

THE MILITANT

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

Why Mideast pact won't bring peace

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'THEY'RE BRINGING BACK SEGREGATION'

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Black workers speak out on new 'Bakke' threat to unions

Civil war still raging in Nicaragua

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Emergency rally for women's rights

NOW calls for Sept. 26
ERA protest in D.C.

The National Organization for Women (NOW) is calling on all groups and individuals that support the Equal Rights Amendment to rally at the Capitol Building in Washington, D.C., on September 26.

The rally's purpose is to demand that the U.S. Senate immediately vote to extend the deadline for ERA ratification from March 1979 to June 1982. The House of Representatives has already approved the extension, but the Senate has yet to even schedule the measure for floor debate.

The protest is especially urgent given Senate plans to adjourn in early October, leaving the fate of ERA extension in jeopardy. If the deadline is not extended—and three more states do not ratify the ERA by next March—the equal rights bill will die.

Within hours of the call to action by National NOW, buses for Washington had already been organized by the NOW-New York chapter, Philadelphia NOW, and NOW chapters in Pittsburgh. Students at the University of Pennsylvania and University of Pittsburgh began leafleting on the campuses.

ERA supporters will assemble at 11 a.m. September 26 at Constitution and Delaware avenues, across from the northeast corner of the Capitol. The rally will start at 11:30 a.m. and last until 1 p.m. Women will visit their senators in the afternoon.

For more information, contact the NOW National Action Center in D.C. at (202) 347-2279.

Support the teachers

More than 400,000 students in thirty-two school systems across the country are being kept away from class by school boards that insist teachers give up demands for decent pay raises and give back gains won in previous contracts.

Teachers and public workers have wound up on the front lines of Carter's phony war on inflation.

While the government spends billions on deadly weapons—which boost business profits at home and prop up dictators abroad—the wages of public employees fall further behind galloping inflation.

And while the rich reap billions in "tax relief" from ripoffs such as Prop 13, overcrowded, understaffed public schools are handed an ever smaller piece of the tax pie.

But when teachers protest and exercise their right to strike, they are labeled criminals—and sometimes locked up just to reinforce the point.

In Bridgeport, Connecticut, 182 teachers have been jailed for defying a back-to-work court order.

As usual the big-business news media portray striking teachers as public enemy number one. They are the selfish ingrates denying students an education—not government and corporations, which bleed the schools dry.

The teachers unions can combat these lies by rallying labor and community support to their cause.

Members of the United Teachers of New Orleans showed the power this solidarity can bring in their eight-day strike earlier this month. They won demands for higher wages and benefits by closing ranks with other school employees, reaching out for aid from other unions, and mobilizing active support within the Black community.

Steps in this direction are under way in Cleveland and Bridgeport, Connecticut, as well. Teachers in Cleveland have formed a broad strike alliance with all school workers and have taken a stand in support of busing to achieve desegregation.

On September 17 hundreds of parents, students, and teachers from surrounding areas

demonstrated in Bridgeport outside the National Guard barracks where the strikers are imprisoned.

This is the kind of support teachers need and deserve.

Protest killer cops

The *Militant* urges our readers to support the September 28 demonstration against police brutality called by Black community organizations in New York City. The action is scheduled for noon at city hall in downtown Manhattan.

This action is the latest in a series of protests that began this summer after a dozen cops ganged up to murder Black businessman Arthur Miller in the Crown Heights section of Brooklyn.

City officials have stalled on investigating Miller's murder and prosecuting the cops responsible for it.

Why are these Democratic and Republican politicians stalling? Because they are beholden to the same masters as the goons in blue uniforms they are supposed to be investigating.

In a city hall suite, or with gun in hand—both protect the tiny minority who own the country's banks and corporations. In order to increase their profits, these wealthy exploiters are driving up prices, keeping millions out of work, and sharpening attacks on the rights of Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and women.

The cops are an army arrayed against all those who organize for economic and social justice—on the picket lines or in the streets. They are an occupation army paid to terrorize all working people, and especially the communities of the oppressed nationalities—from Houston to Harlem to Crown Heights to Watts.

September 28 is a good example of how to fight back.

It focuses on city hall. It pins responsibility for police terror where it belongs: on Mayor Koch, Governor Carey, President Carter, and—as protest leaders put it—"their collective programs of genocide against the Black and poor people of New York."

The demonstration's organizers are calling for a city-wide turnout. This gives New York's Black and Puerto Rican communities—and supporters of their rights—a chance to flex their political muscle against the city's killer cops.

With this issue, we're reaching out

Socialists believe that working people have the right—and the power—to run this country.

And we're convinced that more and more workers are beginning to come to the same conclusion.

That's why we're pulling out all the stops to get this issue of the *Militant* out by the thousands.

Members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance are putting sales of this *Militant* and of *Perspectiva Mundial*, the Spanish-language biweekly, at the top of their agendas.

The aim is to kick off in the biggest way possible our fiftieth anniversary circulation drive. Our goal is to sell 100,000 copies of the socialist press by December 15.

Given the growing openness to anticapitalist ideas among masses of industrial workers, socialists are putting a special emphasis in our fall drive on sales at plant gates and to co-workers on the job. And we'll be taking the socialist press into the Black and Chicano communities, to political meetings and demonstrations, and onto the campuses.

This special sales week couldn't come at a more important time.

Look through the articles in this issue. Youthful rebels in Nicaragua are shaking the U.S.-backed Somoza regime to its roots. The freedom struggle is on the rise in southern Africa. Steelworkers in this country are fighting to democratize their union. Women are taking action to win the Equal Rights Amendment.

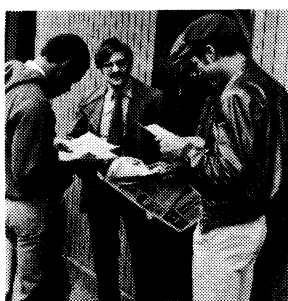
Working people are watching these events closely. They're anxious for the facts the capitalist media cover up. They're looking for political answers to the problems they face—from inflation to unemployment to race and sex discrimination.

In short, they want the truth. And the *Militant* is where they'll find it.

We invite all our readers to join us in spreading the truth. Take the *Militant* with you this week on your job; sell it at plant gates; in your community; or on your campus.

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'Workers should run the country'
Mark Zola, socialist candidate for governor of Pennsylvania, is talking about independent labor political action to miners, steelworkers, and other working people across the state. **Page 16.**

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The Mobilization for Survival national conference called an October 1979 march on Washington against nuclear power and nuclear weapons. **Page 9.**



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The Militant

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Tries to drown rebellion in blood

Somoza's back to wall

By Harry Ring

As Nicaraguans pressed their fight to end the Somoza dictatorship, the hated tyrant continued to use U.S. arms to drown the country in blood.

In León, Nicaragua's second-largest city, government planes bombed and strafed the city. Using U.S. matériel funneled through Guatemala, Somoza's National Guard reduced the city's downtown area to rubble.

Three thousand refugees fled the city. The Red Cross, when finally admitted to the area, burned corpses in the streets to avoid pestilence.

In a dispatch to the September 19, *Washington Post*, correspondent Karen DeYoung reported that "small businesses and stores in at least five of the nation's provincial capitals have been completely destroyed by fires and National Guard shelling."

DeYoung added that the dictator's savage determination to retain power has brought Nicaragua to the brink of "mass starvation" and "total economic collapse."

Yet the most barbaric efforts have not quelled the armed opposition. Despite Somoza's determination to hang on, no matter what, the vast bulk of Nicaragua's business interests are determined that he must go. If not, they fear, the deepening civil war will take Nicaragua down the road of Cuba.

That great fear of social revolution is shared by the other capitalist rulers in Central America—and by the Carter administration in Washington.

That's why a meeting of the Organization of American States was slated in Washington for September 21.

That's why the Costa Rican government tries to project an anti-Somoza posture, while working feverishly to help contain the Nicaraguan liberation struggle. (See our exclusive report from Costa Rica, this page.)

Indeed, Washington is using all its cards to salvage the situation for capitalism. If Somoza should demonstrate that he can stamp out the revolt, that would be fine with "human rights" Carter, who carefully refuses to repudiate him.

At the same time, Washington is backing efforts by Venezuela's big-business government to find a "mediated solution"—in plain English, preservation of the capitalist status quo. That status quo has brought nothing but misery and oppression for the majority of the Nicaraguan people.

Within Nicaragua, anti-Somoza business forces also seem to be working intently to divert the rebellion into "safe" channels.

On September 14, the Broad Opposition Front, embracing a spectrum of anti-Somoza forces, announced agreement on a three-member commission empowered to negotiate a cease-fire and engage in mediation moves.

Commentators suggested that the three could possibly also constitute an interim government.

Two of the three commission members are attorneys. The third is an industrialist who, the *Washington Post* reported September 15, is "highly thought of by the U.S. Embassy here and the State Department."

One of the attorneys is a member of the Group of Twelve, a collection of priests, professionals, and industrialists, who have pressed for Somoza's ouster.

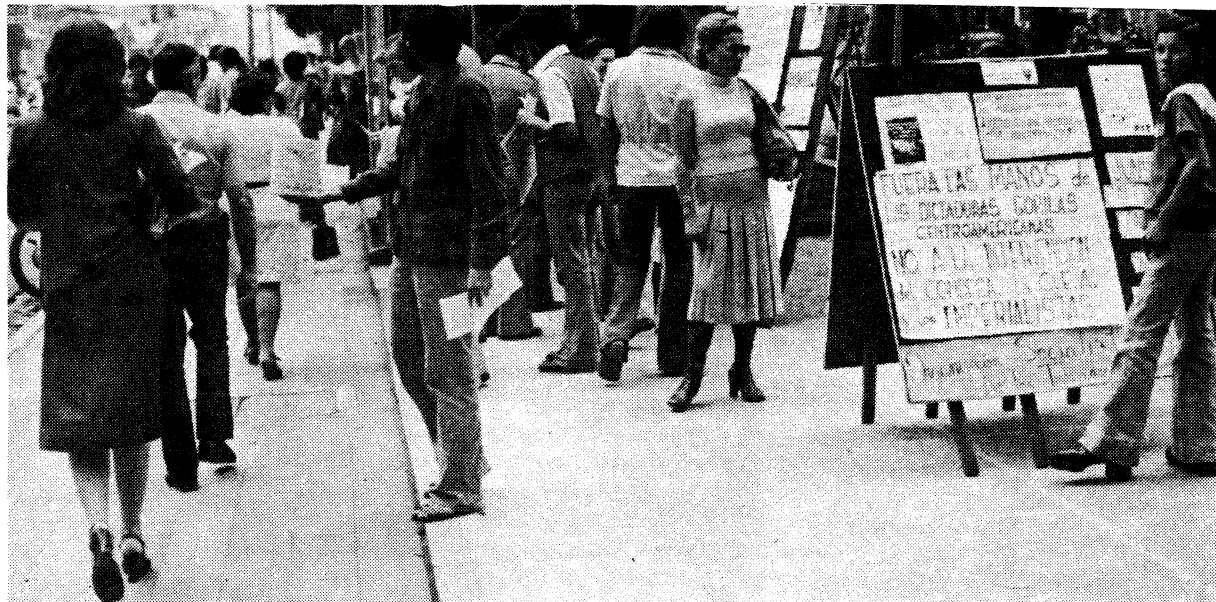
While no direct statements have been reported here from the Sandinista National Liberation Front, which has led the military struggle against Somoza, correspondents say the Sandinistas have empowered the Group of Twelve to represent them in negotiations.

The Sandinistas are also reportedly calling for the expropriation of Somoza's vast business and agricultural holdings and the formation of a new army to replace Somoza's murderous National Guard.

Meanwhile, a development with possible ominous significance was reported September 16. The U.S. ambassador expressed concern to Somoza about a possible need to evacuate U.S. citizens from the northwestern part of the country—precisely the strongest area of rebel opposition.

Such "evacuations" have often been the pretext for U.S. military intervention. The American people should be alert to such a danger and make clear to Washington that they will not tolerate it.

Costa Rica's double game



Informational picket by Costa Rican socialists urges opposition to threat of counterrevolutionary intervention in Nicaragua.

Militant/Mike Kelly

By Mike Kelly

SAN JOSE, Costa Rica—Moves by Costa Rican President Rodrigo Carazo to organize an intervention against the Nicaraguan masses have been met by growing protests here.

Support for the popular rebellion against the Somoza dictatorship is widespread among the people of Costa Rica—a fact that has the country's rulers plainly worried.

President Carazo went on nationwide television September 5. He linked the movement against Somoza in Nicaragua to a ten-day strike by hospital workers and other labor protests here. Carazo declared that "part of what our country has experienced with the illegal strikes and the internal struggle in Nicaragua has raised fears in many centers and among Costa Rican businessmen of the proliferation of Sandinism."

Carazo has sent his foreign minister, Rafael Calderón, to seek support from the dictators in Honduras, Guatemala, and El Salvador for a Central American "mediation" effort in Nicaragua.

Foreign Minister Calderón was quoted in the September 8 edition of the San José daily *La Nación* as saying that "there is concern in the Costa Rican government about what might happen in Costa Rica and the rest of Central America if power in Nicaragua should fall to the communist guerrillas of the Sandinista National Liberation Front [FSLN]."

While the Costa Rican rulers' public stance is one of seeking to "mediate" the conflict in Nicaragua, their goal is to blunt the mobilizations of the Nicaraguan masses. The kind of

operation that may really be in the works has been indicated by ex-Foreign Minister Gonzalo Facio.

Facio condemned the Somoza dictatorship in a statement in the September 7 *La Nación*, but went on to express fear that the "totalitarian" FSLN would "establish a regime similar to that of Cuba on our northern frontier, with all the dangers that would mean for our peace."

What was needed, Facio said, was the kind of "pacification action carried out in the Dominican Republic in the 1960s."

While Facio thought the 1965 invasion of the Dominican Republic by 30,000 U.S. Marines was "badly begun," he said it was nonetheless "later transformed into an action with collective legality."

The Costa Rican government's moves were denounced at a rally of 500 people in San José's Central Park on September 10, sponsored by the Costa Rican Committee in Solidarity With the Nicaraguan People. The rally was preceded by an all-day cultural event, which drew 4-5,000 people.

Hundreds of people stopped to read large display boards, or *burras*, covered with slogans and articles on the anti-Somoza struggle.

On September 11, activists from the Socialist Workers Organization (OST), a sister organization of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party, mounted an informational picket line and set up *burras* outside the San José post office. Interest among passersby ran high, and many stopped to give donations. A newsboy, about nine years old, stopped in front of my camera, raised his fist, and shouted, "¡Viva las Sandinistas!"

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Sadat's separate deal

Why Camp David will not lead

By David Frankel

Flanked by Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat and Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin, a smiling President Carter appeared on nationwide television September 17 to announce that "prayers [for peace in the Middle East] have been answered far beyond any expectations."

Carter's claim of success raised the hopes of millions all over the world. Once again, as after Sadat's trip to Jerusalem last November, people are asking if a solution to the Middle East conflict is really in the offing.

Certainly, the governments involved in the Camp David Summit have done their best to give this impression. A typical response from capitalist politicians in the United States came from Sen. Jacob Javits (R-N.Y.). He declared that "all mankind must breathe a sigh of relief that the road to peace has been opened. . . ."

A resolution was introduced in the Senate September 18 recommending Carter, Begin, and Sadat for the Nobel Peace Prize.

Reaction among Israeli officials was equally favorable. Begin set the tone with his claim that "peace now celebrates a great victory."

Sadat has also tried to portray the results of the summit as a giant step toward peace.

But elsewhere in the Arab world, the Camp David agreements are correctly viewed as merely a cover for a separate Egyptian deal with Israel (see box).

Such a deal is hardly a step toward resolving the Mideast conflict. Rather, it gives the Egyptian regime's seal of approval to the oppression of the Palestinian people and frees the hands of the Zionist military machine for further aggression against Lebanon, Syria, and perhaps Jordan.

One has only to look at the actual provisions of the accords to see that they mark no progress toward peace.

No end to occupation

- There is not a single word in the accords on the Israeli occupation of Syria's Golan Heights. Thus, the "framework for peace" leaves out even the pretense that there will be a reversal of Israel's de facto annexation of Syrian land.

- Similarly, no mention is made of Israeli annexation of East Jerusalem. Sadat has registered his disapproval of this annexation in a letter of protest. But he also has made clear that it will not stand in the way of signing a treaty with the Zionist regime.

Begin explained his position in a



Sadat, Begin, and Carter after announcing accords

September 18 television interview. He stated that Jerusalem is Israel's "eternal capital" and that Egyptian differences with this are "their problem."

- In regard to the West Bank and Gaza—the occupied territories populated by 1.1 million Palestinians—the Camp David accords offer a warmed-over version of the "civil autonomy" plan proposed by Begin and indignantly rejected by Sadat last December.

Cosmetic changes in the military occupation would include the establishment of a "self-governing authority" elected by the Palestinian population. But all powers of this body would be set with the agreement of the Israeli regime. While the Palestinians are given a say in this glorified board of education and sanitation department, the Israeli army will continue to hold the real power.

Within three years after the establishment of the "self-governing authority," negotiations are to begin over the final status of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

The Israeli regime's plans in this regard were spelled out with brutal frankness by Begin. Appearing September 19 on NBC television, he said that Israeli military forces would stay on the West Bank for five years, ten years, or perhaps forever. He also insisted that his regime would assert its claim to full sovereignty over the West Bank in the negotiations.

Speaking to a meeting of Jewish leaders in New York the following day, Begin declared, "If some unknown

spokesman in the State Department said the Israel Defense Forces would stay in Judea and Samaria [the West Bank] only for five years, I hereby declare they will stay *beyond* five years!"

Washington Post correspondent Jim Hoagland pointed out, "While it had appeared earlier that Begin would commit Israel to suspending establishment of civilian Jewish settlements on the West Bank throughout the five-year negotiations," it later became clear that a much shorter moratorium on new settlements was involved. "U.S. officials estimated this period as perhaps as short as three months."

This is the "just, comprehensive, and durable settlement" promised for the West Bank and Gaza!

Terms of Sinai deal

What about Begin's promises in regard to the Sinai Peninsula? The Camp David accords call for formal recognition of Egyptian sovereignty in the Sinai and the withdrawal of Israeli occupation forces within three years after a treaty is signed. Moreover, Begin has said the Israeli Knesset (parliament) will vote within two weeks on the dismantling of Israeli settlements in the Sinai.

Israeli withdrawal from the Sinai—or any other piece of occupied Arab territory—would be welcome indeed, if it were not for the fact that the price tag for Sadat is his agreement to stab the Palestinian people in the back.

Moreover, the measures promised by Begin are hedged with conditions that represent a violation of Egyptian sovereignty. These include the continued stationing of Israeli forces in the Sinai in the immediate vicinity of the Israeli border and the stationing of United Nations troops in the Sinai.

No provision at all is made for the future withdrawal of Israeli units. And UN forces cannot be withdrawn at Egyptian request, but only by the unanimous consent of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council—France, Britain, China, the USSR, and the United States.

Summing up the results of the accords in a September 19 article, *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent Daniel Southerland commented:

"Analysts seem to agree that for Israel, the Camp David agreements amount to an almost unalloyed victory. The Israelis are now well on their way to neutralizing any potential hostility from their biggest and most powerful Arab neighbor, Egypt. Without Egypt and its armed forces, the other Arabs are not in a position to

launch another war against Israel."

From the point of view of the Israeli regime, the political advantages in a deal with Sadat will be at least as important as the military advantages.

Israel was established at the expense of another people. During the war of 1948-49, some 700,000 Palestinians were driven out of their homeland. These refugees were not allowed to return after the fighting. Instead, their land and their property was confiscated and their villages—385 in all—destroyed.

In order to defend and maintain a state built on the oppression of a whole people, the Zionist regime has perpetrated one crime after another. Just six months ago it ordered its army into action against the people of Lebanon, destroying dozens of towns and villages, murdering and maiming thousands, and creating some 250,000 new refugees.

Begin hopes that a formal treaty with Sadat will finally break the refusal of the Arab masses to accept the dispossession of the Palestinian people. As former Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin put it, "If we come to peace with Egypt, as agreed at Camp David, we would have peace with 50 percent of the Arab world."

Peace with injustice?

Of course, there are those who say that even a peace based on injustice is better than no peace at all. But the whole point is that there can be no peace in the Middle East so long as the Palestinian people are not allowed to return to their homeland and to live there on an equal basis with the Jewish population.

As long as the Palestinians live as second-class citizens in Israel, under military occupation in Gaza and the West Bank, and as homeless and destitute refugees in Lebanon, Jordan, and Syria, they will continue to fight against their oppression. And their struggles will continue to provoke new Israeli aggressions, such as the invasion of Lebanon, and new Mideast wars.

In this context, the Carter administration is attempting to lay a basis for

Arabs blast accords

Response to the Camp David accords in the Arab world was not long in coming. Yassir Arafat, leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization, denounced the "dirty deal" arranged by Carter. The PLO called on all Palestinians to express their "firm opposition" to the agreement by joining in a one-day general strike and organizing mass marches and demonstrations September 20.

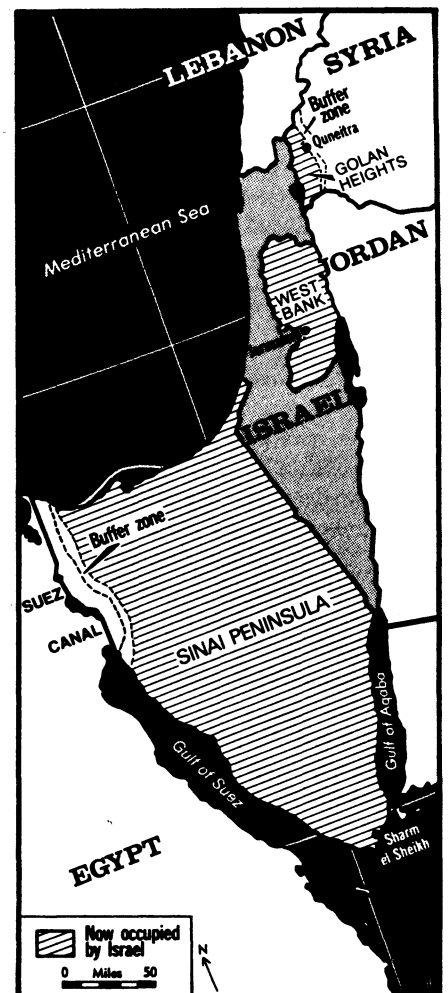
Bassam Shaqa, the mayor of the West Bank city of Nablus, and Karim Khalaf, the mayor of Ramallah, also condemned the accords. Khalaf said, "We only deceive ourselves if we believe peace is near." Shaqa insisted that Sadat's deal "will in-

tensify the conflict."

The Syrian regime denounced the summit agreements as a "unilateral peace treaty" between Sadat and Israel, and as "a denial of Palestinian rights."

Even the most pro-imperialist regimes in the Arab world have expressed reservations. A Jordanian statement said King Hussein's government "condemns separate peace agreements and also declares that the Palestinian people are the first and most important party in a peace settlement."

Abu Dhabi's semi-official newspaper called the summit results "negative."



to peace



Palestinian refugees in Jordan. Summit agreement ignores their rights.

deepening U.S. military involvement in the Middle East—and all in the name of peace.

Carter himself, in late August, raised the possibility of stationing U.S. troops in the Middle East as part of a negotiated settlement there. Begin also raised this idea in testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee September 19.

Moreover, part of the summit agreement is that Washington will build two new airbases to replace those in the Sinai that the Zionist state is supposed to give up. These bases are expected to cost about \$500 million each—another U.S. subsidy to the Israeli war machine made in the name of “peace.”

Vance twists arms

Now that Sadat has established the overall terms of a separate treaty with Israel, Carter has sent Secretary of State Cyrus Vance to the Middle East in order to twist some arms. Vance will no doubt talk to Jordan's King Hussein about the explosive situation in Lebanon and the possibility of a war between Israel and Syria being sparked there.

Since Hussein is in a military alliance with Syria, he also faces attack by Israel. Unless, of course, he agrees to join in the Camp David framework.

Although the Jordanian and Saudi Arabian regimes are holding the door open to endorsing the accords, Vance's success with such blackmail is far from assured.

For Hussein especially, entry into the negotiations over the West Bank would entail grave risks. Such negotiations would certainly drag on for years. Meanwhile, Hussein would be out on a limb. He would face widespread resentment from his own people, who are mostly Palestinians, and strong hostility from the neighboring Syrian regime. And, as Begin has repeatedly stressed, there would be virtually no chance of Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank.

Another problem for Washington is the shakiness of Sadat's regime. It was precisely his weakness in the face of Israeli military threats, and the pressure of the world economic crisis, that forced Sadat to opt for a separate deal in the first place. But now, it remains to be seen if Sadat can manage to last long enough to complete the bargain.

'No jubilation'

Washington Post correspondent Mary Anne Weaver described the reaction in Egypt to the Camp David summit in a September 19 article. “The man-on-the-street reaction here . . . is so downbeat it almost doesn't exist.

“There is no jubilation, no dancing

in the streets,” Weaver reported.

Disaffection with Sadat's policies surfaced even in the highest levels of his government. Foreign Minister Mohammed Ibrahim Kamel—who got his job after his predecessor resigned to protest Sadat's trip to Jerusalem last year—resigned himself September 15 over the Camp David agreements.

As one of Kamel's aides explained to Weaver, “He doesn't want to be remembered by history as the man who drafted a bilateral agreement, abandoning the other Arabs along the way.”

War more likely

A final factor that may yet blow up a separate Israeli-Egyptian deal is Begin's arrogant insistence on spelling out his intention of never withdrawing from the West Bank and Gaza.

Sadat wants to be able to appear before the Egyptian people as a leader of the Arab world, not as a traitor to it. If Begin continues to expose the reality behind the accords' phrases about “the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people,” he may end up making it politically impossible for Sadat to go through with the agreement.

In any event, as this writer explained in the December 23, 1977, issue of the *Militant*—just one month after Sadat's trip to Jerusalem:

“If Sadat were to go through with his thinly veiled threat of a separate agreement, the result would hardly lead to peace. On the contrary, a deal with Sadat would greatly strengthen Israel's already dominant military position, and encourage the Zionist rulers to engage in adventures in Lebanon and against Syria. In the long run, it would make war more likely.”

Unfortunately, there is no reason to change that conclusion today.

For further reading...

Israel: A Colonial-Settler State? By Maxime Rodinson. 128 pages, \$2.45.

Burning Issues of the Mideast Crisis by Peter Buch. 32 pages, \$.40.

War in the Middle East: The Socialist View by Dave Frankel, Dick Roberts, and Tony Thomas. 32 pages, \$.60.

How Can The Jews Survive? A Socialist Answer to Zionism by George Novack. 24 pages, \$.25.

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UN vote backs Puerto Rican independence

By Alexis Irizarry

UNITED NATIONS—On September 12 the United Nations Committee on Decolonization adopted a resolution proposed by Cuba and Iraq reaffirming “the inalienable right of the people of Puerto Rico to self-determination and independence.”

The vote was a victory for the pro-independence forces of Puerto Rico and a vindication of Cuba's consistent support for Puerto Rico's independence.

Washington has tried to pressure Cuba, demanding that it abandon the cause of Puerto Rican independence as part of the price for establishing normal relations with the United States.

This pressure has not been only verbal. While the case of Puerto Rico was being debated in the committee, a bomb exploded at the Cuban Mission to the UN, causing injury to a policeman and a watchman.

Cuban counterrevolutionaries—whose ties to the CIA are well known—took credit for the bombing.

The resolution insisted on “a complete transfer of powers” as an indispensable precondition for the exercise of self-determination by the Puerto Rican people. This is stronger language than previous resolutions adopted by the UN committee and general assembly in 1972 and 1973.

The resolution also denounced “the persecutions, harassments and repressive measures to which the organizations and persons struggling for independence have been continuously subjected.”

It demanded that the United States “unconditionally release” four Puerto Rican Nationalist political prisoners—Lolita Lebrón, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Irvin Flores, and Oscar Collazo—who are the longest-held political prisoners in the Americas.

The resolution also recognized the “right [of the Puerto Rican people] to recover the totality of their territory” if Puerto Rico becomes an independent republic. At present, 13 percent of Puerto Rico's territory is occupied by U.S. military installations.

A secondary aspect of the resolution provoked some discussion among pro-independence forces. This clause specified “that any form of free association between Puerto Rico and the United States must be in terms of political equality in order to comply fully with the provisions of the relevant resolutions and decisions of the General Assembly and of applicable international law and must recognize the sovereignty of the people of Puerto Rico.”



Militant/José G. Pérez

Juan Mari Brás, general secretary of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party identified himself and former Puerto Rican Gov. Rafael Hernández Colón as the authors of the clause.

Hernández Colón is a leader of the Popular Democratic Party (PPD), which backs the present colonial relationship between the United States and Puerto Rico.

Hernández Colón said the resolution was “a spectacular advance” that “opened the doors to a solution of Commonwealth.” He claimed that the resolution “denies . . . that the present status [of Puerto Rico] is colonial.”

But this totally falsifies the text and spirit of the resolution, which called for the complete transfer of powers.

Ruben Berríos, president of the Puerto Rican Independence Party, praised the major part of the resolution. But he called the section on free association “unacceptable” because it opens the doors “for the continuation of colonialism.”

The approval of the resolution should mean that the next general assembly session at the UN will have a full discussion on Puerto Rico's colonial status.

This will offer pro-independence forces the opportunity to make their case even more prominently before world public opinion.

The Carter administration is officially pretending to ignore this diplomatic setback. But working people in the United States should pay close attention to it—and add their voices to the demand that Washington end its colonial oppression of Puerto Rico now.

From *Perspectiva Mundial*

Puerto Rico: U.S. Colony In the Caribbean

by José G. Pérez 24 pp., 35 cents. Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Perspectiva Mundial

A biweekly magazine bringing a revolutionary-socialist perspective on the news to Spanish-language readers.

For a copy send 50 cents to Perspectiva Mundial, Box 314, Village Station, New York, N.Y. 10014. Subscriptions: \$5 for six months, \$10 for one year. Write for information on bundle orders.

La Verdad

Bimonthly newspaper of the Liga Internacionalista de Trabajadores in Puerto Rico. Subscriptions: \$3.60 for six issues. Order from La Verdad, Aptdo. 22699 U.P.R., Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico 00931.

Puerto Rico: U.S. Colony in the Caribbean

by José G. Pérez



Militant sales drive opens

SWP branches rev up for big target week

By Nelson Blackstock

Albuquerque is ordering 500 copies in all—420 *Militants* and 80 *Perspectiva Mundials*.

Newark is getting 425 *Militants* and 50 *PMs*.

Philadelphia—425 *Militants* and 60 *PMs*.

Oakland—350 *Militants* and 40 *PMs*.

Chicago—775 *Militants* and 85 *PMs*.

Salt Lake City—300 *Militants*.

These are samples of the kinds of orders that have come into the circulation office for this issue.

As regular readers of this paper know—as well as those who have read the editorial on page 2—this is a special issue of the *Militant*, one that's destined for extremely wide circulation.

This fall the *Militant* is celebrating its fiftieth year of publication. We're marking that occasion with a campaign to sell 100,000 copies of the socialist press—the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*—between September 1 and December 15.

This ambitious drive, already off and rolling, will take a giant step forward with sales of this issue. Socialists in more than forty cities are planning to devote an entire week to intensified efforts to reach out and find new readers of this paper.

Another city taking a big goal is St. Louis, with an order of 300 papers. This comes close on the heels of another big *Militant* week in that city. Socialists there sold 398 copies of an issue earlier this month featuring a report on a union campaign to block

passage of a vicious right-to-work law in that state.

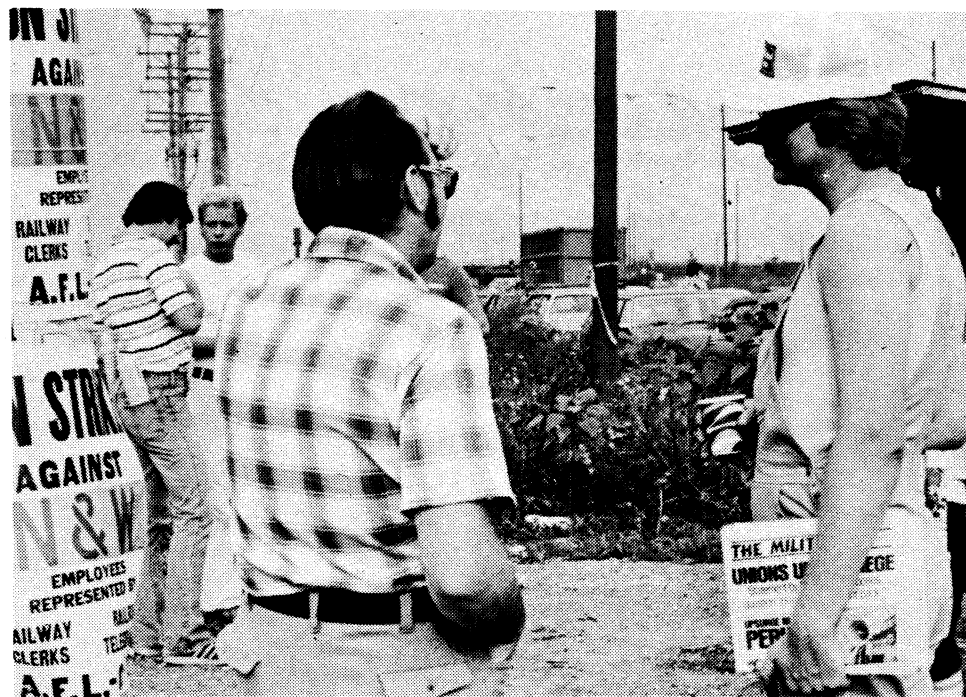
In mapping out this fall circulation campaign, members of the Socialist Workers Party put political stress on increasing the readership of the *Militant* and *PM* in certain areas. Sales this week will register progress here.

One area is in industry. This is done both through sales at plant gates and sales to co-workers on the job inside. Last week socialists from throughout New York City gathered at a special meeting to lay plans for this week's sales.

In his report to the city membership meeting, circulation director Mike Lux emphasized the importance of maintaining strong sales of the paper throughout the week. A big part of this will include a thrust toward establishing regular sales at entrances to plants and factories surrounding New York—including the major industrial belt in New Jersey.

Another political focus of the entire drive and of sales throughout this week will be circulation of the *Militant* on college campuses. Miguel Zárate, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance National Office staff, reports that YSA chapters across the country are busily preparing for the sales effort. They will be aided by members of the SWP who are not students.

Zárate says that the YSA's heartening success with sales of its newspaper, the *Young Socialist*, in the opening weeks of school point to the prospect of similar results with sales of this *Militant*. The word from several



Militant/David McDonald

Chicago 'Militant' supporter combines sales with support to Norfolk & Western rail strikers.

cities is that there is a clear increase in the receptivity to the socialist press among students. Among the issues sparking the most interest are the Equal Rights Amendment and the freedom struggle in southern Africa.

The sales week will be kicked off—or in some cases wrapped up—with an all-out Saturday sales effort. A major aspect of this will be sales in the Black community.

These Saturday sales are a way of

reaching working people with news of the election campaigns that socialists are running in many parts of the country.

It's also a good time to reach Spanish-speaking people in their neighborhoods with *Perspectiva Mundial*. The current issue is particularly attractive to Chicanos. Featured on its cover is an article on "Chicano Roots."

In Albuquerque, socialists sold forty-seven *PMs* last week. And in Phoenix, they sold forty-five at a fiesta.

A special fund for our 50 years

By Harry Ring

Founded in 1928, the *Militant* is celebrating its fiftieth birthday this year.

We'll be marking the anniversary with special features about our past, present, and future; interviews with former editors; and more.

Throughout the country, the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance will be holding banquets and other anniversary events.

We'll also mark the occasion with a major circulation drive (see above).

And—to help us get our celebration off to a good start—we've launched a \$75,000 *Militant* Fiftieth Anniversary Fund.

With an ever-increasing inflation toll, this will help us maintain the paper and lay the basis for future expansion. It will provide the funds for more on-the-scene coverage, such as Nancy Cole's reports from the coalfields during last winter's miners' strike, and Andy Rose's trip to Louisiana to interview workers about the Weber case against affirmative action.

Not to mention the newsprint, postage, telephone bills, and sundry other costs that go into putting out a weekly newspaper.

For a working-class weekly with no other source of support than its readers, \$75,000 is a lot of money.

To raise it, we know our supporters will have to dig deep. And we're convinced they will.

If we had any doubts, they were dispelled at the Active Workers and Socialist Educational Conference last month, where the \$75,000 fund was launched at a rally.

The results from the rally collection were impressive. A record total of \$43,675 was either paid on the spot or pledged to be in by October 15.

While the response was unmatched, it was consistent with our fifty-year history. From its founding days, supporters of the *Militant* have demonstrated an inspiring commitment to the paper. A paper such as ours could not have survived without a body of supporters politically persuaded of its worth.

As we discuss some of the history of the *Militant* in coming issues, one of the most inspiring themes will be how its supporters kept it alive through

difficult times, and helped it grow in challenging ones.

That history also includes political contributions by this paper that have helped to shape national and international events, exerting an influence far beyond its size and circulation.

The *Militant* is a unique paper. It combines two features that, unfortunately, are uncommon in other left-wing publications.

It is a paper with a point of view—a political program.

50th
Anniversary Fund
Goal=\$75,000

As of Sept. 19

\$22,100=29%



At the same time, it's a good newspaper.

Obviously, we can't match the resources of the capitalist media—their wire services, satellite communication, huge budgets. Yet, we have consistently provided our readers with significant, often exclusive coverage simply not available elsewhere—in recent weeks, for example, our news of events in Iran and Peru.

The most unique quality of this paper is its commitment to the truth and its will to state it without concern for consequence.

The *Militant* is a responsible journal, in the best sense of the word. We've never concealed our point of view, but we've never tailored facts to fit preconceptions.

The *Militant* has always been a politically controversial paper, with its revolutionary ideas often hotly disputed.

But we have won wide respect—even from many who sharply disagree with us on major issues—for our scrupulous concern for fact.

There's a good reason for this: we are confident in our ideas. We're convinced they are correct and can stand the test of events. We welcome the truth, rather than fear it.

We have the same confidence in our supporters. We enter this \$75,000 Fiftieth Anniversary Fund drive fully confident that the goal will be met—in full and on time.

You can help prove our confidence is not unfounded. Simply fill out the accompanying coupon, and send in your contribution. Large or small, it will help advance the socialist cause.

COUNT ME IN

Here's my contribution of _____
Name _____
Street _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Send check or money order to: Militant 50th Anniversary Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

Confidence & unity as 1,200 women meet in New York

By Cindy Jaquith

NEW YORK—A thirst for political discussion, for unity, and for action brought 1,200 women's liberation activists together here September 16 at a meeting on "The Women's Movement: Forum on the Future."

They came not only from New York but from all over the East Coast. They came from radical feminist groups, from chapters of the National Organization for Women (NOW), from lesbian organizations, and from the campuses.

What attracted them was the opportunity to hear some of the best-known founders and current leaders of the feminist movement and to talk about building a powerful women's struggle.

The Foundation for the Matriarchy, the New York feminist group that sponsored the event, sought to present a program where women could con-

sider the many different political perspectives in the movement and hear from representatives of diverse organizations.

It was the broadest spectrum of feminist leaders to appear together at such a meeting in years. Included were writers Kate Millett and Robin Morgan; *Ms.* magazine editor Gloria Steinem; Arlie Scott, NOW vice-president for action; Ti-Grace Atkinson, founder of The Feminists, one of the early women's groups in the 1960s; Dianne Feeley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of New York and a longtime NOW activist; and Midge Costanza, former assistant to President Carter.

National Gay Task Force leader Jean O'Leary spoke, as did attorney Flo Kennedy; Elizabeth Shanklin, a leader of the Foundation for Matriarchy; and welfare rights activist Beau-

lah Sanders. Barbara Love, coauthor of *Sappho Was A Right-On Woman*, chaired.

The speakers presented many different, and sometimes contradictory, approaches to winning women's liberation.

But there was general agreement that the gains won by the women's movement are under serious attack and a united fight back is needed. To answer the government's assault, the women's movement must act in a politically conscious manner.

Robin Morgan, the first speaker on the program, singled out three big battles confronting women: the fight to win the ERA, to protect abortion rights, and to defend gay rights.

If feminists view these fights as unimportant, or not "radical" enough, she warned, it can spell disaster for the movement. "All those 'liberal' issues will become radical after we lose them," she said.

The coming showdown in the Senate over extending the ERA ratification deadline was a focus of many speeches. Jean O'Leary devoted her entire talk to the ERA battle and the role of lesbians in winning the amendment. She stressed the danger of excluding lesbians—or any other women—from this crucial fight. "If we stick together, we are a movement that will not go away," she declared. "We are here to stay."

This theme of unity was echoed by many other speakers. Morgan called for building a movement based on "the politics of diversity in unity." Ti-Grace Atkinson told the crowd "it is essential to work in coalitions," not only with different women's groups but with other social forces as well. She explained that this was a change from her previous view. Midge Costanza urged women to forget about differences on other questions and to work together on common goals.

The appeals for unity struck a responsive chord in the audience. It was a militant crowd, a confident crowd—a gathering that reflected the upswing in women's protests and the feeling that the movement—although under attack—was drawing important new forces into its ranks.

NOW leader Arlie Scott expressed this when she explained, "To build a movement, we must be inclusive, and that means we must find a way to address ourselves to all women. . . .

"We know they're out there. The

[July 9] march on Washington told us they're out there. The Houston conference proved they're out there. The [ERA] extension campaign proved they're out there."

Many women in the crowd had participated in NOW's national ERA march July 9. They readily responded to the idea of more actions like it.

It was the call to action from Kate Millett that brought the crowd to its feet in the one standing ovation of the day.

"We've got to get back in the streets!" Millett declared. "We have to be a power again, a movement again."

It is difficult and time-consuming to build demonstrations, she acknowledged, referring to the period in the mid-1970s when the women's movement pulled back from visible protests.

But "it's time to remember" the power of the early marches for women's rights, she explained.

Millett also urged women to unite with other allies in this country and around the world. "Let's get back to a living alliance with all oppressed people, all minorities, all prisoners, all victims of this government."

"They're in revolt in Iran now. Good! That should be our issue too."

The potential for building such alliances was discussed by Dianne Feeley, who pointed to the growing labor and Black support for the ERA exhibited at the July 9 national march on Washington called by NOW.

She contrasted the "so-called friendly Democratic and Republican party politicians who suddenly change their vote and defeat the ERA" to the majority in this country that supports women's rights.

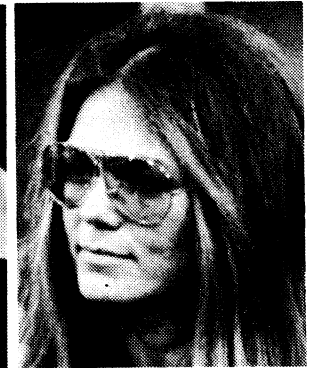
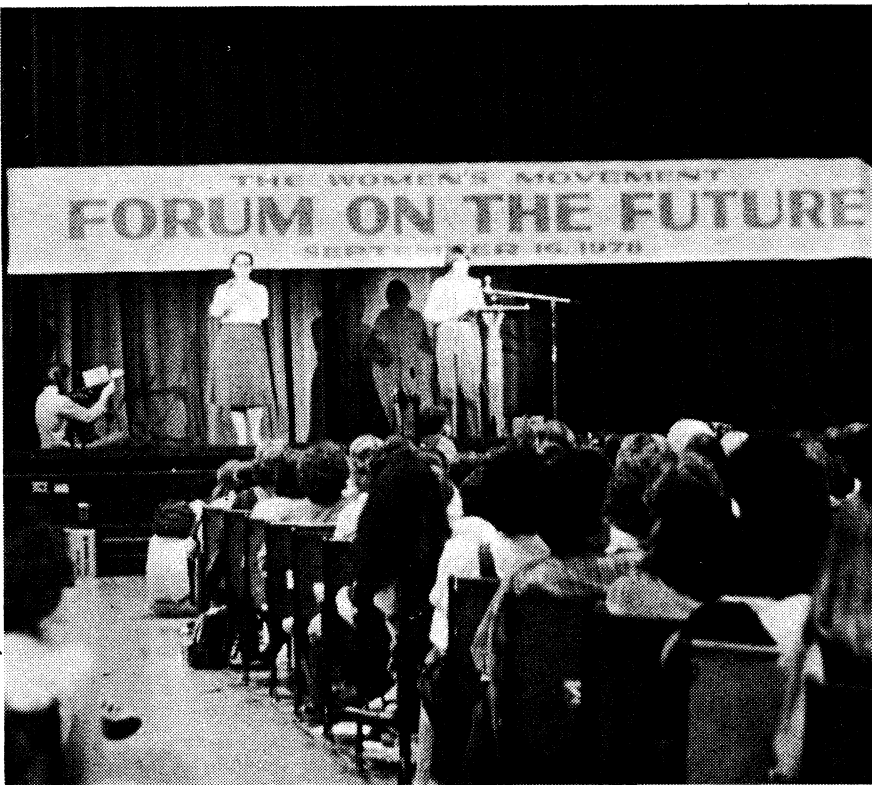
"Our strength is in our numbers," she explained. "The fight for the ERA will be down to the wire, and we need a massive outpouring of pro-ERA sentiment in the coming months. We need more teach-ins, rallies, and meetings for the ERA. We need a massive, nationally coordinated demonstration that can help build a movement that will involve even more than those who marched last July."

The meeting also ended on the theme of active, independent struggle. Flo Kennedy, who concluded the program, wound up her remarks by saying:

"Do not expect Carter to give you anything. Whatever you get, you have to fight for."

"We've got the power. We've just got to use it!"

Militant/Shelley Kramer



GLORIA STEINEM



JEAN O'LEARY



KATE MILLETT



DIANNE FEELEY



MIDGE COSTANZA



ARLIE SCOTT

Student women on the move

By Ginny Hildebrand

PITTSBURGH—The spirit of the July 9 national march for the Equal Rights Amendment was rekindled here at the first fall meeting of the Pittsburgh Campus NOW chapter. Seventy young women and men turned out for a September 14 meeting to see "ERA: A Family Matter," a videotape of the historic march.

When chapter coordinator Sue McCulloch asked how many there had participated in July 9, nearly three-quarters of the audience shot up their hands. The campus chapter had helped send eighteen buses from Pittsburgh to the Washington demonstration.

There was strong sentiment for mobilizing more visible displays of ERA support, especially around the debate in Congress on extending the 1979 ratification deadline. The group enthusiastically agreed to organize ERA supporters to confront President Carter at his September 23 town meeting in Aliquippa, a steel town north of here.

Women also signed up to write letters and to ride a weekly lobbying bus to Washington, sponsored by several NOW chapters here.

And people volunteered to join the picket line of women strikers at the nearby ABCO Chemical Company.

The strikers are trying to organize a local of the United Steelworkers of America.

McCulloch urged the many women attending their first NOW meeting to join this national feminist organization.

By the end of the evening, twenty-three women had decided to do so. Eight paid their dues on the spot.

Sixteen women signed up to attend NOW's national conference, scheduled for Washington, D.C., October 6-9. The campus chapter is organizing transportation and housing for its members and fund-raising activities to help meet expenses.

The chapter's executive board has set a special membership meeting to consider resolutions coming before the conference. After a discussion of all the resolutions available, members will elect one delegate and one alternate to represent the chapter.

* * *

The twenty-nine-minute videotape of the July 9 march can be rented for seventy-five dollars a week from Transcultural Communications, Inc., 1508 Ninth Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Telephone: (202) 232-4040.

New ferment on the campuses

By Diane Wang

Look at the photos on this page. Nicaragua, South Africa, Iran. Young people are taking their future into their own hands.

"Tell the world the truth about what is happening here," a woman in Nicaragua told a reporter. "They are high school students. They are fighting for democracy, fighting against Somoza."

In Chile, students at a Santiago university boycotted classes in solidarity with Nicaragua, chanting "liberty and justice." Theirs was the first reported antigovernment action by students since General Pinochet's coup in 1973.

In South Africa, eleven Black student leaders go on trial this month on charges of "sedition" and "terrorism."

These world events have their echo in this country. Just as the Cuban revolution and Vietnamese freedom fighters inspired a generation of young people in the 1960s, so today international rebellions are once again exciting students.

Young Socialist Alliance members report a new mood on campuses this fall. Some YSA chapters reported selling their month's goal of *Young Socialist* newspapers in just one or two days.

The Berkeley, California, YSA, for example, expects to sell three times their goal this month. Meanwhile, on the opposite coast, the Washington, D.C., chapter has sold 570 copies of the *Young Socialist* so far in September.

South Africa seems to spark the most interest. The September *Young Socialist* has a special feature on the struggle to force U.S. campuses to divest their stock in companies propping up the apartheid regime.

Students seem eager to buy, YSA members report, not only because they are curious about U.S. ties to South Africa. They are also eager to read about what to do, about how other campuses have won divestment campaigns.

YSA members found the feature

useful in persuading other students at the University of Houston of the importance of launching a campaign to end their school's ties to the South African racists.

Newark YSA organizer Chris Hoepfner says the YSA's coverage of Africa and affirmative action is what helped that chapter sell out its bundle almost immediately. "We couldn't have done it," he adds, "without help from members of the Socialist Workers Party who work second shift in industrial plants. Several came on the campus during the day to help sell."

Solidarity with the African revolution and the campaign to break U.S. ties with apartheid is a major focus of the YSA's work this year.

Chapters are taking part in various campus coalitions and in conferences such as the November 17-19 meeting in New York City sponsored by the North East Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa.

The Equal Rights Amendment is another big issue of concern on campuses, according to YSA reports. Many of the 570 papers sold in Washington, D.C., were to Black women at Howard University. The YSA headline about the ERA caught their eye.

Michael Chamberlain, a YSA leader in Morgantown, West Virginia, reports a similar response from women students at West Virginia University. The ERA article was especially popular at a week-long women's conference held on the campus. One woman has already decided to join the YSA after attending a forum on "What Socialists Stand For."

That experience has been repeated across the country.

Nine people have asked to join the YSA in Washington, D.C., so far this fall.

And in New Orleans, YSA organizer Laurie Burke reports: "One Black student has joined our chapter at the University of New Orleans, and four more people have asked to join since then."



Join the YSA!

Young people in the U.S. are moving into action to defend the freedom struggles of our sisters and brothers around the world. Their struggle is our struggle. Join the Young Socialist Alliance!

- ☐ I want to join the Young Socialist Alliance.
- ☐ Enclosed is \$2 for a one-year subscription to the 'Young Socialist.'
- ☐ I want more information on the YSA.

Name _____ Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Send to: YSA, P.O. Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

Government arbitrator dictates postal contract

By Shelley Kramer

On September 15 postal mediator/arbitrator James Healy dictated the terms of a contract covering 516,000 postal workers.

Last month, postal talks were extended for fifteen days to avert a strike after members of the three unions—American Postal Workers Union, National Association of Letter Carriers, and Mail Handlers—turned down the first contract offer. Union officials agreed to abide by arbitration if a settlement was not reached by September 15.

While Healy considers his decision "final and binding," APWU President Emmet Andrews and NALC President Joseph Vacca—both bidding for reelection—were forced to agree to a

membership vote on the arbitrated contract.

The union chiefs are urging acceptance and sidestepping questions about what they will do if their ranks reject Healy's settlement. Asked if he would call a strike, Vacca said, "I'll cover that when I get to it."

Local APWU leaders in Cleveland, New York, Detroit, and Pittsburgh greeted news of the imminent arbitrated settlement with calls for strike action.

"We demand the right to rejection, not just an opinion poll," said William Burrus, president of the Cleveland APWU local. Burrus later called off plans for wildcat strikes.

Healy's decision provides for slightly improved terms of pay while safely conforming to Carter's wage guidelines. Postal workers would remain on

the losing end of the inflation spiral.

Cost-of-living adjustments are not capped in this settlement, but the earlier wage package has been cut from \$1,600 over three years to \$1,512 in the new pact. Wage and cost-of-living increases amount to an estimated 21.3 percent, compared to the previous 19.5 percent.

Healy's biggest blow is aimed at the unions' no-layoff guarantee, which management has been trying to eliminate for years.

Under Healy's ruling, only workers employed as of September 15 will be entitled to job security. Workers hired after this date will have to be employed—continuously—for six years before gaining the same rights.

Healy's scheme is an attempt to sap the unity and strength of the postal

unions by dividing workers along seniority lines. And, as the *Wall Street Journal* approvingly notes, his "tenure system" provides new workers with "incentives for productive work"—that is, for speeding up production—since they have to last at least six years to be "rewarded" with job security.

Amnesty for some 200 workers fired in July for striking in protest of the first offer is apparently not included in the new agreement. This was a demand raised by many postal workers.

The uncertain terms of Healy's "contract" and questionable impact of another membership vote are bound to produce widespread confusion among unionists. This is just the reaction the government counted on to cool down this summer's heated challenge to Carter's "anti-inflation fight."

Backs fall, spring antinuke actions

Mobilization for Survival sets D.C. march

By Arnold Weissberg

DES MOINES, Iowa—The Mobilization for Survival, a national coalition that opposes nuclear weapons and nuclear power, has called for a national march on Washington in October 1979. The march will focus on the four MFS goals:

- zero nuclear weapons;
- stop the arms race;
- ban nuclear power; and
- fund human needs.

The decision was made at the second MFS national conference, held here September 15-17.

The conference also backed two action proposals issued at last month's No-Nukes Strategies Conference in Louisville. The first calls for nationally coordinated local protests around November 13 to commemorate the fourth anniversary of the death of plutonium worker and union activist Karen Silkwood.

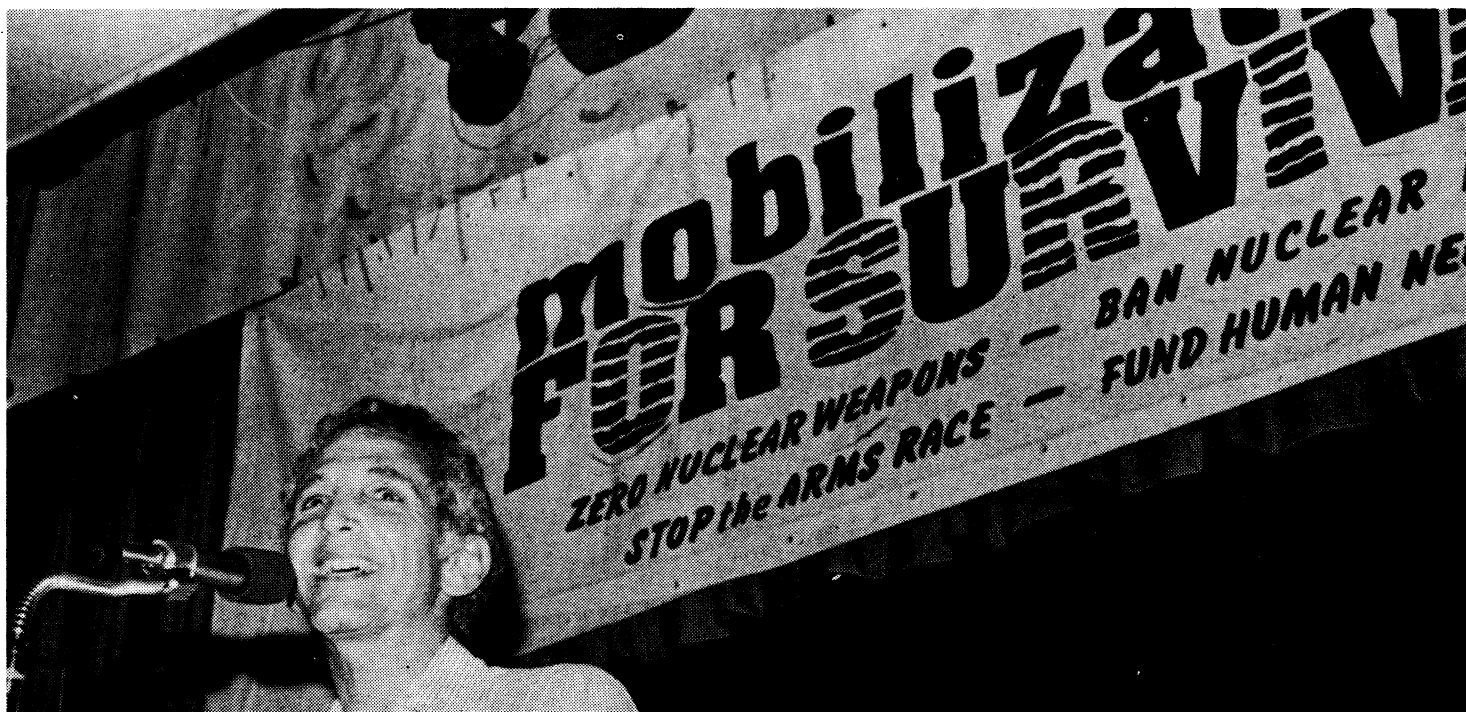
The second action proposal, which originated in the European anti-nuclear power movement, calls for coordinated international protests June 3-4, 1979.

The fall 1979 Washington action proposal will now be discussed with leaders in the anti-nuclear power movement. Many activists at the Louisville conference had expressed support for such a protest.

The gathering was attended by activists from MFS chapters and affiliates around the country, representing a broad range of peace, religious, and political groups. These include American Friends Service Committee, War Resisters League, Socialist Workers Party, Clergy and Laity Concerned, Rocky Flats Action Group, and various local anti-nuclear power alliances.

Also in attendance were many people who had played leading roles in the anti-Vietnam War movement, including David McReynolds of the War Resisters League, Daniel Ellsberg, Fred Halstead of the Socialist Workers Party, Gil Green of the Communist Party and head of the MFS labor task force, Jack Spiegel of the United Shoe Workers of America, and current MFS leaders Sid Lens and Norma Becker.

The presence of many trade union-



Daniel Ellsberg speaking at rally

Militant/Arnold Weissberg

ists marked an important step forward for the antinuke movement. At the conference were members of the United Steelworkers, United Auto Workers, American Federation of Teachers, and other unions. In workshops and in full conference sessions, these unionists expressed confidence that working people can and will be won to opposing nuclear weapons and nuclear power.

"We have to take the demand for zero nuclear power and zero nuclear weapons right into the plants," said a Kansas City steelworker at a labor outreach workshop. "I know that people in my shop can be convinced. I talked for half an hour to one guy who had been for nukes, and later I heard him telling some other people in the shop how dangerous nuclear power is."

The conference also adopted a series of "working strategies for the coming period." These included a "nuclear moratorium." This would include a halt to the construction and operation of all nuclear power plants; a halt to uranium mining, exports, and imports;

a halt to the transport of nuclear materials; and a halt to construction, development, and deployment of nuclear weapons.

Conference resolutions also demanded transfer of government funds from military uses to providing for human needs; an immediate end to all U.S. arms sales and military aid; the right of Native Americans to control and halt uranium mining on their land; and an end to all ties with the apartheid regime of South Africa.

MFS national coordinator Terry Provance noted that the conference came after a string of successful protest actions this year—from 6,000 people last April at the Rocky Flats, Colorado, nuclear weapons plant; to 15,000 people demanding nuclear disarmament at the United Nations May 27; to 18,000 people against nuclear power at Seabrook, New Hampshire, June 25.

Provance told the opening session that the movement had already had a significant impact on public opinion. He pointed to polls showing a dramatic shift in thinking about the neutron

bomb: from two-thirds supporting it a year ago, to two-thirds opposing it last June.

Speakers at the Saturday night rally included Daniel Ellsberg, Dick Greenwood of the International Association of Machinists, and Native American activist Winona Westigard.

Ellsberg explained that every American president since 1945 had threatened to use nuclear weapons, but that these threats had been hidden from public view. "We have lived on the brink of nuclear war for the last thirty-three years," Ellsberg said.

But, Ellsberg noted, "we have the power" to influence the course of events. He cited the anti-Vietnam War movement's success in staying the hand of the Pentagon.

Westigard described the brutal exploitation of Indian lands in the energy corporations' rush to mine uranium. She said that Indians had been paid sixty cents a pound for uranium ore that was later sold for thirty dollars a pound—all with the blessing of the federal government's Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Beryllium: 'national security' vs. human life

By Nancy Cole

National security.

That hackneyed government excuse for spying on and harassing socialists, Black activists, and other dissenters is again in the news.

Only this time it's being used as cover for a different sort of crime: industrial slaughter.

The *Washington Post* disclosed September 14 that Energy Secretary James Schlesinger had warned the Labor Department last month that proposed new workplace exposure standards for beryllium would be so costly that it might drive

As I see it

U.S. firms out of business. The metal is used in nuclear reactors, missile guidance systems, and other weapons. So if the U.S. supply were cut off, Schlesinger argued, it would "adversely affect our national security."

Health, Education and Welfare Secretary Joseph Califano agreed to delay the health standards—already three years in the making. He declared a full review of the medical effects of beryllium necessary.

Of course, it had thus far been found to cause cancer in nine species of laboratory animals, and federal officials only require two species to label

anything a potential carcinogen. But no matter—for as the *Post* reported, Califano was under pressure from senators who were in turn under pressure from the beryllium industry.

Schlesinger claimed—using figures provided him by the industry—that it would cost up to \$150 million to meet the new standard for reducing beryllium dust. But an estimate done for one of the two U.S. producers put it at \$4.6 million for that firm. And another study estimated the entire cost for both manufacturers at \$3.7 million.

All this was duly reported. Schlesinger hemmed and hawed. Califano pledged to reevaluate his decision. Labor Secretary Ray Marshall promised to "forge ahead" with standards that would protect national security, as well as national workers.

But attention remained riveted on dollars: how much would it cost industry? No concern was accorded the 30,000 workers whose lives were being bandied about in federal offices.

For their part, the two beryllium producers Kawecki-Berylco Industries, Inc., of Reading, Pennsylvania, and Brush Wellman Co. of Cleveland—have been unusually up front about their priorities.

H.G. Piper, president of Brush Wellman, told the *Post* that his company would continue nongovernmental production of beryllium even if it meant violating the new standard.

"We already violate the standard they have now," this criminal admitted.

The diseased bodies of beryllium workers are

proof positive of that. While studies of beryllium as a carcinogen are recent, beryllium disease has been incapacitating and killing workers since it came into significant use in this country in the 1930s.

Like coal miners' black lung, beryllium disease attacks the lungs, causing severe coughing, chest pains, and shortness of breath. But it also affects the heart, liver, and other organs. Its mortality rate is 30 percent.

In Rachel Scott's book, *Muscle and Blood*, a beryllium victim describes the disease and his fight to have it recognized as work related. That way he could get compensation to allow him, his wife, and their seven children to live.

For nearly eleven years Robert Ferdinand worked in Kawecki-Berylco's Hazelton, Pennsylvania, plant. It left him an invalid.

"When it gets dark," Ferdinand explained, "that's when I dread. I get so much pain—all over—my legs, my arms, my back, my neck, my head. It's hard to describe. Jesus, they're gnawing, grabbing. They just pull like I'm being pulled apart. Then a lot of times I get blurred vision and I can't see. I get dizzy a lot. And when I get these coughing spells, I spit up blood. And I get chills and sweats."

Maybe Califano could begin his "full review" with a visit to Ferdinand and the thousands of other beryllium workers whose lives were ruined or lost because the companies refused to abide by standards that were inadequate to begin with.

SHAH OF IRAN

Modernizer or monster?



Propaganda vs. reality: an Iranian government brochure (left), and relative mourning victim of shah's terror.

By Peter Seidman

The big-business press describes the massive demonstrations in Iran this month as the work of crazed Muslim religious leaders. These backward-looking mullahs, according to the media have whipped up fanatical crowds against efforts by the shah to modernize and secularize this tradition-bound society.

"The Shah Mollifies the Mullahs, His new Premier cools tempers by cutting back on modernization," reads one *Time* magazine headline.

These religious leaders, say the editors of the *Washington Post*, are "opposed not just to the erosion of feudal ways but also to such basic policy planks as land redistribution and the granting of rights to women."

This propaganda is designed to counter the growing opposition among the American people to the shah's repressive regime. It is supposed to lay the groundwork for U.S. government intervention in support of its beleaguered friend in Iran.

These charges are reminiscent of the racist, arrogant claims made by European colonialists in the 1800s that their gunboats were needed to carry out a "civilizing mission" among the natives of Africa—the "white man's burden."

Iranian poet and former political prisoner Reza Baraheni commented on this at a September 13 Washington, D.C., news conference sponsored by the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran.

"To call the huge masses of demonstrators by the name and title of 'reactionary and traditionalist mobs of Moslems rising against the shah's liberalizing policies,'" said Baraheni, "is as stupid as calling Martin Luther King and his fellow demonstrators in the last decade in the capital, a bunch of racist lunatics fighting against white civil libertarians in the South."

White revolution?

The massive upsurge in Iran results from the failure of the shah to meet the needs of the Iranian people, not because he has forced them onto the road of progress against their will.

The shah first boasted of being a modernizer when he proclaimed his "white" (meaning bloodless!) revolution in 1961. He said this revolution would bring land reform to the 73 percent of the

population who then lived in the countryside.

The need to distribute the land was certainly great. Ninety percent of the peasants were sharecroppers, virtual serfs of a tiny handful of wealthy absentee landlords. According to a 1953 government report, peasant family income ranged from \$46.50 to \$133 per year!

But the shah's land reform was a fake. Even according to official statistics, 75 percent of the land remained in the hands of large estate owners by 1964.

As a result, food production since 1961 has barely stayed ahead of population growth. So today Iran—which was self-sufficient in food during the 1960s—spends 10-20 percent of its oil export revenues to import food. And the regime is subsidizing food prices by \$2 billion a year.

Conditions of life in the countryside remain backward. There is only one doctor for every fifty villages, for example.

It is no wonder that some 500,000 people flee the desperate poverty of the countryside every year—and settle in the urban areas.

Industrialization

But the shah has been no more successful in building up a modern industrial base in the cities than he has been in carrying out a land reform.

One measure of this is the country's increasing dependency on imports. These grew from some \$400 million in 1958-59, to \$3.5 billion in 1972-73. Then, in 1975-76, imports increased fivefold to \$18.4 billion—three years after the shah proclaimed a five-year, \$69 billion industrialization plan.

But this increase in imports was due less to the purchase of productive goods (which were only 29 percent of imports, excluding arms) than to the purchase of food, consumer goods, and luxury items.

After oil, which brought in 87 percent of Iran's foreign-exchange earnings in 1977, the country's second most valuable export item—carpets—is hardly an example of industrial development!

Yet another indication of Iran's industrial backwardness: in 1977, only 28 percent of the labor force worked in plants that employed more than ten people.

A 1975 Hudson Institute report indicated that even in the unlikely event that Iran met its economic growth targets by 1985, its economy would

not be much more developed than India's, and equal to or just behind Mexico's.

Marble banks & open sewers

For the richest 10 percent of Iran's population, who take in 40 percent of the country's total income, this economic backwardness isn't all bad. They prefer to invest their money overseas, anyway. Private individuals send \$3 billion a year—15 percent of the country's total oil revenues—abroad.

Tehran, the capital city, offers a clear example of what this vast inequality of wealth means for the people of Iran.

"First impressions are likely to be illusory," Eric Rouleau reported in the October 3-4, 1976, Paris daily *Le Monde*. "The modern and functional new airport; the wide paved boulevards proudly lined with glass- and marble-faced banks and office buildings; the sumptuous American hotels. . . .

"To the south, at the base of the slope on which the city is built, in the absence of sanitary sewers, the ditches run thick with waste-water from the upper class neighborhoods. Nauseating odors mix with acrid smoke spewed from the surrounding factories. . . . Elegant shops overflow with imported luxury items, but basic consumer stuffs such as meat, rice, eggs, and cheese are often in short supply and can be bought only on the black market at prohibitive prices."

Fabulous wealth for a tiny handful, great misery for the many. This is the bottom line of the shah's "modernization" of Iran.

And things are getting worse. As a result of the worldwide economic recession, the shah has had to cut back on spending. Even according to unreliable official figures, industrial growth was 12 percent in 1975 compared to 19 percent the year before.

One area that the shah hasn't cut back, however, is military spending. Some \$9.4 billion, more than half the 1976-77 national budget, was allocated to the armed forces. This war budget is an elevenfold increase over 1970 levels.

Condition of women

One of the most hypocritical claims made by the shah is that he is seeking to liberate the women of Iran.

But the shah has done nothing to bring women into the modern labor force. Only 15 percent of the work force in Iran is female. This is despite a shortage of skilled labor that has forced the regime to import more than 50,000 workers from as far away as South Korea and the Philippines.

There are only ninety-seven child-care, and twenty-five infant-care centers in the whole country.

The shah earmarks only 6 percent of the annual budget for education as a whole—but women receive only a pittance of this pittance. For every girl in grammar or high school, two boys attend. At the college level, there are four males enrolled for every female.

According to Baraheni, the illiteracy rate for the country as a whole is 75 percent. Princess Ashraf admitted in 1976 that the illiteracy rate among rural women is 92 percent.

Under article 197 of the shah's Family Code, it is still legal for a man to murder his female relative if she "dishonors" him.

The liberator of women indeed!

This backwardness in social relations, industry, and agricultural production is typical of all colonial and semicolonial countries exploited by imperialism.

Despite his claims, the shah has been unable to break his country out of this U.S.-enforced backwardness. Far from it. The shah—as a fast friend of Washington—has willingly taken on the job of helping to preserve imperialist interests, not only in Iran but in the entire surrounding area.

Only semicolonial countries such as Cuba and China—where deep social revolutions have taken place—have freed themselves from imperialist exploitation.

But the shah, a puppet of Wall Street, has no intention of stepping out on this revolutionary road.

Modernizer or monster? The shah's attacks on the current protests prove that he opposes the one force in Iran that can break the grip of imperialism: the working class, in the leadership of a giant popular revolution.

Torture, martial law, and massacres in the streets. These are the shah's response to the demands of the people of Iran. They are a measure of the complete inability of his regime and its imperialist masters to meet the aspirations of the masses for social and economic progress.

But the power of the mobilizations for these demands is beginning to make itself felt—not only in Tehran but on Wall Street.

Those aspirations are the target of the big-business media's cynical campaign to prove that the shah is more progressive than the millions he oppresses.

Moreno and Strasberg win freedom in Brazil

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK, September 19—A major victory for democratic rights in Latin America was won with the release from Brazilian prison of two leading Argentinian socialists.

Hugo Bressano, best known under his pen-name of Nahuel Moreno, and Rita Strasberg were released September 19 and returned to Bogota, Colombia, where they are living in exile. They are leading members of the Argentinian Socialist Workers Party, a sister organization of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party.

News of their safe release was reported here today by Barry Fatland, executive secretary of the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American

Political Prisoners (USLA). The committee had actively participated in mobilizing the international protest that resulted in their release.

Fatland said he had spoken this morning to an official of the United Nations High Commission on Refugees. The UN official said that Bressano and Strasberg were to be released and would not be returned to Argentina, where their lives would be in grave danger from the military government there.

Fatland said that a call to Bogota confirmed that the two had in fact returned safely to Colombia this morning.

Bressano and Strasberg were among twenty-two people arrested in São Paulo, Brazil, August 22. They were

taken into custody while attending a meeting of Socialist Convergence, a group granted legality by the country's military junta.

Fourteen Brazilian socialists remain in prison, Fatland said. He urged continuing protests to win their release.

The effectiveness of such protests was demonstrated by the Brazilian decision to free Bressano and Strasberg and permit their safe return to Colombia.

World protest against their jailing was extremely broad. According to a report from Colombian socialists, it even included the national executive committee of Mexico's ruling party, the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI).

From Portugal, protests were lodged

by forty-eight Socialist Party members of parliament, including the president of that body. Three Communist Party deputies added their voice.

The Brazilian dictatorship also heard from the prestigious London-based Amnesty International, from Bolivian trade unionists, and from ten members of the Peruvian Constituent Assembly.

USLA urges that letters and telegrams demanding the immediate release of the fourteen political prisoners still being held by the Brazilian dictatorship be sent to the Brazilian Embassy, 3006 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20008. Send copies to USLA, 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, New York 10003.

80,000 in Tehran mourn victims of massacre

With armored trucks, tanks and soldiers armed with machine guns stationed throughout major cities, Iran

This is an abridged and updated version of an article by Parvin Najafi that appeared in the September 25, 1978, issue of 'Intercontinental Press/Inprecor.'

entered its second week of martial law in mid-September.

The shah's savagery, supported by Washington, knew no limits in the first week. Thousands were massacred in the streets of Tehran. Thousands more were thrown into the shah's torture chambers. And a fierce manhunt has

been conducted by agents of the SAVAK, the shah's dread secret police in search of thousands of other opponents of the regime.

High on the SAVAK's list are the names of some 4,500 people who helped marshal the gigantic antigovernment demonstrations of September 4 and 7.

Nonetheless, protests against the shah's regime have continue in Mashhad, Qum, and Tabriz as well as the capital, Tehran.

For two days after the September 8 bloodbath in Tehran, demonstrators kept coming out into the streets. On September 14, more than 80,000 persons took part in a march to Behesht-e Zahra cemetery for the funeral of those killed September 8.

A dispatch from Tehran in the Sep-

tember 25 *Newsweek* described one scene at this protest:

"Howling 'Death to the Shah,' an angry mob of 1,500 mourners descended on a lone armored car. . . . The armored crew held its ground, and the young major in command grabbed a bullhorn. 'We have no intention of killing you,' he shouted. 'You are our brothers.' Unholstering his pistol, he offered it to the crowd. 'Here, take my gun and kill me if you wish,' he shouted. The mourners cheered and began pelting the major and his men with flowers."

This shows the dramatic impact the recent wave of protests has had on the shah's 700,000-troop army. Most of the soldiers are between the ages of eighteen and twenty, and nearly all have been drafted from the peasantry and

the impoverished urban population.

By mobilizing these forces in violent attacks against mass, peaceful demonstrations, the shah is inevitably awakening even the most ignorant and backward of his raw recruits into political life.

This dynamic has not escaped the regime, either. One "senior Iranian official" confided in *Newsweek* how even "the Shah knows that the longer he keeps his army on the streets, the greater the danger is of contamination."

Hence, by mobilizing the army against the indignant population, day in and day out, for six months now, the monarchy has bought itself time—but only at the price of extending the field of battle and rendering the struggle more acute.

CAIFI appeal: 'Save the life of Seyyed-Javadi'

By Peter Seidman

One of the most prominent targets of the shah's martial law crackdown against dissidents is Dr. Ali-Asghar Hadj Seyyed-Javadi.

The Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI) has launched an emergency appeal to ensure the safety of Seyyed-Javadi and force the Iranian government to lift its travel ban on him.

Seyyed-Javadi was forced into hiding, along with his wife and two young children, immediately after the September 8 massacre in Tehran. Within twenty-four hours, agents of the SAVAK, the shah's secret police, raided his house five times in an effort to arrest him.

From hiding, Seyyed-Javadi was able to get CAIFI a copy of an open letter he has sent to the Prime Minister of Iran. In the letter, Seyyed-Javadi says that he fears the government will torture and murder him if he is captured. However, he offers to stand trial

on any charges brought against him if genuine guarantees of safety are offered.

Seyyed-Javadi's fears are well-founded. He reports that several other prominent dissidents in Iran have already been victimized since martial law was declared:

"I am informed that your armed agents, after nearly beating to death Ayatollah Ghomi, put him under arrest. This respected old man, having been forced to spend the past fifteen years of his life in exile, was simply returning to his home in the city of Mashhad. Your armed agents, having beaten and injured Dr. Mofatteh, the great Islamic orator, put him under arrest. And, it has been reported that after having severely beaten Ayatollah Noori inside his own house, they murdered him. There is no information on the fate of the arrested individuals such as Mr. [Mehdi] Bazargan, that symbol of piety of Islamic faith."

In a statement supporting CAIFI's campaign, prominent Iranian playwright and novelist Dr. Gholam-Hossein Sa'edi explains why the shah has targeted Seyyed-Javadi for victimization:

"Hadj Seyyed-Javadi was one of the first people to seriously take up the issue of human rights. . . . His unique boldness in exposing dictatorship and repression, the dominant reign of executive power, the bankruptcy of the economy, social ills, and the lack of human and civil rights, as well as exposing censorship, is unparalleled."

Former Iranian political prisoner and prominent poet Reza Baraheni has also appealed for Seyyed-Javadi's safety. Baraheni, CAIFI's honorary chairperson, explained that since 1975 this prestigious social and literary critic has issued a series of more than a hundred open letters and pamphlets "laying the blame for the entire devastation of the economic and cultural

Paris protest



Rouge

Contingent of Revolutionary Communist League (LCR), the French Trotskyists, in Paris demonstration.

By Parvin Najafi

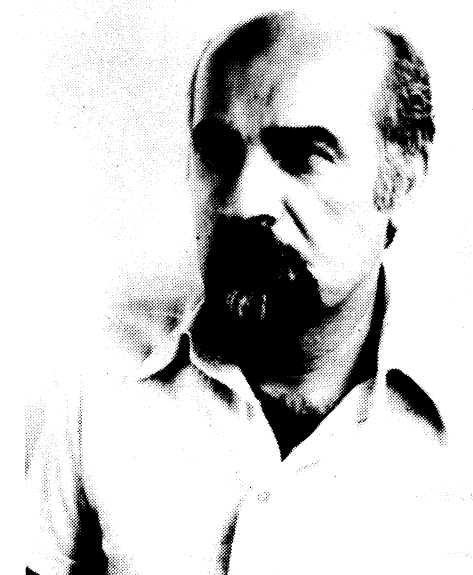
In Paris, 15,000 people took part in a march September 12 to protest the bloodbath in Iran. The march was sponsored by the major trade unions in France, the Communist and Socialist parties, and many smaller left-wing groups and civil rights organizations.

In front of the procession were two big banners calling for "Respect for human rights in Iran" and "Down

with the dictatorship in Iran." Among the most popular chants at the demonstration were, "Freedom for Iranians" and "The shah has killed 10,000 Iranians."

The action was also sponsored by several Iranian student organizations and was attended by a large contingent of Iranian students.

Other protest actions took place in Britain and Italy.



Dr. Ali-Asghar Hadj Seyyed-Javadi

resources of the country at the threshold of the Shah's court itself. . . ."

Now, says Baraheni, "there is no doubt in the minds of many Iranians both at home and abroad that the Shah's agents will kill [Seyyed-Javadi] if they find him."

CAIFI is urging that letters demanding Seyyed-Javadi's safety be sent to Ardeshtir Zahedi, Ambassador of Iran,

3005 Massachusetts Avenue, Washington, D.C. 20008. In addition, CAIFI has issued an emergency brochure to help gather support for Seyyed-Javadi. It asks that copies of all protests, as well as donations and orders for the new brochure, be sent to CAIFI, 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, New York 10003. Telephone: (212) 673-6390.

AIM leader elected to a top post



VERNON BELLECOURT

Militant/Lou Howort

By Lee Gearhart

MINNEAPOLIS—Vernon Bellecourt, a national council member of the American Indian Movement (AIM), has been elected secretary-treasurer of the White Earth Indian Reservation in northern Minnesota.

One of the nation's most prominent Indian activists, Bellecourt called his election a vindication of his views and the positions of AIM.

He ran on a platform of complete Indian sovereignty and pointed to such actions as the recent Longest Walk as the way Native Americans can win their freedom.

Secretary-treasurer, along with tribal chairman, is one of the two top posts on the reservation.

Bellecourt said that is was the highest post yet won by an AIM activist. "People are starting to see that we have much to offer," he said, "It takes radical views and radical change to alleviate radical conditions."

Bellecourt won the election twice.

On June 13, he received 443 votes, defeating his nearest opponents by 136 votes.

His opponents, who controlled the election machinery, declared irregularities and ordered a new election. Bellecourt won a second time, increasing his total to 575 votes.

Because of his post, Bellecourt will sit on the tribal executive committee of the Minnesota Chippewa tribe, which comprises six reservations.

In an interview with the *Militant* Bellecourt indicated some of the key issues on the reservation, the largest in Minnesota.

He wants the reservation to have full control of the reservation, including jurisdiction over hunting and fishing.

While non-members of the reservation would be allowed to hunt and fish, licenses would be issued by the tribe in such a manner that it would not "disrupt our natural food supply," Bellecourt said.

He also advocated a tribal-controlled police force and court system so that Indians would be tried by their peers rather than by white-controlled courts.

A major plank in his platform was education. He favors fighting racism in the off-reservation school system where the anti-Indian program and prejudice result in a high pushout rate. He also favors alternative schools for Native Americans.

"We need," he declared, "a massive program of human, social, spiritual, cultural, and economic development."

Seeks to halt illegal raids

Garment union sues 'la migra'

By Joanie Quinn

LOS ANGELES—The International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) is using the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) in a move to end *la migra's* raids on garment shops.

The court suit is part of the union's drive to organize the thousands of workers in nonunion sweatshops here. A great number of them are undocumented workers from Mexico and Central America.

In taking the position that it will organize all garment workers whatever their legal status, the local union has the support of the international union, whose press department told the *Militant*, "We are in favor of organizing workers, period."

The ILGWU's class-action suit, filed August 22, is in response to the INS practice of entering shops, either with

the consent of the owner or with a general search warrant.

When they hit a shop, *migra* agents block all exits and grill everyone who looks Latin. Workers either produce papers documenting their legal status or are arrested and deported.

The union suit charges that this violates garment workers' constitutional right to due process, as well as the guarantees against illegal search and seizure and against self-incrimination.

Joining in the suit as co-plaintiffs are four union members who are citizens or have legal residence. All four have been subjected to harassment on the job by *la migra*.

The union is seeking an injunction to end the interrogation of garment workers without informing them of their rights. The suit also asks that *la migra* be stopped from questioning or

arresting workers on the basis of Latin appearance.

The suit also asks that *la migra* be prevented from using warrants that do not name specific individuals being sought.

This is particularly important, because it would stop the wholesale sweeps regularly conducted in the garment district.

The petition states that such raids "are plainly and indiscriminately aimed at persons of Latin origin, a great majority of which agents of the INS have no reason to suspect. . . ."

It is a common practice for employers faced with a union representation election to make a quick call to *la migra* with the hope that a raid will defeat the union.

An ILGWU victory in this suit would be a victory not only for the union, but for all working people, documented and undocumented alike.

Tucson socialists rip Carter plan

By Michael Boys

TUCSON, Ariz.—At a congressional hearing here September 1, a representative of the Socialist Workers Party campaign committee denounced President Carter's immigration plan.

Larry Thomas charged that the hearing was rigged and assailed the Carter plan as "racist."

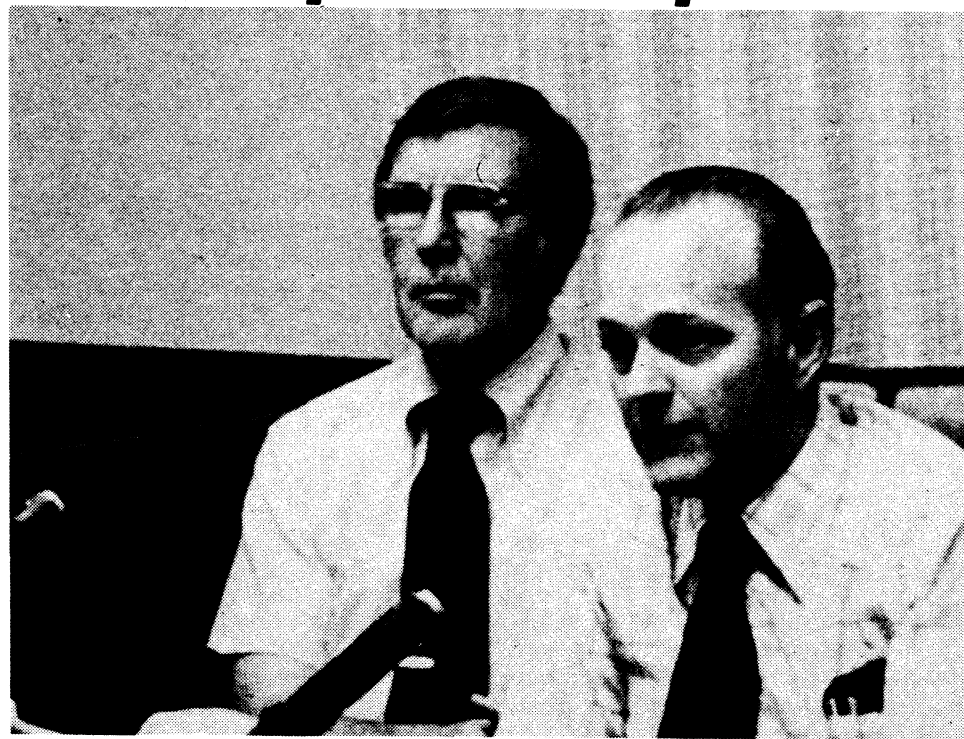
The plan, now before the Senate, would attempt to seal the border to prevent undocumented Mexican workers and others from seeking desperately needed jobs here.

It would provide "amnesty" for a relatively small number of undocumented immigrants here before 1970. It would give five-year work permits to those who entered between 1970 and 1977. They would be a special category, denied all social benefits and political rights.

The Carter plan was also scored by Margo Cowan of Tucson's Manzo Area Council. Last year, the Justice Department tried unsuccessfully to prosecute Cowan and other Manzo staff members on trumped-up charges of illegally "abetting" undocumented immigrants.

The Carter plan was also attacked by representatives of the Maricopa County Organizing Project. This is the group that led several farm workers' organizing strikes here, including one that put the spotlight on the terrible exploitation of undocumented workers at the Goldwater ranch.

The hearing was the first of two



Arizona Rep. Morris Udall (left) and Sen. Dennis DeConcini chair hearing on Carter plan.

Militant/Michael Boys

chaired by Rep. Morris Udall and Sen. Dennis DeConcini. Both are Arizona Democrats.

Betsy McDonald, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Udall's seat in the Second District had sought to testify at the hearing but was told the agenda was closed. Thomas gained

the floor from the audience.

Thomas charged that if Udall and DeConcini genuinely represented their constituencies, they would be dealing with the problem of mounting unemployment in the state—about 8,000 copper miners have been laid off in the past year—and would address themselves to Arizona's reactionary right-to-work law, a barrier to union organizing.

Instead, Thomas said, "they have convened this rigged hearing to push Carter's racist immigration plan."

He charged that the plan would mean deportation for huge numbers of workers without papers and deny civil rights and social services to most of those permitted to remain.

As Thomas was reading from a fact sheet refuting some of the reactionary myths directed against the undocumented, DeConcini cut him off and said he could enter the document in the record.

Udall then read a slanderous attack on the undocumented by the right-wing syndicated columnist Victor Riesel. This, too, was entered in the record.

Following the hearing, Thomas was interviewed by the local news media.

He said the hearings exposed the "hypocrisy of the Democratic Party regarding 'human rights.'" If Betsy McDonald were elected, he said, the socialist nominee would press for abolition of *la migra*, an immediate halt to deportations, and full citizenship rights for all.

For further reading...

The Politics of Chicano Liberation edited with an introduction by Olga Rodríguez. Resolutions and reports of the Socialist Workers Party. 159 pages, \$2.95.

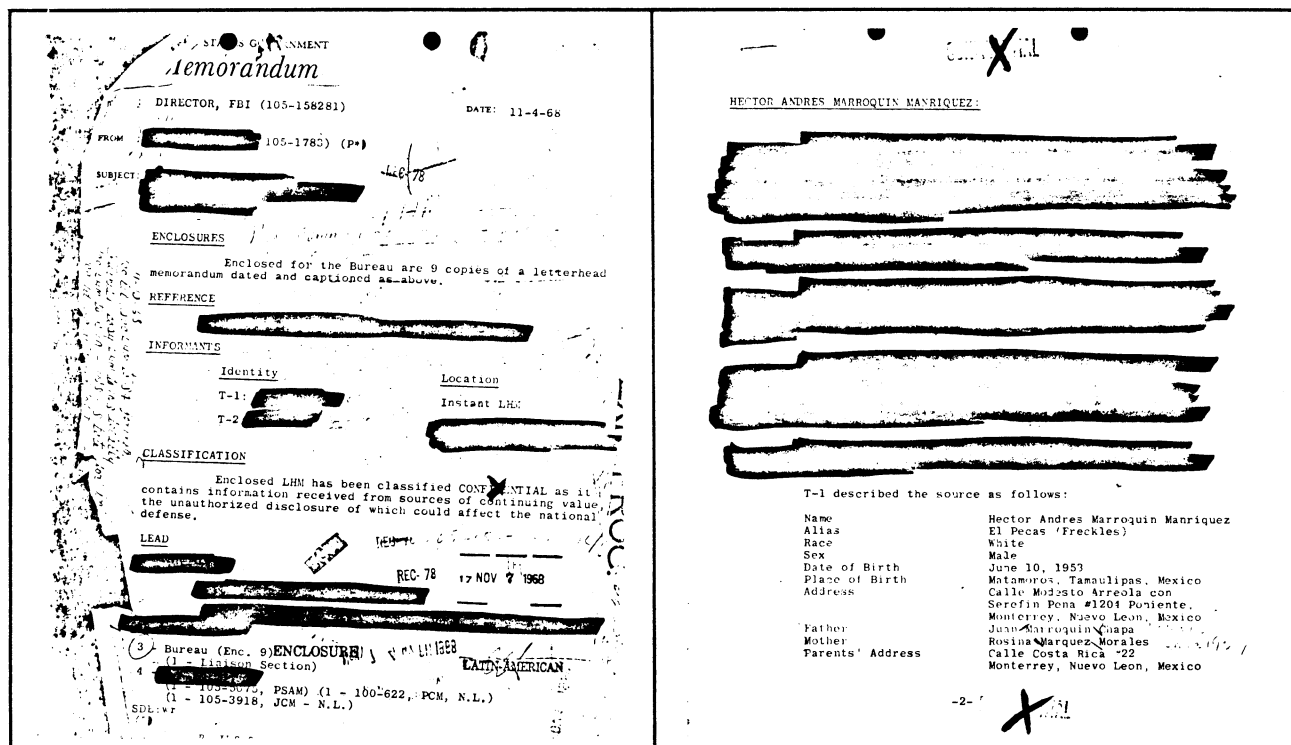
'Stop the Deportations' ¡Que Cesen Las Deportaciones! by Pedro Miguel Camejo (in English and Spanish) 16 pages, \$.50.

Chicano Liberation and Socialism by Miguel Pendás. The relationship between Marxism and Chicano nationalism. 15 pages, \$.25.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Add \$.25 for postage and handling, \$.50 if order of more than \$5.



Did FBI aid Marroquin frame-up?



Left, document date in upper right corner shows FBI was keeping tabs on Marroquin as early as 1968. At right, typical heavily censored document.

By Roger Rudenstein

Nineteen pages of newly released FBI documents show that U.S. G-men may have been involved in the 1974 frame-up that forced Héctor Marroquin to flee Mexico.

Marroquin, a member of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance, is now fighting a U.S. government attempt to deport him back to Mexico. There he would face imprisonment, torture, and possible death.

"These documents show that the FBI did the same kinds of things in Mexico that it does here," says Marroquin's attorney, Margaret Winter. "It spied on and victimized political activists whose only crime was wanting to change the oppressive conditions of society."

The documents, released under the Freedom of Information Act, were heavily censored by the FBI. Moreover, they represent only a tiny fraction of the files requested by Marroquin.

"Finding out the truth about FBI activities in Mexico is very important to Marroquin's case for political asylum," attorney Winter explains.

"Marroquin was clearly framed by the Mexican cops because of his outspoken participation in the Mexican student movement. What was the FBI's role in that frame-up?"

Evidence tending to confirm Winter's suspicions appeared earlier this year in *Excelsior*, a leading Mexican daily. Based on FBI documents, the *Excelsior* articles proved that the agency used *agents-provocateurs* and other dirty tricks against Mexican students, unionists, and peasants. These activities were carried out in collusion with Mexican cops and government officials, notorious for their brutal repression of dissent.

For example, in 1967 J. Edgar Hoover, congratulated the G-men in Mexico City for their good work. He said he was "pleased by the wave of nighttime machine gunnings to divide subversive leaders."

Torture and murder of activists in Mexico is still common today. More than 300 people have been "disappeared" without a trace. Hundreds are languishing in jail.

The documents released to Marroquin show that the FBI had a file on him as far back as November 4, 1968. This was one month after a murderous government attack on a peaceful demonstration of thousands in Tlatelolco Plaza in Mexico City. Hundreds of people were killed.

"I was fifteen years old then, and in high school," Marroquin explains. "I wasn't very political. But I

remember there were a couple of people at my school who wanted to organize a march to protest the massacre in Tlatelolco. I became interested too, but the demonstration was a fizzle."

Nevertheless, Marroquin's interest was enough to set the FBI on his trail.

Another document is a January 21, 1974, letter about Marroquin written by the FBI chief in Mexico to the FBI chief in Washington, D.C. This is just four days after Marroquin was accused by the Mexican cops of being involved in the murder of a librarian on his campus.

"On the day of this memo," Marroquin says, "I was getting out of Monterrey, where I went to school. The newspapers there were running my picture and the pictures of several other *campañeros*. Big scare headlines accused us of 'terrorism,' 'subversion,' and all kinds of other crimes we didn't commit."

But just what the FBI agents in Mexico told Washington can't be gleaned from that letter—*every word has been crossed out by the FBI censor!*

On April 9, 1974, Marroquin fled to the United States. Twelve days before he crossed the border, the FBI issued a memo, "Subject: Hector Andres Marroquin Manriquez, aka El Pecas [Freckles—Marroquin's childhood nickname]." The memo states that copies should be sent to the border FBI offices "in the event information is received the subject would attempt to enter the United States."

Again, FBI censors have blackened out the entire text of the message.

Only four days before Marroquin left for the United States, an "urgent" cable was received by FBI offices at the border from the office in Mexico. This was most likely an attempt to alert the Border Patrol to turn back Marroquin at the border.

This flurry of FBI correspondence at the time of the frame-up of Marroquin is certainly no coincidence. Together with the *Excelsior* exposé, it suggests FBI complicity with the effort to send Marroquin to an early grave on trumped-up charges.

That's why the Héctor Marroquin Defense Committee is launching a fight for the rest of the government's spy files on Marroquin and on other FBI disruption activities in Mexico.

"The fact that the FBI persecuted activists in Mexico is a crime and a scandal," says attorney Margaret Winter. "Only by getting the FBI files—complete and uncensored—can we begin to get at the truth."

Help save Marroquin's life

You can help save Héctor Marroquin from torture and death at the hands of the Mexican cops. The brochure at right is available from the Héctor Marroquin Defense Committee for two cents each. You can help Marroquin by distributing the brochures widely. You can also:

- Ask Leonel Castillo, Director, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington, D.C. 20536 to grant Marroquin political asylum.
- Circulate the Appeal for Asylum (also available from the defense committee).
- Contribute as generously as you can to help defray the mounting legal expenses.

Other materials are available from the defense committee, including an eleven-by-seventeen-inch poster. The poster costs fifty cents, or twenty-five cents in lots of ten or more.

Héctor Marroquin Defense Committee, Box 843 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003. Telephone (212) 691-3587.



Miami NAACP backs Harris defense

By Lee Smith

MIAMI—The Greater Miami branch of the NAACP voted unanimously September 13 to demand that Dade County State Attorney Janet Reno drop the charges against Leo Harris.

Harris was run down by a car driven by a cop at a Haitian antiracist demonstration here in August. He was then arrested on trumped-up charges (see box).

The NAACP branch also endorsed the Leo Harris Defense Committee.

Neal Adams, a former president of the branch and the only Black member of the Dade County Commission, announced his personal endorsement of the defense committee.

Representatives of the defense committee went to the Miami City Commission meeting September 14 to ask Mayor Maurice Ferré and the Miami commissioners to intervene with the state attorney to have the charges dropped.

Two days before the meeting, the

city manager had told Jack Lieberman, secretary of the defense committee, that the case would be on the agenda.

But when Lieberman and Arthur Papillon, one of the organizers of the protest at which Harris was victimized, arrived at the meeting, they were told they were not on the agenda.

When Lieberman proceeded to organize a news conference in the hallway, the commission decided to place Lieberman and Papillon on the agenda.

As the WCIX-Channel 6 TV reporter said on the news that evening, "Mr. Lieberman did not know how much time he would have, so he spoke bluntly and to the point."

Lieberman recounted what had happened to Leo Harris and told the commissioners and the mayor they were responsible for the conduct of the cops and thus responsible for the frame-up. He asked them to have the state attorney drop the charges.

Squirring under the lights of the TV

cameras and the growing public support for Harris's case, the mayor and the commissioners turned to the city attorney to get them off the hook. The city attorney dutifully recommended that the commissioners not interfere since the case was in court. The commission abided by their attorney's "advice."

"This matter is before the courts," Mayor Ferré said. "We cannot prejudice this matter. It is being handled by the state attorney."

"The only reason this case is before the courts," Lieberman pointed out, "is because of a police policy of carrying out racist frame-ups. You are responsible for police policy, and you are demonstrating support for this policy by refusing to take action."

"The person who *should* have his day in court is not Leo Harris, but the cop who was driving the car that hit Leo. What you are doing is making the victim into the criminal and the criminal into the victim."

Papillon told the commission he felt compelled to take time away from his photography business "to come here to tell the truth."

"Is it the policy of the police when they injure someone to arrest him—instead of giving him medical treatment?" Papillon demanded of the commission.

Several cops—most of them Black and members of the Special Weapons And Tactics Team—sat in on the meeting during the point on the Leo Harris case. Obviously sent to the meeting to try to counter the support for Harris, they addressed the press afterwards. The cops announced they have concluded their internal review in the case and were "satisfied with the conduct of the officer involved."

Lieberman commented to reporters, "This just shows what a farce it is to have the police investigate themselves."

'WEBER IS BRINGING BACK SEGREGATION'

'Militant' exclusive: Kaiser's record of racism

By Andy Rose

(second of a series)

LUTCHER, La.—"Right now the only hope the Black workers have in the plant is the union," Allen Henderson said. "And if Brian Weber wins this 'reverse discrimination' case, you might as well not have a union."

Henderson was one of more than a dozen Black workers at Kaiser Aluminum's Gramercy, Louisiana, plant who gathered recently after the day shift to talk with the *Militant*. They are

NEWS UPDATE

Minutes before a midnight deadline September 14, the federal government filed a petition asking the U.S. Supreme Court to nullify the 'Weber' decision. Solicitor General Wade McCree wrote that the Fifth Circuit Court's pro-Weber ruling would 'chill voluntary compliance [with affirmative action] throughout the country.' McCree urged the Supreme Court to return the case to the Fifth Circuit Court 'for reconsideration and supplementation of the record.'

Also on September 14, the United Steelworkers and Kaiser Aluminum filed petitions asking the Supreme Court to overturn 'Weber.'

members of United Steelworkers Local 5702, which represents the 800 production and maintenance employees at the plant.

All were bitter over the setback Weber's suit has dealt to job prospects for Blacks at Kaiser (for background, see box on this page).

Charles Pittman, a veteran of nine years at the Gramercy plant, summed it up: "Weber is bringing segregation right back. We started out with nothing. When he won this, we're back to nothing."

The story these workers told was never heard by the courts that outlawed affirmative action at Kaiser. Instead the courts listened to Kaiser executives, who insisted they never discriminated against Blacks. Not a single union representative or Black or

Kaiser Exhibit-3
U.S. DISTRICT COURT
EAST DISTRICT OF LOUISIANA
NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA
FILED 09-24-3570 "I"
4-1-25

GRAMERCY PLANT- CRAFT EMPLOYEES

	1972			1973			1974		
	B	W	TOT	B	W	TOT	B	W	TOT
GEN. REPAIRMEN	0	153	153	0	172	172	4	175	179
AIR COND REP.	0	3	3	0	3	3	0	5	5
INSULATOR	0	6	6	0	7	7	1	7	8
CARP-PAINTER	4	25	29	4	25	29	5	25	30
GARAGE	1	8	9	1	8	9	1	8	9
MACHINIST	0	7	7	0	8	8	0	8	8
ELECTRICIAN	0	25	25	0	26	26	1	31	32
INST.&ELEC. REP	0	20	20	0	19	19	1	21	22
TOTALS	5	252	257	5	268	273	13	280	293

EVIDENCE OF DISCRIMINATION: Court exhibit from 'Weber' trial shows numbers of Black and white skilled workers at Kaiser Gramercy. Figures for 1974 include first group of trainees under affirmative-action program. Blacks increased from 1.8 percent to 4.4 percent. This is what Brian Weber calls 'reverse discrimination.'

woman employee testified.

The news media have widely reported Weber's complaints of "reverse discrimination." But none, to my knowledge, have bothered to ask what Black workers at Kaiser think about it.

That's not surprising. Because the real discrimination at Kaiser—past and present—is *anti-Black* discrimination. There is nothing "reverse" about it. And the affirmative-action program Weber took aim at was the only chance Blacks had to get into skilled, better-paying jobs at Kaiser anytime in the foreseeable future.

Growth of industry

Gramercy and Litcher are two adjoining small towns in St. James Parish, about a forty-five minute drive up the Mississippi River from New Orleans. Fields of sugar cane still dominate the landscape. But the past couple of decades have seen an accelerated

growth of industry all along the river—oil refineries, grain elevators, sugar refineries, and more.

When the Kaiser Aluminum plant opened in 1958, it followed standard practice in the area—segregating Blacks into the worst jobs. Charles Pittman recalled that when he was hired in 1959, the only job Kaiser would give him was janitor.

Pittman and other Blacks organized to protest the restriction. They soon succeeded in abolishing it. Now Blacks could be hired into the general labor pool.

Nevertheless, Kaiser's idea of what constituted "qualifications" still severely restricted Black hiring. Until 1969 Blacks held only about 10 percent of the jobs at Kaiser Gramercy, even though nearly 40 percent of the total work force in the area was Black.

Inside the plant, segregation remained the rule for drinking fountains, showers, and so on. Facilities were "separate and unequal," said Sam Thomas, Jr.

Thomas works in a part of the plant that produces fluorocarbons. "We have a lab on top, where samples are run, and a control room on top of the lab."

"At one time," he explained, "the Black guys working in the area were not allowed to eat in the control room, where it's air conditioned with tables. They had to eat downstairs in the lab with no air conditioning and with all those fumes."

In 1969, under pressure from federal civil rights laws, Kaiser began to sharply increase Black hiring. The proportion of Blacks in the plant has increased about one percentage point a year since then.

The skilled trades, however, remained lily-white (see chart). For such jobs as machinist, electrician, carpenter-painter, and repairman, Kaiser required a number of years of previous experience. This effectively barred Blacks and women, who had long been excluded from skilled crafts across the country.

In the opinion of Black Kaiser employees, the company was not just a passive accomplice of this societal discrimination. Kaiser's own system of favoritism and patronage actively served to keep Blacks out.

"It was a question of who you know in the parish who had connections with the plant manager," said Sam Thomas. "If you know the right person, you can get a job."

Walter Hansley added, "They have relatives there, their daddy or their brother—that's why they get in. The company hires them in because somebody vouched for them."

Other workers charged that favored whites were given help—or even advance copies—for tests that supposedly show "qualifications" for skilled positions. "Blacks who went to college would fail the test, but whites who can hardly read or write would pass it," one said.

They all scoffed at Kaiser's claim that it had searched high and low for skilled Black workers but just couldn't find any. Production workers in the plant have to pick up a lot about how to repair their own machines, they pointed out.

"When the maintenance man comes around, often you have to show them what to do," someone said.

Burden of proof

When the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled in Weber's favor, Judge John Minor Wisdom dissented. He pointed out that the gross underrepresentation of Blacks in both skilled and unskilled jobs at Kaiser "constituted a prima facie case of discrimination."

Any test or requirement that tends to weed out Blacks more than whites is legally suspect, Wisdom noted.

The burden of proof should have been put on Kaiser to show that "business necessity" absolutely required the qualifications it set. Yet the courts failed to demand any evidence on this point.

The 1974 affirmative-action plan negotiated by the union abolished the prior-experience requirement. Instead it set up an on-the-job training program. White production workers benefited as well as Blacks—this was also their first chance to bid on skilled jobs. And whites along with Blacks have been the losers since Weber's suit blocked any new entrants into the program.

The provision that half the trainees must be minorities or women was modest enough. "If you really wanted to make up for past discrimination, you'd have to hire *all* Blacks right now," one of the Black workers said.

Company officials testified in court that even with the fifty-fifty quota for trainees, the minimum time it would take for Blacks to achieve equal representation in the crafts was ten years.

The maximum time? "Never."

It will be never for sure if the U.S. Supreme Court rules in Weber's favor. "If they [Kaiser] can just hire who they want, the ratio will go down," Thomas said. "They're not hiring Blacks because they want to. They're hiring because they think they have to."

If the training program is reconstituted on a strict seniority basis with no affirmative-action quotas, Blacks will be largely iced out. Because Blacks were not hired in large numbers until 1969 they have lower overall seniority. Without affirmative-action, the pattern of past discrimination is locked in.

We also talked about the destructive effect Weber's suit has had on Local 5702.

When the affirmative-action plan was negotiated, Thomas explained, "it gave Blacks more faith in the union. They felt they were being represented

Weber case: what's at stake

Weber v. Kaiser Aluminum and United Steelworkers is shaping up as the biggest court battle yet over equal job rights for Blacks, other minorities, and women.

Going beyond last summer's infamous *Bakke* ruling by the U.S. Supreme Court, the *Weber* case challenges the right of unions to negotiate affirmative-action programs to overcome employer discrimination in hiring and advancement.

At issue is an on-the-job training program for skilled jobs at Kaiser Aluminum. The program was negotiated by the United Steelworkers in 1974 and covers all Kaiser plants.

Under the plan, half of all trainee positions would go to minorities or women until a goal was reached based on the proportion of minority workers in the area of each plant. Kaiser's Gramercy, Louisiana, plant had one of the highest goals—39 percent. At all plants the goal for women was 5 percent of the skilled jobs.

Brian Weber, a white, male worker at Kaiser Gramercy, sued to over-

turn the plan. He said it was "reverse discrimination."

A federal district court and the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals have ruled in Weber's favor. The courts held that Kaiser never discriminated against Blacks or women at Gramercy. Therefore, they said, the "voluntary" affirmative-action plan was illegal. Employers cannot be forced to make up for general "societal discrimination," the court declared.

If upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court, the *Weber* ruling would be a devastating blow to equal rights for Blacks and women in industry. It would prohibit unions from negotiating affirmative-action plans. It would also nullify the effect of Executive Order 11246, the strongest affirmative-action order ever issued by the federal government.

Militant reporter Andy Rose has been in Louisiana to get the facts about Kaiser's record of discrimination and to report on growing opposition to Weber among steel unionists there. This week he files his first report.



Militant/David Nudel

Affirmative action is key to defending rights Blacks have won.

better by the union both locally and nationally.

"Now that confidence has completely crumbled, and it's due to the suit by Brian Weber.

About four years ago Weber was elected head of the grievance committee—one of the most powerful posts in the local. He has a substantial following among a layer of white workers, especially in the skilled trades.

"All the people who had the same feelings against Blacks were loyal to him," Thomas said.

The division between the skilled trades and production employees at the plant is so sharp, "it's like two locals," said Walter Hansley, with the skilled workers now dominating the union.

There are no Blacks on the local executive board. Two of the eight grievance committee members are Black.

About the time Weber became chief griever, the local's civil rights committee "just disappeared," Thomas recalled. It was only recently reestablished under strong pressure from the international union.

It is not generally known in the local that the international union is against Weber's suit. Local members have been kept in the dark about developments in the case.

A resolution against quotas—implicitly supporting Weber—was slipped through the July meeting of Local 5702. When larger numbers of Blacks and women turned out for the next meeting in hopes of changing or repealing the resolution, it was never brought up on the floor. It was not even included in the minutes of the previous meeting!

Some Black workers told the *Militant* they saw a potential for winning over whites—both because the training program had also benefited white employees and because they felt that under Weber's leadership the union was not standing up for either Black or white members.

"The union and the company are too close," Hansley said. "We're losing ground day by day. You pay all those dues, but you don't get representation."

The Gramercy workers were especially interested to learn that the big USWA local at Kaiser Chalmette, near New Orleans, had voted down Weber's resolution. "If whites at Gramercy knew that whites at Chalmette are against what Brian Weber is doing, and that the whole international is against it, then they could begin to see this is hurting them as well," as one person put it.

Several voiced the opinion that Weber had no business being a union official.

"When you take the oath of office," Hansley said, "you swear not to wrong a union brother or see him wronged. But he's wronging us. Brian Weber violated that when he filed that suit."

(next: women at Kaiser)

...right-to-ratify forces gain

Continued from back page

Unlike the thousands of steelworkers who were inspired by the coal miners' example of standing up to the coal operators and the government, Davis evidently agrees with the bosses that miners enjoy "too much democracy."

Speakers in support of the right to ratify pointed out how it would strengthen the union.

Bill Andrews, president of Local 1010, said that when members of his local voted on their local-issues agreement with Inland Steel, "many felt that for the first time they were really a part of the United Steelworkers of America. . . . They were at last doing something that was more than paying dues. They were allowed the right to participate."

Joe Samargia, president of Local 1938 on the Mesabi Iron Range, said that the long strike there last fall and winter was victorious because it was "conducted by the membership. . . . They decided what the issues would be. They voted to go on strike. And they voted when they wanted to go back."

Only when the ranks are "totally involved," Samargia said, can the USWA have "true democracy."

Don Fraser from Local 1005 in Hamilton, Ontario, pointed out that in Canada the basic steel locals do vote

on their contract—"and that's the way we want to keep it. . . . This right should be extended to all our brothers and sisters, no matter where they work."

Fraser further declared that "the contract ratification procedure should be decided here—not by a committee made up of presidents of locals, who may or may not follow the wishes of their memberships."

That McBride was forced to set aside time for debate on this issue represented a gain for the pro-union-democracy forces. They can also be credited with compelling McBride to back down from trial balloons floated earlier this year about abolishing referendum election of international union officers.

A caucus centering on the right to ratify has held nightly meetings to organize for the next day's proceedings. It has drawn steelworkers mainly from the Chicago-Gary area, Pittsburgh, and the Iron Range. They are now discussing how best to organize the next stage of the fight for the right to ratify.

Sentiment for an ongoing campaign was expressed today by Jim Balanoff, director of District 31: "We might not be able to get it at this convention. We might not be able to get it at that

industry conference. But believe me that idea's time has come. . . . We'll continue to fight for that until every member has a democratic way of voting on their contract."

Chicago

Ferment in the Steel Industry

Sat., Sept. 30, 7:30 p.m.

Speakers:

Pat Grogan, member USWA Local 65, activist in USWA Women's Caucus, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate;

Andrew Pulley, member USWA Local 1066, SWP candidate for mayor of Chicago.

Dick McBride, member USWA Local 1010, attended national USWA convention in Atlantic City.

Blackstone Hotel, Michigan Avenue and Balbo Street. Donation \$1.50. Sponsored by Socialist Workers Party 1978 Illinois Campaign. For more information call (312) 939-0737.



Militant/Andy Rose

Despite McBride's attempt to steamroll debate on right to ratify, its 'time has come,' said District 31 Director James Balanoff.

McBride goons attack salespeople

ATLANTIC CITY, N.J.—Gains in the fight for union democracy were made at the United Steelworkers convention here despite efforts of the Lloyd McBride bureaucracy to whip up an atmosphere of intimidation.

The first morning of the convention, September 18, a small group of demonstrators from the National United Workers Organization, led by the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party, tried to picket outside the convention. No more than twenty-five or thirty persons were involved.

A gang of some 200 delegates, led by District 28 Director Frank Valenta, ripped down the Maoists' banners, assaulted picketers, chased them down the boardwalk, and later forced them to leave altogether.

The goons then swept along the boardwalk threatening and physi-

cally attacking anyone distributing literature. Steelworkers and other official convention guests peacefully distributing the Communist Party's *Daily World*, the *Militant*, and Socialist Workers Party campaign leaflets were shoved and driven off the boardwalk. Some were punched.

Dave Dunn, a staff member of *1196 Labor News*, official publication of USWA Local 1196 in Brackenridge, Pennsylvania, just happened to get in the goons' way. He was also roughed up and his camera equipment damaged.

Similar incidents continued through the morning of September 19, mainly carried out by a strong-arm squad of right-wing delegates from District 37 in Texas. While the convention inside was adopting a resolution on defense of civil liber-

ties and the Bill of Rights, two of the Texas goons jumped *Militant* distributor Evan Siegel. Siegel was punched and physically thrown over a protective railing onto the beach, some five feet below the boardwalk.

These violent, illegal assaults have been inspired and encouraged by McBride's red-baiting inside the convention. He has sought to portray rank-and-file opposition to his policies as the work of "outsiders" and "communists."

Despite protests from convention delegates against the goon-squad violence on the boardwalk, McBride has so far refused to condemn the assaults.

In spite of the harassment, more than seventy copies of the *Militant* have been sold and thousands of SWP campaign leaflets distributed.

—A.R.

When voters go to the polls in Pennsylvania this November, they will have a choice. There will be the Democratic and Republican candidates—who offer working people no choice at all—and there will be Socialist Workers Party candidates Mark Zola for governor and Naomi Berman for lieutenant governor.

In order to get on the ballot, the two socialists and their supporters had to collect more than 39,000 signatures on nominating petitions. This was a gigantic undertaking (not required for the Democrats and Republicans, of course), but it by no means guarantees the SWP candidates equal treatment.

For instance, the socialists are now waging a battle to be included in debates sponsored by the League of Women Voters and the Pennsylvania Public Television Network. They have won significant backing in this fight from

figures in the union, Black, civil liberties, and women's movements.

Zola was accorded equal treatment, however, when he spoke before the Pennsylvania Coal Miners Political Action Committee (COMPAC), the political arm of the United Mine Workers of America.

His speech to the COMPAC meeting, delivered August 24, is reprinted below. For more information on Zola's campaign or on any of the SWP's election campaigns, contact the SWP office nearest you listed on page 31.

I appreciate your invitation to speak before you today. I would guess it's been quite a few years since a socialist candidate for governor addressed the United Mine Workers COMPAC in southwestern Pennsylvania.

I have to admit I feel a little lonely up here—the only socialist among all the Democrats and Republicans that

have come before you.

But the fact that I'm a socialist isn't the only thing that sets me off from the others. I'm also a steel fabrication worker and a member of the United Steelworkers of America. I don't think there have been many steelworkers running for governor these past few years either.

And as if that weren't enough to make me different from my Democratic and Republican opponents, I am also currently on strike, along with 300 or so other members of USWA Local 2789, against Pittsburgh-Des Moines Steel Company.

A striking steelworker, running on the Socialist Workers Party ticket for governor. An unlikely candidate for the highest office in the Commonwealth, you might think. Maybe so. But if there's one message I would like to get across to you today, it is that the time has come for working people to enter politics on a program that fights for the needs of the working class.

It's a real pleasure for me to be here. I feel very much at home speaking to a meeting of miners. As a working person who has to punch a time clock every day—at least when I'm not on strike—there's no one I'd rather be among than industrial workers, the people who keep the country running.

'Which side are you on?'

As a unionist who has had to hit the bricks to force a half-decent contract out of a heartless, hard-nosed company, there's no one I'd rather be talking to than other unionists who know the hardships of a long strike.


And as a socialist candidate who is seeking your endorsement for the office of governor, there is no one I'd rather have judge me—my platform and the record of my party—than a room full of coal miners who've been betrayed time and again by Democratic and Republican politicians.

Today the question is posed—just


'The time has come for working people to enter politics'

vote Socialist

"The working class keeps the country running—the working class should run the country"



ZOLA
FOR GOVERNOR



BERMAN
FOR Lt. Governor

Jobs for all
-Shorten the workweek, no loss in pay
-Stop the attack on women's rights
-Fund Medicaid abortions
-Ratify the ERA
-Full equality for Blacks & Puerto Ricans
-No to the death penalty
-Affirm quotas in hiring & education
-Desegregate the schools
-Shift the tax burden to the corporate rich
-No cutbacks in social services
-Full funding for education
HUMAN NEEDS BEFORE PROFITS

In 26 states plus Washington the Socialist Workers Party is a class alternative to the big Democratic and Republican parties. In Pittsburgh, a steelworker, Mark Zola outlines the socialist program.

By Kipp Dawson

PITTSBURGH—It's Wednesday, September 6. Normally, Mark Zola, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Pennsylvania, would be at his machine in the steel fabrication shop where he works.

But his United Steelworkers Local 2789 is on strike. Zola has spent hours on the picket line this week, and he plans to spend today on the campaign trail.

We begin with an afternoon visit to another steel picket line. The mostly women work force at ABCO in Irwin has voted to organize USWA Local 13864. The management has refused to recognize the union, forcing the workers out on strike.

Steelworkers from many of the mills around Pittsburgh have joined the picket line at ABCO to show support.

When Zola and I arrive, three strikers are on picket duty. They welcome us, accept campaign literature and *Militants*. Zola talks with them about the strike. They express their appreciation for all the people who've come by to help.

Zola talks about his strike, about his campaign, about the idea of a labor party.

One woman especially likes the labor party, agreeing when Zola says, "Your boss probably gives money to both the Democrats and Republicans. It's suicidal for us to vote for the candidates our bosses control."

They wave as we leave, thanking Zola for his pledge to return.

Now it's nearly 3:30 p.m. As our route takes us across the Monongahela River, Zola notices the next exit is for Monessen, site of a big Wheeling-Pittsburgh steel mill.

It's about shift-change time, so we detour. We cut off the road and follow the river until the huge mill looms before us.

'A steelworker for governor!'

The evening shift has begun to gather at the main gate. Zola goes up to a group of steelworkers, introduces himself, tells them a little about his strike, and gives them campaign material.

"Hey, this guy's a steelworker and

he's running for governor!" one of them calls to his buddies.

"Man, you've got a lot cut out for you!" another says to Zola.

Zola explains we *all* have a lot cut out for us, taking on the bosses and their parties.

"You're not going to win," one tells him.

"But I *am* going to show that we workers *should* be running the country," Zola answers. He shows them the *Militant*. One buys a copy.

The daylight shift starts pouring out. We compete for attention with a guy handing out free chewing tobacco. There are hundreds of workers—many young, many Black, quite a few women—all rushing out at once.

Zola talks to as many as possible. He sells a *Militant* to a young Black worker, who gets his buddy to stop and buy one too, saying, "I used to work with the Young Socialist Alliance when I was a student at Pitt [University of Pittsburgh]. I went to Boston with them to protest school segregation there. I've been thinking about getting in touch with them again. Hey, it's good to see you here!"

Zola discovers that he was on the same Boston bus as the young steelworker. He gets the steelworker's name and phone number, and they arrange to talk again about Zola's campaign.

Back on the road, we've still got time before the evening meeting we're heading for in the southwestern Pennsylvania coalfields. We decide to go to California, a mining town with a big state college campus. Many miners and their children go to school there, and it has a large Black student body.

The Young Socialist Alliance national convention is scheduled for Pittsburgh at the end of December, and Zola is spreading the word about it as he campaigns, urging students to attend.

So we go to the college. Classes won't begin for a week, but we put up posters around campus. We stop for a beer downtown at a tavern frequented by miners and students.

Across from us a young Black woman is adamantly explaining to her male friend how terrible Robert Casey, the Democratic candidate for lieutenant governor is. Zola apologizes for listening, introduces himself, and offers them some campaign literature.

They buy a *Militant*, explain they are leaders of the Black League on campus, and offer to set up a meeting for Zola. They also express interest in the tour of Black South African unionist, Drake Koka, when we point out a story on the tour in the *Militant*.

Before we leave, California is covered with campaign posters. We fol-

like it was in that old miners' song—*which side are you on?* On the side of the coal operators, steel corporations, utilities, and banks? Or on the side of the working class?

Capitalism, the economic system of the financial and industrial giants, is in deep trouble. It limps from crisis to crisis, while competition steadily increases both among corporations within the United States as well as among rival gangs of capitalists in different countries.

What this means for us is a drive by our employers to cut costs and get more work out of fewer workers. And so we see productivity schemes, attacks on safety and environmental standards, and layoffs. And at contract time, we see attempts to force "take away" contracts down our throats.

That is what was behind your strike. That is what's behind my strike. And that is fundamentally what is behind the strike of the miners in Stearns,

Kentucky, who have courageously fought for more than two years to win a UMWA contract.

Recently, the president of the United Auto Workers, Douglas Fraser, called this drive by employers a "one-sided class war" waged by big business against the working class.

In his comments at the time of his resignation from the top-level Labor-Management Board, Fraser said there was considerable pressure within the ranks of the UAW for the formation of a labor party. Many auto workers, he explained, had concluded that both the Democratic and Republican parties represented big business.

I would guess that many coal miners have reached the same conclusion. When the question was asked—which side are you on?—during your 110-day national strike, there was not a single Democrat or Republican to my knowledge who came out clearly and without qualification on the side of the miners.

On the contrary, we saw local public-utility commissions grant strike surcharges to the utilities. We saw governors send state police to protect scab coal. And we saw the president of the United States invoke the strikebreaking Taft-Hartley Act.

Loyalty to working class

The Socialist Workers Party answers the question—which side are you on?—very differently. Our only loyalty is to the working class. No matter what the issue, that's whose side we're on.

Let's begin with the question of unemployment, one of the most important facing Pennsylvania workers. Increased unemployment is a direct result of the productivity drive of the corporations. New technology is installed, and workers are laid off. Both the Democrats and Republicans say, "Let's make life easier for the corporations, and maybe they'll provide jobs."

The Socialist Workers Party has a different view. We think it's about time

that working people benefited from technological advances. We call for shortening the workweek at no loss in pay to provide jobs for all.

In addition, to protect our income from inflation, we say that all wages, Social Security, welfare, unemployment, and workers compensation benefits, as well as pensions, should have cost-of-living adjustments guaranteed by law.

We reject the notion that workers cause inflation. And we believe that all working people have a stake in supporting public employees, such as the postal workers, whom the government is now trying to make its scapegoats in the so-called war on inflation—just as the miners were the scapegoats last winter.

Another important issue in Pennsylvania is energy. As workers in the energy industry, you know that the wealthy handful who own and control energy make their decisions based on

Continued on next page

Time for working class politics'

...n, D.C., candidates of the ...e presenting a working-business politicians of the ...parties. In Pennsylvania, ...ndidate is Mark Zola, a ...he speech reprinted above, ...platform. The story below ...mpaign trail.



low the Monongahela River further south, deep into coal country.

A coal miner here—an official of his local—has arranged for officers from three other locals to get together with Zola tonight at a restaurant to discuss the socialist campaign.

They were all leaders of the coal strike. None belongs to any political organization. Socialist politics are new to them all.

They have union business to discuss as well. So for the next few hours the miners move, one by one, back and forth between two meetings. One table discusses union business; the other socialism with Zola.

Several of them tell similar versions of the story we heard from one local vice-president.

"I was a soldier in Vietnam," he said. "I went there all gung-ho to defend my country. But things weren't like I thought they'd be over there. My company was in combat. I looked around and saw myself surrounded by Blacks and Puerto Ricans and said to myself, 'What the hell am I doing here?'; and then, 'What the hell are any of us doing here?'"

"I left there with a lot of new questions about this country. But it was during the coal strike that I began to get really fed up with the way this country runs."

Now the idea that working people should run the country makes sense to him, and he wants to discuss it among as many miners as possible. He sees bringing Zola to the coalfields as a way to help do this.

The safety-committee head of another UMWA local invites Zola to campaign the following morning at his mine.

The miners in the restaurant are all particularly interested in the labor party. They say there is disgruntlement among the ranks about UMWA support to anti-union Democrats and Republicans. They want Zola to talk to their co-workers about the labor party.

Nicaragua, Peru

Across from us, at the meeting discussing union business, a couple of miners are arguing about the Nicaragua article on the front page of the *Militant*. One is pointing out to a skeptical buddy that it's important to know what's going on in Nicaragua because our government is going to try to get us involved, and we have to know that those people are on the same side as us.

He points to the article about the Peruvian miners, telling his friend to read about what's going on in the rest of the world.

It's getting late, and the daylight shift starts in a few hours. So we leave, the miners all taking campaign literature; some, *Militants*; and some, copies of the Pathfinder Press pamphlet, *The 110-day Coal Strike: Its Meaning for All Working People*.

We stay at the home of the miner who arranged the meeting. Everyone is tired, but full of things to talk about. We all note how new it is that miners are talking about a labor party, inviting socialists to talk to them, thinking about the political issues of racism and sexism and which class should rule.

Our friend has been reading the *Militant* for months now. He has bought a stack of socialist pamphlets from Pathfinder Press, ranging from Leon Trotsky on the Paris Commune to pamphlets on Ireland, the Mideast, Black rights, and women.

Questions about socialism

He has been talking about these ideas with his co-workers, and has run into questions.

"Like, what socialism will look like?"

he explains, "and how can we be sure it won't be like Russia?" He has ideas on how to answer these questions, but seeks our advice.

At 4:30 a.m. we reluctantly call it a night. By 7:15 Zola is in the lamp-house. This is where miners pick up their head lamps and flashlights on their way into the elevator that takes them down into the mine.

This is a large mine. As the midnight shift gets off and the daylight shift assembles, more than 150 miners take copies of Zola's literature, shake his hand, and listen to what he has to say.

Many are Black, some are women. Few have ever talked with a socialist before. There are those who are skeptical, but most are curious. Dozens of socialist brochures go down into the mine in the pockets of miners.

As we leave, we admire the "Vote Socialist Workers" posters that now surround the mine portal and adjoining towns. It's been quite some eighteen hours for the Pennsylvania Socialist Workers Party campaign.

Join the fight...

- for a government run by and in the interests of working people
- for a society free from racism, sexism, inflation, and unemployment
- for a world without war and devastation of our environment

- ☐ I want to join the Socialist Workers Party.
☐ Please send more information.
☐ Enclosed is \$2 for a ten-week subscription to the 'Militant.'

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____ Telephone _____

Send to SWP, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

...join the SWP

Continued from preceding page

what will be the most profitable, not on what is going to benefit working people.

And so we've seen layoffs at mines like the one in Bobtown [Pennsylvania]. We've seen the utilities engage in brazen ripoffs and open strikebreaking. We've seen one of the most expensive, inefficient, and deadly sources of energy—nuclear power—forced upon us by profit-crazed energy tsars.

And we've seen coal operators telling miners they must choose between jobs and enforcement of safety and environmental standards.

Nationalize the utilities

The Socialist Workers Party believes that control by a small group of energy barons over the power lifeline of our state is not a sensible way of dealing with this public resource.

We frankly think the time has come for working people to give serious thought to nationalizing the utilities and the entire energy industry under the democratic control of the workers in that industry.

Then, and only then, will the miners' demand become reality: Coal will be mined safely or not at all!

For years the issue of health care probably didn't come up at meetings like this. After all, the UMWA had one of the finest health-care programs in the country. Unfortunately, that has changed. And I understand that even the miners' clinics, once the pride of Appalachia, are in troubled waters.

The Socialist Workers Party believes that health care ought not to be a luxury that only the rich can afford. We are committed to fighting for a free, comprehensive, national health-care program.

In addition, we pledge all necessary support to the coalfield clinics so that they can continue to play a leading role in providing quality health care to poor and working people.

On the issue of taxes, you will find that here too we differ with our Democratic and Republican opponents. All the politicians are jumping on the bandwagon of California's Proposition 13. While the need for tax relief is real, Prop 13 is a fake and a fraud. It was conceived by one of Los Angeles's most powerful landlords, Howard Jarvis, for the purpose of giving tax relief primarily to the large corporate landowners and landlords.

The net result for the vast majority of the working class has been severe cutbacks in needed social services and

the prospect of substantial hikes in sales and income taxes.

The Socialist Workers Party is for a genuine tax relief program that shifts the *entire* burden of taxation off the backs of working-class homeowners, renters, and people on fixed incomes, and onto the corporations.

In 1976, six of the major steel corporations—many of them your employers—paid no federal income tax at all. And yet the steelworker or miner employed by these giants paid out up to a full one-third of his or her pay in taxes. We say, let's make the corporate tax evaders pay.

While my opponents avoid the issue of Black rights and women's rights like the plague, we believe it is an important issue that affects the entire working class.

The fact of the matter is that big business has grown rich off discrimination against Blacks and women. Corporations pocket billions every year because of unequal pay. And untold billions more have been stolen from us all because racism and sexism have weakened our unions.

Racial and sex discrimination is the bosses' game. It is part of that age-old strategy of divide and conquer that we as unionists must reject if our unions are ever to be strong and united.

Mine workers are committed to the principle of not crossing picket lines. You understand that an injury to one is an injury to all, and that only in the unity of all working people is there strength.

We believe that the time has come for the entire union movement to adopt another principle: the defense of full equality for Blacks and women.

The Socialist Workers Party supports affirmative-action programs with quotas in education and employment. We support passage of the Equal Rights Amendment for women and extension of the time limit for its ratification.

These are working-class issues. These are miners' issues. Because as long as the employers keep us divided along race and sex lines, we will be weak. The inspiring example of Black steelworkers from Baltimore and Black auto workers from Detroit bringing food to Appalachian coal miners last winter gave us just a glimpse of the potential power of a united working class.

Human needs before profits

Now, the platform I've outlined is an ambitious one. It is based on the idea that human needs should come before

corporate profits. It takes the procorporation platform of the Democrats and Republicans head on.

But if we are to defend ourselves in this "one-sided class war" that big business is waging against working people, we need to mobilize our troops.

That is why in this election campaign we are stressing the need for the union movement to launch a mass party of labor. Because it's a labor party, squarely based on the power of our unions and democratically controlled by our memberships, that can unite our entire class to defend our interests and break the power of the corporate rich.

Our campaign has a slogan: The working class keeps the country running—the working class should run the country.

We should but we don't. In spite of our great numbers and our central role in the economy, the sad fact is that we are ruled by a small wealthy elite.

Every time we make a move to defend our rights and living standards, we come smack up against the bosses' laws, the bosses' cops, and the bosses' judges. You had to deal with it last winter. Two weeks ago, I, along with forty-four of my co-workers, were hauled before a judge in Pittsburgh for allegedly violating an injunction.

It's like trying to fight with one hand tied behind our backs.

What we need is a working-class government, from the city halls of every village and town to the Congress in Washington. And the only way we're going to get it is to begin to flex our political muscle by launching a mass labor party.

The kind of party I'm talking about would work for us 365 days a year both on the picket lines and in the legislatures. The kind of party I'm talking about could organize a real fight for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay, for a national health-care program, for strict safety laws, and for genuine labor law reform.

Open the books

The kind of party I'm talking about could force open the books of the corporations to bring to light their real profits, their tax swindles, and their political bribery.

It seems to me that the real issue before COMPAC is whether or not the UMWA is going to continue to pour money and energy into the Democratic Party, despite the pathetic results. Perhaps a serious discussion of labor running its own candidates on its own platform would be in order.

The Socialist Workers Party would welcome and endorse labor candidates running for office on a working-class program.

The UMWA has taken the lead many times in the history of the U.S. labor movement. You took the lead in the formation of the CIO in the 1930s. You set the pace in health-care programs in the 1940s. You were in the forefront of the fight for union democracy in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

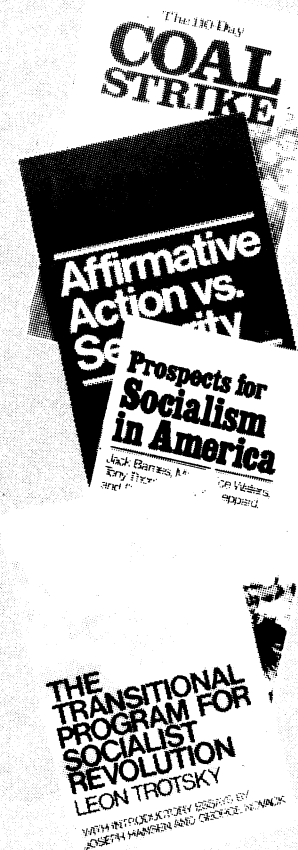
And I have confidence that the UMWA can take the lead in breaking the chains that tie labor to the boss-controlled parties.

I hope that I have been able to convey to you where the Socialist Workers Party stands on the issues in this election campaign. But, you may say, talk is cheap, and it's action that counts. I agree.

I'm proud to hold up the record of my party in supporting the coal strike last winter. Our members all pitched in to aid the striking miners. I was active in gathering support of western Pennsylvania trade unionists for the coal miners. The *Militant* ran front-page articles throughout the strike urging all working people to support the UMWA.

We're proud to have supported you in your time of need. Some candidates may be more comfortable drinking martinis with coal operators at the Duquesne Club in Pittsburgh. But, as for myself, anytime you want me in the coalfields, I'll be there.

Books and pamphlets



The 110-Day Coal Strike: Its Meaning for All Working People by Nancy Cole and Andy Rose. 42 pp., \$0.75.

Affirmative Action vs. Seniority by Linda Jenness, et. al. 30 pp., \$0.50.

Prospects for Socialism in America. Five leaders of the Socialist Workers Party discuss perspectives for building a mass socialist party that can lead the working class to victory. 266 pp., \$2.95.

The Transitional Program for Socialist Revolution by Leon Trotsky. Programmatic document of the Fourth International, world revolutionary movement. 269 pp., \$3.95.

A participant's account of the 1930s battles of the Minneapolis Teamsters.

By Farrell Dobbs

Teamster Rebellion, 192 pp., \$3.95.

Teamster Power, 255 pp., \$4.45.

Teamster Politics, 256 pp., \$4.45.

Teamster Bureaucracy, 304 pp., \$4.45.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Please include \$0.25 for postage and handling, \$0.50 for orders of \$5 or more.



Campaigning for socialism

SWP files petitions in New York

"The Socialist Workers Party filed petitions with over 33,000 signatures at the State Board of Elections this morning," Albany TV station Channel 10, the ABC affiliate there, reported September 12. When the signatures are validated, the SWP's statewide ticket will be on the November ballot.

Dianne Feeley is the SWP candidate for governor, with Kevin Kellogg the candidate for lieutenant governor and Ray Markey for attorney general.

Channel 10 went on to describe the SWP platform: "defending affirmative action; no to stiffer penalties for crime; replacing the Democratic and Republican parties with a labor party based on the trade unions."

On the ballot in Illinois

The Illinois State Board of Elections voted September 7 to certify the Socialist Workers Party for the November ballot. SWP campaign supporters collected 30,000 signatures, 5,000 more than required. The SWP slate, headed by Patricia Grogan, a steelworker at U.S. Steel's South Works, will appear third on the ballot, after the Republicans and Democrats.

SWP and SP campaign in Milwaukee

A dozen activists from the Socialist Workers Party and the Socialist Party, USA, campaigned door to door in Wisconsin's 9th State Senate district on Saturday, September 9. The SP is running Joel Miller in the 9th District. Adrienne Kaplan and Bill Breihan, SWP candidates for governor and lieutenant governor, are calling for a vote for Miller.

Socialist campaigners will continue joint campaigning each Saturday between now and the November elections.



JOEL MILLER

Machinist runs for Congress

"The Democrats have left a trail of broken promises to labor this year," says Mary Smith, Socialist Workers candidate for Congress in Seattle. "No full employment. No national health plan."

"Jimmy Carter personally sabotaged efforts for a higher minimum wage and invoked the slave labor Taft-Hartley Act to break the miners strike. The Democratic Party is dead end for all working people."

Smith is a member of International Association of Machinists District 751. She works at Boeing Aircraft, the fourth-largest war contractor. "Boeing has a high level of technology and a very skilled work force," she says. "These resources should be used for human needs, not for human destruction and private profit."

Smith's platform calls for an end to all military spending and for putting that money to use solving the problems working people face: in housing, jobs, and schools.

Smith's Democratic opponent, Norm Dicks, has been endorsed by the IAM leadership. Dicks didn't say a word against Carter's use of Taft-Hartley and was absent from the picket lines during last fall's strike. He also voted for the neutron bomb.

Smith explains that Dick's voting record shows why working people need their own party, a labor party, based on the power of the trade unions.

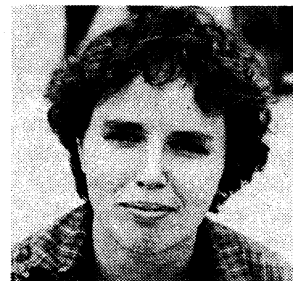
Steelworker hosts socialist campaign rally

A September 9 campaign rally for Lucy Matthews, a steelworker and the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress in California's 29th District (the Los Angeles area), drew eighty-five people to the home of Lalo Sanchez, a United Steelworkers union official. Sanchez has endorsed Matthews's candidacy.

Matthews's Democratic opponent is Augustus Hawkins, coauthor of the Humphrey-Hawkins "full employment" bill. The law sets 4 percent unemployment as a five-year goal—which would leave at least 5 million people out of work.

"The Humphrey-Hawkins Bill is no answer to unemployment," Matthews told the rally. "I propose an emergency bill to guarantee the right to a job for everyone."

Also speaking was an Iranian feminist and supporter of *Payam Daneshjoo*, a Persian-language anti-shah magazine published in New York.



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky
LUCY MATTHEWS

Calif. Teamsters' strike firm in third month

By Jon Olmsted

OAKLAND, Calif.—Despite beatings, arrests, the hit-and-run murder of a picket, and ten weeks without paychecks, northern California Teamsters are holding firm in the tenth week of their strike against four major supermarket chains: Safeway, Lucky's, Ralph's and Alpha Beta.

On Wednesday, September 13, 300 pickets massed at Lucky's computerized distribution center in Vacaville. The massive picket line forced Lucky management to shut down the center one and a half hours early. Hundreds of scabs were sent home to avoid confronting the strikers. This victory was won in the face of a court injunction limiting the number of pickets to ten.

Picket lines have been extended to distribution centers in Los Angeles and Denver. Workers in these centers are honoring the lines.

The food employers have recruited more than 1,000 scabs and imported more than 1,200 management personnel from as far east as Washington, D.C. Hundreds of gun-toting security guards are used to harass strikers.

The secretary-treasurer of Teamsters Local 315 described the situation as follows: "We're facing this big, rich, well-financed [Food Employees] Council, which is backed by big business elsewhere. That's why they can bring in strike breakers, get off-duty cops, run full-page ads, use the radio every hour on the hour to call for people to come to work who are 'not afraid in a labor dispute.' It's the most brazen call for strikebreakers I've ever heard."

The curtailing of deliveries and turning away of customers at the stores is costing the chains millions of dollars. Some stores report a drop of 60 percent in business. Production at the distribution centers has been cut throughout northern California.

A central issue in the strike is speedup. Safeway stores have instituted a computerized program demanding a

fixed number of units loaded per hour by each worker. The workload has been doubled. The pace is so brutal that in the first months of operation, eighty-five workers at the Richmond plant were forced out on disability.

Speedup is at the heart of the drive for profits in the grocery industry. The outcome of this strike will have a big impact on Teamsters and other unionists throughout the West. A bulletin issued by the strikers puts it best:

"In northern California, we have always enjoyed one of the best grocery contracts in the West. . . . If the employers are successful in taking these [benefits] away in northern California, the other areas in the West will fall."

Yet when workers at the Safeway Richmond distribution center struck on July 18, Western Conference of Teamsters officials attempted to force the local back to work. They pressured Teamster Join Council 7, a local Teamster governing body, to rescind strike sanction and threatened to place Local 315 in receivership. But Local 315 was able to garner support from other locals in the Bay Area, defy the international, and win back the strike sanction.

William Grami, chief negotiator for the Western Conference of Teamsters, tried to use the murder of picket Randy Hill to force a settlement on the strikers. He announced the deal to the media before even consulting local leaders. The pact called for binding arbitration. Under pressure from the membership, local leaders denounced the "settlement" and refused to accept it.

Many strikers and officials are predicting a long strike. The full strength of the 40,000 members of the Teamsters in the Bay Area has yet to be tapped. To build effective pickets at distribution centers in northern California, Los Angeles, and Denver will require a massive mobilization of thousands of Teamster members.

The outcome of this strike will have an impact on major contracts coming up in freight, auto, and warehouse. All labor has a stake in the California Teamsters' fight.

Jon Olmsted is a member of Teamsters Local 70 in northern California.



Militant/Joe Ryan
Food employers are recruiting hundreds of scabs and goons to use against Teamster strikers.

Rail workers under attack

By Dick Roberts

The U.S. railroad industry has launched a silent campaign to drastically reduce the size of the railway labor force and to greatly intensify the work that the remaining railroad workers have to do.

It is a campaign that threatens the standard of living and the lives of rail workers across the country.

This campaign made headway in the tentative national settlement announced in mid-July between the rail industry and four rail unions.

While the new contract gives slim outright wage increases—14 percent in three years—it includes seven possible cost-of-living adjustments which could help rail workers covered by it try to keep up with inflation.

But the central significance of the national contract is that it is a green light for employers to settle the size of work crews on a local basis. If we look at the overall goals of the industry it is easy to see why they prefer such a road-by-road approach.

A top priority of the railroads is to reduce the size of the operating crews. Between terminals, trains are typically operated on the roads and in yards by an engineer and three crew members. The idea is to reduce these crews—both road and yard crews—by a third, to only two workers.

The railroad owners are also pushing for the operating crews to do yard work. This would mean a drastic reduction in the number of yard crews. The road crews would have to do dangerous yard work even after they had been out eight or ten hours on the road.

Further, the companies want to reduce the numbers of workers in roundhouses, where engine repair work is done.

Norfolk and Western

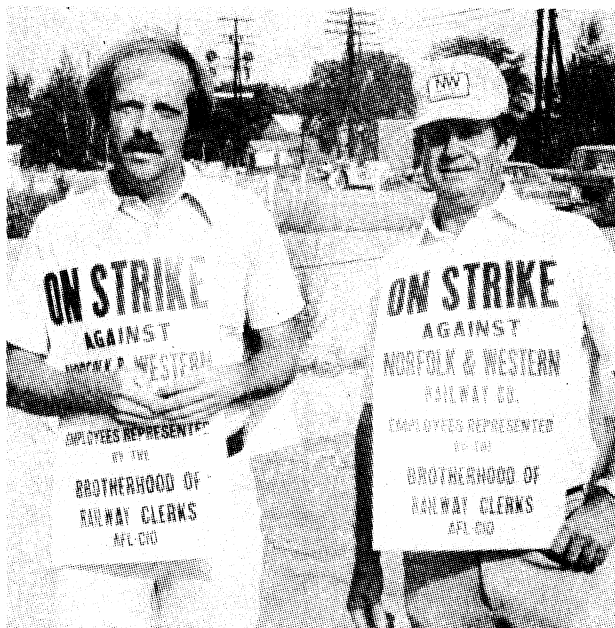
This profit drive is invading clerks' work too. BRAC (Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks) members have been out on strike since July 10 against the Norfolk and Western Railway to protest schemes that would computerize thousands of their jobs out of existence.

In pushing its across-the-board antilabor offensive, the railroads attempt to take advantage of the fact that there are many railroad lines facing a battery of different rail unions.

Some of the railroads, most notably those in the Northeast and several in the Midwest, are bankrupt. They are operating under court receivership. But the railroads come on as though the whole industry is broke.

Actually about 24 percent of the rail lines are in financial difficulty, with half of this accounted for by Conrail alone. The railroads in the South, in the West, and many of them in the middle western part of the country are in good shape. Some are highly profitable.

The outlines of the railroads' offensive can be found in the pages of *Railway Age*, a biweekly trade journal of the industry. When national contract talks opened in June 1977, *Railway Age* cited a rail



Clerks, with support of other rail unions, have been on strike against the Norfolk & Western Railway since July 10 over job security.



Militant/David McDonald

official as saying "it is time to put an end to hiring new people to occupy positions that are unnecessary or in which they are restricted by rules from realizing their potential."

The magazine emphasized the strategy of seeking to settle the work rules questions on a road-by-road basis and the need to keep quiet about it.

United Transportation Union

Railway Age admitted that the United Transportation Union, representing operating crews, would be hard hit because of the proposals to reduce the size of crews.

But it declared, "When he was president of UTU, Charles Luna made a point of protesting that . . . work rules were things to be negotiated on an individual-road basis; his successor, Al H. Chesser, has queued [sic] to the same line.

"The record shows . . . that negotiations on individual roads have, in fact, produced a number



of rules agreements, experimental and otherwise, that have been of some help and of little hurt."

Railway Age cautioned, "The hope is that both sides, management and labor, can keep the drums muffled—with blaring trumpets nowhere to be heard."

Chesser and other misleaders of the rail unions are playing right along with the "negotiate separately and keep quiet" strategy of the companies.

In a March 1978 letter to UTU members who work for Conrail, Chesser explained that the complex negotiations facing Conrail workers weren't being explained in *UTU News*, the union paper, because they "and other related problems regarding Conrail are of no concern to the membership on other railroads."

And Chesser is beating the drums for the road-by-road settlements of the "crew consist," or crew size, question in the national negotiations.

But Chesser is dead wrong. Rail workers are concerned with the problems facing each of the various unions and on the different lines. "Negotiate separately and keep quiet" won't work if the ranks are informed about the breadth and scope of the rail industry attack.

Significantly, Chesser has exactly the same position not only as *Railway Age*, but as the managers of the Florida East Coast Railroad, the most notorious union-busting railroad company of them all.

Winfred Thornton, FEC president, told *Railway Age* in May, "When you have negotiations involving the whole industry, then you're inviting intervention by the government. But if you do it road by

road, and you shut one down, it wouldn't hurt anything."

In April 1978, as the national negotiations were in progress, the rail bosses made headway on their scheme by obtaining a local work-rule settlement with the UTU on the bankrupt Milwaukee Road, headquartered in Chicago.

It gave the Milwaukee Road the right to operate systemwide, road-and-yard, with one-and-one train crews—one conductor and one brakeman, or one foreman and one helper—reducing the total operating crews from four to three.

This reduction of jobs would take place entirely through attrition. Workers on the reduced crews would receive productivity bonuses depending on their seniority.

Such a massive elimination of jobs hurts workers who already have the jobs, in addition to depriving future workers of job opportunities.

Perhaps most important, this defeat for the union on the local level will have ramifications throughout the rails. This is because the speedup drive is not limited to the Milwaukee Road or any other one or even several lines. It is aimed at the entire industry.

Railway Age could not conceal its excitement about the Milwaukee Road settlement. Gus Welty, one of the editors, wrote, "You look at the crew-consist agreement between Milwaukee Road and the United Transportation Union, and you resist the temptation to call it breakthrough, precedent, pattern. But it is impressive, an impressive piece of work. . . ."

Welty indicated Chesser's role: "Milwaukee and UTU made a low-key announcement of the agreement late on the day before Good Friday, and there was no big press bash with Chesser and Milwaukee Trustee Stanley E.G. Hillman standing arm in arm and singing 'Solidarity Forever'—but Al Chesser had to know what was happening every step of the way . . . so that Milwaukee agreement had [to have the union's] approval-stamp."

National contract

The new national contract—so far agreed to by negotiators for the UTU, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen and Sheet Metal Workers' International Association—pushes the antilabor offensive a step further.

It throws the crew-consist question down to the local level where the bosses hope to further divide and confuse rail workers into accepting the speedup scheme.

In coming weeks, the *Militant* will publish a series of articles on the rail industry, its history and present condition.

We'll take up such questions as who actually owns the railroads? What do railroad bankruptcies really mean? What is the government's role in the operation of the rails? What are Conrail and Amtrak? What's the significance of the union-busting operation on the Florida East Coast?

We'll look at some of the important labor struggles against the railroads, and along the way recommend some books that would be of further use in learning about this industry.

(next: Vanderbilt and the New York Central)

Conrail pact

Conrail announced September 14 it had signed a new agreement with the United Transportation Union that will reduce crew size on freight trains.

The pact is similar to the one agreed to with the Milwaukee Road earlier this year. It is further confirmation that the rail bosses intend to institute this form of speed-up throughout the industry.

The Conrail agreement allows crews to consist of one conductor and one brakeman, instead of one conductor and two brakemen. Some 4,500 jobs would be eliminated. The agreement also provides for a "productivity fund" and for four dollars extra pay every time a crew member works on a reduced crew.

According to Associated Press, management officials see the new agreement as a sign that the UTU may be ready to reduce the size of all its train crews.

It's a "bright spot in Conrail's outlook," commented a rail "expert" for the Department of Transportation.

But for rail workers, it's more like a cancerous growth that threatens to spread.

World Outlook

News, analysis, and discussion of international political events

Hugo Blanco's speech in Tacna

'We are calling for the workers to take power'



Demonstrators welcome Blanco back from exile July 16

Fred Murphy/Intercontinental Press-Inprecor

In Peru, everybody talks about the "Hugo Blanco phenomenon." Imprisoned or exiled almost without interruption during the past fifteen years, Blanco became a symbol, representing both the repressive character of capitalist rule in Peru and the determination of the workers and peasants to continue their struggles for justice.

Blanco's prestige among the masses helped bring an electoral victory for the Workers, Peasants, Students, and People's Front (FOCEP)—a victory that made this front, composed of relatively small socialist groups, into the major left-wing force in the Constituent Assembly.

Faced with this vote, and with the deepening radicalization of the Peruvian masses, the military regime was forced to let Blanco return to Peru. Blanco gave the following speech, which has been abridged for reasons of space, in the city of Tacna on August 25.

Fifteen thousand people assembled to hear Blanco in this city of 70,000. It was the largest gathering in Tacna's history. Two days later Peruvian dictator Francisco Morales Bermúdez gave his own speech in Tacna to try to counteract Blanco's impact.

Why has Blanco had such an effect on the class struggle in Peru? What is the secret of the "Hugo Blanco phenomenon"?

Few—except Blanco himself—will deny that he has extraordinary abilities as a political leader. But in addition to his individual characteristics, Blanco represents an idea, a program. The Peruvian masses look to Blanco and find in his program a faithful and systematic expression of their most profound aspirations.

The following, in Blanco's own words, is the secret of the "Hugo Blanco phenomenon": the Trotskyist program for socialist revolution in Peru.

[Applause, shouts of "Hugo Blanco to Power!"]

Compañeros, we see each other again for the first time since 1966. It was then I made my first

acquaintance with Tacna. Today is my second visit. When I first came here I was in handcuffs [shouts of "No!"] and being escorted by the repressive forces. I could not walk through the streets then because I was locked up in a jail, which I had the good fortune to be able to visit again today. [Laughter and applause.]

And why were we brought here to be tried? Why did the controlled press—which was not as controlled then as it is today—say that we were murderers?

The peasants of La Convención, like the peasants throughout our country, had been crushed under the weight of oppression for centuries, serving the big landlords. They had been working for years for the benefit of others. In La Convención, the peasants were given a piece of land to work for themselves, and in exchange for this they had to work for two weeks for the landlord without getting a penny in wages.

And when a piece of land that had been given to a peasant began to produce coffee or tea or fruit, the landlord kicked him off the land and kept the coffee trees, the tea bushes, the cacao and fruit trees.

The land had been there before the landlords were born. And it had been made productive by the peasants who were working, or by their parents or grandparents. There was no reason why the landlords should become owners of the land. It was as if they took out a title to the air we breathed. It was as if they made themselves the owners of the roads, of the sea. They did not make this land, and so they could not own it.

Nonetheless, they used the land to enslave the peasants. And that was not all. The peasants suffered many other forms of exploitation besides.

For example, the women and children also had to work without pay for the landlord. The landlords did not allow any schools on their haciendas. They would not let the peasants wear shoes, saying that shoes were only for the bosses. On one occasion, a landlord took a peasant's shoes away from him because he had the audacity to hire a teacher to teach his children how to read.

On another occasion, this same landlord,

Romainville, who was the landlord of the hacienda covered by the union I belonged to, ordered a peasant to fetch a horse to carry six arrobas [150 pounds] of coffee. And when the peasant could not find a horse, he came back to say: "Father, I could not find a horse." He had to call the landlord "father." [Shouts of "Down with him!" "Down with him!" "Down with the landlords!"]

The landlord told him, "Oh, you couldn't find a horse? So, you get down on all fours." And he ordered the overseer to put a pack and bit on him and load him with six arrobas of coffee, and he had to crawl around the patio on all fours.

And what were the compañeros of the peasant who was being treated that way doing? They were looking on in fear and trembling; they didn't dare say a word. They didn't dare protest.

But everything on this earth comes to an end. And the fear of these peasants also came to an end.

All the peasants in the valley of La Convención united. In the beginning there were only a few peasants. In the beginning, it was only the peasants of eight or nine haciendas. They began to organize, to form unions, to present lists of demands. It was the same story we all know so well. Form no. 5, form no. 6, the inspector of labor, the judge, the court clerk, the notary, the higher court, the supreme court, and on and on. [Laughter.] The same story as always. [More laughter.]

So, what was the result of all this? The same as always. [Laughter.] The landlord committed abuses against the peasants, and when the peasants appealed to the courts, they were the ones who ended up in jail. The landlords got the peasants' land and the fruit of their labor.

And the press, of course, was saying bad things about agitators, who were supposed to be disrupting production. It was saying good things about the landlords, who were supposed to be building the good name of Cuzco and increasing the productivity of our land.

But the peasants got tired of so much paper shuffling. They got tired of making complaints to

Continued on next page

...Blanco

Continued from preceding page

judges and courts and finding that they were the ones who had to go to jail. They began to hold meetings like this one. They began to use the microphones to sing about their lives and their landlords. They began to tell about all the crimes that had been committed against the peasants.

The peasants began to develop a feeling of power,

'The whole province was paralyzed. Nothing moved on the roads. Nothing moved over the bridges.'

the peasants who could not vote in these last elections because they are not supposed to have any civic consciousness.

But they have enough civic consciousness to end this exploitation. These peasants didn't need to know how to speak Spanish, they didn't need to know how to read and write. They began to denounce these crimes in our language, in Quechua, which is the language of the peasants in Cuzco.

And so, these peasants began to develop a feeling of power, because they saw that they were multitudes. They saw that they did not have to remain on their knees. They saw that they could raise their heads.

Power of masses

We are going to see this process repeated many times, *compañeros*.

Just as there have been denunciations here, we are going to hold a lot of other rallies. And from this or other platforms in the new towns [the slums ringing the big cities], you yourselves, the workers, and every section of the exploited people, are going to speak out against the abuses that are being inflicted on them.

So, what happened after that in the valley of La Convención? Strikes began. The whole province was paralyzed. Nothing moved on the roads. Nothing moved over the bridges. There were peasant picket groups throughout the province, and they made sure things were shut down. Both men and women stood guard in these picket groups under the heavy rains that fall at the jungle's edge.

When anyone said, "You poor peasants, your wicked leaders have made you stay out here in the rain," they replied: "We have spent years out here in the rain, working for the landlord. We are still out here in the rain, but now it is to make them respect our rights, and so we can stay out here in the rain all year long." [Applause, shouts of "Bravo!"]

That was how the struggle continued. The more we fought, the bigger the concessions, the more victories we won, the more the peasant organization grew, until we went from the few locals we had to a federation of about 150 unions, including the workers on 150 haciendas, and many other workers in the rest of the department of Cuzco and the other departments.



Blanco during his trial in Tacna in 1966

And what happened then? We had been appealing for justice year after year, demanding that the authorities decree that the peasants should do less work for the landlords. And then, one day, the union that represented precisely those peasants who were most exploited, those people that I saw trembling as the landlord whipped one of their brothers all day long, who had watched one of their brothers be forced to crawl on his hands and knees like a beast of burden, this union started the agrarian reform in La Convención. It was not like Belaunde's agrarian reform, or Velasco's, or Beltran's, or the agrarian reform decreed by any such gents. No!

Peasants take land

This agrarian reform was carried out by the peasants themselves. They decided not to go back to work for the landlord. They decided that each one of them was the owner of the land he was working, and that they would not give the landlord a day's work for it and not even a penny, since he didn't put the land there.

Then the peasants decided to work the land that the landlord had left uncultivated. But they were going to tend these coffee trees and all these crops, not for the landlord, but to maintain a school and to build a septic tank, and to help the families of the imprisoned leaders. And finally, they were going to cultivate these crops to buy guns to defend themselves against the repressive forces.

The peasants also decided to divide up all this land that had been left unproductive, that was not being worked by anybody.

That is the kind of agrarian reform that was carried out by the peasants in La Convención and

'We rose up for democracy, for the rights of the people, against a military dictatorship.'

Lares. And it was my union, the Chaupimayo union, that started it, but it spread to the entire valley of La Convención and Lares.

Of course, the landlords weren't going to stand for this. The government was not going to stand for this. The capitalists in the country were not going to stand for this, and still less the imperialists.

The capitalists and the government weren't very concerned about this handful of landlords. They didn't care if they went under. The problem for them was that if they let the peasants in La Convención carry out their agrarian reform in peace and take the land they were working, all the peasants in Peru would learn this lesson and do the same thing. The workers in the factories would also learn this lesson, and take them over and throw out the bosses. Because they were already learning that they didn't need the bosses, and that they could get

along quite nicely without the bosses. [Applause, shouts of "Bravo!"]

So, the repressive forces came. The landlords were in a frenzy. They started carrying guns, and began threatening the peasants. The peasants who were threatened came to the peasant federation to complain. They told us, "Compañeros, we are being threatened." And the peasant federation people told them: "Look, *compañeros*, go to the Guardia Civil headquarters and complain."

The peasants went to the Guardia Civil, and they were told: "You miserable clods, the bosses have the right to shoot you down like dogs, because you have taken their land away from them and you don't want to work for them."

Then the peasants came back to the federation. They raised the same complaint again. And the delegate assembly of the federation of peasants of La Convención decided that since the landlords were threatening to kill the peasants, although the peasants had carried out the land reform in a completely peaceful way and without any bloodshed, and since the Guardia Civil, who were supposed to be the upholders of public order, did not want to maintain the peace, the only recourse the peasants had left was to defend themselves.

In a general assembly of the peasants of La Convención and Lares, it was decided to organize a committee for armed self-defense to repel the attacks of the repressive forces. I was given responsibility for organizing these defense committees. [Applause and shouts of "Viva!" and "Bravo!"]

Democracy in action

So, I didn't do this out of a lack of respect for democracy, as these gentlemen have a habit of saying. I did no more than accept an assignment given to me by the masses of workers. Democracy means accepting the will of the majority and not the military, who are sitting up there for some unknown reason.

So, the most democratic thing there was was the mandate I got from the peasant masses to organize defense committees to protect them against the violent and undemocratic attacks carried out by a military dictatorship that no one elected. So, we rose up for democracy, for the rights of the people, against a military dictatorship. That is what we did. And that is the great crime they talk about.

Some *compañeros* are in jail today. Why? Because they weren't killed. That's their crime. [Laughter.]

What kind of weapons did we defend ourselves with? They claim that we got guns from Russia, from Cuba, or from Mars and Saturn, I don't know where. [Laughter.] That wasn't the way it was.

The peasants living along the edge of the jungle have shotguns and .22 carbines to defend themselves from the wild animals there. And since still more savage animals came out, they started to defend themselves. [Laughter and applause, shouts of "Bravo!" and "Workers, peasants, to power!"]

So, no one sent us a thing from outside the country. It was the people themselves, realizing that they had to defend themselves, who set in motion a mechanism for finding things and established their own law and order. A people that wants to fight finds ways to do it. It doesn't need anyone sending it things from the outside. That is what happened in Vietnam. And that is what happened among the peasants in La Convención.

And with these guns, the peasants fought back against the repressive forces. The resistance did not last a long time, it was not on a really large scale, it was not a vast thing. It was a beginning. But this beginning was an example, because it showed that when the people are organized, they find ways to defend themselves against the repressive forces.

It showed that the repressive forces can be stopped. And the peasants of La Convención and Lares were the only ones that could stop them. Because although they took many of us prisoner and killed other *compañeros*, they were still checkmated, and today this land is still in the hands of the peasants.

So, it was shown that it could be done and that we could do it. The problem was that at that time, this was done in only one province. What happened in the rest of Peru? In the other parts of the country, there was no such organization and no such struggle. But what was the mood in the rest of Peru?

Mass support

We thought that there was nothing going on in the rest of Peru. Later, when I was in prison, and the few times that I have been a free man in Peru,



Demonstration of Quechua peasants during struggle in La Convención

because they just let me come to my country for vacations [*laughter, applause, shouts of "Bravo!"*], I learned that there had been support for us in every part of the country.

So, what happened? Why did they let us fight alone and be crushed in La Convención if they were all with us? Because there was no organization. What could the peasants in the north, the peasants in the center, or the workers in Lima do? What could they do to help us when we were fighting? By what means could their support and solidarity reach us? What could they give us?

What was lacking was organization. It was because there was no party that could organize the workers throughout the country that La Convención remained isolated. We learned this through experience, *compañeros*. That is why we have to build FOCEP in every corner of Peru, so

'What was lacking was organization. There was no party that could organize the workers throughout the country.'

that we will have an instrument that can unite all of us, like a single fist, so that we can fight the way we must—as we are doing today and in the forms that will be necessary later on.

That's what the party is for us—the organization that unites all the workers in their struggles, leading them toward the seizure of power and socialism. For us the party is not just an organization to carry on electoral propaganda, to put forward its viewpoint in elections, to get our candidates elected members of the Constituent Assembly, or to get *compañero* Hugo Blanco elected president in 1980.

No, that is not what the party is for us. The party for us is the organization that is going to knit together the entire body, like a nervous system, the party is going to be the network of nerves uniting the workers throughout Peru, the peasants, the white-collar workers, the itinerant peddlers, the teachers, the peddlers in the markets, and so on, that will unite all of us and lead our struggle against the common enemy. That is what the party is, and that is why we have to build it. That is what FOCEP is for and what the parties in FOCEP are for.

I refer specifically to the parties in FOCEP, because it is a front that includes different parties, and among ourselves we have some differing opinions. But we all agree that we have to form a broad front in which we work together and that we have to fight so that the workers can take power and so that we can achieve socialism. On this, there are no differences.

So *compañeros*, in this respect we are in a better position than we were in the 1960s. Because we are

already building the political organization that can help the workers take power. That is one of the lessons we drew from the experience of the 1960s.

Trial in Tacna

So, what role did Tacna play in all this? Why did they take us to Tacna? There were no haciendas here. Nor was the headquarters of the military region located here. The headquarters of the military region was in Arequipa. I was held in that city for years, without a trial. This was despite the fact that according to the law they had to try me within six months. But I was kept in jail there for three years. The events had occurred in Cuzco, so the trial should have been there, or at least in Arequipa.

But what happened was that these gentlemen were afraid. They realized that the people in Cuzco and the people in Arequipa already knew the truth.

They knew that if they put us on trial in those cities, it would have touched off a mass struggle, mass demonstrations supporting us. That's why they took us to Tacna, because in Tacna the people weren't familiar with the case. They had lied to the people of Tacna, as they had to all the people of Peru, telling them that we were bloodthirsty killers. They only stopped short of telling them that we ate babies raw. [*Laughter, applause.*]

They said that we had done harm to the worthy landlords who were working on their land, and that we had set back production, and I don't know how many other stories they told. They buried us in mud. When we came here, we listened to all that propaganda.

They wanted to be able to hold an open trial in a big hall. They couldn't do this in Cuzco or Arequipa, because the gallery would have filled up with people who knew the real story. So, they said to themselves: "Well, we can do it in Tacna, and let's show the international press that we are not afraid of conducting this trial in an open hall, since the people there know nothing about what happened."

And so the people in Tacna came to get a look at the cutthroats, to see what a killer looks like. [*Laughter.*] They began to listen to the trial. But the people in Tacna were not stupid. The military thought they were, but they were wrong. The tables were turned on them. [*Laughter, shouts of "Bravo!"*]

The people of Tacna watched the trial for a week. They listened to our denunciation of all the crimes that had been committed, they listened to all the outrages we had suffered, they listened to see why we took the attitude we did, they listened to find out what our struggle had been like, and the people of Tacna decided that we were in the right.

They showed us their solidarity in a thousand ways. Every day they brought fifteen quarts of milk to the jail. They brought us so much fruit and bread that we couldn't eat it all. They brought us clothing. On the only visiting day we were allowed, there was a line of people two blocks who wanted to visit us. All that we could do was embrace each one, and no more, because there was a line of people two blocks long.

Even some Civil Guards took the chance involved in coming to visit us, although they had to show their documents and of course suffered reprisals because they came.

But to show you that these police are also part of the people, so that you can know, now that there is no danger, I will tell you what these Republican Guards did. When they stopped me from denouncing the brass hats, from saying that they were the murderers and not we, when they stopped me from saying this right in the middle of the session, the Guards dragged me away to my chair. But, it seemed, two Guards together were not enough to make me sit down. It wasn't because I was so strong. I wasn't half as strong as any one of them. When an officer came by, they said: "Listen, sit down." When he went away, they told me, "OK, Hugo, give it to them." [*Laughter, applause, shouts of "Bravo!"*]

I denounced them as murderers and cowards, because they were sending poor people like us to get themselves killed and kill us, while the brass hats waited in a nice safe place. And they were supposed to be the great defenders of the fatherland, the heroes, the brave men. These brave men, the only thing they were good for was to order the police and the army to open fire on the unarmed people. [*Applause.*]

So, of course the policemen in the Civil Guard liked listening to me tell the truth about these corrupt officers who trampled on them too, day after day.

So, *compañeros*, that is what the Tacna trial was like, that is what the solidarity of the people in Tacna was like. On the last day, when we shouted: "*¡Tierra o muerte!*" [Land or death!], the people answered us, shouting: "*¡Venceremos!*" [We will win!]

The problem was that before the people of Tacna were not informed. We also have to draw some conclusions from that experience, *compañeros*. It is very important to inform people, otherwise they will always be deceived by means of the newspapers, radio, and television. This is truer than ever today when the press is controlled and won't print a word of what we're saying in the Constituent Assembly, won't print a word about what is happening in the mines, about the abuses the military junta is committing, or about the success of the courageous struggle that the miner *compañeros* are continuing to wage. How are we going to make up for this lack of news ourselves? We are trying to do that here by means of rallies where we can tell the truth to the people about what is happening in the Constituent Assembly.

[Blanco went on here to explain the need for a working-class newspaper to inform the masses and draw together the experience of the various struggles. This section was lost because of a break in the tape. When the tape resumes, he is talking about another subject.]

Example of Chile

We have the example of Chile. The Yankee imperialists and the other imperialists started to boycott Chile. They started stopping investments in Chile, they started not sending machinery to Chile, they started not buying Chilean products, so as to throw the country into crisis and discredit the left government.

And what did the capitalists do inside Chile? What did the landlords do? The landlords started not cultivating the land, so as to throw the country into crisis. The capitalists cut production. Sometimes they removed vital parts of machines, so they couldn't run. They failed to buy raw materials, so that there would be scarcities that would discredit the left government.

What did the big merchants and the owners of the transport companies do? They paralyzed transportation and retail trade, to wreck the country and wreck the Allende government.

And what did the Chilean people do? How did the Chilean workers respond to this attack by the capitalists? They responded in the best way. When the landlords did not want to cultivate the land, the peasants took it to work it themselves. When the capitalists did not want to operate the factories, or operated them only two or three days a week, as is happening in the case of some factories in Lima, the workers took over the factories, they ran them, and maintained production themselves.

When the owners of the transport companies

Continued on next page

...Blanco

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staged a shutdown, the workers took the trucks and buses, and ran them themselves.

When the big retailers paralyzed retail trade, paralyzed distribution, and diverted the goods to the black market, the shantytown dwellers, the people in what they call shantytowns or new towns, organized distribution themselves. The workers took the goods to them so that they could distribute them directly, eliminating the big retailers. The peasants did the same thing. They brought their products directly to the new towns.

The organized people in those areas knew best how many persons there were in each family in the neighborhood. So they knew how to distribute the sugar, how to distribute the rice, how to distribute the milk, and all the products that were in short supply. In this way, they began to effectively counter the capitalist boycott, in agriculture as well as distribution of farm products; in the factories, as well as in the distribution of manufactured goods; and in the field of transportation.

Bosses unnecessary

And who was doing all this? The workers in the countryside, the workers in the cities, the inhabitants of the new towns. They were showing all Chile that the country could get along quite nicely without bosses, that the bosses were good for nothing but trying people's patience, and that the best insurance against any crisis was for the workers to take over production and distribution themselves.

And when the fascist gangs organized, the bosses' gangs, the armed gangs of the bosses, to attack the workers who had taken over the facto-

'FOCEP is not going to be an organization like the Unidad Popular. It is not going to tell the people to trust in the progressive officers or in parliament.'

ries, when the landlords' gangs organized to attack the peasants who had taken the land, when the police started to attack the workers who were running the factories, what did these workers do? They did the same thing that the peasants in La Convención and Lares did in 1962.

They decided to defend themselves against this repression. They started to arm, to form committees for armed self-defense against this repression.

Reformist position

The soldiers and sailors were also against their officers. And so what happened? Why were the Chilean people crushed? Unfortunately, the leadership they had, the leaders of the Unidad Popular, of the Socialist Party, and of the Communist Party, did not have a revolutionary outlook.

These leaders had confidence in the military. They thought that the military were going to respect democracy in Chile. They had confidence in the capitalists and imperialists, believing that they were going to respect democracy. They said: "Well, compañeros, when we get a majority for the left parties in both houses of parliament, we are going to establish socialism. In the meantime, compañeros, please take it easy, be calm. Don't take over the factories, because if you do that you are going to upset the progressive capitalists. Don't take the



Peruvian troops. Reformist leaders urge masses to trust in 'progressive' generals.

land, because if you do that's going to make them angry, and they'll carry out a coup against us.

"Don't set up these armed self-defense bodies. Because if you do, the democratic and patriotic military officers are going to get angry, and they'll carry out a coup against us. Please don't get worked up. The patriotic military officers are going to defend us. They are going to guarantee the democratic process in Chile. They are going to respect the will of the majority. The army has always been respectful of the law and respectful of parliament. You have to have confidence in them."

That's what the leadership of the Unidad Popular told the masses who followed them. And so the people's hands were tied.

Of course, these leaders didn't do this because they were bad people. They didn't necessarily do it because they were traitors. They did it because in their view this was the way you had to work. But Pinochet didn't see it that way, nor did the military.

So, this opened the way for the Pinochet coup, which was backed by the capitalists and the imperialists, and supported as well by a desperate middle class, which, seeing that the left was offering no real solution for Chile, lined up behind the right.

We drew the lesson from that experience, compañeros. And we promise you that we are not going to repeat that mistake here in Peru. We promise that the FOCEP leaders, the leaders of the revolutionary parties, are never going to tell you: "Trust the patriotic military officers, trust the good capitalists who are with us against the imperialists." We are never going to tell you that.

We will always tell you: "Trust only in yourselves. Don't believe that the factories are going to be run well and serve the people of Peru until they are in the hands of the workers and operated by them. Don't believe that the land is going to be used for the benefit of the country until it is under the control of the peasants themselves.

"Don't believe that distribution and the national economy as a whole are going to function well until they are in the hands of the workers. Don't believe that the courts are really going to dispense justice until they are in the hands of the workers themselves, until the workers and the new towns elect their courts and the entire people gathered in assembly elect their own court, and can recall the judges when they want, when they see that the judges are not living up to their responsibility." This is the only thing we have confidence in. [Applause, shouts of "Bravo!"]

Upsurge in Peru

So, compañeros, we are seeing that this process that developed in La Convención, this process that developed in Chile, is beginning to develop today throughout Peru. And we must take up the positive lessons of La Convención and apply them in our struggle. We must also take up the positive lessons given by the people of Chile and apply them in our struggle.

We have to learn from the negative experiences in La Convención and Chile in order not to repeat them. We need a political organization that can lead

the workers to power. There was no such organization in La Convención, and as a result the struggle was isolated. That is why we have to build FOCEP.

We need a political organization that won't tell the workers, as the Unidad Popular did, not to mobilize, not to take power, but to trust in the military officers and trust in the parliamentary road.

And so we have to say that the FOCEP is not going to be an organization like the Unidad Popular. It is not going to tell the people to trust in the progressive officers or in parliament. It is going to tell them to rely only on their own organization, on their own struggle, and on their own might.

We have already seen what these Peruvian people are capable of. The military junta imposed a curfew on them. It suspended their constitutional rights. It took away freedom of the press. It jailed hundreds of persons and deported many persons in 1976. In June 1976, it trampled on the few rights the people had left. For a year, the people put up with this.

And then in July 1977, despite the suspension of constitutional guarantees, despite the lack of freedom of the press, despite the fact that hundreds of persons were in prison, despite the deportations, despite all the threats of firings, this Peruvian people was able to rise up in a number of places. And this led to the heroic general strike of July 19, this valiant action that opened up a new stage in the history of the Peruvian people, which opened up the stage of the socialist revolution in Peru.

With this general strike, a new era began in Peru. Because this general strike forced the military dictatorship to back down, it forced the military to lift their curfew, to end the suspension of constitutional guarantees, it forced them to restore a measure of freedom of the press. And despite the fact that 5,000 persons were fired from their jobs, the people were not intimidated and kept fighting. There was another general strike, and then another. Through these struggles the people also won the release of the political prisoners and freedom for the detainees to return.

And if I am talking to you this way, and so freely, it's not because of any generosity on the part of the military dictatorship. It's not because the military dictatorship has become democratic, or because there is anything democratic about the majority in the Constituent Assembly.

The majority in the Constituent Assembly kept silence about all the abuses committed by the military junta. If we are talking together this way, it is because you won this right. And in the same way you won this right, just as you are going to win many more, along with the rest of the Peruvian people. It all depends on your fighting spirit and your organization. This is the example, this is the lesson, that we have drawn from July 19 and the subsequent struggles.

Lollipop from the junta

It was the people as well who forced the military junta to call elections for the Constituent Assembly. It's true that the people did not ask the regime for a Constituent Assembly. But the rulers knew that

what the Peruvian people most hated was the military dictatorship. So, in order to deceive the people, they decided to give them a lollipop.

They said: "OK, OK, pal, we're leaving, don't worry about it, we're leaving in 1980. First we're giving you elections for a constituent assembly, then afterwards there are going to be elections in 1980, there is going to be a president, whoever suits you most, there are going to be deputies and senators, we are leaving, and everything is going to be settled."

They did this to deceive the Peruvian people, so that the people would not continue their struggles, would not continue their strikes, would not continue their work stoppages. But fortunately, the Peruvian people didn't let themselves be fooled. The Peruvian people kept on fighting, and they are still fighting. They're not impressed by stories about constituent assemblies and elections.

And so, in the middle of the election campaign, when the junta had the nerve once again to decree the economic package in May, the working class responded with the biggest general strike in the history of this country, the strike of May 22-23. [Applause, shouts of "Bravo!"]

It was a heroic struggle, which has not yet been described in its full dimensions. None of us yet know how large it was. Every day we are learning about things that happened in every corner of Peru on May 22-23 that we didn't know about before.

Maybe you didn't know that in Morococha, the miners drove the repressive forces into retreat with dynamite. [Applause, shouts of "Bravo!"]

I don't know if you are aware that our brothers in the police in Arequipa refused to fire on the people and presented a list of demands saying that no one

'We want this people's assembly, representing all the workers in every corner of the country, to be the government.'

should hold a rank higher than that of major and that the officers should be elected by the ranks and not appointed from above.

Because of this courageous attitude on the part of our compañeros in the Arequipa police, their leaders are in prison today, and we must all fight for their release. Because they are in prison for us, they are our heroes, our brothers, and they are in prison because they did not want to fire on us. [Applause, shouts of "Bravo!"]

No hope in capitalists

Compañeros, we have already seen the beginning of the end of our exploiters. It began on July 1977, and this struggle is continuing. As I told you, if we can discuss here, it is not because of the bill on parliamentary immunity, it is not because the military junta has any respect for the Constituent Assembly, it is not even because the Constituent Assembly has any respect for itself, because it doesn't.

The deputies there are ready to lie down and let the military junta walk over them like a carpet. They know also that in 1980 when Haya de la Torre gets in, or Bedoya, or any of these gentlemen, they are going to do the same thing that the military junta is doing, they are going to be agents of the policy of the International Monetary Fund.

As my fellow left deputies have already said, they have refused to give this Constituent Assembly a chance to solve the problems of the people. The other deputies are down on their knees before the junta, they are going down on all fours in front of the junta, these same people who did so much talking against the military. Now, they don't want to say a word against the military dictatorship. So, no one should have any hope in them

From this platform, moreover, my compañeros have talked about other things. They have talked about the fronts to defend the interests of the people that are springing up in many parts of Peru. I got a chance to see this in the department of San Martín. I got a chance to see two towns that have, in one case, elected a mayor; and, in the other, a deputy mayor. And they are struggling to establish their authority. They are struggling to defend themselves against the deputy mayor and the mayor imposed from above the military dictatorship.

This is the kind of government we want, governments elected by the people, governments that represent in every town, in every corner of the



Several Peruvian Trotskyist groups have scheduled a unification congress for October 8. Above is the first issue of their joint newspaper, edited by Hugo Blanco.

country, the will of the workers, the peasants and the people in the new towns.

Compañero Cuentas has also spoken about the people's congresses in Chimbote and Moquegua. I also got a chance to see what these people's assemblies are, compañeros. They are bodies of delegates representing the workers, the peasants, the new towns, the white-collar workers. And these assemblies are already beginning to do some things.

What we are fighting for is for these bodies to be able to function on a permanent basis, and to be brought together under a great national people's assembly made up of delegates of the workers, peasants, soldiers, inhabitants of the new towns, the white-collar workers, the teachers, the fishermen, the small shopkeepers, the itinerant peddlers.

Workers to power!

We want this people's assembly, representing all the workers in every corner of the country, to be the government. We are not calling for Hugo Blanco to power but for the workers to power, the delegates of the workers, peasants, and new towns to power, for an assembly representing all of them.

And when the people lose confidence in any of the delegates they sent there, when the people don't like what their delegate is doing, they can just remove this delegate and put in another. Because Peru has millions of people who can represent themselves and their brothers and sisters. Hugo Blanco is not indispensable, nor any other compañero. Anyone can represent the interests of the workers. In every factory, in every peasant union, in every new town, we see examples of this. And if one person doesn't work out, another can be put in.

This is the kind of government we want, this is what we call a government of the workers, this is what we call a workers and peasants government. And this is the only kind of government that can make sure that the Peruvian people finally get to enjoy the wealth that belongs to them.

Only such a government can guarantee that the workers will be able to work, that all of us will be

able to work. As you know, there has been talk about an assembly of itinerants. The problem of itinerants exists in Lima in gigantic proportions, and it exists throughout Peru.

The unemployed have no other way of making a living but selling things out in the open. And yet the mayors have the nerve, the shamelessness, just like the military dictatorship, to ban peddling in some areas, when the junta can't provide jobs for half the Peruvian people, when half the Peruvian people can't work because they cannot find jobs. [Applause, shouts of "Bravo!" and "Down with the military junta!"]

So, since the mayor has had the gall to say that there are areas where the itinerant peddlers can't conduct their business, in Lima we in FOCEP have told the peddler compañeros: "Compañeros, as long as the military junta doesn't guarantee regular jobs for you, you have the right to sell your goods in the Constituent Assembly and in the government palace. [Applause, shouts of "Bravo!"]

Why a workers government?

So, compañeros, only a government made up of delegates of the workers, peasants, delegates of all the working people can say that the factories are going to be run by the workers in the interests of the people.

Only such a government can say that the land is going to be held by the peasants in the interests of the people, and that the whole economy is going to be in the hands of the working class as a whole, and that the workers delegates are going to decide where factories should be located, what roads should be built. And we are going to say that our money should not be spent for repression, should not be spent to buy whiskey for millionaires. It should be spent for schools in the new towns, for septic tanks, for hospitals.

We want a workers government. This government is not going to give a penny to the capitalists, because they've robbed us enough already. This government is not going to give the landlords a penny. And this government is not going to pay the foreign debt, because that money was not lent to us, it was lent to Morales, so let Morales pay it back. There is no reason we should pay it. [Applause, shouts of "Bravo!"]

Compañeros, it's already time for us to leave, because we have to go inaugurate a support committee for FOCEP, and then we have to go on to Cuzco, where there is a national peasant congress. I am a member of the executive of the peasant confederation, and I have to be there. But there will be no lack of other opportunities, I hope, to come back and meet with you and to discuss the many things we have to talk about.

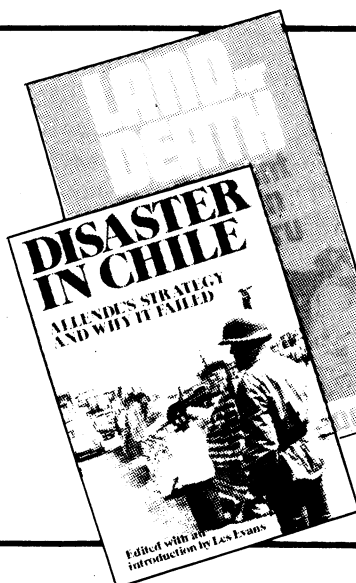
For twelve years, we have been kept apart, compañeros. But thanks to the struggles of the entire Peruvian people we can be here today. I hope you won't let them separate us again. That depends entirely on your strength, and on your determination, compañeros. It is because a lot of power and a lot of determination were demonstrated, because of your determination, that I am here, that I am alive and a free man.

[Applause. Shouts of "Bravo!" and "Hugo Blanco to power!"]

Viva a workers government! [Shouts of "Viva!"]
Viva Socialism! [Shouts of "Viva!"]

Compañeros, here is a better slogan than "Hugo Blanco to power." It is "Luchar, Vencer, Obreros al Poder!" [Fight, win, workers to power!] I call on you to take up this slogan for now: "Down with the military junta!" [Applause, a lot of shouting, and chanting led from the platform: "Luchar, vencer, obreros al poder!"]

HUGO BLANCO ON LATIN AMERICA



Land or Death is Blanco's powerful account of the peasant struggle in Peru. 178 pages. \$3.45.

Disaster in Chile analyses the events between the election of Allende in September 1970 and the bloody military coup three years later. It includes a series of eyewitness reports written by Blanco during his exile in Chile in 1973. 271 pages. \$4.45.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Please include \$.25 for postage and handling. \$.50 if order of more than \$5.00.

Protests hit Soweto frame-up

By Omari Musa

NEW YORK—Chanting, "Free the Soweto Eleven!" and "U.S. Out of South Africa—Divest Now!" seventy-five people picketed the South African consulate here September 18.

The spirited protest included activists from the Columbia University divestment committee, North East Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa, workers from the Brooklyn Navy Yard, NAACP members, and members of the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party.

The action was called in response to an appeal from exiled South African freedom fighters for international protests against the frame-up trial of eleven Soweto student leaders. The students, members of the Soweto Students Representative Council (SSRC), are charged with "sedition" and "terrorism" for their role in leading the June 1976 Soweto rebellion.

The pickets also demanded that the South African government drop charges against several prominent exiles it has named as "co-conspirators." These include three former SSRC presidents and Drake Koka, general secretary of the Black Allied Workers Union.

The picket line was endorsed by the American Committee on Africa (ACOA); Leon Harris, president of the Village-Chelsea NAACP; the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR); David Sibeko of the Pan African Congress (PAC); Sipo Muimela of the African National Congress (ANC); and the National Anti-Imperialist Movement in Solidarity with Southern African Liberation (NAIMSAL).

In Berkeley, former SSRC leader Selby Semela denounced the frame-up trial and announced that the South African government had postponed its opening until September 25.

In New York, Village-Chelsea

NAACP President Leon Harris told the media, "The South African government is taking the Soweto Eleven to court to murder them. It is up to us to get the word out to people in this country about what is going on."

PAC leader David Sibeko said the trials of the Soweto Eleven, eighteen PAC activists, and others are designed "to intimidate our resistance."

He urged supporters of the liberation

struggle to "increase their efforts to force universities to divest and U.S. companies to pull out of South Africa."

Sibeko also called attention to planned protests on October 11. This is the UN-designated day of international protest to free South African political prisoners.

Other participants in the news conference included Jean Damu of NAIMSAL and ACOA activist Paul Irish



Pickets demand freedom for Soweto Eleven

Militant/Omari Musa

Rhodesia jails hundreds of Black activists

By Omari Musa

More than 300 Black activists have been arrested since Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith's September 10 speech declaring his intention to "liquidate the internal workings" of Patriotic Front supporters.

The repression has so far fallen hardest on the African National Council-Zimbabwe, the internal wing of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), led by Joshua Nkomo. A few days after Smith's announcement, 320 ZAPU activists were jailed. Among those arrested were district, provincial, and national officials, including ten members of the national executive council.

Five members of the People's Movement, the internal wing of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), were also arrested.

Then, on September 14, the internal wings of both ZAPU and ZANU were outlawed.

Black nationalist leaders denounced the government's repression. Nkomo told a Lusaka, Zambia, news conference: "Smith means war. If he means war, we are ready to fight and to remove the regime. That regime is dead."

Nkomo also took a harder position than before on a British-American proposal to hold a conference including the Patriotic Front and the Smith government. He said such a conference is "dead now and buried."

The imperialist allies of the white minority regime have not put all their hopes in such a conference.

British Foreign Secretary David Owen announced as long ago as June 15 that a British battalion had been put on standby alert for possible intervention in Zimbabwe. Taking a page from the British-U.S.-French-Belgian aggression in Zaïre in May, the foreign secretary said the purpose of such an intervention would be to "rescue" whites should there be a breakdown in "law and order."

U.S. plans for a "rescue" have also been reported.

In addition, the Mozambican government and Robert Mugabe, a leader of ZANU, have reported that South African forces have been employed in joint military actions with the Rhodesian government.

These threats point out the need for supporters of Black majority rule to step up efforts against any imperialist intervention in southern Africa.



ZAPU leader Joshua Nkomo: 'If Smith means war, we are ready to fight and remove the regime.'

Koka tour will defend prisoners

The Drake Koka Tour Committee is stepping up its efforts to publicize the frame-up trial of eleven Soweto student leaders (see accompanying article). The apartheid regime has indicted Koka, general-secretary of the Black Allied Workers Union, as a "co-conspirator" in that trial.

Koka will begin a United States tour October 2 with a morning news conference at the State House press room in Indianapolis. After the news conference, he will speak at Indiana University in Bloomington.

That evening Koka will address meetings at the Indiana University/Purdue University extension in Indianapolis, and the following day at the University of Cincinnati.

Koka will begin his engagements in Toledo with a news conference at the Toledo Press Club. Later, he will address a meeting at the United Auto Workers Local 1058 hall there. Local 1058 is an endorser of the tour.

Koka's next stop will be Cleve-

land, where the Black Leadership Caucus of the Cleveland Federation of Labor will host a meeting.

On October 6 Koka is scheduled to speak at Cleveland State University under the auspices of the student government. The next day he goes to Oberlin College for meetings and discussions sponsored by the Third World Dorm and Black Heritage House.

Koka is also scheduled to be interviewed on the widely viewed television program "Black-on-Black" and by Cleveland's major daily newspaper, the *Plain Dealer*.

Koka will speak at two conferences on southern Africa during his tour. The first, organized by the Divestiture Working Group, will be held at Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois, on October 20-22.

Koka will also participate in the November 17-19 conference hosted by the North East Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa at New York University.

(For further information on these conferences, contact: Divestiture Working Group, 1570 Oak Street, Evanston, Illinois 60201; and NECLSA, c/o American Committee on Africa, 305 East Forty-sixth Street, New York, New York 10017.)

The Drake Koka Tour Committee has also announced new endorsers for its campaign to expose the South African frame-up trials. They include Julian Bond, president, Atlanta NAACP; Flo Kennedy, a Black feminist lawyer; Ruth Gage-Colby, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Margo Cowan, El Concilio Manzo; Kitty Turner, D.C. Supporters of Karen Silkwood; and Brenda Eichelberger, executive director, National Alliance of Black Feminists.

For more information on Koka's tour contact: Drake Koka Tour Committee, c/o Greenwich Village-Chelsea NAACP, 42 Grove Street, New York, New York. Phone (212) 234-1650. —O.M.

...apartheid

Continued from back page

police raids, these workers and their families are forced to set up shantytowns constructed from whatever materials they can find.

Crossroads is the largest such township near Cape Town. It was established three years ago and developed its own schools, churches, community center, clinics, and self-governing committees.

According to Carlyle Murphy, writ-

ing in the September 15 *Washington Post*, "Eighty percent of the heads of households are employed full time, earning an average of \$40 a week."

The police assault on Crossroads is only the latest attempt to drive Africans out of the Cape Town area.

In January, bulldozers destroyed Unibell, a settlement of about 15,000. Five months earlier Modderdam, with 11,000 inhabitants, had been demolished.

The regime knows that if these unauthorized townships are allowed to

stand, the Black population will begin to press for more concessions.

In the wake of the rebellion in Soweto and other Black townships, including Crossroads, the government feels it must crack down on any potential threats to the apartheid system.

However, one Crossroads resident made it clear that unauthorized townships will continue to develop.

"We are just going to look for another bush to live under," said forty-three-year-old Nomlingqanisela Ntongana. "We will move from bush to bush."

Women in Revolt

Diane Wang



Sisterhood is...

Pictures from Tehran show women in dark veils clutching the bodies of their children. And marching, even leading some of the giant protests.

Sometimes the TV camera will focus on one. The veils make her look as if she comes not just from another country, but from another time.

But then she raises her fist. Despite the veil she looks—she is—like sisters everywhere. An angry woman marching with her fist in the air.

Then comes the news from South Africa. The racists celebrated the anniversary of Steve Biko's death with a new wave of arrests. They have already taken Nobandile Mvovo, Biko's sister, and Tenjiwe Ethel Mtintso, a woman leader of the Black consciousness movement. And one of the eleven Soweto student leaders scheduled to go on trial this month is a woman.

Or listen to reports from Latin America. Civil war rages in Nicaragua. Workers and peasants are marching in the streets of Peru. In Mexico, women have launched a campaign for their daughters and sons who disappeared after arrest.

Wherever masses are fighting the shah or Somoza or whatever dictator has his heel at their throats—women are part of that rebellion.

Their struggle is ours. Not just because they are women. Not just because they're militant and

inspiring. But because they and their brothers are fighting the same enemy we are. Behind each of these dictators stands American investment and corporate greed.

It is the same ruling rich that turn a buck in this country by keeping women underpaid, trapped in low-wage jobs, denied abortions.

This same grasping handful of capitalists exploit women around the world. They reinforce the backward traditions and inferior status of women in other countries, just because it's profitable.

Forced in this country to respect some rights and even, sometimes, to grant concessions, overseas the American capitalists show their real face. There they rule through dictatorship and brutality.

There they are shameless. They wring out the extra penny of profit from the women selling handicrafts and food on the streets. From illiteracy, poverty, and malnutrition.

But, some defenders say, U.S. capital brings education, technology, civilization to these countries and to the women.

Some women do get education. And that is very dangerous for the imperialists. What happens to these women when they use their education to struggle for freedom?

Mtintso became a reporter for a Black newspaper

in South Africa. She was arrested, tortured, tormented with the lie that her child was dead, and she was banned.

Vida Hadjebi Tabrizi became a sociologist and went into Iran's countryside to document the peasants' lives. She was arrested, tortured, almost murdered.

That's what American "civilization" has done for or, rather, to these women. But it hasn't succeeded in crushing their determination to fight back.

Women will not be free, not be able to take advantage of education and modern technology, until they take over their own lives. And to do that they face an enormous battle—against dictators willing to massacre countless numbers rather than give up their palaces, against centuries of tradition, and against the American ruling rich.

Women in this country can help. By pressing our own demands here as forcefully as possible, we help. We can help, too, by joining the international protest campaigns, getting out the facts, and petitioning for political prisoners.

Look through this issue of the *Militant* for the international appeals for solidarity. See what you can do to help.

After all, sisterhood is powerful—and it is international.

The American Way of Life

An almost lethal backfire

The following column is by Lee Smith, the Miami Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress in the Thirteenth Congressional District.

MIAMI—Some minutes before midnight on September 6, I was driving home from work in my Datsun. That morning, before work, I had gone along on a delegation from the Leo Harris Defense Committee to meet with State Attorney Janet Reno.

Leo is a Black activist and a member of the Socialist Workers Party. In August, at a Haitian demonstration, a cop rammed him with a car. Leo—not the cop—was arrested.

As I drove along, my mind was occupied with finding a copy of the following day's *Miami Herald* to check for coverage of the meeting with Reno.

About a mile from my house, I passed an all-night laundromat. I saw a police car parked there hassling some Blacks. I slowed down to see if I could tell what was going on. My Datsun backfired loudly, as it often does.

I drove away. After a few blocks I noticed a cop

car in my rear-view mirror. It crossed my mind that I might be about to get a ticket for my noisy car. I stopped for a red light.

Suddenly I heard a voice shout: "Get out of the car!" I turned and saw a cop holding a revolver in a two-handed combat shooting stance, pointing it directly at me. I turned back to see another cop pointing a revolver at me over the hood of my car. I realized that there were cops and cop cars all around me. Suddenly I felt very cold.

"It was only a backfire!" I yelled. "Get out of the car!" the cop yelled louder than before. I got out and put my hands on the car as I was directed.

I tried again to protest that it had only been a backfire. Almost instantly I realized that they thought the backfire was a gunshot.

"Shut up!" I was told. After being frisked, I was roughly escorted to the back seat of one of the cop cars. I looked around and counted at least ten cop cars. It seemed as if another one arrived every thirty seconds.

When a cop got into the car with me, I asked him

to please have one of his associates drive my car a short distance to confirm that it backfires.

The cops searched my car. Then one of them did drive it to see if it backfired. It did.

"Do you feel like your car picked the wrong time and place to backfire?" asked the cop who had ordered me out of my car. I acknowledged such a feeling.

"You're lucky," one of the cops told me, indicating his buddy who had ordered me out of the car. "This guy might have blown you away."

"Oh yeah," the other answered. "I got good news. You know what happened to so and so?"

"He got four years?" the second cop guessed.

"No," replied the first ecstatically. "He died from that bullet I put in him."

"Hey, that is good news," his buddy said, grasping his hand.

Shortly afterwards I was able to leave this ghoul-ish fraternity. The nightmare was over—for me. But I left knowing that countless others in this city have had the same terrifying experience.

Some weren't so lucky.

Capitalism Fouls Things Up

Indians vs. gas monopoly

The following is a guest column by Dave Brown.

A group of Native Americans is camped at Point Conception, just north of Santa Barbara, California, in a determined effort to stop the proposed construction of a liquefied natural gas (LNG) terminal on sacred Indian burial ground.

The burial ground, known as "The Western Gate" by Indians across the United States, is the end of the land sacred to the Chumash Indians. It consists of seventeen peaks. The Indians believe their souls pass through the gate after death to join their ancestors.

The land, held under lease by Southern California Edison Company, is to be sublet to Western LNG. This is a company formed by Pacific Gas and Electric and another firm.

According to Kote Lotah, a Chumash spiritual leader and camp spokesperson, the Indians moved

into the area in May for two weeks and came back in June after a verbal agreement was violated by the company. The agreement with Western LNG was that two trenches would be dug just outside the edge of the burial ground to verify the existence of an earthquake fault. Western LNG said it would leave if a fault was discovered.

The trenches were dug and the fault was found. The president of Western LNG came out in a helicopter and guaranteed access by Native Americans for religious purposes. He promised they would be notified of any further digging proposals in advance.

Then, behind the Indians' backs, the company went to the county supervisors for a four-trench digging permit. These trenches would have been inside the burial ground.

The Southern California Archeological Society has circulated a letter condemning the project. As a

result, Western LNG has gone all the way to Alaska in its search for an archeologist to supervise the digging with no success.

The company has not moved ahead after an initial confrontation between bulldozers and the Chumash. The bulldozer drivers refused to proceed.

According to Lotah, although the trenches are proposed as "exploratory," they are the same size as the company's tanks. Lotah believes they are really tank foundation trenches.

The Chumash have received support from across the country in their struggle. Forty-three Indian nations have had representatives here.

Some of the strongest support has come from the Santa Ynez Chumash. Earlier this month, Western LNG got the United Indian Development Association to offer jobs to the Santa Ynez Chumash to buy off their support. They were thrown off the reservation.



Arnold Weissberg

Quote unquote

"Picket lines never are any fun."

—'New York Times' owner Arthur Ochs Sulzberger, in a Labor Day letter to nonstriking 'Times' employees.

EDUCATION IS A RIGHT

Children of undocumented workers have a right to a free public education, a federal judge in Texas ruled September 15. The Tyler, Texas, school district had tried to impose tuition on children whose parents were not legal residents of this country, in line with a 1977 decision by another court in Texas.

The latest ruling held that undocumented workers are entitled to equal protection of the law and therefore eligible for the same free public education as U.S. citizens.

HAWAIIAN PROTESTERS ARRESTED

Sixty-five demonstrators were arrested at the Hilo, Hawaii, airport September 4 as they protested discrimination against native Hawaiians. The sixty-five were charged with trespassing.

The airport protest followed a rally of several hundred native Hawaiians and their supporters. They were protesting the rent-free use of the state-run airport on land set aside by Congress for Hawaiian homesteading.

225 hear Chilean socialist

Some 225 people turned out to hear Pedro Vuskovic, a leader of the Chilean Socialist Party (National Coordinating Committee of Regionals), speaking in New York City on September 16. The meeting was sponsored by the Comité Chileno Antifascista to mark the fifth anniversary of the right-wing coup in Chile that overthrew the Allende government.

A central theme of Vuskovic's talk was the need for solidarity between the American and Latin American peoples. "A distinction must be made," Vuskovic said, "between the acts of the American government and the actions of the American people."

Vuskovic hailed the current upsurge in Nicaragua. He pointed out that Latin America has no future in a "dependent capitalism," but "must struggle directly for socialism."

Vuskovic explained that the Chilean "Popular Unity's" priorities of lobbying in Washington and seeking compromises with the Chilean bourgeoisie were fu-

tile. He called for the formation of a new revolutionary party that would unite the fragmented revolutionary left in Chile.

In reply to charges of "factionalism" leveled against him by the American Communist Party in the September 16 *Daily World*, Vuskovic stated that unity based on "not discussing anything" was impossible.

He concluded by urging the American people to continue their efforts in solidarity with the struggle against the Chilean dictatorship.



PEDRO VUSKOVIC
Solidaridad

Pickets demand end to Somoza dictatorship



Above, picketers outside Nicaraguan Embassy in Washington, D.C. September 18

Picket lines in New York City and Washington, D.C., September 15 protested the continued brutal suppression of human rights in Nicaragua and called for an end to the tyrannical rule of

the Somoza regime.

About 250 people marched to a site near the United Nations in New York City, where they heard from a representative of the Associ-

ation for Human Rights in Nicaragua.

Another such protest is planned for September 25 at 4 p.m. at Dag Hammarskjöld Plaza, Forty-second Street and First Avenue.

CONGRESS MEMBERS CONDEMN SOUTH AFRICA

"As insensitive, cruel, and brutal an action as the South African government could take," was the way the Congressional Ad Hoc Monitoring group described the apartheid regime's destruction of a Black housing settlement near Cape Town (see back page).

On September 15, the fifteen House members who comprise the group called on President Carter to convey his "concern for this most recent atrocity."

PA. MINE STRIKE ENDS

Striking coal miners at Bethlehem Steel's Mine No. 58 in Marianna, Pennsylvania, returned to work September 13, ending a week-long walkout over safety. To end the strike, Bethlehem signed an agreement promising to conform to state and federal laws by entering all required information

into the mine examination books.

United Mine Workers Local 2874 had charged the company with falsifying the books and not recording hazardous mine conditions.

Bethlehem is still threatening to cut back on the rights of the union safety committee, which closed down one shift at the mine in August because of serious safety violations.

CIVIL RIGHTS— BUT NOT FOR WOMEN

The U.S. Civil Rights Commission will be barred from dealing with the issue of abortion rights, if a bill passed by the House of Representatives September 6 becomes law.

"As only women can become pregnant and choose abortion, the Commission's jurisdiction regarding sex discrimination is broad enough to include abortion," Karen Mulhauser, execu-

tive director of the National Abortion Rights Action League, wrote in a September 12 letter to President Carter.

The bill is in the form of an amendment to the appropriation for the commission. NARAL called on Carter to veto the entire appropriation if it comes before him with the anti-abortion amendment.

OUTLOOK GLOOMY, POLL FINDS

Most Americans think that the country's problems are going to get worse, a recent government poll found. It was the first time since 1959 that a majority expressed a lack of confidence in the future. The two factors accounting for the gloom were inflation and a decline in living standards.

The most pessimistic groups were people with yearly incomes between \$7-15,000 and people under thirty.

What's Going On

CALIFORNIA LOS ANGELES: S.E.

SCHOOL BUSING: WHICH WAY FOR LOS ANGELES? Speakers: Mario Velasquez, Organization of Latin American Students, UCLA; Raúl González, Socialist Workers Party candidate for state assembly. Fri., Sept. 29, 8 p.m. 2554 Saturn Ave., Huntington Pk. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 582-1975.

SAN FRANCISCO

PICKET HYDE! Support women's right to choose abortion; picket outside the speaking engagement of Rep. Henry Hyde. Sat., Sept. 30, 12 noon to 2 p.m. Fairmont Hotel, corner of California and Mason. Ausp: San Francisco National Organization for Women, East Bay NOW, Santa Cruz Women's Political Caucus, and Committee to Defend Reproductive Rights.

ILLINOIS CHICAGO

FERMENT IN THE STEEL INDUSTRY TODAY. Speakers: Pat Grogan, member, United Steelworkers of America Local 65, activist in USWA Women's Caucus, and Socialist Workers Party candidate for

U.S. Senate; Andrew Pulley, USWA Local 1066, SWP candidate for mayor of Chicago; Dick McBride, Local 1010, attended national USWA convention. Sat., Sept. 30, 7:30 p.m. Blackstone Hotel, Michigan & Balbo. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party 1978 Illinois Campaign. For more information call (312) 939-0737.

MARYLAND BALTIMORE

REPORT ON UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA CONVENTION. Speaker: member of USWA. Fri., Sept. 29, 8 p.m. 2117 N. Charles. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (301) 547-0668.

MASSACHUSETTS BOSTON

FRAUD AT CAMP DAVID: WHY THE MIDDLE EAST SETTLEMENT WON'T BRING PEACE. Speakers: Don Gurewitz, Socialist Workers Party; Arab student activists. Fri., Sept. 29, 8 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th fl. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

NEW YORK ALBANY

WHICH WAY FOR THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT? A panel discussion. Speakers to be announced. Wed., Sept. 27, 7 p.m. SUNY Campus Center, Room 361. Ausp: Militant Forum & Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (518) 463-0072.

OHIO CINCINNATI

THE FIGHT AGAINST NUCLEAR POWER. Speakers: John Stiller, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress; others. Fri., Sept. 29, 8 p.m. 970 E. McMillan. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (513) 751-2636.

PENNSYLVANIA PHILADELPHIA

PERU IN REBELLION. Speaker: Fred Murphy, reporter for *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*. Fri., Sept. 29, 8 p.m. 218 S. 45th St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) 387-2451.

UTAH SALT LAKE CITY

NICARAGUA AND PERU: REBELLION IN LATIN AMERICA. Speaker: Katherine Sojourner, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Sun., Sept. 24, 7 p.m. 677 S. 7th E. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

DEFEAT WEBER: A SPEAKOUT IN DEFENSE OF AFFIRMATIVE ACTION. Speakers: Glova Scott, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Washington; others. Fri., Sept. 29, 7:30 p.m. All Souls Church, 16th & Harvard St., N.W. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

WASHINGTON TACOMA

IRAN IN REVOLT. Speakers to be announced. Sun., Oct. 1, 7 p.m. 1022 S. J St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (206) 627-0432.

TEACHERS UNDER ATTACK. Speakers to be announced. Sun., Oct. 8, 7 p.m.

1022 S. J St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (206) 627-0432.

REPRESSION IN MEXICO. Speaker: Rosario Ibarra de Piedra, leader of Committee to Defend Political Prisoners, the Disappeared, Persecuted and Exiled. Sun., Oct. 15, 7 p.m. 1022 S. J St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (206) 627-0432.

WISCONSIN MILWAUKEE

WISCONSIN 1978 SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: Adrienne Kaplan for governor; Bill Breihan for lieutenant governor; Joel Miller, Socialist Party candidate for state senate, 9th District; Joan Zeiger, delegate to Milwaukee County Labor Council; Cecil Lampkin, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Illinois. Sat., Sept. 30, 7:30 p.m. 3901 N. 27th St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Socialist Workers 1978 Campaign Committee. For more information call (414) 445-2076.



CHECK HIS GROCERY LIST, TOO?

Former CIA officer Frank Snapp has to clear a short story and an essay he wrote with the CIA, Federal Judge Oren Lewis ruled September 15. Lewis ruled last July that Snapp had to forfeit any income from his book *Decent Interval* and submit any new manuscript to the CIA for approval.

The government admitted in both cases that Snapp revealed no secret information.

In the latest case, Snapp's attorney argued that since neither the essay nor the story contained any classified material, the CIA had no right to review them and that prior censorship violated Snapp's right to free speech.

"I don't buy this First Amendment argument," Judge Lewis responded.

ABBA EBAN PICKETED

One hundred people picketed an appearance by former Israeli Foreign Minister Abba Eban in Bloomington, Indiana, September 7. Eban's appearance was sponsored by the Indiana [University] Memorial Union Board.

Pickets demanded that the board sponsor a Palestinian speaker also.

Participating were members of the Organization of Arab Students, Young Socialist Alliance, Iranian Students Association, and Patriotic Union of Kurdistan.

SO THAT'S WHAT 'PRO-FAMILY' MEANS

Until September 13, a doctor had to tell any Missouri woman seeking an abortion that if the fetus survived, the woman would have to give it up for adoption.

This cruel law was part of the anti-abortion, "pro-family" drive that has rolled back abortion rights around the country.

A U.S. circuit court of appeals, however, ruled that this section of the Missouri law violated the equal protection and due process clauses of the U.S. Constitution.

TAKE THAT

A Long Beach, California, marine construction firm illegally used an oxygen-filled compression gun. It exploded, leaving one worker dead and a second permanently disabled. State investigators detected the oxygen even though the company tried to cover its tracks by relabeling the tank. The company was prosecuted and convicted. The judge imposed a fine of \$12,500.

Making it all perfectly clear—Slippery Dick Nixon has signed a contract for a new book which, he says, will explain all the challenges facing the U.S. for the rest of the century.

Leak probe—The Pentagon nixed a request that it restudy plans to ship 300 nerve-gas bombs from Colorado to Utah. Utah was concerned because three of the bombs are leaking. The Defense Department assured that it didn't intend to ship the leaky ones and that it was investigating the problem. They didn't say if they were investigating the leak in the bombs or the person who leaked the info.

Doesn't pay to be polite—Robert Seitz, a spokesperson for the Immigration and Naturalization Service, says *la migras* agents can easily spot undocumented immigrants. "The average Mexican national is very polite and probably frightened," he explained, "while the average Chicano will look at you and say, 'I don't have to talk to you, pig.'"

Everything's going to hell—Recent surveys establish that a diminishing number of religious people believe in hell. One survey found that 70 percent of

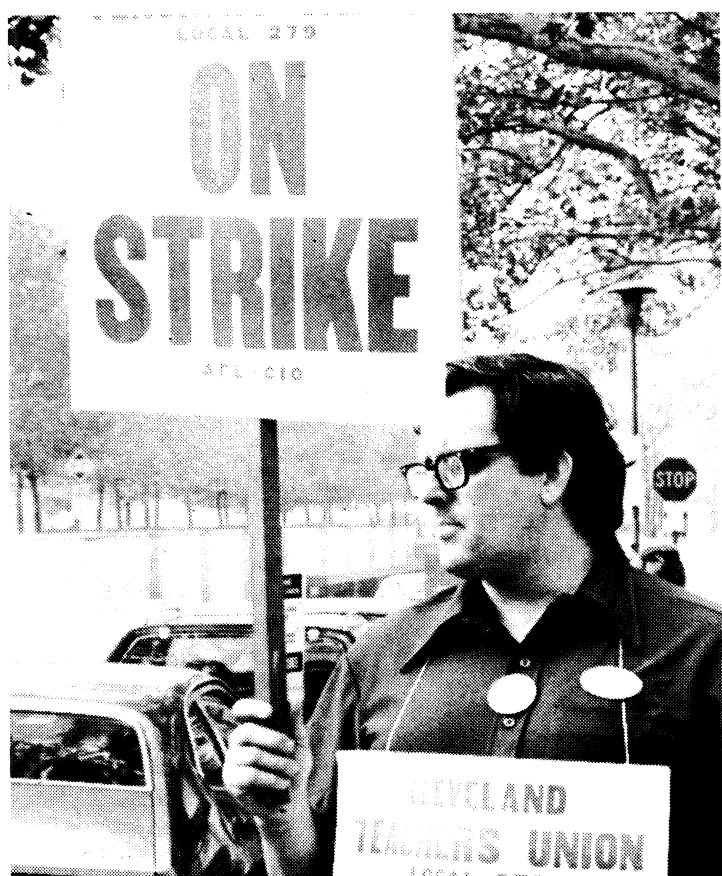
Catholics believe in life after death, but only one-third believe in hell. And of those who do so believe, only one in eight feel personally threatened.

Foolproof—The nuclear submarine, USS *Swordfish*, was in drydock at Pearl Harbor for an extra week while experts grappled with a jammed torpedo launcher. After extensive efforts, which cost some \$171,000, they found someone had dropped a fifty-four-cent paint scraper into the launcher.

How sweet—This nation may not yet have solved the problem of providing an adequate amount of milk for all its children, but last year General Foods did invest \$18.8 million in pushing Kool-Aid.

Better than socialized medicine—Military people lucky enough to get into the army's Walter Reed Hospital in D.C., or the navy's Bethesda, may find it a bit crowded. But not for top government officials. They're routed to "ENA" suites. That's "Executive Nursing Areas" and includes such amenities as color TV, special meals, and a room for entertaining friends and relatives.

Cleveland teachers' strike



PAUL MORLAN

Militant/Jeff Powers

By Jeff Powers

CLEVELAND—"It is unprecedented in Ohio history. Never before have 10,000 public workers struck at one time," Paul Morlan told the *Militant*. Morlan is an activist in the Cleveland Teachers Union and delegate to the recent American Federation of Teachers convention. Cleveland is among the largest of the thirty-two school systems hit by teacher's strikes this fall.

CTU members have been joined by nurses, custodians, cafeteria workers, bus drivers, and other school employees in their walkout.

Cleveland's teachers—whose \$9,100 salaries rank lowest in Cuyahoga county—have been working

since 1976 without a raise. "But not this year," Morlan said. "We won't work until we get an acceptable contract. We've been pushed to the wall, and most of us are mad as hell. The time to fight is now."

In Bridgeport, Connecticut, 47 more striking teachers were hauled off to jail September 19. There they joined 135 other members of the National Education Association. The teachers, imprisoned in a National Guard barracks, have refused to obey a court-imposed back-to-work order. Negotiations continue in the temporary jail where the entire bargaining team is being held.

Union Talk

An injury to one...

This week's column is by Andrea Doorack, a member of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Local 780. Doorack is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for lieutenant governor of Texas.

SAN ANTONIO—Labor solidarity is no abstract idea when it comes to warding off attacks against public workers. In San Antonio recently, we had an unfortunate example of the damage that is done to the entire labor movement when one group of workers are successfully pitted against another.

A majority of San Antonio's 300 sanitation workers were forced out on strike July 23. An ongoing movement is still fighting to reinstate more than eighty of the workers, fired for exercising their right to strike.

The workers belong to the San Antonio Refuse Collectors Association (SARCA) an independent union.

At \$3.14 an hour, starting pay for sanitation workers in San Antonio barely tops minimum wage, and working conditions are among the worst in the country. Crews are expected to cover routes that average 150 miles a day, picking up seven to eight tons of garbage per truck. Crew sizes have been cut back until now there is often only one pickup worker on each truck.

But when SARCA's long-awaited confrontation with city hall began to unfold in July, it became apparent that the city council had won an unexpected ally in their efforts to put a lid on the workers' demands.

Officials of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (which represents a majority of workers in some city departments but a small minority of sanitation workers) announced full support for the council's 6 percent wage offer. SARCA members were pressing for a 9.3 percent raise plus improved working conditions.

The New Braunfels Sanitation depot—an AFSCME stronghold—became a strikebreaking center. The Metropolitan Transit System chauffeured scabs from this depot across the spirited picket lines at the North Loop and Zarzamora depots.

In opposition to the sentiment of many city bus drivers—who attended rallies and meetings in support of the SARCA strike—leaders of Amalgamated Transit Union Local 694 refused to protest the fact that ATU members were forced to cross SARCA picket lines.

Local 694 President Robert Thompson publicly supported city manager Tom Huebner's phony appeals process and attacked SARCA's actions for giving public employees a bad reputation.

Seeing a division in the ranks of labor, Huebner froze SARCA out of negotiations and began printing up pink slips.

Among the city's labor officials, only leaders of the IUE came forward and took a strong stand against the city administration's sweeping attack on the sanitation workers.

The greatest outpouring of solidarity with the strikers came from the Chicano community. A broad spectrum of community organizations including LULAC, GI Forum, IMAGE, Raza Unida Party, Tu-CASA, CASA-HGT, and the Socialist Workers Party united to defend the sanitation workers and to expose the racist nature of city hall's attack on SARCA—a predominantly Black and Chicano union.

As is the case nationally, the victimization of San Antonio's public workers is only a prelude to broader attacks on the rights of all working people. While AFL-CIO officials here have failed to rise to this challenge, the Chicano community together with many union members are displaying the kind of unity and solidarity that will be necessary to halt these attacks. They are keeping faith with what should be the policy of the entire labor movement—"An injury to one is an injury to all."

'Che': revolutionary fighter

On October 8, 1967, the Bolivian dictatorship's troops murdered Ernesto "Che" Guevara. Che was a brave, dedicated, unswerving fighter for socialism. He and Fidel Castro were the recognized leaders of the victorious overthrow of capitalist exploitation in Cuba.

The 'Militant' was in the forefront in getting out the truth about the victory of the Cuban revolutionary forces, and the necessity for working people around the world to come to the aid and defense of the new revolutionary Cuba.

In the weeks following the murder of this heroic fighter, the 'Militant' pointed to the example of selfless dedication Che set for other revolutionaries.

A front-page story carried the speech delivered by Castro reporting Che's death. The November 6 issue carried another speech Castro delivered to the hundreds of thousands of Cubans who gathered for a memorial meeting to honor Che.

The November 13 issue covered the New York memorial meeting of 350, sponsored by the Militant Forum. Among the speakers there were Paul Sweezy from 'Monthly Review,' economist Edward Boorstein, Derrick Morrison from the Young Socialist Alliance, Edward Shaw from the Socialist Workers Party, and Ralph Schoenman, secretary to Bertrand Russell.

The following editorial in tribute to Che Guevara appeared in the October 23, 1967, 'Militant.'

The murder of Major Ernesto "Che" Guevara by the Bolivian military dictatorship is a grievous blow to the world struggle for socialism. But the struggle will continue and it will inevitably triumph. That was Che's deepest conviction and history will affirm him.

That fact does not mean that he will not be sorely missed. Clearly, in the battles that lie ahead it will not be easy to make up for the loss of this towering figure who symbolized for millions the very essence of bravery, incorruptibility and indomitable revolutionary will.

History will surely judge him one of the world's great revolutionary figures. It will record his magnificent contributions to the victory and shaping of the Cuban Revolution and his dramatic departure to carry on the struggle in Bolivia. But it will say even more. Che's greatness lay in the totality of his revolutionary consciousness. He was a thinker and a man of action. It would be idle to speculate which—action or thought—had primacy for him. For Che the thought and the deed were inseparable.

His remarkable capacities as a man of action sprang directly, logically and consciously from his conviction that mankind could not lead a decent life until imperialism and capitalism were rooted out of this planet. And he was equally convinced that this could be accomplished only through stubborn, organized, armed struggle on a global scale.

Che was absolutely uncompromising on the scope and character of the struggle. If it is to succeed, he declared, it must be waged with a hatred of the oppressor "which takes one beyond the natural limitation of a human being and converts one into an effective, violent, single-minded, cold, killing machine . . . a people without hate cannot triumph over a brutal enemy."

His capacity to face this bitter reality of our time in no way flawed Che's love of humanity. At the very time he was deepening his understanding of the utterly irreconcilable character of the struggle, he was pressing his fellow revolutionists to acquire a more conscious understanding of the great humanist goals of the socialist revolution.



In this context he insisted that, in seeking to spur production, Cuba must reject the capitalist method of reliance on individual material incentives. Moral incentives, coupled with social material incentives, are needed, he said. "To build communism," he wrote in his brilliant work, *Socialism and Man*, "you must build new men as well as the new economic base."

The responsibility for the reshaping of man, he said, must be shouldered by the revolutionary vanguard whose own outlook and attitudes must be in consonance with such an aim.

"At the risk of appearing ridiculous," he declared, "let me say that the true revolutionary is guided by a great feeling of love. It is impossible to think of a genuine revolutionary lacking this quality."

"Perhaps it is one of the great dramas of the leader," he added, "that he must combine a passionate spirit with a cold intelligence and make painful decisions without contracting a muscle."

Certainly Che exemplified the capacity to so make decisions. His intellectual and political integrity extended into all spheres. He did not hesitate, for example, to speak out against those in the anticapitalist bloc who were more concerned with their own privileged position than with advancing the struggle for world socialism.

Thus, in his speech to the 1965 Afro-Asian Economic Conference, Che polemicized against the narrow, selfish policies of the rulers in Moscow and Peking as they related to the emerging independent nations. "There are no boundaries in this struggle to the death," Che declared. He added: "Socialism cannot exist without a change in consciousness provoking a new fraternal attitude toward humanity, both for the individual in the society building socialism . . . and worldwide in relation to all peoples suffering imperialist oppression."

He spoke even more bluntly in his message to the Tricontinental, where he castigated Moscow and Peking for not uniting against U.S. aggression in Vietnam and for failing to make Vietnam "an inviolable part of socialist territory."

In leaving Cuba to help advance the struggle in Bolivia, Che understood full well the risks involved. But the overriding consideration was the critical urgency to extend the struggle.

It was for good and sufficient reason that the imperialists and their puppets feared and hated Che. The Bolivian "gorillas" and their U.S. masters feared him so much that after capturing him they murdered him in cold blood.

Now these killers are chortling over their "victory." But their obscene grins will freeze on their faces as they come to realize that Che lives. He lives in his irrepressible revolutionary ideas and he lives in all those who will continue the struggle that can only end in victory.

Viva Che!

TV? Or Iran?

The September 15 *Daily World*—the newspaper reflecting the views of the Communist Party—gives a progress report on the *World's* fund-raising efforts. "Twenty-seven readers responded this week to our special fund-raising appeal with contributions totalling \$584.23," the paper reports. These contributions, however, may not count for much political capital. Reporting on what features of the *Daily World* the contributors liked best, the column says, "The expanded sports coverage and introduction of TV listings received the widest support."

The *Militant*, I understand, is launching its own fund drive for \$75,000. If its coverage of recent events in Iran, Nicaragua, and Peru is any indication, every dollar raised in this drive will go a lot further than the *Daily World's* in helping U.S. working people understand what's going on in the world and its importance to our struggles here.

Expanded international coverage; more on-the-scene reports on the struggles waged by the Black, Chicano, and women's movements; a *Militant* that is better-looking

and the grocery chains, the battle cry of union solidarity is being silenced by the union officials. It was silenced even at the memorial service for a picket who was murdered! All that was offered was a bill to the legislature that is supposed to end "all violence in labor disputes."

About 3,500 Teamsters are left alone to try and picket over 500 stores plus the distribution centers. There are nearly 50,000 Teamsters in the Bay Area who could and should be mobilized to join this fight. Teamsters in Los Angeles are ready to honor picket lines, if the officials would only sanction the spreading of the strike to southern California.

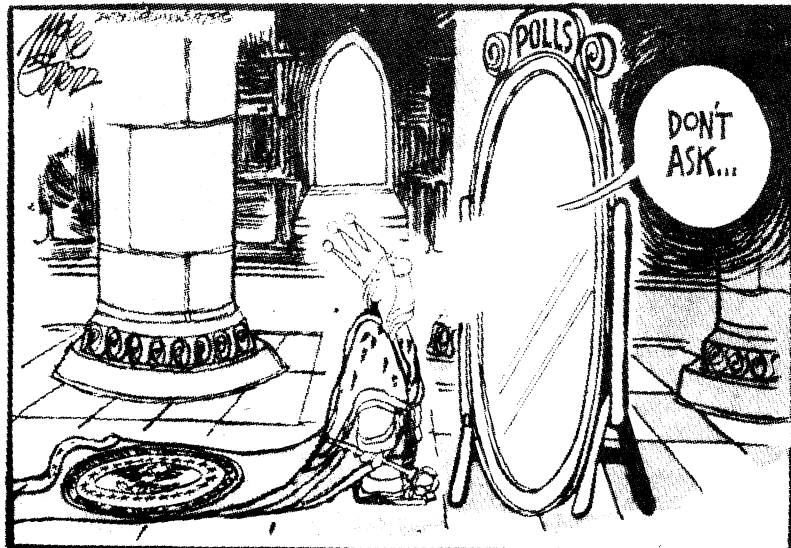
It will take the united strength of our union and its allies to win this fight.

Jon Olmsted
Teamsters Local 70
Oakland, California

Censored news

Have you ever noticed when you read the daily press how many things are missing in the news?

Well, according to the August 17 *Detroit Free Press*, a team of "media experts," including



and more readable—all this is more important for the future of the class struggle in this country than the latest football scores.

And considering the quality of most of the programs slated for television viewers this fall, there are a lot better ways for a revolutionary socialist newspaper to use its pages than telling its readers what time "The Incredible Hulk" will be showing on Friday night.

C.R.
New York, New York

For union solidarity

The employers will use any means in their drive against the union movement. Here in the Bay Area, one employer has resorted to stealing one of our most time-honored slogans, "An injury to one is an injury to all."

An executive of Lucky food stores was asked why he had locked out his employees after Safeway stores had been struck. His response: "A strike against one is a strike against all."

The gross irony of this is that in the strike now being fought between the Teamsters

commentator Shana Alexander and media analyst Ben Bagdikian, has discovered the same thing. They conducted a study on the "best-censored stories of 1977." Stories found to be not getting "as much coverage in the press as they should," included:

Worsening conditions in Black ghettos, unsafe conditions of nuclear power plants, environmental damage on the East Coast by industry, and U.S. employers profiting from hiring undocumented workers at starvation wages.

While these commentators and news media experts offered nothing more than study of the problem, we have a solution—read the *Militant*.

A reader
Detroit, Michigan

More on Mideast

Your antinuke coverage is good, but how about expanding it to cover more environmentalist and disarmament topics?

My only gripe with your paper is the relative lack of coverage of the Mideast conflict. The Begin-run Israel is one of the most repressive,

Learning About Socialism

right-wing governments in the world. Your lack of coverage is both unwarranted and inexcusable.

Other than that, I find the paper outstanding, particularly articles with background and historical analysis.

Best wishes in your fight to get Attorney General Bell to turn over the FBI files.

Loring Wirbel
Tempe, Arizona

Marroquin & AFT

In my story on support for Héctor Marroquín at the American Federation of Teachers convention (September 8 *Militant*), an incorrect slant crept in.

After editing, one paragraph read, "the Shanker-dominated Progressive Caucus, which held a majority of delegates, blocked a motion for the AFT convention to consider Marroquín's request for endorsement. The Progressive Caucus even refused Marroquín's request to speak before one of its own meetings."

The Progressive Caucus did not consider Marroquín's request because its executive committee decided that the issue did not properly belong before the caucus.

When the issue came to the floor there was no clear position by the Progressive Caucus for or against the proposal to place Marroquín's case before the convention. Because there was no resolution from a committee or AFT local, a special order of business was required. That must be approved by two-thirds of the delegates.

The voice vote was unclear. AFT President Albert Shanker ruled that the motion for a special order of business had not obtained the necessary two-thirds vote.

A delegate then requested a count. The reaction was not friendly, since it was the last day of the convention. Shanker said that he felt the request was serious and within a delegate's prerogative, and he ruled to have the delegates for and against counted.

The vote was 662 to 589, which could not have been the case if the Progressive Caucus had decided to block the issue. Marroquín's supporters were elated by the vote. It demonstrated that the potential is good for this case to receive support from the AFT.

Jon Hillson
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

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.

How to fight the union bureaucracy

The policies of the trade-union bureaucracy—typified by the no-strike agreement made by the heads of the United Steelworkers of America—are an obstacle to defending workers' living standards and rights. Union members who try to challenge these policies find that democratic control of the unions is effectively stifled.

Some radical groups, such as the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party, try to win influence among workers by presenting themselves as the most vituperative opponents of the union officials. For example, during the miners' strike earlier this year the Miners Right to Strike Committee in the United Mine Workers, led by the RCP, raised the slogan "Jam the hacks," and even endorsed physical attacks on strike-support meetings where union officials were scheduled speakers.

This approach has proven totally ineffective in defending the interests of union members. Because the RCP-led caucuses act in practice as though union officials, and not the employers, are the main enemy, the bureaucrats are able to portray these dissidents to other union members as carping opponents of the union (by which the bureaucrats mean themselves).

Most union militants know that "militant" rhetoric and tactics without a thought-out strategy can lead them way out on a limb, which the employers and union bureaucrats can then saw off.

The Socialist Workers Party has a different approach to transforming the unions—one that has been proven in action.

SWP leader Farrell Dobbs summarized this strategy in the afterword to *Teamster Bureaucracy*, the last of his four books on the struggles of the Minneapolis Teamsters before World War II. Dobbs was one of the revolutionary socialists who led Teamsters Local 544, which defeated open-shop forces in massive strikes in 1934 and made Minneapolis a union town. The same methods used by Local 544 leaders in Minneapolis were then used by Dobbs in heading an organizing drive that brought over-the-road drivers in eleven states into the Teamsters union.

This was a stunning victory for labor, especially after the years of defeats that characterized the first part of the Great Depression. The Minneapolis victory was one of the big labor struggles that helped inspire workers all over the country and that sparked the unionization of industry by the CIO.

Union bureaucracy was no abstract idea for Local 544.

The local confronted an extreme form of this disease in the gangster-ridden bureaucracy of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, ruled with an iron hand by Dan Tobin. And 544 also confronted it in the bureaucracy of the American Federation of Labor. The leaders of 544 had to build an alternative to these conservative officials, while getting whatever help could be obtained from them for the struggles of the truck drivers.

Dobbs points out that socialists in Local 544 didn't win the confidence of co-workers by yelling against the bureaucrats but by aiming their fire at the employers. They proposed that the union adopt an effective plan of action to improve the workers' conditions. As Dobbs put it, "If the rebel forces proceed . . . by pressing at the outset for official adoption, or at least tolerance, of policies that will enable the workers to fight off the capitalist assault on their living standards, better results will be obtained."

Militants have to prove their effectiveness and good sense in strikes and in the fight for union democracy. An example of such a fight today is the movement for the right of the membership to ratify contracts in the steel industry.

Militants who hope to create a new leadership have to show in practice that they know how to unify the union membership against the bosses and how to win the solidarity of potential allies.

They have to take the lead in fighting for the unions to endorse and take action in support of the Equal Rights Amendment and in support of affirmative action. They have to take the lead in proposing effective ways for the union to oppose U.S. support to the apartheid regime in South Africa. And they must patiently educate the membership on the whole range of political issues—like the need for a labor party—that dovetail with workers' needs.

With such an approach, "broadening layers of the membership will become more open-minded toward new ideas and methods of action," writes Dobbs. "Awareness will grow that organized labor is on the wrong track programmatically. . . .

"Moves toward reconstruction of the leadership . . . will very likely become possible mainly at the local union level during the first phase. . . . But action at that level will in itself serve to put heavy pressure on the lower echelons of the general bureaucratic structure. Instead of the bureaucracy splitting the workers to maintain its sway, the workers will be able to split the bureaucracy in their fight for rank and file control over the unions."

—Fred Feldman

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Apartheid's brutal face

By Omari Musa

Hundreds of club-swinging South African cops raided Crossroads, a squatters camp of more than 20,000 Africans, near Cape Town September 14. The action was a prelude to the planned physical demolition of the settlement by the apartheid regime.

Witnesses said three people were killed and many more hospitalized. One of the dead victims was a small child trampled to death during the assault.

The cops also arrested hundreds of Crossroads residents for violation of the government's notorious pass laws.

All Africans over sixteen years old are required to carry a passbook that places severe restrictions on where they may work and live. Without this document Africans face jailings and fines. Or they can be sent back to one of the Bantustans, the South African version of American Indian reservations.

The attack on Crossroads shows the brutality meted out to Africans by the apartheid regime. Even an "unauthorized" shantytown made of corrugated tin—where the residents feel some measure of self-respect—is seen as a threat that must be wiped out.

Many of those who will be made homeless by the destruction of Crossroads are women and children who originally came from rural areas to live near husbands and fathers working in Cape Town.

Economic necessity drives Africans from the Bantustans to seek work in the cities.

The South African government permits some workers and their families—at least for the time being—to live in segregated townships such as Soweto near Johannesburg. Almost half of all African workers live in these townships around South African cities.

However, the situation in Cape Town is different. The Western Cape has been designated a "labor preference area" for whites and Coloureds (per-



CROSSROADS, South Africa—Africans try to escape murderous cop assault on 'unauthorized' township September 14.

sons of mixed ancestry).

Since the regime needs a certain number of African workers, some are allowed into the Cape area. These are mostly contract laborers who live in

all-male barracks without their families. Others who are in the area "legally" bring their families without permission.

Defying the government's policy,

African workers also come illegally to the Cape Town area seeking jobs. Since the three official African townships are overcrowded and subject to

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Right-to-ratify forces gain

Steelworkers press demand at union convention

By Andy Rose

ATLANTIC CITY, N.J., Sept. 19—A strong show of support for the right to vote on contracts has forced concessions from the officialdom of the United Steelworkers of America.

USWA President Lloyd McBride's bureaucratic steamroller today crushed efforts to amend the union constitution

A full report on the United Steelworkers convention—including discussions on women's rights, wage controls, and affirmative action—will appear in next week's 'Militant.'

to provide for the right of every member to vote on his or her contract.

But instead of directly opposing this democratic right, which has won widespread support in the USWA ranks, McBride proposed referring the question to the Basic Steel Industry Conference. The industry conference is the

body of some 600 local union presidents that now ratifies the contract covering 350,000 basic steelworkers.

This opens the possibility of a continued fight for the right to ratify leading up to the next industry conference, which may not take place until early 1980. (Besides basic steel, the USWA holds policy-making industry conferences in aluminum, containers, and nonferrous metals.)

The proposal to refer was carried on a voice vote after less than an hour of discussion. Close to 100 delegates were still lined up at the microphones to speak when debate was shut off. A request for a roll-call vote was supported by 316 delegates—about 10 percent of those here.

An organized effort to win the right to ratify was launched less than three months ago. In that time, thousands of steelworkers in dozens of the biggest locals across the country have signed petitions, pasted up stickers, adopted resolutions, and voted for delegates committed to the right to ratify. Even

many McBride loyalists running for convention delegates felt compelled to pay lip service to the right to ratify.

It was this show of membership sentiment—rather than the relationship of forces at the convention itself—that led McBride to modify his tactics.

The collective bargaining resolution proposed by the convention resolutions committee—handpicked by McBride—"neither favors nor opposes" membership ratification, the committee chairperson stressed in opening the debate this afternoon.

McBride himself portrayed the dispute as being between "those who would advocate that the union have only one way of dealing with the problem of ratification" and "those who would advocate that the union have a degree of flexibility."

Demagogically trying to wrap themselves in the mantle of union democracy, McBride's mouthpieces declared that each sector of the union should be free to decide its own method of contract ratification, rather than having

the convention "dictate" one method.

This argument neatly sidesteps the basic issue—that no steelworker in any sector of the union is assured of voice or vote on the contract that governs his or her wages and working conditions.

District 34 Director Buddy Davis from St. Louis stooped the lowest, likening the movement for membership ratification to the right-wing, open-shop "right to work" campaign in Missouri.

The reason? Because, Davis said, "those who favor the 'right to work' say this is true democracy, that people ought to have the right to join a union or not to join a union." Those who advocate the democratic right to vote on contracts are also just disguised union busters, he implied.

If the USWA adopted membership ratification, Davis warned, "we'll find ourselves in the same boat as the mine workers and other unions going straight to hell on a rollerskate."

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