcement agencies, such as the Internal Revenue Service, the Drug Enforcement Administration, the Secret Service, the Postal Inspection Service, the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the Securities and Exchange Commission and the Department of Labor, to attract and maintain sources of information."

Bell's list, long as it is, is not a complete rundown of federal agencies that rely on informers. For some unknown reason, the attorney general forgot to list the CIA. He omitted reference to the military intelligence services, too.

He also left off the Customs Service, which relies on paid spies. Even the innocent-seeming Department of Agriculture has its own little army of informers to make sure no one is ripping off food stamps!

But the list doesn't end there. State and city agencies have their own stool pigeons. State police "red squads" have stables of informers. Every municipal police force and county sheriff's department in the country has its own roster of snitches.

The nation is plagued with these vermin, who swarm out of virtually every department of the government bureaucracy and police agencies.

'Law enforcement'

"But," a reader might object "you began by talking about *political* informers. Now you are talking about the police and the government *in general*."

All right. Let's back up a minute. In last week's article, we saw that informers are essential to the FBI and other political police agencies.

But the same is true for police *in general*. Once you leave the Hollywood fantasy land where clever detectives match wits with crooks and diligently track down clues, you are left with a simple fact of life:

There are only three ways the cops know who committed a crime. First, they do it themselves (and pin it on somebody else). Second, they catch someone in the act, either by chance or, more often, by advance notice from a snitch. Third, someone later tells them who did it. It's that simple.

It is, concluded Anthony Marro in the *New York Times* recently, "a basic fact of law enforcement: Informants, whether cooperating for money, out of

Battle over FBI informers

How police serve the ruling rich



Cops' job is to forcibly hold down Blacks, working people, all struggles for social justice.

fear, or to win favor, are essential to police work . . . Veterans of a quarter-century with the [FBI] and Federal drug agencies say they cannot recall one case of importance solved without an informant."

A cop is a cop

This brings us to another question. Is there a qualitative difference, from the standpoint of the exploited and oppressed of this country, between the FBI and "nonpolitical" cop agencies? Should we be in favor of strengthening the hands of the police in "criminal law enforcement," while trying to disarm them in their war against the labor movement, the oppressed minorities, and political activists?

To answer this we have to look at the social role of the cops in capitalist society. The police are part of the capitalist state machinery. The cops, along with the standing army, constitute what Frederick Engels called the "special bodies of armed men" (today we would add, "and some women") who are the chief instruments of state power.

"This public force exists in every state; it consists not merely of armed men, but of material appendages, prisons and repressive institutions of all kinds . . ." wrote Engels in *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State*.

Engels explained that the state appears to stand apart from and above the conflict between different classes. It appears to function as merely a mediator between them. But this is only its appearance. In reality, the state exists to protect the rule and

advance the interests of the dominant economic class.

Thus, the army, the cops, the courts, and the jails are all instruments of repression and coercion in the hands of the capitalist class that rules this country.

'Neutrality' stripped away

In times of sharp social and class conflict, the real role of the repressive machinery becomes clear for all to see. The fake "neutrality" is stripped away, and naked force and violence are used to beat down any challenge to capitalist rule. That is what happens in a revolutionary upsurge.

And it is a lesson of history that pent-up hatred and anger of the masses against the police plays a role in all social revolutions. Things never go well for the cops during working-class upsurges.

We see the same thing on a more limited scale when the capitalists use the police to break strikes. Or when they get their courts to issue antiunion injunctions. Or when they send in police and the National Guard to occupy the communities of the oppressed nationalities in order to terrorize and intimidate those fighting for social justice.

But the police, the courts, and the prisons play the same social role *every day*. They defend private property and the privileges of the owners of the factories, mines, and mills not only against organized, massive challenges, but also against desperate attempts to find a solution to the inequalities of this society on an individual basis.

Every day judges are kept busy

sentencing the victims of this society to prison for the crime of being poor.

Every day the cops brutalize the most oppressed, gunning down in cold blood those whose crime is to be Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, or Native American.

Do cops stop crime?

This leads us to another question that is often asked: "How can we survive in this society without protection from muggers, rapists, and drug pushers? Don't we need the police?"

Let's start with the fact that the cops themselves are among the biggest criminals around. It is well known that the police are up to their rotten necks in drug pushing in the Black communities. All the rackets operate with police protection, purchased at a high price.

It is also common knowledge that if the cops arrive on the scene of a robbery and find anything of value left behind, they are more than likely to remove it themselves.

And what about assaults and homicides? Ask the residents of Crown Heights in Brooklyn, who have seen the cops—with immunity from city hall—repeatedly kill innocent Blacks.

Or ask the Chicano community in Houston, where the cops who murdered twenty-three-year-old Joe Campos Torres were given token one-year sentences—a move that amounts to granting racist cops a license to kill in the state of Texas.

Moreover, we should keep in mind the illegal acts committed by the FBI and its informers—including burglaries, thefts, bombings, and assaults. The latest revelations about Gary Rowe, an FBI informer, show that he shot down Black citizens of Birmingham with FBI and local police support and encouragement.

The police also cooperate with and provide protection for ultraright terrorists, Nazis, the Ku Klux Klan, and the like.

But there is an even more fundamental reason why working people can't count on the cops for protection from crimes and random acts of violence. In this society, violence is rooted in the very system of exploitation and oppression the cops are there to defend and protect.

It is poverty, unemployment, and the despair that comes when young people see no future in this society, no hope of ever getting a decent job, that leads to individual, desperate attempts to find a way out.

Police do not "stop crime." All they do is victimize those who are already victims of capitalist oppression.

Only by ending the system that breeds unemployment, war, racism, and sexist oppression, can the conditions that drive individuals to acts of violence against others be eliminated.

But it is that very system—capitalism—that the cops and the FBI are assigned to uphold.

Socialist Workers Party

The goal of the Socialist Workers Party is to kick out the capitalist parties and bring to power a workers government that can begin the process of reorganizing society on a rational, humane basis. A workers government will place the needs of working people before profits. Such a government, representing the majority, will begin to construct a socialist America and lead the struggle for a socialist world. It will do away with the FBI, the CIA, and the other capitalist police agencies. It will unlock the prison doors and restore freedom to the victims of capitalist "justice." It will dismantle the entire repressive apparatus created by the capitalist class.

It is because we are fighting for that goal, and are among the ranks of the exploited and oppressed, that the FBI has targeted our party as an enemy to be harassed, spied on, and disrupted by informers and agents-provocateurs.

And it is because we are staunchly committed to that goal that we will not let the FBI and the Carter administration off the hook in this historic fight for the informer files.

Stakes high for all rail unions

Rail clerks strike N&W over job security

By Rob Bartlett and Steve Wright

CHICAGO—Faced with the company's refusal to negotiate, the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks (BRAC) struck the Norfolk and Western Railway July 10.

Picket lines of the 5,000 BRAC clerks have been honored by the 15,000 other unionized N&W employees. Despite scabbing by supervisory personnel, the rich, coal-hauling railroad, spanning fourteen states, has been almost entirely shut down.

The walkout followed twenty-one months of union-management talks on the elimination of jobs due to technological changes and subcontracting of work.

Over the past three years, 1,300 clerks' jobs were lost, and N&W has threatened that 1,500 more will be eliminated in the near future.

The union is demanding a guaranteed job and wage rate for employees displaced by technological changes. At present, these workers are forced into lower-paying jobs or laid off. Though

such guarantees have been in effect for some time on other roads, N&W refuses even to discuss the issue.

BRAC has proposed that some of the new jobs created by mechanization be under the jurisdiction of the clerks. But the company has insisted they be classified as management.

The big-business news media have stepped in on the side of the company, trying to portray the union's demand as a raiding operation on other unions. But there is no jurisdictional dispute between BRAC and other rail unions involved.

The strike was the last resort after BRAC exhausted all the time-consuming steps of the antilabor Railway Labor Act. N&W went to court for a temporary order against the strike, but a federal judge in Chicago denied the request. Further efforts to get anti-strike court orders failed in Cleveland, St. Louis, and Virginia.

The company is still trying to use the courts to break the costly strike. In turn, the union has filed a \$12 million class-action suit against N&W.

Norfolk and Western is trying to keep freight moving with the aid of its 400 supervisors and officials. Two BRAC pickets were hospitalized in Decatur, Illinois, July 13 after N&W officials ran over them with a truck.

The issues in this strike are some of the same ones at the heart of the national rail contract talks.

The news media have reported a tentative agreement between four major rail unions and the railroads prom-

ising a 35 percent wage increase over three years. BRAC officials have reportedly refused to accept the pay proposal.

According to *Business Week* the tentative agreement reached with the United Transportation Union, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, International Association of Sheet Metal Workers, and Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees does not include such important issues for the unions as crew size.

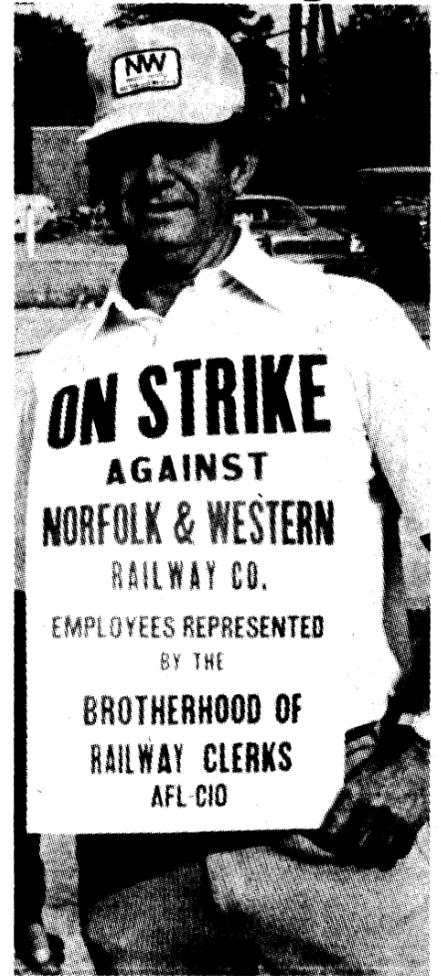
It is not yet known to the ranks of the rail unions whether the settlement includes industry demands such as pay by the hour rather than the mile for road crews, employee-financed health insurance, and reduced wages for new employees.

The rail carriers are on the offensive. They're trying to retrieve gains rail workers have won in the past. The N&W clerks' strike is part of the fight of rail workers to defend our rights and benefits.

It is in the interest of all rail workers to aid the BRAC strikers in every way possible. Union locals can pass resolutions of support and educate their members, as well as other unionists, on the issues of the strike.

The BRAC strike can set an important example of how to fight back against the carriers' attacks. And it can help reverse the trend in the industry to eliminate union jobs.

The stakes are high—not just for BRAC workers but for all rail unionists.



BRAC striker pickets yard in Radford, Virginia.

Rob Bartlett is a switchman on the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad and a member of United Transportation Union Local 577. Steve Wright is an electrician on the Burlington Northern Railroad and assistant local chairperson of Local 533 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

Socialist wins right to sell on Fla. campus

By Andrea Baron

The Young Socialist Alliance at the University of Florida in Gainesville has won an important round in its fight for the right to sell the *Militant*.

On June 29 federal District Judge William Stafford issued an injunction barring the UF administration from banning sales of the socialist weekly on campus.

Stafford's order upheld a motion by YSA member Jim Howe. Howe had been selling about twenty copies a week of the *Militant* at UF until February 22.

That day, Bill Cross, UF's assistant director of student activities, threatened to have Howe arrested unless he stopped selling on campus. Cross claimed *Militant* sales violated a campus anti-peddling regulation.

Howe could "give his newspaper away with impunity," the administration argued later in court, "but . . . he may sell it only in a vending machine or at one particular desk in the [student] union."

The YSA replied that the university decision violated First Amendment rights. After all, vending machines are prohibitively expensive, and the *Mili-*



Following federal judge's ruling, James Howe sells the 'Militant' at the University of Florida in Gainesville.

tant depends on street sales for a significant portion of its income, since it carries no commercial advertising.

different Native American nations were present, all sharing "the same desire to preserve our treaty rights and our traditional way of life."

He charged that Congress is trying to take away the land that Indians still possess because it is rich in minerals and energy sources.

He described the anti-Indian bills now pending in Congress. Some would abolish fishing, hunting, or water rights provisions of treaties. Others would prevent tribes from recovering land illegally stolen from them.

The most sweeping bill—and symbol of them all—is the cynically titled

American Civil Liberties Union attorney Clyde Ellis presented the YSA's legal case.

Native American Equal Opportunity Act. This bill would abrogate all treaties, abolish reservations, and wipe out the shamefully inadequate social services the federal government provides Indians in such areas as health and education.

The press has downplayed the bills, claiming they aren't being seriously considered by Congress.

But U.S. Rep. Ron Dellums told the *Militant*, "They're a very serious threat."

"It's going to take a strong outcry to stop those bills from getting passed."

Judge Stafford's order accepted the socialists' arguments. "Speech is protected even though it may involve a solicitation to purchase," he wrote. "In assessing the reasonableness of a regulation, we must weigh heavily the fact that communication is involved and that access to public places for the purpose of exercising First Amendment rights cannot be denied broadly. 'Free expression must not in the guise of regulation be abridged or denied.'"

Howe told the *Independent Florida Alligator*, the UF campus paper, that Stafford's injunction is temporary, pending an unscheduled final ruling.

But because the injunction is based on the merits of the case, Howe is confident that "for all practical purposes, we've won."

Howe stressed that this is a victory for the democratic rights of all UF students.

He also told the paper why he thinks circulating the *Militant* is so important. "I believe in what I'm doing. I think this is the only solution. This generation has got to do something about the world's problems or there isn't going to be any humanity left to do it."

Following the rally, the walk resumed, going past the White House to the Washington Monument, where more ceremonies and protest activities are scheduled for more than a week, through July 24.

The marchers formed two main contingents: first the Native Americans, then the non-Indian supporters—mostly Blacks from the D.C. area. The Indians chanted traditional songs accompanied by drums. People in the other contingent were silent until they reached the White House, when their fists shot in the air and they shouted, "White man's hands off Indian land!"

...walk

Continued from page 6

in court to get some of our land back. Now they want Congress to say we can't get land, only money.

"But the white man doesn't understand our ways. Our elders teach the earth is our mother, the sun our father.

"Without our land, we cannot survive as a people. The land was stolen from us and now we want it back, at least enough to survive on," she said.

In his speech, Clyde Bellecourt reported that members of more than 100

Puerto Rico: 80 years after U.S. invasion

By José G. Pérez

Eighty years ago this July 25, U.S. military forces headed by Gen. Nelson Miles invaded the Caribbean island of Puerto Rico.

One of the first things General Miles did upon landing was to issue a proclamation "To the Inhabitants of Porto Rico" (it took many years for the yankees to learn to spell the name correctly).

"[T]he people of the United States in the cause of liberty, justice, and humanity . . . have come to occupy the Island of Porto Rico. . . .

"We have not come to make war against a people of a country that for centuries has been oppressed, but, on the contrary, to bring you protection . . . to promote your prosperity, and to bestow upon you the immunities and blessings of the liberal institutions of our government."

Eighty years later, how have these promises been kept?

The first one, that the United States would occupy Puerto Rico, has been kept well enough. Military bases bristling with bombers and nuclear-tipped missiles occupy 13 percent of the island.

Parts of the country are used for target practice and military maneuvers by the United States, despite the vociferous opposition of residents of those areas. The U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation, Central Intelligence Agency, and other secret-police agencies devote much time to spying on and disrupting the legal political activities and organizations of Puerto Ricans.

But the other promises remain a dead letter. Puerto Rico is not prosperous for Puerto Ricans, only for American corporations.

Although corporate profit figures are a closely guarded secret, a Wall Street analyst has given the following estimates of *yearly* return on plants and equipment in Puerto Rico for three American companies: Warner-Lambert Products Company, 110 percent; Abbott Pharmaceuticals, Inc., 101 percent; Schering Pharmaceutical Corporation, 90 percent.

In 1974, according to official government figures, one of every five dollars produced by Puerto Rican workers was taken out of that country by U.S. corporations. And that doesn't count the profits U.S. companies kept in Puerto Rico to avoid paying taxes.

The Puerto Rican economy is a wholly owned subsidiary of Wall Street. Even though it is a fertile island, Puerto Rico imports much food because it is more profitable for the yankees to speculate in real estate than to grow food.

And although its own energy needs are modest, Puerto Rico is the site of a huge petroleum refining industry, because the American capitalists would rather not have these tremendous polluters in their own hometowns.

After eighty years of U.S. rule most Puerto Ricans live in poverty. According to the *Wall Street*



Eighty years after U.S. invasion, many Puerto Ricans live in shanties, while U.S. banks and corporations rake in superprofits.

Journal, real unemployment (including "discouraged" workers who have given up the search for jobs) is about 50 percent, and many more workers are forced to accept part-time jobs even though they need full-time employment. By the end of 1975, more than 70 percent of the island's population was on food stamps.

Tens of thousands of people live in *arrabales* that make the worst American tenements look like luxury high rises by comparison. These are little shacks built of cardboard, tin, and plywood on the edges of lakes, rivers, and the ocean. Garbage and waste are dumped into the water below until it becomes a landfill. Then the cops come and drive out the residents, saying they are illegally squatting on government land.

Some 2 million of the 5 million Puerto Ricans have been driven from their homeland to the United States by unemployment and poverty. Here they live in the worst slums, are employed only in the lowest-paying and most dangerous jobs, and are subjected to constant harassment and brutality by the cops.

On the political level, Puerto Rico is a colony in the purest sense of the word. The power of the U.S. Congress over Puerto Rico is absolute, although Puerto Ricans have no voting representatives in that body.

It is true that there is a local elected administration in Puerto Rico. But its powers are insignificant compared with those of a sovereign nation. U.S. courts have consistently ruled that "the government of Puerto Rico has those powers the Congress from time to time has seen fit to concede to it." And what Congress gives, Congress can take away.

The U.S. government directly controls or regu-

lates banking, business, environmental protection, labor relations, immigration, and customs.

You cannot put up a TV station or even have a Citizen's Band radio in your car without permission from the U.S. government.

When the United States goes to war, Puerto Rico goes with it, although Puerto Ricans have no say over this. Puerto Ricans are drafted into the U.S. armed forces with the U.S. president as their commander in chief—although no resident of Puerto Rico is allowed to vote for president.

The evidence that Puerto Rico is a colony is so overwhelming that in 1973, the United Nations voted 104 to 5 to approve a resolution that "reaffirms the inalienable right of the people of Puerto Rico to self-determination and independence."

The powerful U.S. government could find only five votes against this motion: itself, the racist South African regime, the Portuguese imperialists (at the time heavily embroiled in a losing war against liberation movements in their African colonies), Great Britain (which has its own colonies, such as Bermuda), and France (which also has colonies, for example, the Antillean islands of Guadeloupe and Martinique).

American working people have absolutely no stake in the brutal colonial oppression of Puerto Rico. This colonial plunder only strengthens the same ruling class that is attacking our rights and standard of living in the United States.

That is why it is not only in the interest of Puerto Ricans, but in the interest of all American working people, to mark this eightieth year of U.S. colonial rule over Puerto Rico by demanding:

Independence for Puerto Rico!
U.S. out now!

Marroquin tours Albuquerque, Atlanta

By Joel Hodroff

ALBUQUERQUE—This was the sixtieth stop on Héctor Marroquín's four-month national speaking tour. During his visit here, Marroquín spoke at three public meetings and gave interviews to three newspapers—including a new bilingual paper—and to three radio stations and a TV station.

Marroquín also met with Reies López Tijerina, the internationally known leader of the Alianza Federal de Pueblos Libres, an organization that fights for Chicano land rights. Tijerina endorsed Marroquín's right to political asylum.

On June 21 Marroquín spoke at a rally of 120 people. Speaking in defense of Marroquín were Laura Jacobson of the Albuquerque National Organization for Women; Blanche Fitzpatrick, New Mexico Civil Liberties Union; James Maestas of the New Mexico State Employees Association; and Jesús Valencia of the University of New Mexico Chicano Studies Department.

The newly formed Albuquerque Committee for Human Rights in Latin America sponsored a dinner and discussion with Marroquín. José Pérez, Mexican vice-consul in Albuquerque, showed up for the dinner. "Héctor has big ideas. Those ideas are very good,"

he said. But he refused to comment on political repression in Mexico or the fact that Marroquín faces political frame-up charges there.

Marroquín's supporters also organized a reception for him. A letter inviting people to it was signed by figures in the feminist, Chicano, and Native American movements.

By Lea Bockman

ATLANTA—A June 30 rally supporting Héctor Marroquín's right to political asylum was the high point of his visit to Atlanta.

Speakers included Gene Guerrero, executive director of the Georgia Civil Liberties Union, who gave an eyewitness account of repression in Mexico; Black activist Rick Reid of the Georgia Clearing House on Jails and Prisons; and Linda Regnier, a coordinator of the Human Rights Coalition.

Written statements of support came from Leamon Hood, an international representative of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; and Dr. Manning Marable, chairperson of the political science department at Tuskegee Institute.

Appearing with Marroquín was Ali Shokri, a former member of the Iranian air force who is seeking political asylum in this country.

A letter endorsing Marroquín's right

to asylum and forwarded to Immigration and Naturalization Service Commissioner Leonel Castillo was signed by three Atlanta City Council members and other local figures.

The *Atlanta Journal*, the area's largest daily paper, published a friendly interview with Marroquín and Shokri. Marroquín also was a guest on a popular radio call-in show.

Who he is and how to help

Héctor Marroquín, a member of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance, is seeking political asylum in the United States.

In 1974—while a student activist at the University of Nuevo León in Monterrey, Mexico—Marroquín was framed up on murder charges. Knowing that political activists are routinely tortured or killed by Mexican authorities, he fled to the United States, where he has lived ever since.

This didn't stop the Mexican authorities, however, who have continued to charge him with various crimes.

The U.S. government is trying to deport Marroquín back to Mexico, where he would face certain imprisonment and torture, and possible murder at the hands of the Mexican police.

A pamphlet titled "My Story" by

Héctor Marroquín is available in English and Spanish. It outlines the facts of Marroquín's case and shows that he is innocent of the charges leveled against him. The price is fifty cents, or thirty-five cents a copy on orders of ten or more.

You can help save Marroquín's life by ordering and helping to circulate this pamphlet.

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, Box 843, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

Justice for Santos Rodriguez!

Chicanos demand prosecution of killer cops

By José G. Pérez

Chanting, "We want Justice!" hundreds of Chicanos demonstrated in the Texas panhandle town of Plainview July 15 to demand that the government punish killer cops.

The protest was sparked by the police murder of twenty-five-year-old Timothy Rosales in a rural area near Plainview. Rosales died from a single bullet wound in the head from the gun of Hale County Deputy Sheriff Charles Cypert.

Police have given contradictory versions of the event, but they all claim the gun went off accidentally during a struggle.

The 700 participants in the July 15 protest came in car caravans from as far away as San Antonio, Dallas, and Houston. They included members and leaders of a wide spectrum of Chicano groups, such as the League of United Latin American Citizens, the Brown Berets, the United Farm Workers, and the Raza Unida Party.

The participants were outraged by the July 14 decision of a Texas grand jury to not indict Cypert for murdering Rosales.

They were also outraged by the Justice Department's July 14 announcement that no federal civil rights

charges would be brought against Dallas cop Darryl Cain, who five years ago murdered twelve-year-old Santos Rodriguez.

At Cain's state trial, witnesses testified the cop dragged the boy from his home at 3 a.m. Cain admitted he put a bullet through the handcuffed child's



SANTOS RODRIGUEZ

head while playing Russian Roulette in an attempt to torture him into confessing an eight-dollar robbery. Cain claimed he didn't know his .357 magnum revolver was loaded.

For this atrocity, state courts sentenced Cain to only five years in prison, even though murder is a capital crime in Texas.

Last month, President Carter announced he had personally ordered Attorney General Griffin Bell to look into indicting Cain on federal civil rights charges, which carry a maximum life sentence.

Last week, Bell sent word that the federal government would take no action against Cain.

At the Plainview rally, Rubén Sandoval, a Chicano attorney involved in many police brutality cases, said, "Yesterday President Carter showed us how little we meant to him."

"I want you to remember yesterday," Sandoval continued. "I want you to say to him [Carter], 'I am a twelve-year-old-child, with my hands cuffed behind my back, and I have been assassinated.'"

In addition to the groups at the Plainview protest, others have denounced the Justice Department's refusal to prosecute Cain. Vilma Martí-

nez, president of the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund, called it "frightening."

She added, "I wish the president were as interested in the human rights of Santos Rodriguez as he is in those of Mr. Shcharansky," the Soviet dissident.

Miguel Pendás, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from Texas, said, "By their inaction, President Carter and Attorney General Bell have given the green light to the cops who terrorize the Chicano and Black communities all over this country."

"What we need," Pendás said, "is an organized movement of ongoing protests like the one held in Plainview to force Carter to put all the killer cops in prison and throw away the key."

The federal government claims to be investigating 212 cases of police terror against Latinos across the country. 50 of the cases are in Texas.

So far, the government has gone ahead with prosecutions in a grand total of two cases—the San Antonio-area murder of Ricardo Morales and the Houston murder of Joe Campos Torres. In each case, indictments came only after repeated and widely publicized protests in the Chicano community.

Chicanos grill politicians at LULAC convention

By Miguel Pendás

LAS VEGAS, N.Mex.—Opposition to cutbacks of vital services caused by California's Proposition 13 was a major focus of the forty-ninth annual convention of the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), held here June 22-25.

Outgoing LULAC President Eduardo Morga called Prop 13 "an enormous risk to the Mexican-American people."

"We have no objection to" tax relief for homeowners, Morga said. But "what is not so clearly known are these facts: \$3 billion will go in tax relief to out-of-state business interests; \$2.7 billion will be turned over to the federal government in extra taxes and lost revenue; the insurance industry, which charges the highest rates in its history, will get a windfall of \$250 million; Pacific Telephone will get a \$130 windfall this year alone."

"Over the next ten years the utilities in California will get a windfall of over \$6 billion, sufficient to pay for all bilingual programs necessary to provide equal opportunity for 12 million

Mexican-Americans over the next decade. Bank of America will get a windfall of \$25 million."

As a result of Prop 13, Morga said, there will be major cutbacks in bilingual programs, schools and health facilities, and layoffs of thousands of Chicano and other public employees.

Pointing to the role of California Gov. Jerry Brown and other Democratic and Republican politicians in driving through the cuts, Morga threatened a Chicano election boycott next fall.

He also told the *Militant* that Chicano voters should consider fielding their own candidates or supporting "minor party candidates."

Morga and other LULAC leaders, such as Texas Director Ruben Bonilla, have adopted an increasingly critical stance toward the racist treatment of Chicanos by the government.

Both Morga and Bonilla spoke at the National Chicano/Latino Conference on Immigration in San Antonio last fall and condemned the racist Carter plan on deportations.

Bonilla has condemned Washington's inaction in a growing number of police brutality and murder cases in Texas.

Speakers at the conference included the chairpersons of both the Democratic and Republican parties, as well as Rick Hernández, a White House aide who is a Chicano.

During the discussion period, all three speakers were questioned sharply.

The most bitter denunciations of the Carter administration received the longest and loudest applause.

The responses by the speakers were none too surprising. The Republican blamed the Democrats for ignoring the Chicanos. The Democrat said the same thing about the Republicans.

The grilling of Rick Hernández went so long it had to be adjourned and continued in another room. It was a symptom of the growing disillusionment of Chicano community leaders with the Carter administration.

Hernández promised that Attorney General Griffin Bell is "going to get

personally involved" and "get something done" about the burgeoning number of unpunished acts of police murder, such as those of Joe Campos Torres, Santos Rodríguez, Larry Lozano, and others. [See article above.]

Another sign that LULAC, long thought of as a "pillar of moderation" in the Chicano community, is becoming alienated from the status quo was the calling together of a women's caucus at the convention.

Caucus organizer Nelda Ojeda told the *Militant* that LULAC women, although a majority of the membership, are "not recognized." She said the caucus believes that women should be fully involved in all LULAC activities, including in the leadership.

The caucus is working to get LULAC actively involved in the movement for the Equal Rights Amendment, which LULAC supports; in implementing the Plan of Action from last year's National Women's Conference in Houston; and in backing Pro-Choice, a California group that supports a woman's right to choose an abortion.

Hospital denies care to undocumented workers

By Barry David

ALBUQUERQUE, N. Mex.—Chanting "Health care for all! Stop the deportations! Raza sí, migra no!" nearly 100 people demonstrated in front of the Bernalillo County Medical Center (BCMC) here June 24.

The protest, sponsored by the Council for Health and Human Rights (CHHR), demanded that BCMC end its policy of reporting Mexican immigrants to the Immigration and Naturalization Service (*la migra*).

BCMC is the only public hospital in Albuquerque.

"We believe," a CHHR fact sheet explains, "that health care is a basic human right that should not be denied anyone in Albuquerque on the basis of citizenship, nationality, race, sex or the ability to pay. . . . This policy in effect denies undocumented people health care since they would then be deported. . . ."

"It is obvious that many Chicanos will be harassed as this policy is carried out. . . . We believe that this policy is racist and aimed at all Chicano and Mexican people. Requiring sick people to prove citizenship before being cared for violates human decency."

The CHHR was formed this spring after a BCMC employee came across a confidential memo written by hospital administrator William Wegner in September 1977.

At a recent *Militant* Forum here, Pat Chavez, a representative of La Raza Medical Association, called the memo a "classic racist document." Chavez quoted Wegner's letter:

"Our policy, to date, has been to accept these patients [Mexicans] for treatment, classify them as private pay and then attempt to collect the resulting bills. As you might imagine, this

has been very unsuccessful from a financial standpoint."

Wegner then went on to elaborate a plan "to discourage Mexican Nationals from seeking care at BCMC."

First, "suspected Mexican Nationals" who cannot prove they are U.S. citizens will be reported to the Immigration and Naturalization Service. Second, "Mexican Nationals must be required to pay cash in advance for all non-emergency treatment."

More than sixty organizations have endorsed a CHHR statement demanding an immediate halt to BCMC's "Illegal Aliens Policy." These include: La Raza Medical Association, University of New Mexico Chicano Studies Department, Mental Health Employees Association, BCMC's Employee Association, the Albuquerque National Organization for Women, and the Medical Committee for Human Rights.



Militant/Barry David

By Joseph Hansen

Because of its rising prominence in African political affairs, Cuba is again very much in the news. Not since the downfall of Batista and the overturn of capitalist property relations in Cuba has there been such controversy over the actions of the Castro regime.

The most ominous reaction to Cuba's role in providing material aid to Angola, and later to Ethiopia, has come from the White House. Before he lost office, President Ford branded the Castro government as an "international outlaw." Carter promised to take a different course, and for a time he intimated that a dialogue might be opened with the Cubans. This proved to be little more than a demagogic interlude in the general policy followed by Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, and Ford. Carter now insists that Castro withdraw Cuban forces from Angola and Ethiopia or suffer the consequences. The State Department has increased pressures on the diplomatic level, and threats have been made to resort to military measures.

Washington's reaction emanates from fear that the Cuban presence in Africa means further weakening of the imperialist grip in that area, strengthening of Soviet influence, and fresh encouragement to revolutionary forces capable of moving in the direction of socialism.

The resumption of the imperialist campaign against the Cuban revolution is of top concern to everyone opposed to war and in favor of the right of self-determination. It means rallying in a vigorous way on an international scale in defense of the Cuban revolution against the renewed threat of American imperialism to crush it.

Nature of Cuban revolution

One of the byproducts of Cuba's fresh leap into world prominence has been a renewal of interest in the nature of the Cuban revolution, in the political character of its leadership, and in the relationship between Moscow and Havana. Questions such as the following are being discussed: Does the presence of Cuban advisers and troops in Angola, Ethiopia, and elsewhere in Africa prove—as Washington's propaganda machine alleges—that Castro is serving as a puppet of Moscow? Or is the Cuban government seeking to advance a policy of its own that happens, for the time being, to be congruent with Moscow's aims? What does Havana's rising influence in African affairs show about the present status of the Cuban revolution? Has a parasitic caste become entrenched in Cuba? Has the revolution degenerated to such a point that it must now be said that a Stalinist regime has usurped power? With the wisdom of hindsight must it now be acknowledged that the Cuban revolution was Stalinist-led from the beginning? Or do the new developments speak otherwise, indicating continuation of a policy to extend the revolution internationally, thus cutting across the Stalinist policy of "peaceful coexistence" with the imperialist powers and their capitalist system?

Questions running along these lines are not new. They were raised and debated during the first years of the Cuban revolution. The initiatives taken by the Cubans on the African continent place them on the agenda for rediscussion.

It takes something more than careful study of the current developments to find correct answers to these questions, particularly in view of the absence of information on some essential points such as the calculations of Havana on the one hand and Moscow on the other. At present these can only be surmised or deduced.

An obvious requisite is accurate knowledge of the background. Articles featuring "in depth" analysis of Cuba's rising role in Africa are strikingly inadequate if they fail to refer to the patterns followed by the Cuban leaders in carrying through the revolutionary struggle in Cuba.

For dialectical materialists it is imperative to go back to the origin of the Cuban revolution. There is no other way to establish the continuity (or discontinuity) of the processes that have, among other results, now received spectacular expression in Africa. Moreover, there is no other way to determine the meaning of the Cuban revolution as it has evolved. Here it is not necessary to begin from zero—the problem presented to Marxist theory by the uniqueness of the events was solved at the time. The conclusions reached then have proved of immense service in analyzing subsequent developments.

One of the purposes of this compilation is to present those theoretical conclusions. They are included in documents that were part of a free internal discussion held in the Socialist Workers Party in 1960-61 while the party at the same time carried out energetic defense work in support of the

Cuban revolution and against the American imperialist effort to smash it.

Other documents in the book include polemics against protagonists of State Department positions, exposures of Cuban Stalinist hacks who sought to besmirch the record of the Trotskyists, and articles representative of hundreds by many different writers that were published in the *Militant* and other Trotskyist journals in defense of the Cuban revolution when it was the target of the heaviest blows. These documents indicate where the Trotskyists stood on other fronts as they sought, through use of the dialectical method, to ascertain the place of the Cuban revolution in the chain of socialist revolutions that began in Russia in 1917.

Subordinate to Kremlin?

At present Washington is pushing the line that Cuba has become completely dependent on the Soviet Union, abjectly obeys orders from the Kremlin, and has sent its troops to Africa to serve as surrogates for Soviet troops. These allegations conform to the pattern of the State Department's well-aged propaganda picturing the Soviet Union as an aggressive power intent on conquering the world. The truth is that the main objective of foreign policy as pursued by the Soviet ruling caste is maintenance of the status quo; that is, "peaceful coexistence" with the imperialist powers and the capitalist system.

If it were true that Brezhnev had shifted from this policy to one of extending Soviet power and influence through the use of armed force, the turn would represent a new element of transcendent importance in world affairs. A reassessment of the nature of the Soviet government would be called for, along with a possible redetermination of the revolutionary Marxist attitude toward the ruling caste. The analysis might place the Cubans in a favorable light as the spearhead chosen to open the offensive decided on by Brezhnev.

However, the State Department is not acting on the assumption that Brezhnev has adopted a class-struggle policy. The State Department distinguishes Castro from Brezhnev. Friendly relations are maintained with the Russian leader even while new weapons of the most fiendish kind are developed by the Pentagon for use in a projected war against the Soviet Union. Castro, on the other hand, is kept at the top of the State Department's list of enemies, and the CIA has attempted on a number of occasions to apply the order issued against him, "Terminate with extreme prejudice."

Washington's attitude is hardly surprising—it is simply an imperialistic reaction to the efforts made by the Cuban leadership to defend their revolution by extending it.

Course of Cubans

The course of the Cubans can be conveniently divided into three phases:

1. In the great wave of enthusiasm over the Cuban revolution following its victory, many attempts were made in Latin America to emulate the July 26 Movement. These attempts were supported by Havana both politically and materially. Extension of the Cuban revolution appeared to hinge on extension of the methods used by the July 26 Movement—mainly the initiation and pursuit of guerrilla warfare. This period reached its high point at the OLAS conference held in Havana in August 1967. There Castro subjected the reformist Latin American Communist parties to scorching criticism for their sabotage of guerrilla war. At that moment, Che Guevara was in Bolivia conducting the experiment that was to end in his death.

Ill-conceived though it was, Guevara's attempt to set off a revolution in Bolivia testified to the international outlook of the Castro team. One of Guevara's aims was to create a new front that would help the Vietnamese in their struggle against the American invasion in Indochina.

It is worth recalling that on March 10, 1965, Castro publicly offered to send arms and men to aid the Vietnamese. On March 16, in a widely publicized speech appealing to Peking and Moscow to close ranks against the common foe, Castro said: ". . . we think Vietnam should be given all the necessary aid . . . we are in favor of aid in arms and men . . . we are for the socialist camp risking everything required for Vietnam."

Cuba's offer to send "arms and men" was turned down by the National Liberation Front. As it was, Cuba was the first workers state to make this kind of public offer. The initiative may have been decisive in compelling Moscow and Peking to follow with similar statements.

2. The crushing of Guevara's ambitious project capped a series of defeats for the groups that took the road of guerrilla war. Castro now made a turn. Since this occurred only months after the OLAS conference in 1967, and since no critical appraisal of the previous course was presented publicly, a

CUBA AFRICA Why C shouting

On July 26, 1953, Fidel Castro led an armed revolution in Cuba. Since then, this date has been celebrated as the day of the Cuban revolution. (See 'Our Revolutionary Heritage')

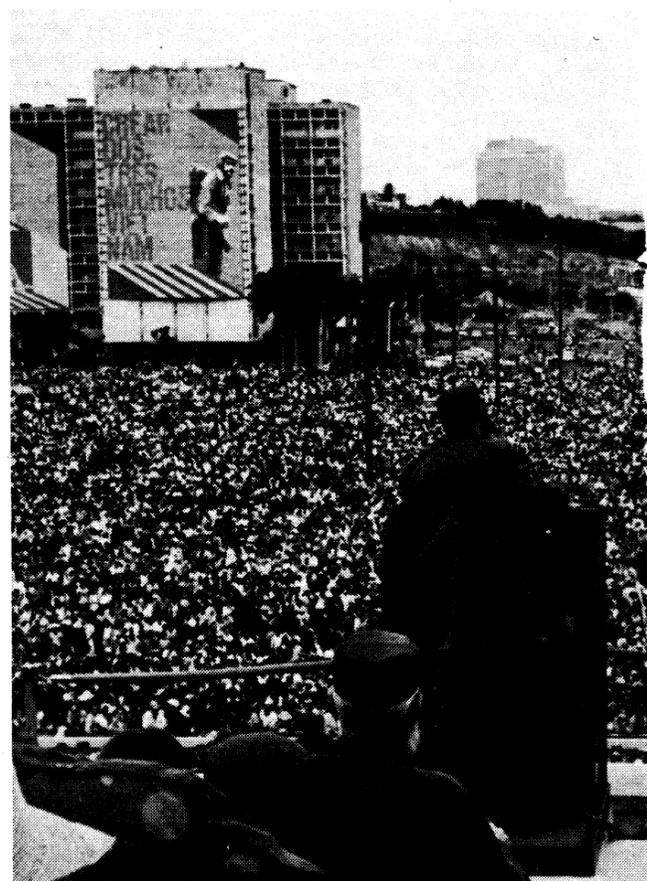
Today, Carter's threats against Cuba and the Cuban liberation struggles have again thrust the Cuban revolution into the world's headlines.

While it is now nearly twenty years since the Cuban revolution, recent events show two things that have become clear:

- the Castro leadership's support for the Cuban revolution in the world; and

- Washington's bitter hostility to the Cuban revolution and its attempt to extend those gains in other parts of the world.

Printed here is the introduction to *Journeys of the Cuban Revolution*, to be published by the Socialist Workers Party. Joseph Hansen is a leader of the Socialist Workers Party. Published by Intercontinental Press/Inprecor.



Above: Castro addresses mass rally in Cuba. Below: Cuban revolutionaries.

A & ICA

arter is at Castro

med attack on the Moncada army post celebrated as the launching of the Cuban

for its active solidarity with African at small island into the headlines.

the victory of the Cuban revolution, not changed:

anti-imperialist struggles around the

ins of the Cuban revolution and to any arts of the semicolonial world.

Joseph Hansen's forthcoming book 'Dy- blished by Pathfinder Press in August. kers Party and editor of the weekly

good deal of confusion was created among supporters of the Cuban revolution. While still giving some aid—principally training—to the protagonists of guerrilla war in Latin America, the Cubans ceased fostering it as the royal road to success.

The economic situation in Cuba also worried them; the American blockade was inducing strains. The Cuban leaders stepped up the goals on the economic front, hoping by extraordinary exertion to overcome the effects of the American stranglehold. Unrealistic goals, notably in the 1970 campaign to produce ten million tons of sugar, resulted in dislocations of economic planning and exhaustion among the workers.

Pause for reflection

In view of such consequences, the Cuban leaders had to reassess priorities and set more modest goals. The pause for reflection over the meaning of the failures of guerrilla war and consideration of possible alternatives lasted until 1975.

Washington evidently interpreted the downturn in guerrilla war in Latin America as evidence of the domestication of the Cuban revolution; and the State Department—whose blockade had failed to isolate Cuba—began probing ways to bring Castro under the general framework of "peaceful coexistence."

3. The breakup of the Portuguese empire, with climactic liberation struggles in the colonies and the toppling of the Salazar-Caetano dictatorship in Lisbon, presented new openings for the Cubans. They had already established ties with various guerrilla forces in Africa, Guevara himself having participated in this work. In Angola, the Cubans granted aid—most noticeably in the form of combat troops—to counter the imperialist efforts of Washington and Pretoria to block the liberation struggle. Cuban belief in the preeminent role of armed force in and of itself—a belief that discounts the power of a correct political program—is being tested in an even clearer way than in Latin America.

A new aspect of this involvement is its legality. The Cubans were invited by the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), which received international recognition as the legitimate government of Angola, to send material aid, including troops, to boost the country's defense against the efforts of South Africa and the United States to reimpose imperialist rule. In responding to the appeal, the Cubans acted in accordance with international law. The pattern was repeated in the case of Ethiopia. Today Cuban consultants and advisers are to be found in a number of countries in Africa.

Moscow has supplied material aid, armaments in the first place, to both Angola and Ethiopia. This represents nothing new. Similar aid has been extended by the Kremlin in the past to other African countries and to countries elsewhere in the world—Cuba itself is an outstanding example. The Soviet ruling caste is compelled to do this, in part to meet Peking's challenge, in part to give some substance to its pretense of standing for socialism, and mostly to gain leadership of forces heading in an anticapitalist direction, the better to use them in bartering with the American imperialists. Moscow's objectives fall within the general context of the détente. All that is sought is more elbowroom for maneuver.

Trotskyist criticisms

The American Trotskyists have criticized Havana's foreign policy on several counts:

1. The extrapolation on a continental scale of the efficacy of guerrilla war seemed to us to be based on a misjudgment of both the Cuban experience and the possibilities for its repetition. The key to the toppling of Batista was the rise in the class struggle in Cuba. The rise was not "sparked" by the guerrilla actions; on the contrary, the rise made it possible in this instance to win even through guerrilla actions.

American imperialism and its satellite forces in Latin America, learning from what happened in Cuba, resorted to more repressive regimes to suffocate the class struggle; hence the installation of military dictatorships that in their first actions sought to stamp out all organizations of the working class. As the masses fell back in face of the murderous onslaught, it became increasingly difficult for guerrilla movements to gain headway. The problem of linking up with the masses could not be solved by them.

The general conclusion to be drawn from this turn of events is that more effective means than a guerrilla band is required to lead the struggle for socialism. What is required is a mass working-class party of the Leninist type.

2. Guided by their desire to construct a common front against American imperialism, the Cubans failed to distinguish the components of this front according to program. Thus supporters of the capitalist system were hailed, provided that they were

"progressive," i.e., denounced imperialism or spoke well of the Cuban revolution. Confusion was thus sown among supporters of the Cuban revolution, with the consequence that many of them were diverted down false trails.

A case in point was the support given the Chilean regime headed by Salvador Allende. Although Castro may have sensed a coming showdown in Chile when he was there on tour—his parting gift to Allende was a submachine gun—the support he offered the regime appeared to be support for its adherence to capitalism. Allende's failure to act against the plotters in the military forces cost him his life. More important, the seizure of power by Pinochet dealt a cruel blow to the cause of socialism in Latin America, and a deadly enemy was added to the roster of regimes hostile to the Cuban revolution.

3. Similar criticisms can be made of Cuban policy in Africa today. The programs of the Neto regime in Angola and the Mengistu regime in Ethiopia have not been presented for what they are—commitments to maintain capitalist relations in those countries.

The Cubans seem to be primarily interested in bolstering the anti-imperialist aspects of the upheavals in these areas. But to overlook the struggle for socialist goals can only prove counterproductive. And it is dangerous to believe that an anti-imperialist struggle automatically reinforces the struggle for socialism. Such a view can lead to defeats for socialism, as was shown in Chile. In both Angola and Ethiopia we have already seen repressive measures taken against revolutionary socialists.

In the case of Eritrea, the Cuban government at first supported the national liberation struggle there. As the Dergue organized expeditionary forces with the objective of smashing the rebellion by military means, the Cubans appeared to be having difficulty deciding what to do—participate, stand aside, or withdraw? Havana's hesitancy demonstrated how dangerous an inconsistent anti-imperialist line can be.

Cuba's new role in Africa

What does Cuba's new role in African affairs tell us about the nature of the Cuban revolution and its leadership? Let us recall that when Havana responded to the MPLA's plea for aid, the shipment of troops received wide acclaim in the left. It was argued that the support granted by Havana not only proved how internationally minded the Castro regime was, it proved the progressiveness of the Neto government.

However, this argumentation was shelved when the Mengistu regime appealed for similar aid and the Cubans responded favorably. Castro plummeted in leftist opinion. According to this view, Castro's granting aid to Ethiopia was a sure sign of the degeneration of the Cuban revolution.

It is unfortunate that these analysts lacked the capacity to maintain both arguments simultaneously. Had they insisted that their deductions held with equal force in both cases, they would have provided us with an educational demonstration of the traps awaiting those who believe Havana's relations with the Angolan and Ethiopian regimes offer fresh evidence concerning the nature of the Castro regime and the status of the Cuban revolution.

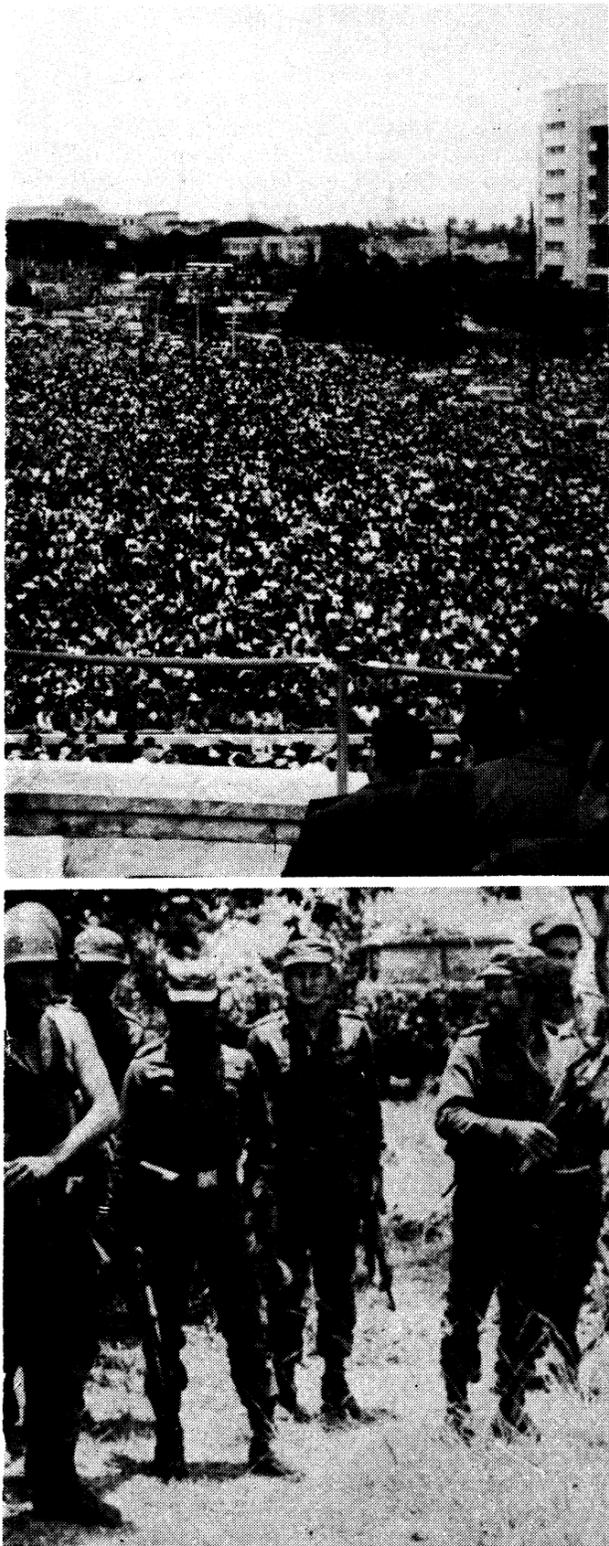
The same goes for the contention that the Cuban role in Africa amounts to providing surrogate troops for the Kremlin. It might be argued that the State Department's propaganda on this point does not necessarily mean that it is untrue. We can agree with that. However, this does not alter the questions that arise if we take a close look at the propaganda rather than simply brushing it aside.

Why did the Kremlin select the Cubans for this role and not the Latvians, the Poles, or the Czechs? Was it because Cuba is the farthest from the scene and the transport problems from there are the greatest? Did the Cuban record in guerrilla war tip the scales? Did Moscow calculate that the White House would react most angrily to the choice of Cuba, thereby assuring a rise in tensions between Havana and Washington? Or did the Kremlin have more devious reasons for wanting to incite the Americans?

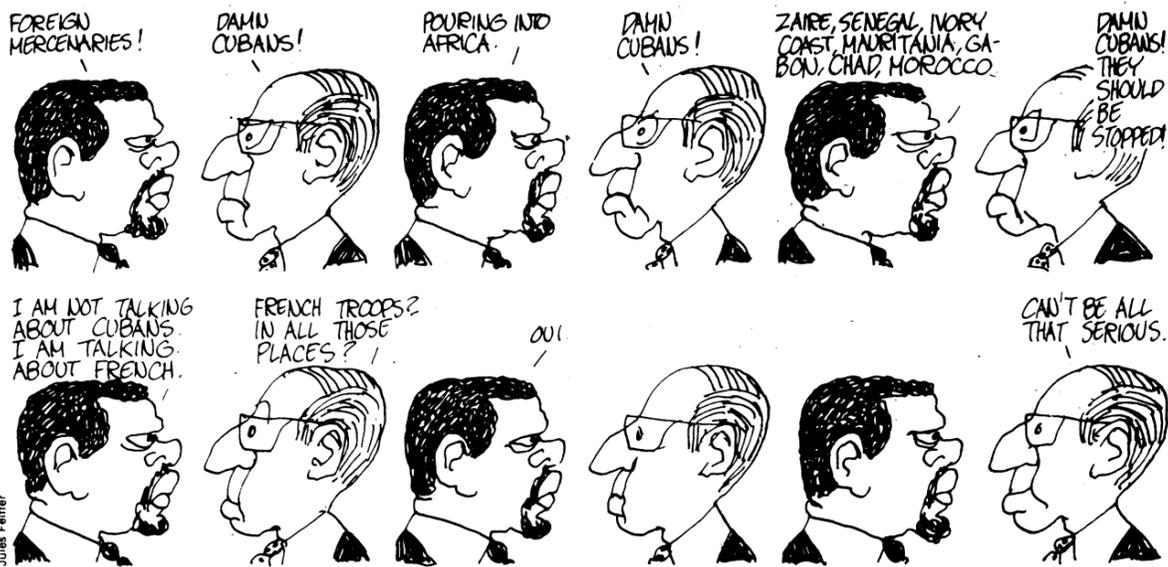
The answers to such questions and to others of similar nature point to the conclusion that the Castro regime exercised a certain initiative in bringing Cuban influence to bear in the struggle against imperialism on the African continent.

As for the argument that Havana's rising prominence in Africa indicates the crystallization of a hardened bureaucratic caste in Cuba, the available evidence would seem to indicate the contrary. Hardened bureaucratic castes, such as the ones in the Soviet Union and China, characteristically display conservatism, even a counterrevolutionary outlook, particularly in foreign policy; hence their

Continued on next page



troops in Angola.



Continued from preceding page

pursuit of "peaceful coexistence," of "détente," of deals with the imperialist powers at the expense of the masses. But in Africa, Cuban activities have greatly increased instability at the expense of the imperialist powers. Castro has followed a course that closed off rather than invited a deal with American imperialism. This fact alone speaks decisively against the contention that the events in Africa offer proof that a hardened bureaucratic caste has taken over in Cuba.

The Cuban course in Africa requires no essential alterations in the Marxist analysis of the lines of action adopted by the Castro team after they had consolidated the victory of the revolution.

Power of revolution

Cuba's influence in African affairs appears completely out of proportion to the size of this small Caribbean country. How is this anomaly to be explained? The answer is obvious—it lies in the power of the Cuban revolution.

The record is there for all to see: First, in the contrast between the Cuba that *was*, under the American puppet Batista, and the Cuba that *is*, under a revolutionary regime. Second, in the contrast between today's Cuba and the rest of Latin America. Cuba demonstrates what can be done under a planned economy to improve the standard of living of the poor. Countries like Chile are hangmen's showcases.

The achievements made possible by toppling capitalism are impressive. The list includes the elimination of unemployment, once the scourge of the Cuban working class; the banning of racism; the promulgation of equal rights for women; the setting up of child-care centers on a national scale; the construction of a free educational system that provides not only books but food and clothing to students; the establishment of a model social security system, including health care; the slashing of rents and initiation of an ambitious program to end the acute shortage of housing, inherited from the past; and an agrarian reform that was decisive in establishing the firm worker-peasant alliance on which the first workers state in the Western Hemisphere depends.

The government's concern for the needs of youth should be added to the list. In the first period following the victory, when one of the most pressing needs was reliable personnel, teen-agers were given responsible posts throughout the island. The perspectives for young people in Cuba today include broad educational and job opportunities on a scale that cannot be matched in any capitalist country.

It is the *example* of Cuba, the example of achievements made possible by the revolution, that ac-

counts for Havana's standing among the peoples of the colonial and semicolonial countries and thereby its political weight internationally.

An accounting of developments within Cuba, particularly in the last decade, is of course required in any balance sheet of the revolution as a whole. Such a balance sheet is not included in the documents in this book, which center on defense of the revolution in the early years and on analysis of the particular pattern that made possible a socialist victory without the presence of a Leninist party. Nonetheless, a few points should be taken up.

Extreme difficulties

The Cuban revolution faced extreme difficulties from the beginning. Inadequacies of leadership counted among them, the prime one being, as I have indicated, reliance on guerrilla war to extend the revolution. Another was the failure to proceed immediately to establishment of forms of proletarian democracy.

However, the main source of the difficulties was American imperialism. The mightiest military power on earth, located only ninety miles away, decided to strangle the Cuban revolution. Castro was marked for assassination. Farm animals were inoculated with contagious diseases. Saboteurs set bombs. The blowing up of a merchant ship in Havana harbor and arson that succeeded in burning down one of Havana's biggest department stores were two of the more spectacular incidents. Forays of this kind were topped by the armed invasion at the Bay of Pigs. Worst of all was the blockade, which completely disrupted Cuba's traditional pattern of trade with the United States and greatly reduced the possibilities of free trade with other countries. Tiny Cuba, dependent on imported oil as its source of energy, was truly an isolated fortress under heavy siege. In defense of the revolution, the Castro team placed Cuba under wartime regulations.

Wall Street and its political agents in Washington bear full responsibility for blocking the Cuban revolution from developing freely. This should never be forgotten in criticizing the weaknesses and mistakes of the Castro regime.

The Kremlin must be held responsible for another source of difficulties. Without help from the Soviet Union, the Cuban revolution would certainly have been smashed by either Eisenhower or Kennedy. The Cubans were completely correct in seeking that aid. It was due them in accordance with the program of world revolution supported by the Soviet government when it was headed by Lenin and Trotsky.

Stalin's heirs felt obliged to respond to the Cuban plea, but instead of providing aid free of charge, as

was their duty, they demanded that a price be paid—principally on the political level. In short, to get the required aid the Cubans had to let the red glow of the Cuban revolution shine on Khrushchev and Brezhnev.

From many things that have appeared in the record—a good example is Castro's criticisms of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, which he reluctantly supported—it is clear that the price demanded by the Kremlin for Soviet aid rankled with the Cubans. They had to forego speaking out freely. While they were able to get the required material aid in time to save the revolution, the cost was heavy in terms of their political independence.

Bureaucratism

Both the American campaign to crush the revolution and the strings attached to Soviet aid must be taken into consideration in dealing with the problem of bureaucratism in Cuba. By isolating and further impoverishing the country, the blockade helped increase the social importance of the layers charged with the defense. In the distribution of scarce supplies top priority had to be given the armed forces. One of the consequences was an army now recognized as the best in Latin America. Another consequence, however, was the introduction of ranks, a sign of bureaucratization. The Kremlin's influence was shown in the growth of bureaucratic tendencies under the auspices of figures who were prominent in the Stalinist apparatus in Batista's time. These case-hardened bureaucrats were met head-on by Castro. A more difficult problem is the example set by the Soviet ruling caste, which liquidated the proletarian democracy fostered under Lenin and Trotsky. No model of proletarian democracy exists in the world today to counter the totalitarian forms of rule upheld by the Kremlin.

It would be untrue to say that the battle against bureaucratism has been won in Cuba. The indications are that this insidious social disease has gained, as the introduction of ranks in the armed forces would indicate. Similar signs include the continuation of the ban on formation of tendencies and factions in the Communist Party and the jailing of the independent-minded poet Heberto Padilla on March 20, 1971; the brush-off given to protests against the jailing by leftist intellectuals like Carlos Fuentes, Gabriel García Márquez, Octavio Paz, Jean-Paul Sartre, and Mario Vargas Llosa; the show trial of Padilla, which included a Moscow-style "confession" by the poet; and the accompanying clampdown in the cultural field, where the Cubans had previously shown their intent to make the revolution a "school of unfettered thought" in opposition to bureaucratic practices. Another bad indication has been the pillorying of homosexuals.

However, the headway made by bureaucratism has not reached such a degree that one must conclude that a hardened bureaucratic caste has been formed, exercises dictatorial power, and cannot be dislodged save through a political revolution. No qualitative point of change has yet been adduced to substantiate this hypothesis.

SWP's stand

The stand taken by the Socialist Workers Party towards the Cuban revolution flows from its initial analysis of that event. It can be summarized in three points:

1. For defense of the Cuban revolution against all its enemies. As a party within the United States, the SWP considers it to be its special duty to foster the strongest possible political opposition to the main enemy of the revolution, American imperialism. This defense is unconditional—it does not hinge on the attitudes or policies of the Cuban government.

2. For the development of proletarian forms of democracy in Cuba. The purpose of this is to bring the masses into the decision-making process in the most effective way, thereby strengthening the struggle against bureaucratism. The initiation of workers councils would add fresh power to the Cuban revolution as living proof that socialism does not entail totalitarianism but on the contrary signifies the extension of democracy to the oppressed in a way that will lead eventually to the withering away of the state.

3. For the formation of a Leninist-type party that guarantees internal democracy, that is, the right of critical opinion to be heard. The power of a party that safeguards the right to form tendencies or factions was demonstrated by the Bolsheviks. A replica shaped in accordance with Cuban particularities could do much to induce the formation of similar parties in the rest of the world. This would greatly facilitate resolving the crisis in leadership faced by the proletariat internationally, thereby assuring a new series of revolutionary victories.

May 1, 1978

dynamics of the cuban revolution

the trotskyist view
by joseph hansen

In the face of escalating threats by Washington against Cuba for its role in Africa, basic questions about the Cuban revolution take on new importance—questions about the nature of the Cuban government and economy, the political character of the Castro leadership, and the relationship between Moscow and Havana.

- Is Cuba's Africa policy dictated by Moscow? Or is it an independent effort to extend the revolution internationally?

- Has the Cuban revolution degenerated to such a degree that a Stalinist bureaucracy has seized power? The documents and articles from 1959 to 1968 collected in this book provide the solid background of facts and historical analysis needed to answer these questions. Joseph Hansen is the editor of *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor* and a leader of the Socialist Workers Party

400 pages. \$5.45 paper, \$18 cloth. Please include \$.50 for postage. Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.

Socialist runs for mayor of 'the real D.C.'

By Laura Moorhead

WASHINGTON—To millions of tourists, Washington, D.C., is a city of pleasant, tree-lined streets and palatial government buildings.

But the real Washington is something else—a home for 750,000 people, 75 percent of whom are Black.

Until 1974, D.C. was ruled directly by the U.S. Congress. Only since 1974 has it had elected local government.

The city's Black mayor and predominantly Black city council have worked hand in glove with the Democratic-controlled U.S. Congress and the D.C. Metropolitan Board of Trade to carry out policies that ensure continued profits for a handful of banks, insurance companies, utility companies, and chain stores.

Unemployment among Black youth



GLOVA SCOTT

is 50 percent. Housing for poor and working people is caught in a vise of speculation and skyrocketing rents, while luxurious town houses sprout up all over the city for affluent whites.

The candidacies of Democrats Walter Washington, Marion Barry, and Sterling Tucker for mayor, and Douglas Moore for city council chair will do nothing to solve these problems.

"After four years of home rule, conditions for Blacks and other working people in D.C. have gotten worse, not better," declared Glova Scott, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, at a recent campaign kickoff rally.

"The Washingtons, the Tuckers, the Barrys all say, 'Vote for me, I'll solve your problems,'" Scott said, "but all they have to offer is more of the same."

She explained that D.C. working people need to break with the Democrats and Republicans and form their own independent political party based on the Black community and the D.C. labor movement.

Tony Grillo, SWP candidate for the Ward I city council seat, also spoke at the rally. The majority of Washington's Latinos, as well as many Africans and West Indians, live in Ward I. The area has been hard hit by housing speculation and rent increases.

"D.C. residents pay between 35 and 40 percent of their income for rent," Grillo said, "while residents of the suburbs pay an average of 18 percent."

Maceo Dixon, an SWP National Committee member, and Casey Gurewitz of the D.C. Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case also spoke.

W. Va.: SWP opens first campaign HQ

By Nancy Makler

MORGANTOWN, W. Va.—Ending a more than thirty-year monopoly of the elections by the two big-business parties, Rosalinda Flint, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate, opened her campaign headquarters here with a June 24 rally.

Flint, a member of Laborers International Union Local 840, reviewed the antilabor records of her opponents, incumbent Democrat Jennings Randolph and Republican ex-governor Arch Moore.

"Don't take my word for it" that they stand for the same things—for the big coal operators and against miners and other workers, Flint said. "Senator Randolph said it himself just a few weeks ago when he remarked that 'the only difference between myself and Arch Moore is over the question of who will win the election.'"

West Virginia has seen some of America's sharpest struggles by working people to win decent living standards, going back to the times of Mother Jones's historic union organizing drives.

According to historians, at one time nearly one-third of the state's working miners were members of the Socialist Party, the state union federation was affiliated to the SP, and dozens of socialists sat in the state legislature.

But through vicious harassment and undemocratic election laws, the wealthy coal interests that run the state have kept all candidates who

don't support the capitalist system off the ballot since the 1930s.

The SWP has already challenged the constitutionality of the state election laws, which have been used to keep the elections safe for Republicans and Democrats.

Flint announced at the June 24 rally that her campaign committee will refuse to disclose the names and addresses of contributors, and would file suit for an exemption from campaign disclosure laws.

Syd Stapleton, national secretary of the Political Rights Defense Fund, explained that the disclosure laws simply provide the government with a ready-made "enemies list." PRDF has been organizing support for the landmark \$40 million suit filed by the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance against government spying and harassment.

Paulette Shine, a member of United Mine Workers Local 4172 and the Morgantown chapter of the National Organization for Women, urged listeners to march in Washington, D.C., July 9 for the Equal Rights Amendment.

Shine concluded by saying, "I am here now to support Rosalinda Flint's candidacy for U.S. Senate and to pledge my help to her in the coming campaign."

Also speaking were Brian Williams, SWP candidate for House of Delegates; Roger Bailey, a socialist activist from Charleston; and Mark Zola, SWP candidate for governor of Pennsylvania.

City fires worker running for office

By Dorothy Hawkinson

ATLANTA—Mayor Maynard Jackson could hold on to his \$50,000-a-year job and still run for U.S. Senate. But what about a sanitation worker earning \$9,672?

On June 27 Eva Chertov, a worker at a city sewage-treatment plant, announced that she would be the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from Georgia. A few days later, under a city law forbidding nonelected city employees to run for office, she was fired.

Chertov declared that she would fight to get her job back. She has won the support of the local chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union and of her union, Local 1644 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME).

"The different laws against federal, state, and local employees taking part in politics have only one effect—to keep us from exercising the same rights as other citizens," Chertov told the *Militant*. "They certainly don't stop corruption."

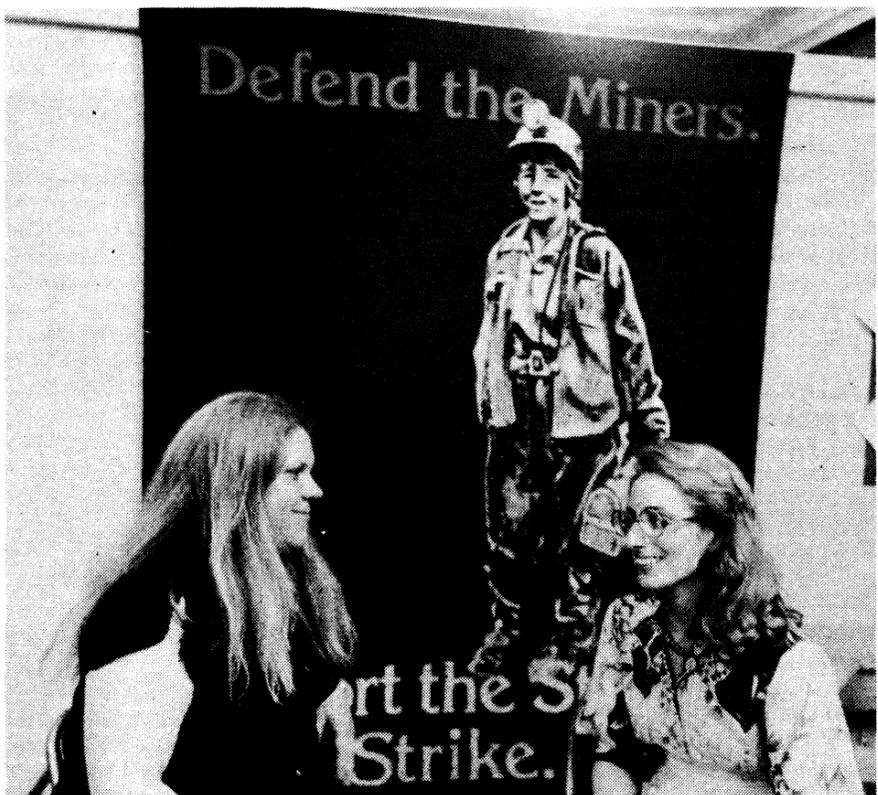
Chertov's running mate on the SWP

slate is Don Davis, chairperson of the Young Socialist Alliance at Georgia State University, who is running for governor.

Davis pointed out that Democratic incumbent George Busbee had spent the past four years cutting welfare, unemployment, and Medicaid benefits; ending state funding for Medicaid abortions; supporting nuclear power; fighting school desegregation; opposing gay rights; opposing any changes in the state's antilabor laws; and refusing to ease the crushing burdens on Georgia's small farmers.

Chertov—whose name appeared on the initial list of 156 feminists who had been spied on by the FBI in its campaign against the women's movement—launched her campaign by calling for the jailing of U.S. Attorney General Griffin Bell for defying a court order to hand over FBI informer files to lawyers for the SWP.

All three major Atlanta television stations reported on the press conference, as did several radio stations, the *Atlanta Journal*, and the Associated Press.



Miner Paulette Shine (left) with Rosalinda Flint

Militant/Martha Harris

Campaigning for socialism

Socialists on ballot in three states

Socialist Workers Party candidates have been certified for the November ballot in three states.

In Wisconsin, the slate of Bill Breihan for governor and Adrienne Kaplan for lieutenant-governor filed 5,000 signatures, 2,000 more than the legal requirement.

Arizona socialists filed 13,000 valid signatures in June to get Jessica Sampson, SWP candidate for governor, and Betsy McDonald, candidate for U.S. Congress, on the ballot.

Renita Alexander, SWP candidate for state senate in St. Louis, was certified for the ballot July 9. Two other SWP candidates, Mary Pritchard, who is running for Congress, and Glenn White, candidate for state representative, were told they had filed insufficient signatures. Both have until August 7 to make up the difference.

Paper cites socialists on Bakke

The June 30 *Newark Star-Ledger*, a daily with a circulation of more than 400,000, picked up denunciations of the *Bakke* decision by two SWP candidates in New Jersey. The paper quoted Tony Austin, candidate for U.S. Congress: "Only the quota system can make guarantees to racial minorities," he said.

The *Star-Ledger* also reported that Alice Conner, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, urged a big turnout for the July 9 ERA demonstration in Washington, D.C., as a response to the Supreme Court's *Bakke* decision.

—Arnold Weissberg

Protest cop murder of revolutionist

Strikes, demonstrations sweep Basque country

By Gerry Foley

On July 8, Germán Rodríguez Sainz, a member of the Revolutionary Communist League, Spanish section of the Fourth International, was gunned down by police in Pamplona. He was twenty-seven years old. He had been a member of the Trotskyist movement since 1971 and was imprisoned for two-and-a-half years for his role in the 1973 general strike in Pamplona.

In a statement published in the July 11 issue of the French Trotskyist daily *Rouge*, a comrade of Rodríguez described how he died. The shooting happened after police attacked a group that raised banners in a bull-fight arena demanding freedom for all political prisoners:

"After the police charged in the arena, we marched, along with several thousand persons, to the offices of the civil governor. We shouted 'Pre-soak kalera' [Let the prisoners out into the streets], 'Police murderers,' 'Abolish the repressive forces.' Germán was very nervous, very angry. In the arena, he saw a child badly wounded in the head by a rubber bullet.

"We arrived in the square where the governor's offices are located. They started to shoot rubber bullets and teargas grenades at us. We took cover behind the corrugated iron sheets surrounding some building work. They began to open fire with their pistols; the people didn't realize what was happening. They managed to drive us back bit by bit. People began to fall wounded. When we reached the Navarra provincial parliament building, we started to drive the cops back. . . .

"We continued advancing. When we got to the corner of Avenue Ronceveaux, the 'grays' [police] got in their jeeps; the demonstrators followed them, jumping with joy. But suddenly they stopped . . . and they got out again. They fired, this time using only machine guns. . . . They kept firing for several minutes on the demonstrators, who hid behind cars. Germán was more than a hundred yards from the 'grays' when a bullet hit him in the forehead. He lost consciousness immediately. We stopped a car to take him to the hospital. He was no longer breathing."

Angry protests

The murder of Rodríguez touched off angry protests throughout much of the Basque country. Barricades went up in Pamplona two nights running, as thousands of demonstrators clashed with the police.

On Sunday, July 9, thousands gathered at the spot where Rodríguez was hit.

The streets had been decorated with Spanish and Basque flags for the festival of San Fermín, the annual running of the bulls. *Le Monde* reported July 11 that the Spanish flags had been torn down and burned.

On July 10, there were strikes throughout the provinces of Navarra and Vizcaya. In the province of Guipúzcoa, the Goierri area was paralyzed by strikes.

Tens of thousands of persons attended Rodríguez's funeral on July 10. His coffin was carried by representatives of all the Navarra union organizations and the local branches of all the workers parties, including the Communist and Socialist parties. *Rouge* reported:

"The funeral was marshaled by the Penas, the Navarran youth organizations. Their members wore the traditional Basque costume, all white with a red sash. They also wore black armbands."

Following the burial, thousands of mourners marched to the spot where Rodríguez was shot, where they sang the "Internationale" and "Eusko



Turnout of thousands made funeral procession for Germán Rodríguez a massive protest against police attacks on Basque freedom struggle.

Gudariak" [Basque Warriors], the anthem of the Basque national struggle.

On July 11, police killed a nineteen-year-old Basque youth in the city of San Sebastián, touching off protests in that city as well as in Bilbao and nearby towns. Violent clashes developed between police and demonstrators, lasting for two days.

All the workers parties, unions, and nationalist groups, including the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, and the Basque Nationalist Party, called for a general strike in the province of Guipúzcoa on July 12.

Pogrom

On the day of the strike, police carried out a pogrom in the town of Rentería, near San Sebastián. Two demonstrators were hit when a paramilitary Civil Guard opened fire on a barricade. After the police charged the barricades, they went on a rampage.

A July 13 Reuters dispatch reported:

"Antonio Gutiero, the mayor of Rentería, said 200 policemen fired rubber bullets and smoke bombs here today to disperse demonstrators from barricades and then used their rifle butts to smash shop windows and doorways and rip out intercoms from apartment buildings. Goods disappeared from shops, he said."

Rentería was also the scene of a pogrom during the week of actions for amnesty held in the Basque country in mid-May 1977.

A July 13 Reuters dispatch commented that the clashes following the death of Rodríguez had "impelled Basque leaders to demand immediate independence for their region."

An explosive struggle

The renewed clashes in the Basque country reveal that the Suárez government has failed to defuse what has traditionally been the most explosive problem for the rulers of the Spanish state. Franco was never able to pacify the Basque country. It was the focus of the sharpest resistance to the dictatorship.

This numerically small oppressed nationality, representing about 10 percent of the population of the Spanish state, provided up to 80 percent of the political prisoners in Franco's last years. Again and again the Basques have mobilized overwhelmingly in general strikes and militant mass demonstrations. They have given inspiration and example to the radicalizing youth in particular throughout Spain.

The reformist Communist and Socialist parties and the moderate nationalists have been unable to hold back the struggles of the Basque people but have either been drawn into them themselves or pushed aside.

Resistance to the state repressive forces has become a tradition of the Basque people, as it has of the nationalist masses in the British imperialist enclave of Northern Ireland. In the Spanish press, the Basques are compared increasingly to the Irish. In particular, the province of Navarra is likened to Northern Ireland.

Castilian oppressors

This province bears a relation to the Basque country as a whole similar to that of Northern Ireland to the entire island. It is the area where

national oppression has become most deeply rooted and which the oppressors want to make into a bulwark against the emergence of any viable Basque entity. As in Northern Ireland, there are sections of the population that identify strongly with the oppressor nation and have reactionary traditions.

In May, at the funeral of an assassinated police official in Pamplona, a military chaplain whipped up the crowd against Basque nationalists in general, proclaiming that it was a betrayal of Spain to permit anyone to publicly advocate self-government for the Basque people. This set the stage for an attack on the headquarters of all groups that support Basque autonomy or independence.

The Revolutionary Communist League headquarters was first attacked by an armed fascist gang, and then by the police, who were cheered by the fascists as they arrived. But the civil authorities did not stand behind the actions of the police and the Trotskyists arrested in the assault were soon released.

Suárez's dilemma

Almost all the Spanish political forces that want to maintain any respectability condemned the police actions in Pamplona that led to the murder of Germán Rodríguez.

However, as long as the Spanish state seeks to repress the national aspirations of a people with the traditions and national consciousness of the Basques, outrages like the recent police pogroms are inevitable.

The leadership of the Revolutionary Communist League responded to the latest police outrages in the Basque country by renewing its call for a broad campaign to force abolition of the special repressive forces. It also called for mobilizations throughout Spain in support of the Basque people.

The new confrontations in the Basque country have almost certainly wiped out any progress Suárez might have made in working out a political deal with the moderate nationalists and reformists to get some reins on the struggle of the Basque people. These forces are going to have to take their distance from the government, unless it gives some real concessions. And that would be difficult, since it would mean weakening the repressive apparatus in the most combative area in the Spanish state.

From *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*



May 1977, LCR campaign rally in Basque town of Lamiaco raised demands for workers' unity, socialism and total amnesty.

SWP solidarity

The following message was sent July 11 by the political committee of the Socialist Workers Party to the Revolutionary Communist League, Spanish section of the Fourth International:

We mourn with you for our fallen comrade, Germán Rodríguez, murdered by the police. We sing the "Internationale" with you in his memory and pledge to redouble our efforts to hasten the victory of the world socialist revolution.

Mideast talks

Sadat's diplomacy fails to stop Israeli threats

By David Frankel

"Is there life after death?" *New York Times* columnist Anthony Lewis asked July 12. Lewis was not discussing religion; he was speculating about the fate of Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat's attempt to strike a deal with the Israeli regime.

Eight months after Sadat's trip to Jerusalem and his offer to negotiate a treaty with Israel, prospects for his initiative look grim indeed. In fact, the latest diplomatic exercise began less than two weeks after the Zionists had almost provoked a new Mideast war over Lebanon.

A conference between Egyptian Foreign Minister Mohammed Kemal, Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan, and U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance opened in Britain July 18. Dayan confidently predicted that it would "turn out to be a waste of time," a statement that was promptly denied by the Israeli foreign ministry, but that accurately captured the attitude of the Israeli government to Sadat's overtures. This attitude is indicated by the fact that the Israeli Ministry of Agriculture has set aside 426 million Israeli lira in its 1978 budget to establish new colonies on occupied Arab land and expand old ones. This compares to 267 million lira in 1977—a growth of about 30 percent, allowing for inflation and currency changes.

Since the June 1967 Mideast war, the Zionist regime has spent more than \$1 billion on settlements in the West Bank alone. At least fifty additional settlements have been established in the Golan Heights, the Gaza Strip, and the Sinai Peninsula.

Much has been made about the supposed divisions in the Israeli government in regard to this course. Israeli

Minister of Defense Ezer Weizman, who has been built up by the big-business press as a possible alternative to Prime Minister Menachem Begin, explained the real situation to *Time* magazine during the Israeli invasion of Lebanon last March: "If anybody thinks we are going to withdraw from the West Bank," Weizman declared, "they are wrong."

While the Israeli regime is hanging tough, Sadat has continued to offer concessions. For example, when Sadat spoke in Jerusalem last November, he insisted that any agreement with Israel would have to include Israeli withdrawal from all the Arab territory occupied in the 1967 war. But his latest proposals made no mention at all of the Syrian Golan Heights.

Sadat has also been searching for a diplomatic formula that would enable him to wash his hands of the Palestinians. Of course, Sadat still talks about the right of the Palestinians in the West Bank to determine their own future. But as Morton Kondracke noted in the July 1 *New Republic*:

"American officials—and some Israelis, too—believe Sadat's real positions are considerably softer. They believe he really wants little more than a fig leaf to cover a separate settlement. They say he does not favor a separate Palestinian state, but a West Bank entity linked to Jordan; he does not require that the PLO have a role in peacemaking or in governing after a peace is made; he understands that Israeli 'security problems' require 'some adjustment' of West Bank boundaries; and he does not demand that Israel make a West Bank offer that King Hussein of Jordan *accepts* before initialing and beginning to implement an Israeli-Egyptian peace, but only an



SADAT: man in a corner

offer that Hussein *ought* to accept."

A separate deal with Egypt, which would leave the Israeli high command with only one front to deal with in a future war, would be of great value to the Zionist regime. But Begin is in no hurry to conclude such a deal.

In the first place, such an agreement would have to include an Israeli pull-back in the Sinai—something the Zionist regime does not relish. Moreover, by stalling, Begin maximizes the pressure on Sadat.

Millions of Egyptians welcomed Sadat's trip to Jerusalem because they hoped that it would lead to peace and economic prosperity. So far, neither result has been achieved. The Egyptian economy is kept afloat only through massive infusions of foreign aid and loans, and Sadat has been forced to resort to new repressive measures to keep his opponents under control.

Begin is thus in a position to wait. Either Sadat will be forced to surrender more ground or else he will be forced to break off his diplomatic initiative. In the latter case, Begin will be able to claim that the Egyptians never wanted peace at all and will use this as another excuse for stepping up his war preparations.

African forces are supposed to withdraw, and the constituent assembly is to draw up a constitution.

There are several points in the plan that pose a clear danger to the Namibian independence struggle.

First of all, South Africa will be allowed to retain 1,500 troops in Namibia throughout the election period. Moreover, it is unclear when withdrawal of *any* of the more than 20,000 South African troops in Namibia will begin. South African Defense Minister Pieter Botha declared July 13 that such withdrawals would begin only after "all hostile acts" had stopped.

The presence of South African troops, the South African role in supervising the elections, and finally, South Africa's retention of Walvis Bay, Namibia's only deep water port and a strategic communications and transport center, give the apartheid regime considerable room for maneuver.

Another dangerous aspect of the plan is the entry of a United Nations force into Namibia. Such UN military forces are invariably controlled by the

As for the Carter administration, it hopes to keep the Arab regimes tied up in a diplomatic charade that could drag on for years.

Because it has no solution for the fundamental problems facing the Arab countries—indeed, *because the economic domination of the Middle East by U.S. imperialism is the central obstacle to modernization and economic progress in the Arab world*—Washington has no alternative but to continue its reliance on the Zionist state as its main ally in the region.

The danger of this policy was highlighted recently when Begin sent Israeli jets streaking over Beirut at rooftop level to back his demand for an end to Syrian military action against right-wing Christian strongholds there. This could easily have been the opening of a new Middle East war. Israeli and Syrian troops mobilized along the Lebanese and Syrian borders, and Moscow pledged, according to some reports, that it would "not stand idly by" if the Israelis attacked Syria.

In light of the Zionist regime's long record of indiscriminate slaughter in Lebanon, Begin's claim of concern for the Christian population there hardly deserves to be taken seriously. What the Israeli regime is interested in is preserving the power of the right-wing Christian militias in Lebanon, which have opposed the Palestinian struggle, and preventing any solution to the political turmoil there that would enable the Muslim majority to assert control over the country.

Syrian President Hafez al-Assad, whose army originally entered Lebanon to save the rightist forces from defeat in the 1975-76 civil war, now finds himself caught in a trap of his own making. If he withdraws from Lebanon without leaving behind a stable solution there, or even worse, if he withdraws his forces and the rightists succeed in partitioning the country, he will have suffered a political defeat that would seriously threaten his position.

On the other hand, Israeli threats have prevented Assad from taming the rightist forces and imposing his own solution. Thus, Lebanon will remain in a state of turmoil and crisis—a likely flashpoint for the next Arab-Israeli war.

To the extent that Sadat's diplomacy minimizes the chances of Egypt playing a role in such a war, it can only embolden the Zionists and encourage new Israeli adventures.

imperialist powers that dominate the UN Security Council. They can be depended upon to intervene against any attempt by the Namibian masses to assert their rights in forms that are not approved by the imperialists.

However, SWAPO was under heavy pressure to accept the deal. As Ottaway noted: The front-line states [Zambia, Tanzania, Angola, Mozambique, and Botswana] . . . played a crucial role in pressuring [SWAPO] into accepting the Western plan despite SWAPO's strong objections to several key provisions."

Apparently the imperialist powers, which have watched the widening war in Zimbabwe with deep concern, are hoping that the Namibia agreement will serve as a precedent. Ottaway pointed out in this regard that guerrilla leaders in Zimbabwe have been reluctant to negotiate since they are "apparently winning against the . . . government. But the frontline states, which have supported the British-American peace plan, could, if they wished, force the guerrillas to take the diplomatic route."

Namibia

Imperialist plan forced on liberation fighters

By David Frankel

Representatives of the United States, Britain, France, West Germany, and Canada announced July 12 that they had won the agreement of the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) for a plan that is supposed to result in the establishment of a new, black-ruled state in Namibia.

Washington Post correspondent David Ottaway gave an assessment July 14 that was typical of those in the big-business media, saying that the agreement "represents a major diplomatic victory for the West and a break-

through in its search for negotiated settlements to the burning racial conflicts of southern Africa."

Details of the plan remain unclear, but correspondents agree on the broad outlines. A cease-fire is supposed to be followed by a partial withdrawal of South African troops from Namibia and the entry of 5,000 United Nations troops into the area. This will be followed by elections to a constituent assembly, which will be jointly supervised by South Africa and the United Nations. Following UN certification of the election results, remaining South

Imperialism's bloody history in Zaire

By Omari Musa

The French, Belgian, and U.S. military intervention in Zaire this spring projected the former Belgian-ruled Congo back into the world spotlight.

The capitalist media tried to portray the imperialist intervention as designed to "rescue" Europeans from rebels seeking to overthrow Mobutu Sese Seko's corrupt regime. But the real aim was to protect their huge investments and profits in the mineral wealth of that country.

Shaba province produces a substantial percentage of the world's industrial diamonds, as well as 10 percent of the copper, and 60 percent of the cobalt. It also has large deposits of uranium, manganese, and other minerals.

Like other colonial and semicolonial countries in Africa, this wealth is exploited for the benefit of corporations headquartered in Brussels, Paris, Washington, London, Tokyo, and Bonn.

Belgium, Zaire's former colonial master, leads the pack in exploiting its resources. Belgium has \$1 billion invested there. The United States has \$200 million in direct investments, and U.S. banks hold \$1 billion in outstanding loans. France has at least \$20 million in direct investments and is moving rapidly to increase its share. West Germany is also stepping up its efforts to get a piece of the pie.

400 years of exploitation

The plunder of the area's human and mineral resources goes back more than 400 years.

As far back as the early 1500s the Portuguese had begun a lucrative slave trade in the Congo area, which by the end of the seventeenth century had become an international enterprise providing capital for European economic development.

In his *Challenge of the Congo*, Kwame Nkrumah cites the 1959 Handbook of the Congo, issued by the Belgian government, to show the devastating toll taken by the slave trade. The handbook says that "in 1778, 104,000 slaves had been exported from Africa; one-third of them came from the Congo and Angola."

Nkrumah estimates that by the time the Belgians took over control of the Congo at the end of the nineteenth century, "fifteen million Congolese had been shipped out."

Belgian rule

By 1878 slave trading was formally abolished. The European powers had shifted from selling Africans to exploiting the mineral wealth of the continent. They sought to institutionalize this process at the Berlin Conference in 1884-85, where Africa was divided

up among the competing imperialist powers.

The Congo was "given" to Belgian King Leopold II as his personal property.

Leopold's personal reign over the Congo lasted until 1908, when the Belgian government took over.

During those twenty-three years, Leopold established, with the help of British investors, three conglomerates to monopolize production, shipment, and sale of copper mined in the Congo and northern Rhodesia (now Zambia). The most important of these companies was L'Union Minière du Haut-Katanga.

The African population was driven into forced labor in the mines and rubber plantations. Taxes were imposed and property and livestock were seized, leaving the Africans without any means except working for the Belgian enterprises.

To keep them terrorized, rebellious Africans were killed or had their hands, ears, or feet cut off. It is estimated that 5 to 8 million Africans died during Leopold's reign.

The colonial officials, Catholic church hierarchy, and mining companies ran the country with an iron hand.

However, the rise of independence struggles in Africa and Asia following World War II gave impetus to the struggle against Belgian rule. By the 1950s political parties based in different parts of the country began to demand concessions from the Belgians.

The independence struggle in Ghana also had a strong influence on Congolese nationalists. When Ghana won its political independence in 1957, its president, Kwame Nkrumah, campaigned for African independence and offered support to nationalists throughout the continent.

After the All-African People's Conference in Ghana in 1958, Patrice Lumumba, the central leader of the Congolese National Movement (MNC), returned to Leopoldville (now Kinshasa), the Congo's capital, and called for immediate and total independence.

On January 4, 1959, 30,000 unemployed workers marched through the streets of the capital demanding independence. Demonstrations and rebellions against Belgian rule spread across the country.

The Belgian government sought to repress the nationalist movement, but this only fueled it. The government was forced to negotiate with Congolese political parties for the country's independence. The date was set for June 30, 1960.

One of the most serious problems confronting the nationalist movement in the Congo was the deep divisions among the more than 200 language and nationality groups within the Congo's borders. The pro-independence



U.S.-financed mercenaries murder and pillage during drive on Stanleyville in November 1964.

parties, and even those groups subordinate to Belgian interests like Moïse Tshombe's Confederation of Katangan Associations (Conakat), were based on different nationalities.

The United States and Western European powers sought to exploit these differences to derail real national independence and maintain and expand their interests.

Elections held

The elections for provincial and national legislatures were held May 11-25, 1960. The Congolese National Movement emerged as the strongest and most broadly based party. MNC President Patrice Lumumba was chosen prime minister. Joseph Kasavubu, central leader of the Association of Bakongo (ABAKO), was designated president.

The MNC itself was divided between a militantly nationalist wing led by Lumumba, and a right wing led by Albert Kalandji based in Kasai province. After independence, Kalandji led a secessionist move in Kasai.

The other major opposition to Lumumba was Tshombe's Conakat based in Katanga (Shaba) province.

On June 29, the day before formal independence was declared, the Congolese nationalists signed a treaty with Belgium giving it the right to maintain troops in the Congo. This treaty seriously compromised the Congo's independence.

The Belgian troops were to go into action against the Lumumba government less than two weeks later.

Belgium, France, England, and the United States were not about to let this land of such plentiful human and natural resources get away from them.

The imperialists saw grave dangers to their interests in the Congolese national liberation struggle. A consistent fight by the aroused masses for freedom from the imperialist yoke could propel them to seize foreign-owned enterprises.

The independence struggle had the potential to grow over into a fight for socialism. The imperialists had just seen this dynamic unfold in Cuba, and comparisons of Lumumba with Castro were not brushed aside as idle talk.

Katanga's secession

Belgian companies, especially the Union Minière copper conglomerate, backed the call of Moïse Tshombe's

Conakat party for a loose federation, rather than a centralized Congolese state.

When it became clear that a unitary Congo with militant nationalists leading it was to become a reality, the Belgians pushed Tshombe to declare the copper-rich Katanga province "independent."

Just how directly Tshombe was fronting for Belgian interests can be seen from his "independence" speech. On July 11 he declared, "This independence is total. Nonetheless, conscious of the imperious necessity of an economic collaboration with Belgium, the government of Katanga, to which Belgium, in order to protect human lives, has just granted the assistance of its own troops, asks Belgium to join with Katanga in a close economic community."

"It asks Belgium to contribute its technical, financial, and military aid."

"It asks Belgium to reestablish public order and security."

The week before Tshombe's declaration, Congolese soldiers mutinied in several provinces against their Belgian officers. They demanded higher pay and upgrading in rank. After a period of indecision, Lumumba dismissed the Belgian officer corps.

The Belgian government sent in thousands of troops under the guise of "protecting" Belgian citizens from the mutineers. This "protection" included bombing the town of Matadi, disarming Congolese soldiers, and occupying many cities and towns.

As Belgium poured in thousands of soldiers, Union Minière, the largest imperialist enterprise in the Congo, stopped paying taxes to the central government and turned them over to Tshombe.

France and Britain also lined up with Tshombe against Lumumba.

Lumumba calls on UN

On July 12 Lumumba made a fatal mistake. Accepting for good coin the pretensions of the United Nations to be a supporter of Congolese independence, he called on the UN to send troops to expel the Belgians and help end Katanga's secession. The fact that many African and Asian UN members professed support for Lumumba helped foster his illusions.

However, the actions of UN forces soon made it clear that it was a tool of imperialism.

UN forces refused to move against Belgian troops and white mercenaries from South Africa and Rhodesia who protected Tshombe. Instead, they disarmed Congolese army units loyal to Lumumba and blockaded radio stations to prevent him from appealing to his supporters to take action against Belgium and Katanga.

Units from the Sudan refused to allow Lumumba to use the airport to move around the country to rally support for his government. The actions of Ghanaian troops in blocking Lumumba's access to radio broadcast facilities in the capital brought him to the brink of breaking relations with Ghanaian President Nkrumah.

Washington, with the aid of UN forces, pushed forward Mobutu, then army chief of staff. It hoped that by putting forward its own candidate, it would be in a better position to expand U.S. interests at the expense of its imperialist rivals.

By September Mobutu had deposed Lumumba in a coup. Mobutu installed a powerless College of Commissioners with President Joseph Kasavubu at its head to administer the Congo and negotiate with Tshombe.

Lumumba was arrested twice between September and December. After his second arrest, his supporters set up a rival government in Stanleyville (now Kisangani) under Lumumba's Deputy Prime Minister Antoine Gizenga.

Lumumba murdered

The imperialists finally decided to get rid of Lumumba once and for all, hoping in that way to put a halt to the uprising against Mobutu.

On January 17, 1961, Mobutu forcibly shipped Lumumba, Senate Vice-president Joseph Okito, and Youth Minister Maurice Mpolo to Tshombe in Katanga. The three were murdered by Tshombe henchmen.

CIA complicity in Lumumba's assassination was recently revealed by ex-CIA official John Stockwell in his book *In Search of Enemies*.

Stockwell says that after a training class given by a CIA official, the official told of "an adventure in Lubumbashi [then called Elizabethville], driving about town after curfew with Patrice Lumumba's body in the trunk of his car, trying to decide what to do with it."



PATRICE LUMUMBA: assassinated with CIA help

When the deaths of Lumumba, Okito, and Mpolo became known in February, demonstrations and protests erupted in the Congo, Belgium, England, France, and the United States. The protesters correctly saw that the imperialists through their agents Mobutu and Tshombe had murdered Lumumba.

Even a UN commission set up to "investigate" the killings said that the three were murdered "in the presence of Mr. Tshombe, [Interior Minister Godefroid] Munongo and [Foreign Minister Evariste] Kimbe"—all officials in the Katangan government.

These murders spurred the rebel movement centered in Stanleyville. By March it had extended its influence over nearly half the country.

The imperialists stepped up their attempts to form a counterrevolutionary alliance among its clients. This

was achieved in mid-1963 when Tshombe was forced to end the secession of Katanga and sent off to Europe for a temporary exile. He had, for the time being, used up his credit with the imperialists.

The United States, Belgium, France, and Britain continued their maneuvering with Mobutu and Congolese Prime Minister Cyrille Adoula to stabilize the situation.

Adoula released Gizenga from prison, hoping to quell the rebellion. Rebellions continued in northern and eastern Congo, however.

In January 1964 a mass peasant uprising developed in Kwilu province. The central leader of the revolt was Pierre Mulele, secretary general of the African Solidarity Party and a former member of Lumumba's government. The peasant rebellion swept thru Kwilu, Kasai, and Kwango provinces routing Mobutu's soldiers. At the same time, pro-Lumumbist forces captured Stanleyville and Albertville in the eastern part of the country.

Fearing that the situation was getting out of hand, the imperialists brought Tshombe back from exile to form a government of "national reconciliation" with rebel forces.

However, the Stanleyville and Kwilu rebels refused the bait and stepped up their attacks on the pro-imperialist regime.

On June 30, 1964, UN troops pulled out of the Congo after four years of military intervention.

U.S.-Belgian invasion

The United States and its European allies decided it was time to crush the nationalist government in Stanleyville once and for all.

They stepped up their aid to the Tshombe-Mobutu government. Washington supplied transport planes, helicopters, and 105 troops in August 1964. South African mercenaries were flown into Kamina in northern Katanga.

In early November, Mobutu launched an offensive against the nationalists. His 2,000-man force was spearheaded by 400 white mercenaries, with anti-Castro Cubans flying U.S. B-26 bombers leading the way.

While the white mercenaries were murdering thousands of Congolese in their drive north on Stanleyville, the U.S. and European media were filled with horror stories claiming the nationalists were "massacring" whites.

This racist propaganda offensive was aimed at preparing world public opinion for the next step the imperialists would take. This was particularly important in the United States, where the Johnson administration was already waging war in Vietnam. Another factor the U.S. government had to take into consideration was the rise of the Black nationalist movement, which was beginning to see the struggle for Black liberation as an integral part of the fight for African liberation.

On November 24, after discussions between Johnson and Belgian and British officials, 600 Belgian paratroopers were dropped into Stanleyville by U.S. transport planes. The paratroopers and white mercenaries took many rebel strongholds, murdering thousands of Congolese as they went.

This joint imperialist invasion sparked worldwide protests, and the Belgian government withdrew its forces a week later.

The invasion had delivered a serious blow to the rebels, but it did not stop the revolt. So Washington, figuring that a decisive military victory was not possible, changed its tactics.

Mobutu's second coup

Tshombe had again used up his credit and was deposed in a coup staged by Mobutu in November 1965.

Mobutu struck a more militant pose after the coup. He nationalized the copper industry, but was careful to leave it under Belgian management. He announced a policy of upgrading Africans in the army, civil service, and private sector.

Mobutu also announced a phony policy of "nonalignment" in world affairs and went on a diplomatic offensive to win support from African and Asian states.

These and other measures brought relative stability to the Congo, although periodic fighting persisted with rebel factions in different parts of the country.

Crisis still unresolved

But the measures instituted by Mobutu with imperialist backing only papered over the situation.

For example, after he nationalized many of the foreign companies, Mobutu put them under the direction of his cronies. Their mismanagement and corruption led the economy into deeper crisis. Mobutu was forced to turn management and control back to their former owners.

One particularly gross example of how far Mobutu would go in selling the country to the imperialists was recently revealed. In 1976 he made an agreement with the West German Orbital Transport and Rocket Company (OTRAG) to give up one-tenth of the country's territory for "rocket testing."

Massive amounts of foreign economic aid and loans have not been able to rescue Zaïre's ailing economy. The worldwide recession that began in 1975 struck a particularly hard blow. The price of copper fell to fifty-five cents a pound, and copper revenues fell to less than half their 1973 level. Income from copper sales accounts for more than half of government revenues and 70 percent of foreign exchange earnings.

This has drastically reduced Mobutu's ability to repay foreign loans that have propped up his regime. Today Zaïre's foreign debt is estimated at more than \$2 billion, and the country hovers on the brink of bankruptcy.

Periodic rebellions—including two in Shaba during the past fifteen months, in Bandundu province in central Zaïre, and guerrilla actions by rebels near Lake Tanganyika—continue to plague the regime. The repressive measures that have followed these outbreaks continue to erode what little support the regime has.

Mobutu's position has become so shaky that the imperialists are considering taking over direct control of the economy.

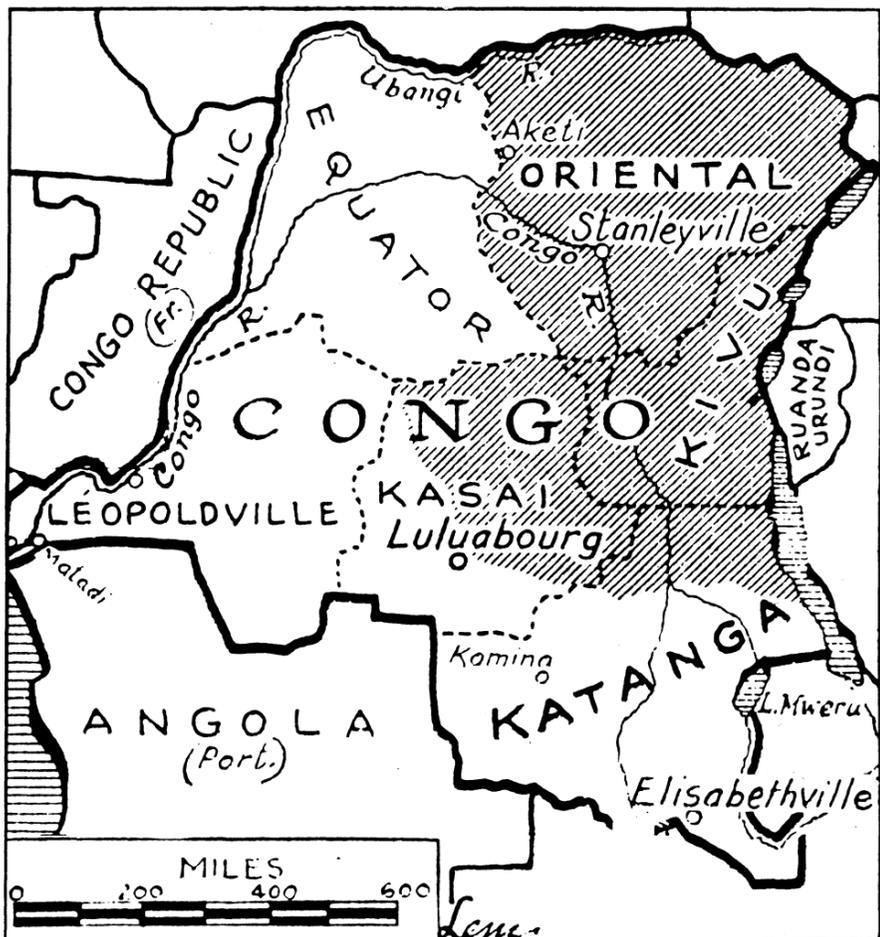
At a series of meetings in Paris and Brussels in June, the United States, Western European powers, Japan, and representatives of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank came up with the promise of a massive aid deal to keep Mobutu afloat.

Part of the plan includes placing an IMF representative in charge of the Central Bank of Zaïre. Another foreign official would deal directly with the Ministry of Finance.

The plan held out the promise of \$1 billion in aid to the regime over the next two years if Mobutu grants some cosmetic reforms and broadens his political base.

Such a massive infusion of aid may give Mobutu a little breathing space. However, the austerity measures he will be forced to implement by the IMF will certainly not be welcomed by the Zaïrian masses, as shown by recent rebellions in Egypt and Peru against similar IMF-imposed belt-tightening drives.

That could provide the fuse for even bigger rebellions against Mobutu and his imperialist backers in the near future.



Shaded area shows rebel influence before imperialist-backed invasion

Ferment in Afghanistan: will it spread to Iran & Pakistan?

By Javad Sadeeg

When more than 270 senior generals, admirals, diplomats, scholars, officials, and (undoubtedly) spies gathered for a three-day "high level symposium" of the NATO Atlantic Command at Annapolis, Maryland, in late June, they concluded that things were not going well for imperialism in Afghanistan since the recent revolutionary upheaval.

"The establishment of a powerful Soviet military and political influence in Afghanistan is regarded by experienced analysts as more valuable strategically to Moscow than any of the Kremlin's gains in Africa," *New York Times* military affairs correspondent Drew Middleton reported June 24.

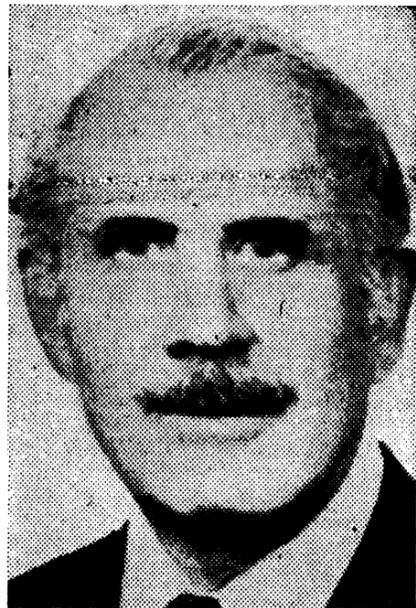
The assembled imperialist strategists expressed particular concern about their main lackey, the shah, who "now faces the possibility of an Eastern neighbor that is not only armed with Soviet weapons—as Afghanistan has been for years—but that is also advised by Soviet officers."

However, Soviet influence cannot be what now upsets the imperialists so much. Afghanistan has been under heavy Soviet economic and political influence for decades, and Moscow has for years trained the Afghan army and air force and supplied its equipment.

What the imperialists really fear are the far-reaching implications of the upheaval for both Afghanistan and the countries beyond its borders. They see in this development a challenge to their rule and to the existence of the crisis-ridden capitalist states in the region.

National struggles

In particular, they are worried about the ferment in Afghanistan giving encouragement to the national liberation struggles of the Baluchis (who are divided between Iran, Pakistan, and Afghanistan) and the Pushtus (or Pa-



Noor Mohammed Taraki, new prime minister of Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

thans, who are divided between Afghanistan and Pakistan).

Consequently, they are worried about Pakistan falling apart—a process that started with the secession of Bangladesh in 1971. One general commented that "if Pakistan should fall apart the Russians would have a clear road to the Arabian Sea and capability to build bases near the exit from the Persian Gulf through the Strait of Hormuz," an important oil route.

The imperialists' obvious alarm about the recent developments in the region and their constant references to "Soviet expansionism" betray their own intentions of possible military intervention in Afghanistan.

The shah has been more open in his threats and actions. When the new regime came to power in Kabul at the end of April, he reportedly sent troops to the Afghan and Pakistani borders and considered military intervention.

Shah

He has continued his threats. The *New York Times* of May 20, summarizing the remarks of an unnamed high Iranian official, reported that "Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi's Government considers the new revolutionary Government in Afghanistan to be completely under Communist control . . . and Iran will use 'all means' to keep the Afghans from expanding influence into the Persian Gulf, the main route for shipping oil from the Middle East."

The official stressed the shah's opposition to the rise of the "old separatist movements in two Pakistani provinces, Baluchistan and Pushtunistan," and recalled that the shah had stated publicly that "Iran would not stand by and permit further dismemberment of Pakistan."

He also said that "if Kabul tried to weaken Pakistan by instigating the Baluchis and Pushtus to revolt, Iran would call on all concerned countries to use 'all means,' including military intervention." The "concerned countries" would range from the U.S. imperialists to their allies in Britain, Turkey, Pakistan, and Iran (the CENTO Pact countries).

More recently it has been reported that the governments of Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and Iran are secretly negotiating a "security arrangement" that, according to a report in the June 18 *New York Times*, "could create a major shift in the strategic balance of the oil producing area."

Behind the upheaval

It is not known to the Iranian people what other secret negotiations or preparations have taken place during the recent comings and goings of the heads of states and police agents. In this connection, the recent dispatch of General Nasiri to Islamabad as the ambassador to Pakistan is not accidental. Nasiri, the former head of the shah's secret police, the SAVAK, was a central figure in the 1953 CIA-engineered coup in Iran.

In the tradition of Cold War propaganda, the imperialists are trying to



Christian Science Monitor

portray the upheaval in Afghanistan as yet another case of "Soviet expansionism." The truth is, however, that the upheaval in Afghanistan was brought about by the deteriorating conditions of the masses and the incapability of the former Daud regime to take steps to solve this crisis.

Since the 1973 coup that brought Daud to power his regime became more and more repressive. He refused to carry out the reforms that he had promised, including a democratic constitution and land reform.

Amir Taheri wrote in the Tehran daily *Kayhan* April 29: "Two years after the coup I asked Daud: 'Finally, when will Afghanistan get a new constitution?' He answered: 'Whenever I deem it necessary.'"

Daud never deemed it necessary. Agriculture went into a crisis and as in Iran, millions of poor peasants and tribal people (Afghanistan has a tribal population of about 2.5 million) were driven into cities that could not absorb them productively and many were forced to emigrate in search of jobs.

Taheri reports that 1.5 million Afghani workers have had to leave the country for Pakistan, India, the Persian Gulf states, and Iran in search of jobs. The plight of the nearly half million Afghani workers who have come to Iran is well known. They face constant discrimination, humiliation, degradation, imprisonment, and in some cases even execution, such as those carried out by the shah's regime last year.

As mass sentiment turned against the Daud regime he intensified the repression and started to get some help from the shah and the SAVAK in this direction.

On April 17 Amir Akbar Khaybar, a popular labor leader and a leader of the People's Democratic Party (PDP), was assassinated. His funeral procession in Kabul attracted tens of thousands of angry young demonstrators, many of whom carried red flags, as well as a large number of women. A prominent figure in the demonstration was Noor Mohammed Taraki, who is now president of the country.

'Unprecedented' protest

A report in the May 26 issue of the *Far Eastern Economic Review* described the protest as "a move unprece-

dent in Kabul," in which "a 100,000 crowd joined the funeral procession led by Taraki in a demonstration in front of the American Embassy, accusing the Central Intelligence Agency and its Iranian counterpart, Savak, of Khyber's murder."

In the following days demonstrations continued. Daud responded by arresting many of the leaders of the PDP, including its main leader, Taraki. Daud also arrested some of the air force officers, but Colonel Abdul Khadir, who later led the coup, escaped detention.

According to the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, following a week of demonstrations "a large crowd gathered in Kabul's central park, which, on Daud's instructions, was surrounded by soldiers. When ordered to fire, sections of the soldiery turned their weapons against the nearby presidential palace, which was strongly guarded by the Gendarmerie, some army men and anti-aircraft batteries.

"About 50 tanks came rolling in and began pounding the palace. The air force also sent in MiG-21s that first used rockets, lost two aircraft to ground fire and finally finished off the defenders with a 500-pound bomb."

The June 4 issue of *Granma*, newspaper of the Cuban Communist Party, carried the transcript of a televised interview with Afghanistan's new foreign minister, Hafizullah Amin. Amin said that his party (PDP) had been building a base among the workers, peasants, intellectuals, and army since 1965.

Behind PDP's move

All published reports indicate that in the context of a rising mass movement and Daud's attack on the PDP, the leadership of the party decided to use its base in the army and air force to take power in self-defense.

It also appears that the PDP had to make a rapid decision on the insurrection, and that despite its pro-Soviet stance it may not have had time to consult with or get the approval of Moscow. In this regard, the report in the May 26 *Far Eastern Economic Review* noted that "diplomats in Islamabad . . . assert that the coup was as much a surprise to Moscow as to the rest of the world."

The uprising was announced April

27 by Radio Kabul: "For the first time in the history of Afghanistan the last remnants of monarchy, tyranny, despotism and the power of the dynasty of the tyrant Nader Khan has ended, and all powers of the state are in the hands of the people of Afghanistan. The power of the state fully rests with the Revolutionary Council of the armed forces."

Amin told the Cubans in his televised interview that when this communiqué was heard "our officers arrested all the generals in various regiments and put them in prison. With the exception of one province, where the general and governor died, the members of our party assumed leadership of all the regiments without running into any resistance."

Two days later the Revolutionary Council of the Armed Forces issued a decree that "transferred all high State powers to the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and merged itself with the latter council." On April 30, this council issued Decree No. 1, which stated that Noor Mohammed Taraki was elected chairman of the Revolutionary Council and head of the government (prime minister), and proclaimed the state to be the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

Thirty-point program

On May 9 Taraki delivered a policy speech in which he defined the armed uprising of April 27 as the starting point of a "democratic and national revolution" led by the PDP. He presented a thirty-point program that included "democratic land reforms" and abolition of the old feudal and pre-feudal property relations, as well as a democratic solution of the national question.

It was further specified that resolution of the Pushtu and Baluchi national issue would be based on their own will and on the "historical background," and would include "peaceful political talks between the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and Pakistan." In addition, nationalities resident in Afghanistan are to have the right of education and publications in their native languages.

Taraki also stated that it was the intention of his government to ensure friendly relations with neighboring Iran, Pakistan, and China, as well as to consolidate and widen its relations with the Soviet Union.

The declaration of the thirty-point program signified an end to a five-year split in the PDP. The split came about after the 1973 coup that put Daud in power, and focused mainly on the question of what attitude to take toward the new regime. Taraki opposed giving support to Daud on the grounds that his regime did not represent a real change from the government of Daud's cousin King Mohammed Zahir Shah, despite the formal change from a monarchy to a republic.

The PDP split into two public factions over the question—Parcham

(Banner) led by Badrak Karmal, who is now a deputy prime minister, and Khalq (Masses) led by Taraki. It is reported that Moscow tried unsuccessfully to pressure Taraki to support the Daud regime.

Trade unions

A concrete step the new regime has taken is to allow the formation of trade unions, which have been made legal for the first time in the history of the country. So far no reports of implementation of the promised agrarian reform have been published.

In answer to a question by Cuban reporters as to possible dangers to the revolution, Foreign Minister Amin replied: "Within the country itself, I see no danger on the part of the people, because the masses have strongly supported the revolution. However, as you know, wherever there is a real revolution, a revolution that heralds a socialist revolution, there begins resistance on the part of the agents of imperialism and reaction.

"Thus it is likely that the imperialist circles and their lackeys will want to encourage the fanatic religious leaders with the help of the feudal lords who feel they are in danger and, in that sense, there might be problems."

The new regime, seeking to gain popular support on the basis of such slogans, will surely arouse greater expectations on the part of the masses. This is particularly true of the hundreds of thousands of Afghani workers who are returning home from neighboring countries in hope of major changes.

It remains to be seen to what extent the working class and its allies—the poor peasants, women, oppressed nationalities, and youth—will be able to mobilize in defense of their own interests. It is clear, however, that this is what the imperialists and their puppets are deadly afraid of. They fear both the deepening of the revolutionary movement inside Afghanistan and its extension beyond the borders of the country.

Imperialists 'nervous'

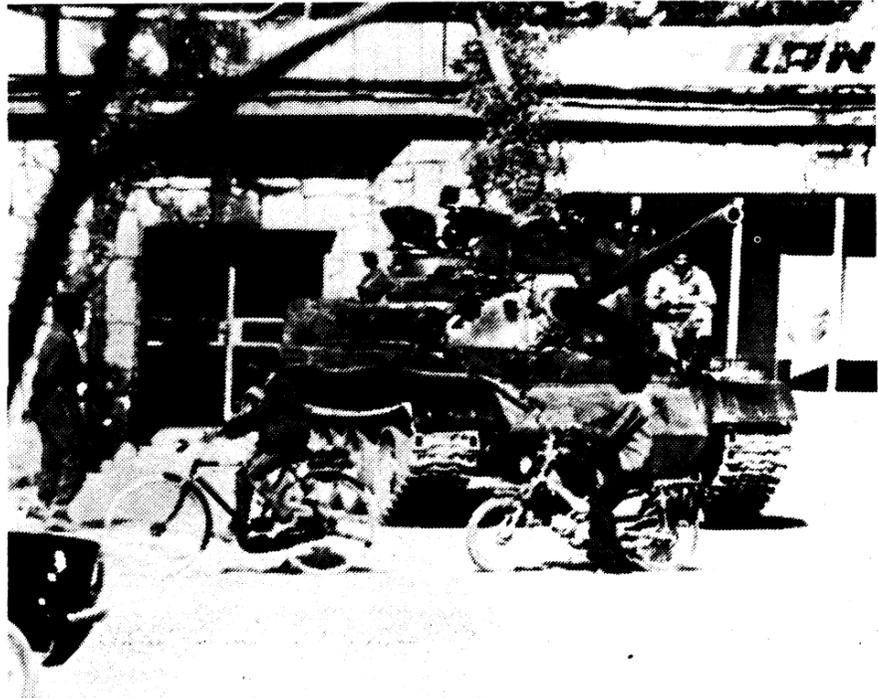
The editors of the *New York Times* noted the latter possibility, sounding a danger signal one week after the Kabul insurrection. In an editorial May 5 entitled "A Communist Coup in Afghanistan," they said: "... a revolutionary Afghanistan will make its neighbors nervous. Its very existence will intensify separatist sentiment among the Baluchi tribesmen in Pakistan and Iran. . . ."

Those whom the editors of the *Times* call Baluchi "tribesmen" number as many as ten million, according to some estimates, and fought the Pakistani army from 1973 to 1977. Although the Pakistani government committed as many as 100,000 troops to the war and suffered as many casualties as in the 1971 war with Bangladesh, it failed to subdue the insurgents.

The architect of this miserable operation was the shah himself, in collaboration with then-Prime Minister of Pakistan Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

So it is clear why the shah and General Zia, the current leader of Pakistan, are nervous. But so are the imperialist planners who took part in the NATO "high level" symposium.

The Baluchi and Pushtu national liberation struggles are only the tip of the iceberg. The entire region is beginning to enter a period of revolutionary upheaval and cracks are appearing along the boundaries of the awakening oppressed nationalities. Mobilization for deepgoing social reforms in Afghanistan would be a tremendous source of inspiration for the present movement in Iran against the shah. This emerging movement has its roots in the crisis of the shah's regime and



Troops at checkpoint in Kabul

of Iranian capitalism, and is bringing the working class and poor peasantry into political motion.

Azerbaijanis

The mass movement against the shah is combined with an awakening of the oppressed nationalities in that prison house of nations. Ever since the February 18-19 uprising in Tabriz (the center of the Azerbaijani nationality in Iran) the shah in his speeches keeps bringing up the 1945 uprising in which the Azerbaijani and Kurdish nationalities rose up, threw out his armies, and established their own autonomous governments. This inaugurated the Second Iranian Revolution, in which only Stalinist betrayals prevented the working class from coming to power.

By invoking that specter the shah is trying to unify his class. But he is also nervous about the recovery of the Azerbaijani revolution, as well as of the Kurdish revolution, which, despite the major setback in 1975, is showing signs of renewed life in Iran and Iraq.

The February 18-19 uprising in Tabriz was the first of such scope and combativity in more than twenty-five years, encompassing the youth, workers, poor peasants from the areas around the city, and women. The massive size of the mobilization caused hesitation inside the Tabriz garrison, enabling the people to take over the city for almost a day until troops from other cities were brought in. That uprising is viewed as a victory in the entire country, adding momentum to the movement for the shah's overthrow.

The rising revolutionary movement in the region also has implications for the political revolution in the Soviet Union. Many of the oppressed nationalities in the area are divided by the Soviet borders, and their national struggles affect those of their Soviet counterparts.

Kremlin's role

The imperialists are undoubtedly counting on this to persuade the Soviet bureaucracy to try to apply the brakes to the spread of ferment in Afghanistan. The London *Economist* has already warned that encouraging Pushtu and Baluchi self-determination may set up a "chain reaction of tribal troubles that could even spill over into the Soviet Union itself by way of the Uzbeks and Tajiks in Afghanistan. . . ." (May 6).

This warning could fall on receptive ears in the Kremlin, in light of the existing support for the national move-

ments in the Soviet republics of Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan, as evidenced by the demonstrations that forced the bureaucracy to reverse itself and restore the indigenous language as the official language of each republic. (Georgia, Armenia, and Northern Azerbaijan were part of Iran before tsarist Russia militarily annexed them in the nineteenth century.)

The Tadjik, Uzbek, and Turkmen Soviet republics—whose nationalities extend beyond the Soviet border into Afghanistan—do not have the right to use their indigenous languages as the official language of their republics. Revolutionary developments in Afghanistan could thus have a positive influence on the struggles of these oppressed nationalities in the Soviet Union.

No idle threats

To slow down, reverse, and halt the possibility of a spreading upsurge in Afghanistan, the imperialists will do everything in their power. Among their options, military intervention is a distinct possibility. In this eventuality, the shah of Iran, ever eager to be of use and to save his crown, will be the primary candidate to spearhead a military invasion. With 700,000 troops in uniform, he already has the credentials to show that, next to Israel, he is the most reliable counterrevolutionary force in the region.

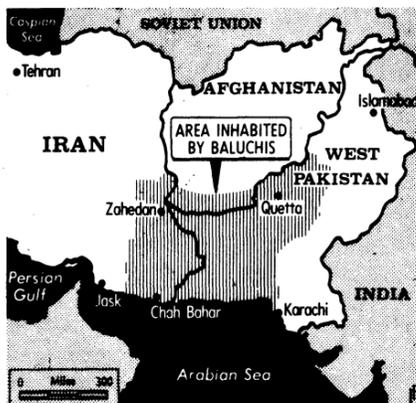
He has shown no hesitation in gunning down the people of Iran; suppressing the movements of the oppressed nationalities; or using his military in ventures outside the country. He has troops in Lebanon under the United Nations command, deployed against the Palestinian resistance movement. He has sent troops to Oman to crush the rebellion in Dhofar.

In an interview published in the June 26 issue of *U.S. News & World Report*, he was asked: "Do you want Iran . . . to play a more active Mideast role without relying so much on the U.S.?"

He proudly answered: "We have already done so in Oman, where we helped the Sultan defeat the Communist rebellion, and a limited number of Iranian troops are still there. Incidentally, the trouble is starting again, and five British officers were massacred there recently."

The extraordinary nervousness that the imperialists are exhibiting in connection with the recent upheaval in Afghanistan indicates that the shah's threats against the upsurge in Afghanistan must be taken seriously.

From *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*



Washington fears 'separatist' revolt among Baluchi people, who number as many as 10 million.

Peking hails neutron bomb

By Matilde Zimmermann

It has been called "the perfect capitalist weapon" because it kills people without damaging property. Peking would rather think of it as "the perfect anti-social-imperialist weapon" and bemoans the fact that the Pentagon is not moving full steam ahead with production of the neutron bomb.

When Carter announced April 7 that he was deferring production of the deadly bomb, the New China News Agency said he was capitulating to "Soviet threats and blackmail." Peking insists that the West needs the bomb because of the Soviet Union's "unprecedented" arms expansion and "overwhelming advantage" in some military areas.

To prove its case, Hsinhua depicts a groundswell of pro-neutron-bomb sentiment, citing, among others, Gerald Ford, Henry Kissinger, NATO officials in Brussels, *Newsweek*, West German parliamentary leaders, Ronald Reagan, and "public opinion in the West."

Like anyone else arguing for fattening the Pentagon's war budget, Peking raises the specter of Soviet military superiority. An article in the May 12 issue of *Peking Review* expresses concern about the threat to western security posed by the Soviet drive for "unilateral supremacy."

With this military threat facing them, West European countries feel ever more anxious. They have in recent years been discussing measures to fill this dangerous discrepancy in military strength. Since the United States' successful trial production of the neutron bomb many consultations between West European countries and the United States have taken place. Many in the West hold that the neutron bomb is an effective means of defence against Soviet military superiority.

At least a few in the East agree—for example, the editors of *Peking Review*.

The article has to admit that there is widespread opposition to the neutron bomb but insists that opponents of the bomb have simply had the wool pulled over their eyes by the Kremlin's "powerful propaganda offensive":

But under pressure from the Soviet Union, there are others who want to make concessions over the neutron bomb in exchange for a Soviet "restraint" in conventional and nuclear weapons programmes and troop deployment. This, in fact, is only wishful thinking.

It might even be something worse than "wishful thinking." It might be

"appeasement." Chinese Foreign Minister Huang Hua emphasized the danger of "appeasement" in his speech to the UN special session on disarmament May 29:

In order to put off the outbreak of war, it is also necessary to oppose a policy of appeasement. The Soviet Union is increasing its military threat to Western Europe, striving to expand its influence in the Middle East and carrying out a series of military adventures in Africa. . . . It is the most dangerous source of a new world war and is sure to be its chief instigator.

It is a mistake, Huang insisted, to think that "concessions"—like deferring production of the neutron bomb—can stem the Soviet war drive.

The Call, newspaper of the pro-Peking Maoists in the U.S., has divided American military and political personalities into "appeasers" and "anti-appeasers." Cyrus Vance is an "appeaser." *The Call's* editors do not name any "anti-appeasers," which is probably a judicious decision on their part.

The *New York Times* published a letter July 19, 1977, that explains why the neutron bomb is considered more "efficient" than other nuclear weapons: "the overall amount of death, disease, and genetic damage to future generations per kiloton will actually have been greatly multiplied." But *Peking Review* discounts as just another Kremlin hoax the idea that production of such a bomb will step up the arms race:

The Soviet leaders and their media went all out to play up the neutron bomb as an inhumane, more savage, more dangerous and more destructive weapon which would raise the arms race to a more dangerous level. . . . The Soviet Union has nuclear weapons of greater destructivity than the neutron bomb. They are not a bit more 'humane' than the bomb.

One of the things that has fueled the growing peace movement in the United States and elsewhere is fear and outrage about superweapons like the neutron bomb. When 20,000 persons demonstrated outside the United Nations disarmament meeting in New York May 27, many carried signs against war and against the neutron bomb. Those truly faithful to the Peking line should show at the next such demonstration with signs against war and for the neutron bomb. Perhaps they would be wiser to simply stay home.

From *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*

World news notes

Mandel at W. Berlin Bahro rally

The West German government lifted a five-year entry ban on Ernest Mandel and permitted him to speak at a July 4 rally in West Berlin. The rally was organized to demand freedom for dissident East Germany socialist Rudolf Bahro. On June 30, Stalinist authorities sentenced Bahro to eight years in prison.

Mandel is a prominent Belgian Marxist economist and a leader of the Fourth International. His stay in West Berlin was limited to twenty-four hours and hedged with other restrictions—including a ban on political activities other than the Bahro rally.

Hypocritical West German authorities were willing to let the German-born Mandel denounce repression in East Germany, but were anxious about his exercise of democratic rights in his native land.

Mandel denounced the sentencing of Bahro as a "political scandal and anachronism," stressing that Bahro was a "sincere Marxist and communist." He pledged that Western supporters of Bahro's right to freedom of opinion would continue to struggle for his release.



Mandel speaking at rally for Bahro in West Berlin

Der Spiegel

'Urgent call' on apartheid investment

The South African Council of Churches urged foreign governments and corporations with investments in South Africa "to revise radically their investment policies and employment practices in regard to South Africa, in such a way as to benefit the total population."

The July 12 statement culminates two years of study and discussion by the council, whose affiliated churches say they represent 15 million people—both Black and white—of South Africa's 26 million population.

The council did not issue a call for an outright withdrawal of the \$20 billion that foreign governments and corporations have invested in the apartheid regime. At least three South African laws make it illegal to advocate political change by such foreign economic pressure. Two of these carry a maximum penalty of death or life imprisonment.

Another Black South African prisoner dead

On July 10, twenty-year-old Lungile Tabalaza became the forty-fourth non-white prisoner in the past sixteen months to die while in the custody of South African police.

Tabalaza plunged to his death from the fifth-floor headquarters of the Port Elizabeth Security Police—the same place where Black leader Steve Biko was murdered ten months ago. Most of the cops who testified at the inquest into Biko's death continue to be stationed at the Port Elizabeth headquarters.

Justice Minister James Kruger moved quickly to head off a repeat of the storm of international protest that greeted the apartheid regime's murder of Biko. Kruger claimed that Tabalaza was charged with criminal activity and was not a political detainee under the Terrorism Act, as Biko had been.

The Justice minister also announced he would conduct an immediate investigation, although complaining "that if a man wants to commit suicide it is very difficult to prevent it."

Washington Post correspondent Caryle Murphy reported from Johannesburg July 12 that the police version of Tabalaza's death "was greeted by blacks with open disbelief."

China halts aid to Albania

The Chinese government announced July 13 that it has cut off all economic and military aid to Albania. The announcement marks a new stage in the deterioration of relations between the two Stalinist regimes. Tensions had intensified after the death of Mao Tsetung, especially following the displacement of the so-called Gang of Four faction in the Peking bureaucracy by the faction headed by Teng Hsiao-p'ing.

According to an Associated Press dispatch from Tokyo, Peking said its aid cut-off was prompted by Albania's "anti-China course." Peking said its aid to Albania totaled about \$5 billion since 1954.

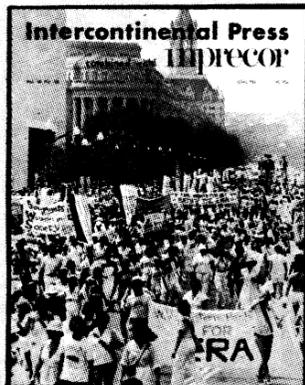
The Albanian government branded the Chinese move as "unilateral and arbitrary," according to a Reuters dispatch from Vienna. The official Albanian Telegraphic Agency announcement said that the aid cut-off was a "conscious and premeditated step to aggravate relations between the two countries." It said China was "kicking against every principle of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism."

—Peter Seidman

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CP hails 'progressive' junta

Why Stalinists back Argentine butchers

By José G. Pérez

The leaders of the Communist Party, USA, have discovered that Argentine despot Gen. Jorge Rafael Videla is a closet democrat.

Elected president of Argentina by tanks and bayonets more than two years ago, Videla has been challenging Chile's Augusto Pinochet for the distinction of heading the most brutal military dictatorship in all of Latin America. Videla's stated policy is: "We will kill as many as will be necessary to restore law and order."

Since seizing power, Videla has made good on his word. He has murdered more than 10,000 people; officially imprisoned 7,000; kidnapped and "disappeared" 22,000; forced 300,000 into exile; driven the real wages of Argentine workers to their lowest point in decades; "suspended" all political parties and trade-union organizations; and fostered anti-Semitic persecution of Jews.

New situation?

When Videla first pulled off his coup, the Stalinists opposed him—although somewhat half-heartedly. But not anymore.

An article in the June 17 issue of the *People's World*, the CP's West Coast newspaper, explained the switch. The article quoted two leaders of the Argentine CP who were in the United States as official guests of the American Stalinists.

"The situation has changed," the Argentine Stalinists claim. "President George [sic] Rafael Videla has repeatedly declared his willingness to establish in a reasonable time a representative, republican, federal and renovated democracy."

But these promises are a transparent fraud. Videla—like many a dictator before him—has been saying such things all along. For example, the very first communiqué issued after the junta seized power promised "the establishment of a republican, representative and federal democracy."

'Critical support'

As the Stalinists see it, "Argentina's military regime is sharply divided between neofascist and pro-democratic blocs," and it is necessary to support the "pro-democratic bloc" led by Videla against the "neofascists."

Another Argentine Stalinist, Roberto Vallarino, put it quite bluntly. He told the French magazine *Le Nouvel Observateur* that his party gives "critical support" to the junta because "it's a government where there exist progressive elements who are, in fact, currently dominant."

Asked, "Who are these progressive elements?" Vallarino rattled off a who's-who of the top figures in the Argentine government.

"In other words, the entire leading apparatus of the junta?" asked the shocked interviewer. "In one sense, yes," Vallarino replied. "But I would specify that it's a question of progressive elements and tendencies."

Do the Stalinists really believe that the fight for democratic rights in Argentina will be furthered by supporting the very military junta that is violating those rights? Do they really believe that the class struggle in Argentina will be advanced by supporting Videla and the other "progressive" butchers, instead of by organizing a massive movement in opposition to the regime and its crimes?

Of course not.

Vallarino let the cat out of the bag when *Le Nouvel Observateur* asked him for evidence of the junta's "progressive" side. His only proof was that "Argentina today accepts trading rela-



GEN. JORGE RAFAEL VIDELA: a 'progressive' dictator?

tions with all countries whatever their ideological regime."

Asked point-blank if "progressive nature therefore means trading with the USSR?" Vallarino replied, "In the circumstances, it means conducting relations with states on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence."

In other words, all the talk about Videla being a pro-democratic alternative to fascist elements is simply to cover the real reason for the Stalinists' attitude: the junta maintains good relations with the Soviet Union.

Stalinist policy

The Stalinists know the truth about Videla and his promises, but they cynically cover it up. Their priority is not the fight for democratic rights and for the broader interests of the working class. Instead, they aim to support the reactionary, narrow-minded diplomacy of the Soviet bureaucracy. The entire policy of the Stalinist parties, down to the smallest detail, is worked out with this goal in mind. And their day-to-day practice proves it.

The most basic principle of the working-class movement, its cornerstone, is solidarity—the idea that an injury to one is an injury to all. Yet the Stalinists say nothing about defending victims of repression in Argentina.

In the *Le Nouvel Observateur* interview, Vallarino was asked about Amnesty International's estimate "of a total of at least fifteen thousand" persons who have been "disappeared"

(that is, secretly imprisoned or murdered) by the junta.

Instead of denouncing this repression, Vallarino denied the facts: "That's an exaggerated figure. . . . Besides, on this question of human rights, one must be careful to draw a dividing line. There is a right-wing approach to this question and a left-wing approach."

Asked, "When the USSR opposes any condemnation of Argentina at the United Nations, that is a left-wing approach?" Vallarino answered, "Of course." He said that a United Nations condemnation of repression in Argentina would lead to "reinforcement of the Pinochet clique."

Argentine prisoners

The American CP shares this approach. For example, a joint statement of the American and Argentine Stalinists demands "Freedom for the victims of repression in Uruguay, Chile, Paraguay, and Brazil." But they don't say a word about the victims of repression in Argentina—not even the hundreds of members of the Argentine CP who have been shot, imprisoned, or "disappeared" in the past few years.

Another example: at the end of 1977, various groups in Europe began organizing a boycott of the World Cup soccer matches, which were recently held in Argentina.

The reason the Argentine government wanted to host the matches was obvious. It hoped to use the event to refurbish its tarnished image, much as

the South African racists try to do by their participation in international sports competitions.

The boycott committees spread to most West European countries and held several large protests, including one of 10,000 in Paris. But the Stalinist parties refused to join this movement.

Here in the United States, the Stalinists also ignored the demonstrations. Instead, the *Daily World* published an article criticizing the American TV networks for not broadcasting the matches, in effect chiding the U.S. media monopolies for not giving enough help to the junta's attempts to prettify its image.

One last example of how the Stalinists refuse to defend the victims of Argentine repression: At the end of May, thirteen prominent opponents of the Peruvian government, including revolutionary socialist Hugo Blanco, were deported and handed over to the Argentine generals by their Peruvian counterparts.

Had it not been for an international outcry from unions, working-class parties, and human rights organizations, Blanco and the others might not be alive today. But the Stalinists refused to say one word in support of this campaign.

Justify repression

Instead of coming to the defense of victims of repression in Argentina, the Stalinists try to justify Vidella's repression.

The Argentine CP members quoted in the *People's World* assert that the March 1976 coup d'état took place at a moment in which chaos reigned—"economic crisis, repression, crimes of terrorism by the ultra-right and ultra-left."

Compare that with the justification for the coup that the *Wall Street Journal* published on March 25, 1976: "The junta's major task, besides stopping terrorism of both the left and the right, will be reviving the economy."

Vidella's unsavory image, the Stalinists explained, "is due to the actions of extreme adventurist groups, the venal press, and the large monopolies that lie directly or distort the facts."

Compare that with the statement of Vidella's foreign minister, Oscar Montes: "I think that propaganda distributed in many countries against Argentina distorts the country's real image."

Most revealing of all is the CP's adoption of the slogan under which Videla has carried out his bloodbath: "Political terrorism from the ultra-right and ultra-left must be ended." The Stalinists insist that this is an "essential and immediate" task.

This condemnation of the "ultra-right and ultra-left" is meant to sound quite evenhanded. But it ignores the fact that the real terrorist is Videla. The right-wing death squads are simply his cops in plainclothes.

The Stalinists put an equal sign between Vidella's torturers and hangmen (all the while denying Videla has anything to do with them) and the groups of courageous and dedicated militants who, out of desperation, have turned to ineffective, ultraleft tactics to fight the military dictatorship.

This is a treacherous slander of the guerrilla groups done for the benefit of Vidella and his right-wing henchmen.

This betrayal of the Argentine working class shows, in practice, what it means to be a Stalinist: to be an apologist for and accomplice of capitalist regimes, even the most notorious dictatorships, as long as they maintain good diplomatic relations with the Kremlin.

Quote unquote

"Of course, cutbacks do change budget patterns. In fact, since its county hospital was closed in 1973, [California's] Imperial County has spent more to bury indigents than to care for them."

—Public health specialist Geraldine Dalleck writing in the July 9 'Los Angeles Times.'

JOANNE LITTLE PLEADS GUILTY

Joanne Little pleaded guilty to escape charges July 12 in Raleigh, North Carolina, and was sentenced to six months to two years. The sentence will be on top of the seven-to-ten-year term for robbery she was serving when she fled a North Carolina prison last year.

Little became a national figure when, in 1975, she killed a jailer in self-defense while he was trying to rape her. She won the support of women's and Black groups around the country and was acquitted.

Fearing for her life at the hands of racist North Carolina prison officials, she fled North Carolina last year and went to New York. Little fought extradition to North Carolina and lost.

400 IN SEATTLE PROTEST NAZIS

Four hundred people in Seattle marched July 9 in solidarity with anti-Nazi protesters in Chicago. Participants included members of Seattle's Jewish community, trade unions, Native Americans, women's organizations, and gay rights groups. The march and rally, sponsored by the Jewish Liberation Alliance, won the support of many local organizations.

Supporters of Harold Schlechtweg, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress, participated in the march.

CONGRESS 'MISLED' BY KISSINGER, COLBY

The Senate Intelligence Committee has concluded, after a year-long secret study, that former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and former CIA chief William Colby misled Congress about the extent of the CIA's activities in

the 1975 civil war in Angola.

The study, reported by Seymour Hersh in the July 16 *New York Times*, has evidently "infuriated" top CIA officials. They have denounced it as misleading, biased, and having a "negative tone."

The committee found that the CIA allotted more than \$1 million to recruit mercenaries to aid the South African invaders, and that CIA agents trained military units inside Angola.

Both Kissinger and Colby had denied all such activities in testimony before Congress.

The committee members and staff, Hersh reported, are now engaged in a fierce debate over whether Colby and Kissinger lied "deliberately."

Hersh quoted Kissinger as declaring, "Leaks like this are malicious attempts to smear those who were trying to resist the Cubans, the Soviets and the Communists in Angola."

MORE RESTRICTIONS ON ABORTION RIGHTS

As if its recent vote denying abortion funding to poor women was not enough, Congress is now considering two other bills to make it more

The real blackout victims

A year after last summer's New York City blackout, many of the real victims are still suffering in jail.

More than 3,000 people—mostly young Blacks and Puerto Ricans—were arrested and charged with looting and similar offenses. More than 100 were sentenced to jail terms of over a year.

The number of jail terms handed out, according to a state report, is higher than what might have been expected, given the range of criminal charges.

"We were tougher on the looters, there's no question about it," said Bronx District Attorney Mario Merola.

Another recent study found that, contrary to police propaganda, some two-thirds of the people arrested for looting were unemployed—and many of the rest "were only marginally employed as casual laborers or in publicly-funded manpower projects."

difficult for women to control their own bodies.

One bill would forbid the United States Commission on Civil Rights from considering abortion issues, on the absurd grounds that abortion is not a civil right.

Another would exclude women who get an abortion from a proposed bill preventing employers from discriminating against pregnant workers.

In addition, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare has tightened up its rules on paying for those few categories of abortion that are still eligible for Medicaid.

UNIVERSITY STALLS ON HIRING MARXIST PROF

The University of Maryland is continuing to stall on hiring Marxist Political Science Professor Bertell Ollman. Earlier this year, Ollman was offered the job, over 100 other candidates, of heading the department. But Acting Gov. Blair Lee, running for election, opposed the appointment.

Since then, the university regents have discussed the issue but have failed to come to a decision.

Ollman has informed the university that he will sue if the regents reject him.

Ollman has also filed a \$5 million libel suit against right-wing columnists Evans and Novak, who falsely quoted him as saying the purpose of his teaching is to convert students to socialism.

WHAT PRISON ISN'T?

A federal appeals court ruled July 12 that a prison inmate may be justified in escaping if

prison conditions are bad enough. The case stemmed from an escape by four prisoners from the Washington, D.C., city jail in 1976. The four say they fled to get away from frequent fires, poor ventilation, and beatings by guards.

DAY-CARE PROTEST

Seventy-five children from a Manhattan day-care center chanted, "Koch, Koch, don't be a fool, take it from the landlords, give it to the schools!" during a city council hearing on the scandals in New York City's day-care program.

Under the so-called direct-lease system, the city leases privately owned space for day-care centers. The space is often priced exorbitantly, funneling day-care money into the pockets of slumlords.

THREATS AGAINST URUGUAYAN EXILE

In a June 30 column headlined "D.C. death plots: another Letelier case?" columnist Jack Anderson reported that Uruguayan exile Juan Ferreira, now living in Washington, D.C., has been receiving five or six threatening calls a month.

Ferreira is an outspoken critic of the Uruguayan military dictatorship. He has testified before a congressional committee and the Organization of American States. An OAS report on Uruguay released June 28 charged the government with what the *New York Times* summarized as "wholesale violations of human rights, including arbitrary arrest, torture and murder of political prisoners."



Militant

Chicago cops: \$175,000 to guard Nazis

The city of Chicago mobilized 1,300 cops and spent \$175,000 to protect twenty Nazis when they demonstrated July 9 in Marquette Park.

The city's efforts were markedly different from the complete lack of protection

offered to Blacks who marched into Marquette Park demanding desegregated housing in 1976.

At that time, cops looked the other way as white racists—including some Nazis—attacked not only

marchers, but any Black who happened to be in the area.

The \$175,000 is enough money to hire ten teachers for a year in the Chicago school system—one of the most segregated in the country.

What's Going On

CALIFORNIA

LOS ANGELES: SOUTHEAST

'LUCIA.' Cuban feminist film classic. English subtitles. Fri., July 28, 8 p.m. 2554 Saturn Ave., Huntington Pk. Donation: \$1. Aisp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 582-1975.

ILLINOIS CHICAGO

THE CUBAN REVOLUTION: ITS LESSONS FOR TODAY. A commemoration of the 25th anniversary of the attack on the Moncada Barracks, drawing the lessons of the Cuban revolution. Speaker: Catarino Garza, Socialist Workers Party National Committee; slide presentation on the Cuban revolution. Sat., July 29, 7:30 p.m. St. Vitus Church, 1818 S. Pau-

lina. Donation: \$1.50. Aisp: Militant Forum & 'Perspectiva Mundial.' For more information call (312) 939-0737.

INDIANA INDIANAPOLIS

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. 'Struggle for a Proletarian Party.' Tues., July 25, 11:30 a.m. & 6:30 p.m.; Sun., July 30, 11 a.m. Case for socialism, Wed., July 26, 7 p.m.; Sun., July 30, 1 p.m. All classes at 4163 N. College. Aisp: Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (317) 925-2616.

THE FIGHT FOR GAY RIGHTS. Speakers: Eileen Woess, Socialist Workers Party, member of National Organization for Women; Fritz Lieber, Indianapolis Coalition for Human Rights. Sat., July 29, 3 p.m. 4163 N. College. Donation: \$1. Aisp: Militant Forum. For more information call (317) 925-2616.

MARYLAND BALTIMORE

POLITICAL HARASSMENT AND GOVERNMENT SPYING. Speakers: Margaret Winter, attorney for Political Rights Defense Fund; Toba Singer, chairperson, Maryland Socialist Workers Party; Bob Cheeks, member, Baltimore Welfare Rights Organization; others. Fri., July 28, 8 p.m. 2117 N. Charles St. Donation: \$1.50. Aisp: Militant Forum. For more information call (301) 547-0668.

MASSACHUSETTS BOSTON

CUBA: DOMESTIC & FOREIGN POLICY; OR, WHAT IS JIMMY CARTER SO UPSET ABOUT? Speakers: Robin Blackburn, editorial board of 'New Left Review'; Gary Cohen, Socialist Workers Party candidate for lieutenant governor, recently returned from Cuba. Fri., July 28, 8

p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Aisp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

OREGON PORTLAND

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION. Speakers to be announced. Fri., July 28, 8 p.m. 3928 N. Williams Ave. Donation: \$1. Aisp: Militant Bookstore & 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. 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 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: 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 26, 7:30 p.m.; July 29, 2 p.m. 677 S. 7th East. Aisp: Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

Transit runaround

This week's column is by David Salner, a bus driver in San Antonio and a member of Amalgamated Transit Union Local 694.

SAN ANTONIO—Across the country, mass transit administrators are tightening the screws on transit workers. Whenever we try to keep even with the soaring cost of living, the transit bosses are sure to raise the specter of higher taxes and fare-box rates.

They pose as the representatives of the riding public, but who do the mass transit bosses really represent?

In San Antonio we have had a good look at how the Metropolitan Transit Authority has squandered the taxpayers' money while insisting they have nothing left over for our pay raises and working conditions. For example:

- **Top-level salaries:** These range up into the \$40,000-a-year level. The people we negotiate with—the people who say our requests are excessive—may well be making more than three times what transit workers make.

- **Extravagant payoffs:** A tip of this iceberg was revealed last year when newspaper articles reported that would-be union buster Norman Hill, former superintendent of transportation, was drawing fifty dollars per hour in consultant fees.

- **Interest rip-off:** The May 19 San Antonio *Express* reported: "To pay off the city [for purchase of the city-owned transit system replaced this year by MTA] the MTA will borrow \$9.5 million for five years.

"It is conservative to figure that the additional interest MTA will pay on the 5-year loan will be \$1 million.

"There seems to be little reason why MTA is borrowing money and paying interest."

If we could conduct our own union investigation of MTA, opening up all their private ledgers and account books, we could undoubtedly uncover sufficient funds for what we are asking in our contract. There would probably be something left over to give back to the taxpayer.

The MTA board represents the vested interests of the business and military establishments in the San Antonio area. This can be seen in a quick glance at the backgrounds of some of the board members:

- P.D. Straw—vice-president of Broadway National Bank;

- Paul Herder—vice-president of Herder truck lines;
- Murrene Gilford—district manager, Alamo City Chamber of Commerce, owner of retail business;
- Marlin Hoyt—retired USAF officer.

The big-business slant of MTA was expressed quite well by former General Manager Tom Fuller in a January 8 interview in the *Express*: "We are going to be working with the economic development people so, when they talk to corporations, we want those businesses to know San Antonio has a very good bus service. . . .

"And, with the price of cars, gasoline and insurance, it is something for a major employer to consider."

In other words, MTA's major purpose is to transport a work force, which can't afford to buy cars, for employers who are making a killing from minimum-wage labor.

The second most important purpose of mass transit is to route a steady flow of shoppers to major stores like Joske's and Sears.

When we negotiate with MTA we are really negotiating with the industrial and financial powers of San Antonio. They want to fight us at contract time—even though they have the money—because they know that a good contract for us will stimulate demands from other workers. We are all tied together—public employees and private-sector workers.

We have to sink or swim together, and it is a whole lot better to swim. If we work together, we are more effective, and that is why union solidarity is an important factor in all negotiations.

To strengthen support for unions in a nonunion town like San Antonio, we have to fight for the unorganized worker. And we have to show we are willing to fight the discrimination against Chicanos, Blacks, and women—on and off the job.

There is plenty of money to provide decent wages for transit workers as well as high-quality free transit service for the public—if we fight for it.

- Stop the giveaway to the utility companies. For an immediate halt to San Antonio's \$500 million participation in the South Texas Nuclear Power Project.

- Stop interest payments to the banks.
- Funds for human needs, not war.

Corrupt outfits like Lockheed have been clients of the federal government long enough.

- Tax the corporate profiteers, not working people.



Militant/Howard Petrick

Disabled demand bus access

Thirty-nine protesters in wheelchairs were arrested in San Francisco July 12, ending a demonstration by more than 200 disabled. The action was part of a national protest in seven cities to demand that Congress mandate production of the "Transbus"—a low-floored vehicle with a wide door.

Demonstrators gathered on streetcar tracks at 3 p.m. "We are not going to move," declared Judy Heumann, state chairperson of the American Coalition of Citizens with Disabilities, "until

we get firm commitments from the city's transit authorities that they will do all they can to see that we get Transbus."

After two hours, the demonstrators moved into the Transbay Transit Terminal, barricading the bus lanes with their wheelchairs. At 7:30, state highway cops began to make arrests.

Two days later, all charges were dropped. Why? Because there was no access for the disabled to the city's courtrooms!

BAKKE PROTESTS

Three hundred fifty people marched through downtown Seattle July 15 to protest the U.S. Supreme Court's decision in the *Bakke* case. The action was sponsored by the National Committee to Overturn the *Bakke* Decision (NCOBD). Organizations supporting the march and the rally included Black American Law Students Association, Socialist Workers Party, National Lawyers Guild, and Communist Party.

Speakers included Jackie Agtuta, a co-coordinator of NCOBD; Tyree Scott of United Construction Workers Association; and Ray Otake, a national coordinator of NCOBD.

In Denver, thirty-five people picketed the state capitol July 8 protesting the *Bakke* decision and calling for defense and extension of affirmative action.

ONE IN FOUR ELDERLY ARE POOR

One out of four Americans aged sixty-five or over is poor or near poverty, according to Health, Education and Welfare Secretary Joseph Califano. However, Califano assured Congress, only one elderly person in seven lives below the poverty line.

The secretary urged a "re-thinking" of national policies on retirement and government social insurance.

NUCLEAR POWER EQUALS RATE HIKES

Utilities that own or are building nuclear power plants get the largest electricity rate increases, according to a study by the Environmental Action Foundation and Critical Mass Energy Project.

The study cited Portland General Electric, the owner of the Trojan nuke, as getting rate boosts of 125.7 percent between 1972 and 1977. Public Service Company, which is building the Seabrook, New Hampshire, nuke got a 118.7 percent jump.

Nuclear utilities averaged 54.6 percent increases, while other utilities averaged 42.9 percent.

CAREY REBUTS 'SOFT ON CRIME' CHARGE

New York Gov. Hugh Carey, accused by right-wingers of being "soft on crime" because he vetoed a death-penalty bill, has answered that charge with a repressive new criminal code proposal.

Carey's measure will force children accused of violent crimes to be tried as adults and sentenced as adults.

As the *New York Times* commented July 19, the juvenile crime bill "will not make the death penalty go away, [but] it will give him a tangible anti-crime credential."

That should make the thirteen-year-olds in Attica happy.

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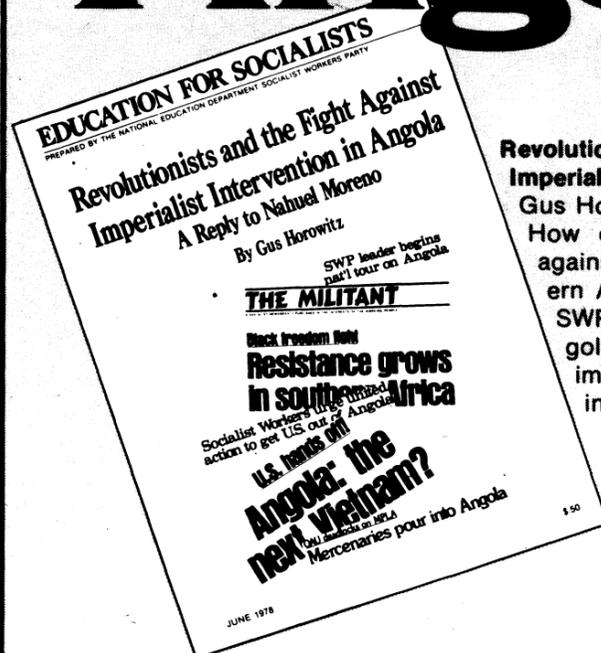
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Angola



Revolutionists and the Fight Against Imperialist Intervention in Angola by Gus Horowitz, \$5.00

How can an effective movement against U.S. intervention in southern Africa be built? How did the SWP help do this during the Angolan war? These and other important issues are taken up in this valuable booklet.

Education for Socialists publication, available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Please enclose \$.25 for postage and handling.

Our Revolutionary Heritage

Celebrating 50 years of the Militant, 1928-1978

Cuba—July 26, 1953

July 26 is celebrated around the world as the anniversary of the launching of the Cuban revolution. On that day in 1953—twenty-five years ago—Fidel Castro led an armed attack on the Moncada army post.

In the summer of 1960, as Washington was sharply escalating its attacks against revolutionary Cuba, 'Militant' editor Joseph Hansen wrote a series of articles titled 'The Truth About Cuba.'

The following excerpts deal with July 26 and Castro's famous 'History will absolve me' address.

Americans acquainted to the least degree with the history of their own country should have no difficulty understanding why the Cuban people revolted against the Batista dictatorship. The rebel spirit that animated the Boston Tea Party, the encampment at Valley Forge, the type of fighting seen at Concord and Lexington, inspired comparable actions in Cuba of the 1950s.

The first important action following Batista's seizure of power was a raid organized by Fidel Castro on the Moncada fortress at Santiago on July 26, 1953. It was something like John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry in 1859. The American abolitionist hoped that his action would serve as a spark to set off a slave rebellion. The Cuban rebel counted on a comparable response.

The immediate consequences for the revolutionaries were similarly tragic. The young Fidel (he was not yet 27) escaped death only by sheer accident. Those in his small band of less than 200 who did not lose their lives in the attack were hunted down and implacably slaughtered, some after revolting torture.

A few managed to escape but Castro and other main leaders were sentenced to long terms in the penitentiary on the Isle of Pines, Castro being condemned to 15 years.

In a certain sense John Brown succeeded in his raid even though he was hanged. He became an inspiration to the Northern haters of slavery and, as the battle hymn declares, his soul went marching on. The Moncada raid had a similar fate in Cuba; it served to inspire the rebel youth.

Under the title of its closing words, "History will absolve me!" Castro's five-hour address to the court in his own self-defense, October 6, 1953, became one of the most important documents in the movement that finally overthrew Batista.

Castro appealed to the revolutionary will of the people as the final authority in questions of government. John Milton, John Locke, Jean Jacques Rousseau,

Thomas Paine, the Declaration of Independence, the French Declaration of the Rights of Man were among the authorities cited by Castro to prove that "the right to rebellion is at the very roots of Cuba's existence as a nation."

Perhaps the most eloquent section of Castro's speech before the court was his defense of the martyrs who fell in the Moncada assault. In front of the judges assigned to condemn him, he described the financial sacrifices these young people had made to buy guns, the risks they had accepted to carry out the assault, and the heroism with which they laid down their lives in the cause of freedom and justice. In stark contrast to this he described the corruption, foulness and barbarous acts of Batista and his butchers.

Castro explained exactly what the attack on the fortress sought to accomplish, exactly how it was organized, who the leaders were and how they intended to proclaim their aims over the radio station that was listed for capture. Today greatest interest attaches to the program he outlined. It included much more than "restoration of public liberties and political democracy."

It advocated granting land to the smallholders, making the property "not mortgageable and not transferable." For the workers Castro proposed "the right to share 30% of the profits of all the large industrial, mercantile and mining enterprises, including the sugar mills."

A new revolutionary government would order "the confiscation of all holdings and ill-gotten gains of those who had committed frauds during previous regimes, as well as the holdings and ill-gotten gains of all their legatees and heirs." To implement this, special courts would be given full powers to look into the records of all corporations.

"Cuba could easily provide for a population three times as great as it now has, so there is no excuse for the abject poverty of a single one of its present inhabitants," [Castro declared.]

"The markets should be overflowing with produce, pantries should be full, all hands should be working. This is not an inconceivable thought.

"What is inconceivable is that anyone should go to bed hungry, that children should die for lack of medical attention; what is inconceivable is that 30% of our farm people cannot write their names and that 99% of them know nothing of Cuba's history.

"What is inconceivable is that the majority of our rural people are now living in worse circumstances than were the Indians Columbus discovered living in the fairest land that human eyes had ever seen."

Letters

CP's failure on ERA

If 100,000 Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Native Americans, and Asian-Americans went to Washington to march for passage of a bill against racial discrimination, would the Communist Party say, "Sorry, we cannot support your march unless you agree to add a statement of intent including a provision that we think is important"? No, it would hail and support the march even if the participants did not accept the Communist Party's provision.

If 100,000 workers marched on Washington to demand passage of a public works program or a shorter workweek or some other prolabor legislation, would the Communist Party tell them, "We would like to support your march, but we can't do it unless you add one of the demands that we consider

Leadership Conference leaders Hosea Williams and Tyrone Brooks sent pledges of support to the June 14 student protest meeting but did not attend the meeting.

Don Davis
Atlanta, Georgia

Afghanistan upheaval

In the June 26 *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*, Tariq Ali describes exciting events in Afghanistan that call for more thorough articles and coverage. [The article was reprinted in the June 30 *Militant* under the title "New Afghan rulers promise reforms."]

Although neighboring reactionary regimes of Iran and Pakistan are touched upon, they are not dealt with adequately. For example, the centrifugal tendencies in neighboring Pakistan and the



important to the ones you are marching for"? No, it would praise and join the march even if the Communist Party's demand was not added.

Yet when 100,000 women held a march in Washington for passage of the Equal Rights Amendment and extension of the time limit for ratification by the states, the Communist Party had the audacity to withhold support from the march because its sponsors and participants ignored the Communist Party's demand for a two-bit amendment to the ERA in the form of a "statement of intent" about protective legislation.

How account for this different attitude toward the women's march? I defy anyone to find any other explanation but sexism, or, as it was called in the old days, male chauvinism.
George Breitman
New York, New York

Atlanta cop attack

In my story on the attacks on Atlanta Junior College demonstrations ["Cops beat Atlanta Blacks," July 7 *Militant*], several errors were made during the editing process.

First, the protesters were not entirely Black students. Also, the desegregation fight here in Atlanta is against the entire university system, not just Atlanta Junior College.

Also, Southern Christian

fears expressed in Western bourgeois periodicals of independence movements among Baluchis and other oppressed nationalities in Pakistan, tendencies that will look to Pakistan as an example.

Tariq explains: "Socialists must follow the events in Afghanistan carefully in coming months."

Please keep your subscribers well-informed by carefully analyzing the Afghanistan events.

Marc Stretten
El Cerrito, California

Don't bother with sects

I was very distressed by the article "Socialists and miners' strike—Where sectarians go wrong" in the June 23 *Militant*. What could have been a great article on the socialist view, instead turned out to be an article aimed at discrediting and taking on the arguments of lunatic sectarians such as the Spartacist League and the Workers League.

It is a real shame that the Socialist Workers Party has stooped so low as to even take up space in their paper to deal with sects. To do so gives the sects much more credibility than they deserve. After all, it's not like anyone is listening to what they have to say anyway, and to argue with them and their "pure politics" only adds fuel to their fire. Check the next copies of their papers.

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Learning About Socialism

Socialist Educational Conference

They will certainly have the same ridiculous things to say.

I work at the Ford Rouge complex in Dearborn, Michigan, which is the largest plant in the U.S. Every sect in the U.S. leaflets and tries to hawk their papers at the gate. And as can be expected, no one pays any attention to them as they hurry into work. The only left groups that have any credibility at the Rouge plant are the ones that work there and are part of the class. The "Sperts" will still be standing outside when the revolution comes. If everyone ignored these sects for a month they would probably disappear completely.

D.H.
Dearborn, Michigan

[In reply—We sympathize with your disgust at the politics and antics of the sectarians. But on rare occasions their positions can be useful as a foil to take up questions that are on the minds of many workers, most of whom, of course, have never heard of these groups and would not be impressed by them if they had.

[For instance, thousands of miners last winter wanted to know how they could most effectively wage their strike while saddled with national union officials who were not providing leadership in that historic battle.

[In explaining the *Militant's* view of that question, we felt it was useful to take up the Spartacist League and Workers League, since they very clearly stated one extreme position in that discussion. The sectarians targeted Miller as the miners' main enemy, instead of Carter and the coal bosses. The *Militant* showed that this was an excuse for opposing united strike support activity essential to the miners' struggle.

[Second, by calling themselves socialists and Trotskyists, the Spartacists and Workers League can mislead workers and others they run into about the actual positions of revolutionary socialists. [We think that sometimes it can be useful—and educational—to set the record straight and explain why and how socialist principles are the opposite of the sterile dogmatism of the sects.

[Finally, while we wish it were true, we don't agree that "if everyone ignored the sects for a month they would probably disappear completely." They still can confuse and miseducate a small layer of potential socialists. By counterposing a real socialist approach to that of the sects, we can win many of these people over and hasten the day the sects do disappear.]

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.

Since the August 1977 convention of the Socialist Workers Party, many changes have taken place in the labor movement and in the SWP.

The struggle by the coal miners to defend their union and their hard-won rights against the bosses and the government signaled a new period of growing struggle by the working class. Such battles, sparked by the antilabor offensive of the employers, compel workers to seek to transform their unions into effective tools for the defense of working people.

As the 1978 Active Workers and Socialist Educational Conference nears, there has been a substantial increase in the number of SWP members who are industrial workers. New branches of the party have been established in localities that previously had just a few socialists.

Along with this, members and supporters of the Young Socialist Alliance have continued to build chapters on campuses throughout the country, participating in struggles against U.S. support to the apartheid regime in South Africa, education cutbacks, the *Bakke* ruling, and other issues of central importance to working people.

A full program of talks, classes, panels and informal discussions at the conference will discuss the major questions facing the working class and its allies today, both here in the United States and around the world.

The changes that are taking place in the class struggle and in the revolutionary socialist movement pose many new challenges. Among other things, these shifts require thoughtful consideration about what changes need to be made in the work of educating SWP and YSA members in the basic concepts of Marxism.

The Active Workers and Socialist Educational Conference will discuss, among other things, what has to be done in the field of socialist education. Two workshops on education will be held in the course of the week's activities.

One workshop will focus on education and the turn to industry. It will seek to provide an understanding of the SWP's basic political goals in education and an evaluation of our success in advancing these goals. A panel of local SWP and YSA leaders will discuss the experiences they have had in organizing socialist education. Among the questions that will be threshed out are:

What changes in SWP and YSA educational activity are taking place as a growing number of party members find

work in industry? What further changes are required? Are the needs of those working rotating shifts or a large amount of forced overtime being considered? What role should the elected leaderships of party and YSA units have in educational work? How well is collaboration between the party and the YSA developing in the educational arena? What improvements are needed in this collaboration, and how can they be accomplished? What efforts are being made to help new and inexperienced members of the YSA learn more about Marxism?

Ideas and proposals will be presented for educational activities in the fall and winter.

Another workshop will be held in which specific suggestions on how to build an ongoing education program in SWP branches and YSA chapters will be discussed. Socialists who have the responsibility of leading and organizing Marxist education in their localities will find this especially helpful.

We will take up practical problems that come up in developing socialist education programs: how to organize a class; how to encourage activists to read and study; how to prepare teachers; how to select topics for classes; how to select texts and use socialist bookstores and forums in education.

Workshop participants will be able to make comments and suggestions based on their own experiences and present ideas on how they think the party education department and other party institutions can help. Ideas for study outlines on new topics will be discussed, as well as how best to use the outlines that already exist.

Another topic of discussion at this workshop will be the "Learning About Socialism" column and how it can best contribute to educating the revolutionary socialist movement.

Because of the number of books and pamphlets available on Marxist theory and politics, it is not unusual for less experienced socialists to have difficulty in selecting readings. The workshop will also discuss how to help solve this and other problems beginners face.

These workshops, together with the range of educational activities at the conference, will be a big step forward in the process of learning about socialism among members and friends of the SWP and YSA.

—Fred Feldman
and Paul Montauk

If You Like This Paper, Look Us Up

Where to find the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and socialist books and pamphlets

ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 314 E. Taylor. Zip: 85004. Tel: (602) 255-0450. Tucson: YSA, SUPO 20965. Zip: 85720. Tel: (602) 795-2053.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley: SWP, YSA, 3264 Adeline St. Zip: 94703. Tel: (415) 653-7156. East Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 1237 S. Atlantic Blvd. Zip: 90022. Tel: (213) 265-1347. Los Angeles, Crenshaw District: SWP, YSA, 2167 W. Washington Blvd. Zip: 90018. Tel: (213) 732-8196. Los Angeles: City-wide SWP, YSA, 1250 Wilshire Blvd., Room 404, Zip: 90017. Tel: (213) 482-1820. Los Angeles, Southeast: SWP, YSA, 2554 Saturn Ave., Huntington Park, 90255. Tel: (213) 582-1975. Oakland: SWP, YSA, 1467 Fruitvale Ave. Zip: 94601. Tel: (415) 261 1210. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 942 E. Santa Clara St. Zip: 95112. Tel: (408) 295-8342.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, 916 Broadway. Zip: 80203. Tel: (303) 837-1018.

FLORIDA: Miami: SWP, YSA, 7623 NE 2nd Ave. Zip: 33138. Tel: (305) 756-8358.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: SWP, 471-A Flat Shoals Ave. SE, P.O. Box 846. Zip: 30301. Tel: (404) 688-6739. YSA, P.O. Box 433, Georgia State Univ. Zip: 30303. Tel: (404) 627-6265.

ILLINOIS: Champaign-Urbana: YSA, 284 Illini Union, Urbana. Zip: 61801. Chicago: City-wide SWP, YSA, 407 S. Dearborn #1145. Zip: 60605. Tel: SWP—(312) 939-0737; YSA—(312) 427-0280. Chicago, North Side: SWP, 1870 N. Halsted. Zip: 60614. Tel: (312) 642-4811. Chicago, South Side: SWP, 2251 E. 71st St. Zip: 60649. Tel: (312) 643-5520. Chicago, West Side: SWP, 10 N. Cicero. Zip: 60644. Tel: (312) 261-8370.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University. Zip: 47401. Indianapolis: SWP, 4163 College Ave. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 925-2616.

KENTUCKY: Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952 University Station. Zip: 40506. Tel: (606) 269-6262. Louisville: SWP, 1505 W. Broadway, P.O. Box 3593. Zip: 40201. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

LOUISIANA: New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3319 S. Carrollton Ave. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2117 N. Charles St. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 547-0668. College Park: YSA, c/o Student Union, University of Maryland.

Zip: 20742. Tel: (301) 454-4758.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, c/o Rees, 4 Adams St., Easthampton 01027. Boston: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, Room 4321, Michigan Union, U of M. Zip: 48109. Detroit, East Side: SWP, 12920 Mack Ave. Zip: 48215. Tel: (313) 824-1160. Detroit, West Side: SWP, 18415 Wyoming. Zip: 48221. Tel: (313) 341-6436. Detroit: SWP, YSA, 1310 Broadway. Zip: 48226. Tel: (313) 961-5675. Mt. Pleasant: YSA, Box 51 Warriner Hall, Central Mich. Univ. Zip: 48859.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis: SWP, YSA, 23 E. Lake St. Zip: 55408. Tel: (612) 825-6663. St. Paul: SWP, 373 University Ave. Zip: 55103. Tel: (612) 222-8929.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. St. Louis: SWP, YSA, 6223 Delmar Blvd. Zip: 63130. Tel: (314) 725-1570.

NEBRASKA: Omaha: YSA, c/o Hugh Wilcox, 521 4th St., Council Bluffs, Iowa. 51501.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: SWP, 11-A Central Ave. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

NEW MEXICO: Albuquerque: SWP, 108 Morning-side Dr. NE. Zip: 87108. Tel: (505) 255-6869.

NEW YORK: Albany: SWP, YSA, 103 Central Avenue. Zip: 12206. Tel: (518) 463-0072. Binghamton: YSA, c/o Andy Towbin, Box 7120, SUNY-Binghamton. Zip: 13901. Ithaca: YSA, Willard Straight Hall, Rm. 41A, Cornell University. Zip: 14853. New York, Bronx: SWP, 2271 Morris Ave. Zip: 10453. Tel: (212) 365-6652. New York, Brooklyn: SWP, 220-222 Utica Ave. Zip: 11213. Tel: (212) 773-0250. New York, Chelsea: SWP, 200 1/2 W. 24th St. Zip: 10011. Tel: (212) 989-2731. New York, Lower East Side: SWP, YSA, 7 Clinton St. Zip: 10002. Tel: (212) 260-6400. New York, Queens: SWP, YSA, 90-43 149 St. Zip: 11435. Tel: (212) 658-7718. New York, Upper West Side: SWP, YSA, 786 Amsterdam. Zip: 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000. New York, City-wide SWP, YSA, 853 Broadway, Room 412. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 982-8214.

NORTH CAROLINA: Raleigh: SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 5714 State Univ. Station. Zip: 27607.

OHIO: Athens: YSA, c/o Balar Center, Ohio University. Zip: 45701. Tel: (614) 594-7497. Cincinnati:

SWP, YSA, 970 E. McMillan. Zip: 45206. Tel: (513) 751-2636. Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 13002 Kinsman Rd. Zip: 44120. Tel: (216) 991-5030. Columbus: YSA, Box 106 Ohio Union, Rm. 308, Ohio State Univ., 1739 N. High St. Zip: 43210. Tel: (614) 291-8985. Kent: YSA, Student Center Box 41, Kent State University. Zip: 44242. Tel: (216) 678-5974. Toledo: SWP, 2507 Collingwood Blvd. Zip: 43610. Tel: (419) 242-9743.

OREGON: Portland: SWP, YSA, 3928 N. Williams. Zip: 97227. Tel: (503) 288-7860.

PENNSYLVANIA: Bethlehem: SWP, Box 1096. Zip: 18016. Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16412. Philadelphia, SWP, YSA, 218 S. 45th St., Zip: 19104. Tel: (215) 387-2451. Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, 5504 Penn Ave. Zip: 15206. Tel: (412) 441-1419. State College: YSA, c/o Jack Craypo, 132 Keller St. Zip: 16801.

RHODE ISLAND: Kingston: YSA, P.O. Box 400. Zip: 02881. Tel: (401) 783-8864.

TENNESSEE: Knoxville: YSA, P.O. Box 8344 Univ. Station. Zip: 37916. Tel: (615) 525-0820.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Dallas: SWP, YSA, 2215 Cedar Crest. Zip: 75203. Tel: (214) 943-6684. Houston: City-wide SWP, YSA, 6412-C N. Main St. Zip: 77009. Tel: (713) 861-9960. North Houston: SWP, 6412-C N. Main St. Zip: 77009. Tel: (713) 861-9842. Houston, South-Central: SWP, 4987 Martin Luther King Blvd. Zip: 77023. Tel: (713) 643-0005. San Antonio: SWP, YSA, 112 Fredericksburg Rd. Zip: 78201. Tel: (512) 735-3141.

UTAH: Logan: YSA, P.O. Box 1233, Utah State University. Zip: 84322. Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. P.O. Box 461. Zip: 84110. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW, Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699.

WASHINGTON: Seattle: SWP, YSA, 2200 E. Union. Zip: 98122. Tel: (206) 329-7404. Spokane: SWP, P.O. Box 672. Zip: 99210. Tel: (509) 535-6244. Tacoma: SWP, 1022 S. J St. Zip: 98405. Tel: (206) 627-0432.

WEST VIRGINIA: Morgantown: SWP, P.O. Box 1484. Zip: 26505.

WISCONSIN: Madison: YSA, P.O. Box 1442. Zip: 53701. Tel: (608) 255-4733. Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 3901 N. 27th St. Zip: 53216. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

Support the postal workers

July 20—As the 'Militant' goes to press, the government is already deploying troops to try to smash any action postal workers take when their contract expires midnight tonight. In a statement released today, Willie Mae Reid, chairperson of the Socialist Workers Party's national campaign committee, said:

'The postal workers are fighting for rights that all working people deserve: a secure job and decent standard of living. They deserve the full support of the entire union movement and all working people.'

'When Carter tried to break the coal strike this winter by invoking the slave-labor Taft-Hartley Act, the labor movement mobilized in support of the defiant miners. That same labor unity is needed today to halt government strikebreaking against the postal workers.'

By Marty Pettit

KANSAS CITY, Mo.—No contract agreement is in sight for nearly 600,000 postal workers as their three-year contract with the U.S. Postal Service expires July 20.

On July 12, thousands of postal workers demonstrated at the postal service headquarters in Washington, D.C., demanding agreement to their contract proposals.

The demonstrators also protested the Carter administration's intervention in the contract talks on the side of the postal service.

Carter plans to use the postal settlement as an example for other upcoming contract negotiations and is pushing hard against union demands for a 14 percent pay increase.

"Jimmy, We Don't Like Your Peanuts," read signs carried in the Washington demonstration.

July 12 was also the date for coordinated informational picket lines at post offices across the country.

Little information on the contract talks has been passed along to the ranks of the postal unions, except for general reports that there has been almost no progress.

The largest union involved is the

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300,000-member American Postal Workers Union. The other unions are the Letter Carriers and the Mail Handlers division of the Laborers' International union. The Rural Letter Carriers is negotiating separately.

Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service Director Wayne Horvitz formally intervened July 10. He has the power to order a forty-five-day "fact finding" period if no agreement is reached by July 20. The fact-finding panel's recommendations would be binding.

Union negotiators may decide to extend the contract past the July 20 deadline. Even though postal strikes are "illegal," Moe Biller, head of the APWU's Northeast Region, told the Washington protesters July 12, "If there's no decent contract by midnight July 20, then there's no work."

The major contract issues center around maintaining gains won in the 1975 contract. These include the "no layoff" clause, which has protected thousands of postal jobs endangered by reorganization and mechanization.

The unions are also fighting to maintain our cost-of-living allowance. During the life of the current three-year agreement, the cost-of-living formula accounted for a \$1,518 increase in our wages.

In addition, seniority provisions are unequal. Clerks on the letter-sorting machines are often converted to "regu-

lar" status after one year on the job. But manual clerks may still be "subbing" after five years. This means they are unable to bid on preferred assignments, are denied holiday pay for holiday work, and are subject to having their work time and days off changed at any time.

The U.S. Postal Service is demanding a repeal of the COLA provision. The postal service also wants the right to lay off workers for up to thirty days with no pay during slack periods and to eliminate 100,000 employees within the next five years.

During the past five years, 75,000 postal jobs were lost while 15,000 supervisors were added.

The employers are offering only a 2 to 5 percent pay raise.

The postal service has devised "contingency plans" in case of a strike. The plans include seeking court injunctions against the strikers and calling on the military to deliver mail and to "keep

order" at struck post offices.

Companies, banks, and some federal agencies have also made plans for alternate means of mail delivery.

Postal workers will have to wage a united, public fight to win against this alliance of government and employers. We need outreach and publicity committees to counter the lies of the big-business news media, which blame postal workers for everything from high postal rates to poor service.

We need picket committees, phone trees, and membership benefit committees.

It's time for union officials to throw aside their "business as usual" attitude and their "let me take care of it" stance. They should use their offices and influence to educate and mobilize the union membership.

The union ranks need to know the facts, and the way must be cleared so that we can all become involved if we are to win this fight.

1970 postal strike

By Michael Lux

There has been only one nationwide strike in the history of the U.S. mails. On March 18, 1970, postal workers angrily walked off the job in New York City.

The strike spread like wildfire. It brought the nation to a near standstill.

The walkout was sparked by the abysmally low wages of postal workers. Yearly pay started at \$6,176 for a clerk or carrier. Many postal workers were forced to work a second job.

Other strike demands included free health insurance, the right to strike, a cost-of-living clause, and a thirty-five-hour workweek.

As the *Militant* reported in a special strike issue, "This strike, perhaps more dramatically than any other in the history of this country,

demonstrated the power of the working class. Suddenly the mails stopped. . . . Business ground to a halt. . . . Everyone, almost, got a new appreciation of the mailman's importance, including the postal workers themselves."

Before the postal workers returned to work one week later on March 25, President Richard Nixon had resorted to calling in federal troops to break the strike.

The workers won a modest wage increase, the right to collective bargaining, and top pay after eight years on the job instead of twenty-one.

But the major impact of this bold action on the part of the postal workers was the demonstration of the power of working people, even in the face of government strikebreaking.

Release all files on FBI/KKK terrorist!

By Diane Wang

The Socialist Workers Party is demanding that Attorney General Griffin Bell order the FBI to release all files on Ku Klux Klan informer Gary Thomas Rowe, Jr.

"Recent press reports implicate Rowe in at least six murders during his work as an FBI informer in the Klan," pointed out Willie Mae Reid, chairperson of the SWP National Campaign Committee.

Rowe has confessed to Alabama officials that he shot a Birmingham Black man during a 1963 rebellion in the Black community there. His FBI control agent, Rowe says, knew about the murder and told him to keep it quiet.

Rowe had previously testified that he was present in 1965 when Klansmen gunned down Viola Liuzzo, a civil rights worker. But now Alabama officials are questioning Rowe's claim that he did not directly participate in the murder.

Rowe has also failed lie detector tests in which he denied involvement in the 1963 bombing of a Birmingham Baptist church. That bombing killed four Black children.

The FBI's star informer is also under suspicion for instigating a shrapnel bombing attack in the Black community and fire bombing a Black man's house.

"How many more murders and bombings did this paid thug organize?" asked Reid. "Rowe's FBI super-

isors knew about at least one of the murders but suppressed the report. The only way the American people will know the truth is to see the complete FBI file on Gary Rowe."

Rowe has charged that John Doar, deputy attorney general at the time, forced him to change his testimony during the trial against the Klansmen who killed Viola Liuzzo.

Rowe said that a Black man had been killed along with Mrs. Liuzzo and that he did not recognize the man the government claimed was in the car with her. But Doar insisted that Rowe's testimony conform to the rest of the government case.

Reid charged in her statement that the Justice Department is still involved in cover-ups. She pointed to Attorney

General Bell's refusal to obey a court order and release eighteen FBI informer files for the SWP lawsuit against government spying.

The Justice Department has announced an investigation of Rowe's activities as an FBI informer. But in the past—when FBI agents came under fire for burglaries and illegal wiretaps—similar Justice Department probes have merely shielded the criminals from a full inquiry into the truth.

"The American people have a right to know the actions of the thugs and hired murderers the FBI calls 'informants,'" Reid insisted. "Only full exposure can put an end to this form of political intimidation and terror."