

THE MILITANT

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

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admits
Wilmington
Ten
were denied
fair trial**

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supports
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As 'la migra' rushes
to rule on case

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DOWN WITH THE SHAH!

**Iranian masses continue struggle
as desperate tyrant tries to stem revolt**

Despite attempts by the big-business media to create the impression that the shah of Iran has stabilized his hated dictatorship, the opposite is true. The depth of the mass movement in Iran means that new explosions are on the agenda.

Among the features in this issue

of the 'Militant' are an eyewitness report from Tehran, an interview with an Iranian revolutionist, and an in-depth analysis of the current stage of the struggle.

Also in this issue is a round-up on anti-shah protests in the United States, and a survey of the reaction in the Soviet and Chinese press. See pages 5-9.

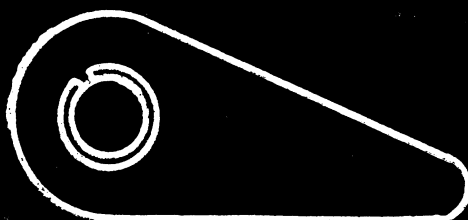
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away from the polls**

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Carter's 'civil defense' fraud

Many of us who were schoolchildren during the 1950s have vivid memories of crouching underneath our desks or trooping down to the school basement during "civil defense" exercises. Occasionally air-raid sirens would wail, and everybody would be expected to take shelter and stay off the streets for three minutes. Those who refused to comply could be arrested.

It may be that there were a few Dr. Strangeloves in the Pentagon who really believed that such absurd measures would improve the survival rate in the event of a nuclear war. But the real purpose behind the whole civil defense program was to help maintain the atmosphere of fear that was essential to Washington's cold-war policies.

During the late 1950s and early 1960s, the movement for nuclear disarmament helped to expose the civil defense hoax. Eventually, the whole miserable scheme was relegated to oblivion by the good sense of the American people.

But now President Carter is proposing to throw away \$2 billion on a new civil defense scheme. This time the gimmick is evacuation of major cities instead of underground fallout shelters.

Of course, even if the population of large cities were able to somehow escape the first devastating effects of a nuclear exchange, the survivors would quickly die from exposure, starvation, and the effects of radioactive fallout.

Once again, as in the 1950s, the real purpose of the government's civil defense proposals is simply to whip up support for greater military spending and new nuclear weapons by playing on the fear of a supposed Soviet threat.

In reality, it is Carter's advocacy of unsafe nuclear reactors, not any military threat from the Soviet Union, that is likely to some day force the evacuation of major American cities.

Where the real military threat comes from has been made abundantly clear by Carter's recent actions.

- Despite worldwide protests, Carter is moving ahead with production of the neutron bomb.

- The Pentagon has gone ahead with the development of a new strategic weapon, the cruise missile. Pentagon research chief William Perry bragged at a November 14 news conference that the present Soviet air defense system "is totally ineffective against this threat."

- Also on November 14, the Carter administration announced that it was requesting another \$2.2 billion from Congress for the full-scale development of a new generation of nuclear missiles. The Pentagon's new MX missile, like the cruise missile, has been designed to enable Washington to threaten a disabling "first strike" against the Soviet Union.

At the same time that Carter is pushing the arms race forward and escalating U.S. military spending to unheard of highs, he is slashing government allocations for social services. The old, the ill, and the needy are at the bottom of Carter's list of priorities.

And working people, who are forced to bear the burden of the Pentagon's bloated budget, are being told to sacrifice in Carter's war against inflation.

Under these circumstances, Carter's reactionary proposals are meeting opposition from the growing antinuke movement in this country.

Last spring, some 20,000 people demonstrated at the United Nations to demand that Carter scrap the nuclear weapons that threaten the existence of all humanity. This week, thousands more are participating in actions around the country to commemorate the death of Karen Silkwood and to demand "No more nukes!"

If Carter continues his present course, he can be sure of seeing many more such actions in the future.

Gains and losses for gay rights

The defeat by a sizeable margin in California, of the Briggs amendment, which sought to bar teaching jobs to gays and gay rights supporters, is a victory for democratic rights.

Together with the vote in Seattle upholding

a gay rights ordinance, this marks the first electoral success by gay rights advocates since Anita Bryant's antigay crusade was launched in Miami last year.

The vote in California is highly significant, especially since it focused on the issue that Bryant, Briggs, and their ilk made the centerpiece of their propaganda: the lie that gay teachers are a threat to students. The California electorate decisively rejected that slanderous myth.

Opponents of the Briggs initiative held sizeable meetings and rallies throughout California and received extensive publicity and widespread support. Under this pressure, capitalist politicians from former Gov. Ronald Reagan to current Gov. Jerry Brown spoke out against the initiative.

Brown, however, refused to campaign against the antigay measure during his statewide electioneering.

Key to defeating Briggs was the opposition of virtually the entire California labor movement. Unionists recognized that the measure would give employers a new weapon with which to blackmail, divide, and intimidate all workers.

Only a few days after the success in California, however, the cause of human rights was dealt a setback in New York City when a city council committee again rejected a bill barring discrimination against lesbians and gay men. Mayor Edward Koch testified for the bill but refused to put the power of his office behind it. Instead, he said that city council members opposed to the bill "should not vote against [their] conscience." That was the same as telling the antigay legislators—who don't have much in the way of a conscience to worry about—to vote their prejudices.

Representatives of New York City public employees' and teachers' unions testified for the bill. This positive step should be followed up by further activities explaining that attacks on gays are part of the employers' attack on the whole working class.

Over the past few years, gay rights supporters in New York have organized large demonstrations and important educational events to mobilize support for the antidiscrimination bill. More such activities can force the city council to resurrect the bill quickly and enact it.

The New York labor movement should throw its power behind this struggle against bigotry and superstition.

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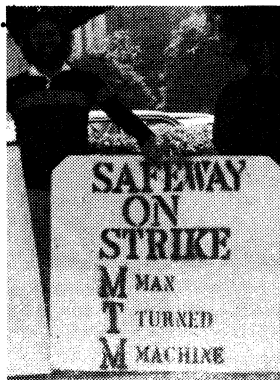


Strategy to win civil rights

A massive movement is needed to turn back the 'Weber' decision, the 'Bakke' case in industry. **Page 16.**

Support the Safeway strike!

A hard-fought strike by California Teamsters is now in its fourth month. How can workers win their demands? **Page 20.**



Black unions in South Africa

Drake Koka, founder of the Black Allied Workers Union, talks about this important aspect of the Black struggle against apartheid. **Page 19.**



The Militant

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Election forecast of rightward shift fizzles

By Nancy Cole

As written, the scene was to portray an American public charging the voting booths to register their turn to the right with stunning victories for budget-slashing candidates and referenda.

But when the curtain went up November 7, the stage was almost bare. Two out of three voting-age Americans stayed away from the polls.

The show went on with the same old election refrain.

Self-defined liberals, moderates, and conservatives in both big-business parties were sometimes defeated, some-

The votes of socialists are always the last to be counted, but next week's 'Militant' will carry initial returns for the Socialist Workers Party candidates.

times elected. The Democrats claimed gains. The Republicans claimed gains. Working people lost.

The biggest concern of the American people is inflation. Ever-increasing taxes are part of that economic worry. But politicians from both the Democratic and Republican parties had fallen over each other to embrace social-service cutbacks, justifying it with the so-called taxpayers' revolt.

Most voters weren't so easily suckered in.

Having conducted a survey with CBS News of voters leaving the polls, the *New York Times* gulped, "Indeed, voters appeared to be far more sophisticated about complex economic issues than many of the candidates may have suspected."

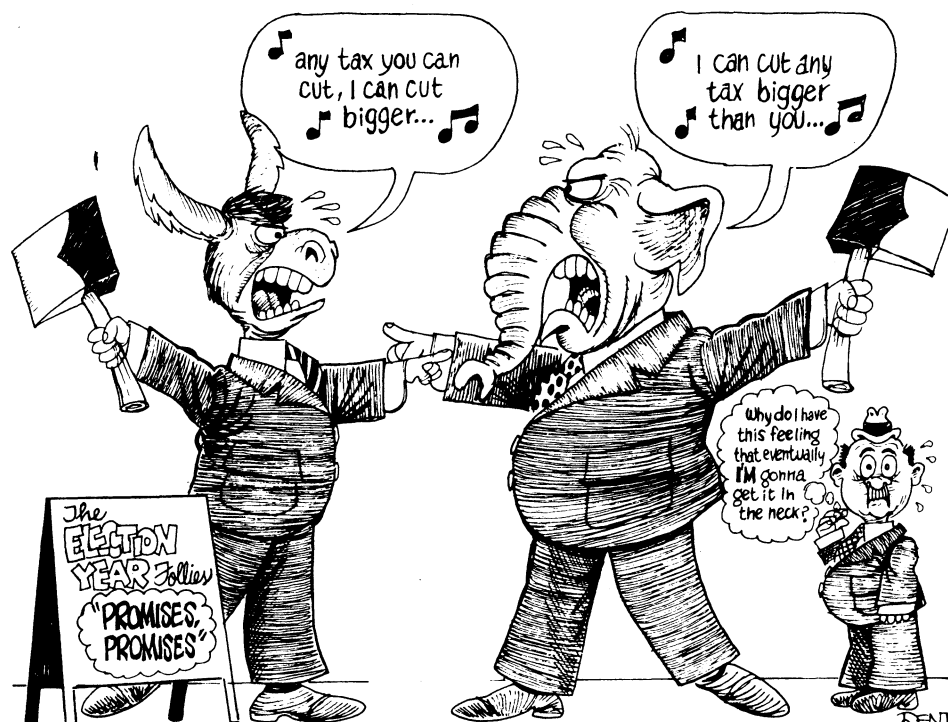
The poll, said the *Times*, found the politicians "more extreme than the voters"—i.e., to the right of the voters. Those surveyed opposed by a fifty-two-to-forty margin the Kemp-Roth proposal to slash federal spending.

They opposed by better than two to one a rollback of the Social Security tax increase—not because they want higher taxes, but because they support a national retirement plan.

And 61 percent of Democrats and 32 percent of Republicans favored a national health-care plan.

The big-business news media had quite a time adjusting to the facts. They had forecast a shift to the right. But the evidence just wasn't there.

Actually, the nature of electoral politics in the United States doesn't allow for much trend-setting. With elections controlled by the two capitalist parties, the results are distorted before anyone even enters the voting booth. Americans must choose between two virtually indistinguishable parties and policies, so reading vote totals is quite often not much more enlightening



than studying tea leaves.

The real political trend today is more accurately reflected in who and how many *don't* vote (see box). The record-low voter turnout this year is proof of a growing conviction among Americans that the two capitalist parties offer no

solutions to their ever mounting problems.

This is not a shift to the right. It is another sign that working people, Blacks, women, and students are getting increasingly fed up under the impact of rising prices, high unemploy-

ment, escalating racist and sexist attacks, and the lessons of Vietnam and Watergate.

There were two aspects to this year's elections. First were the contests of the capitalist candidates—the most expensive in history and solid contenders for the most irrelevant.

Second were the ballot referenda, which attracted the attention of many voters in a preelection period that otherwise might have gone issueless. (See story on next page.)

There were thirty-five senators elected, thirty-six governors, and 435 representatives to the House. Republicans gained a few offices, but fewer than usual for the party "on the outs."

While five incumbent Senate liberals were defeated, a number of candidates who harped the loudest about their conservatism also lost. Jeffrey Bell, for example, who campaigned with fervor for cutting federal taxes (along with spending) was defeated for the Senate seat from New Jersey.

A right-wing Republican, Meldrim Thomson, got tossed out of the New Hampshire Statehouse. A right-wing Democrat, Edward King, slipped into the Massachusetts Statehouse.

The only Black in the Senate, Repub-

Continued on next page

How come nobody votes?

Nearly 100 million Americans aged eighteen or over stayed away from the polls November 7.

It was the lowest turnout since 1942.

That certainly wasn't because Americans didn't know it was election season. Congressional candidates alone spent \$150 million—much of it on advertising.

At least twenty senatorial candidates spent more than \$1 million each, topped by the "Six Million Dollar Man," North Carolina Sen. Jesse Helms.

Campaign advertising, explained the *New York Times*, "was reported in many states to have succeeded only in turning off more voters than it swayed."

It's no wonder. In New Jersey, former basketball star Bill Bradley subjected TV viewers over and over again to his monologue on the "bond" created by the public having seen him running around in short pants all those times.

In Ohio, Republican Gov. James Rhodes appeared on the screen with a group of admiring older people. "When you're dealing with senior citizens, we're fighting one thing—loneliness," he condescendingly began. After extolling the virtues of

keeping busy, the ad ended with a voice declaring Rhodes "the best loneliness fighter in Ohio."

On the "hitting your opponent where it hurts" front, California gubernatorial candidate Evelle Younger charged that opponent Jerry Brown was "strange." Younger defined himself as unstrange, reported columnist Marquis Childs, a usual man, proud of his home, his dog, and his Episcopal religion. Brown countercharged that Younger was tired and not functioning very well.

The *Washington Post* described the election scene in Michigan thus: "Candidates at every level here seem to be playing down issues so as not to confuse voters."

When any of the candidates did venture into the arena of issues, the Democrats sounded the same as the Republicans.

"Voters no longer see a difference between the two parties on handling the major issues of the day, be it inflation, taxes, or government spending," says pollster Peter Hart.

In a three-way Republican House primary in Nevada last August, most voters picked the fourth line marked, "none of the above."

That was the sentiment of two-

thirds of the nation's potential voters November 7, but they saved themselves the trouble and stayed home.

Those who do vote, reports the *New York Times*, are a "self-selected elite that is consistently somewhat better educated, better paid and older than those who for whatever reason do not vote."

Those least likely to vote are blue-collar workers, Blacks, and young people. Those most oppressed and exploited by the capitalist system don't see much sense in voting for one of its candidates.

"The political parties have grown so that they both represent the same things," a nonvoter told the *Times*.

"It doesn't matter who gets elected," said another. "They can't do what they want. They're controlled by the people around them."

"I can't abide the promises they make that can't be fulfilled," said a third. "It should be criminal."

Yet, interjects the *Times*, the theory that voter turnout is low because of alienation may be unfounded. "In a survey taken after the 1976 election, the *New York Times* and CBS News found that voters were just as alienated as nonvoters were."

—N.C.

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Gov't admits Wilm. 10 were denied fair trial

By Matilde Zimmermann

The Wilmington Ten won a major victory November 14. The Justice Department filed a friend-of-the-court brief admitting that the 1972 trial of the civil-rights activists was "imbued with a fundamental unfairness and was in violation of the due process clause of the Fifth Amendment."

Contacted by the *Militant*, Anne Sheppard Turner, one of the defendants, hailed the news as "a great people's victory." She attributed it to "the hundreds of thousands of people in North Carolina plus nationally and

internationally who have educated, marched, picketed, and organized to demand a pardon for the Wilmington Ten in light of the gross errors in the trial."

All of the Wilmington Ten have been paroled except for Rev. Ben Chavis, who is still in prison in Hillsboro, North Carolina. Reached at the Orange County Prison Unit November 14, Chavis told a Raleigh newspaper that he was "very overjoyed" to hear about the action. He said he hoped it would "not only help the Wilmington Ten but other political prisoners of the



BEN CHAVIS

United States."

The Justice Department based its intervention—which federal officials say may be unprecedented—on the recantation of Allen Hall, the prosecution's star witness. Hall has admitted that he lied on the stand under inducement by the prosecuting attorney.

Hall recanted more than two years ago. But the Carter administration has twice previously refused to intervene, and the U.S. Supreme Court has turned down a defense appeal.

What turned the situation around
Continued on page 9

Results of ballot referenda are mixed

By Nancy Cole

If it hadn't been for the referenda on state ballots November 7, voter participation would have sunk even lower. Some 360 items helped lure the one-third of voting-age Americans who did go to the polls.

Forty of the ballot measures were "citizen"-initiated, the highest number in a nonpresidential election in three decades.

Their presence, and the media prominence accorded some of them, was intended to bolster the claim, much-discredited of late, that voters really can have input into the political system.

The truth is, however, that most ballot initiatives are far from the "grass roots" efforts they're made out to be. This year's initiatives for the most part began with the right-wing groups, backed in many cases by big business and capitalist politicians.

Their results, however, have been much commented on and looked to for "shifts" among the public.

Taxes

Heading the list were the tax proposals on sixteen state ballots. Attention was focused on them because of California's Proposition 13, approved by California voters five months ago. Prop 13 accorded billions in tax breaks for landlords and corporations, while causing cutbacks in social-service funding.

But few of the tax measures this fall

were Prop 13 clones. Their proposed methods for curbing taxes were as varied as the reasons people voted for or against them.

In Massachusetts, Question One promised to hold the line on homeowners' taxes by establishing different classifications for residential, commercial, and industrial property. Despite its Band-Aid approach to the problem of soaring homeowner taxes, and with no alternative on the ballot, voters approved it.

Arkansas voters were presented with a proposal to exempt food and drugs from sales tax. But, reported the *New York Times*, "responding to warnings that services would have to be sharply

reduced," they defeated it by a narrow margin.

Those most like California's Prop 13 were on the ballot in Oregon, Michigan, Idaho, and Nevada.

In Oregon, the measure failed, along with a less drastic tax-cut proposal counterposed to it. In Michigan, voters defeated the Prop 13 style measure, but approved a proposal for a state spending limit. The measures in Nevada and Idaho passed.

Michigan voters also turned down the voucher plan, which would have allocated public funds for private schools and threatened to gut public education.

Coloradans rejected a plan to

change the state-spending restrictions.

Other tax measures were approved, ranging from spending limits to a lowering of state income taxes to a requirement that new state taxes be enacted only by a two-thirds vote of both houses of the legislature.

'Right to work'

National attention was directed to a ballot referendum in Missouri, the "right to work" law—dubbed "right to ripoff" by the labor movement there. The anti-union state constitutional amendment was soundly defeated three to two.

Approval of the so-called right to
Continued on page 8



'Right to work' law in Missouri and antigay Briggs initiative in California were soundly defeated



Militant/Howard Petrick

...election

Continued from preceding page

lican Edward Brooke, got beaten by a liberal white Democrat.

It was, in other words, capitalist politics as usual.

The hodge-podge of referenda, especially the tax proposals, is also behind this "conservative trend" the news media are trying to sell.

But even the *Wall Street Journal* had to caution, "Despite a generally conservative mood, it isn't at all clear that real budget cutting would be popular. The voters in their marvelous ambiguity, actually favor more government spending in many specific areas—such as education, health, transportation and the environment—according to a preelection Roper Poll."

Cut taxes, not services

That "marvelous ambiguity" is explained by the fact that while most people need and want substantial tax cuts, 69 percent—according to a recent Yankelovich Poll—don't believe it requires a reduction in social services.

Leaving all that aside, Carter declared in a postelection news conference that the voting results showed "approval for the Democratic Party and its policies."

Asked if it were true that he had decided to increase the military budget by 3 percent faster than the rate of inflation while ordering a \$4 billion or

\$5 billion cut in the projected growth of social programs, Carter answered yes.

"Our security obviously comes first," he proclaimed and all other expenditures in the federal budget would be "very tight, very stringent."

With some candidates peddling the tax-cut cure-all and others sticking with baby-kissing, few concerns of the most oppressed were even mentioned this election. Nor did the two capitalist parties offer many Black or women candidates as bait.

The new Congress will have one fewer Black—the same number, sixteen, in the House, but none in the Senate with the defeat of Brooke.

The whole election circus left Black voters without the slightest motivation to go to the polls—and a great many didn't.

There were exceptions. In Mississippi, Charles Evers ran an independent campaign for U.S. Senate and won 3 percent of the vote. His campaign expenditures of \$49,000 compared with \$600,000 for each of his white opponents.

He won an estimated 90 percent of the Black vote, despite his reported appeals for the white racist vote with attacks on busing and "welfare cheats" and with support to "right to work" laws and prayers in schools.

This shows the potentially massive support that exists for independent Black political action and a break with the twin parties that perpetuate racism.

In Philadelphia, the power of the Black vote was demonstrated with the defeat of racist Mayor Frank Rizzo's charter change. Rizzo sought to change the city charter so that he could run for a third term.

Blacks defeat Rizzo

The two-to-one defeat of the proposal reflects a rejection of Rizzo's racist, pro-cop policies by Philadelphia Blacks. Rizzo had called on Philadelphians to "vote white."

Turnout in the Philadelphia Black community was heavy, and the charter change was voted down in some Black wards by margins as high as fifty to one.

One other case should be noted. U.S. Rep. Charles Diggs—a Black from Detroit—was singled out for a preelection indictment and conviction on charges of corruption. Yet his Black district ignored this double standard of prosecuting Blacks for what white politicians do with impunity. He was reelected with 80 percent of the vote.

Women's token representation in Congress didn't fare well. One woman, Nancy Landon Kassebaum, will replace the two widows who filled in for their husbands this past year. And the 435-member House will now include sixteen women, a decrease of two from the last.

Thus, Congress continues to resemble more than ever those it represents—rich, white males.

The predilection for incorrectly assessing the election results as a shift to the right was not confined to the pages of the big-business press. AFL-CIO chief George Meany met with reporters, and according to the *New York Times*, "the 84-year-old labor leader said that the elections confirmed that there was a conservative trend in the country and that labor's chances for obtaining favorable legislation from Congress had been diminished."

A leading labor lobbyist told the *Wall Street Journal*, "Our top priority probably will be to prevent bad things from happening."

The union movement gave an estimated \$8 million to congressional candidates in races so without meaning for working people that most unionists didn't bother to vote. But now Meany blames the public's "conservative trend" for the antilabor lineup in Congress.

The truth is that even if every candidate backed by the labor officialdom had been elected, there would be no more chance for obtaining "favorable legislation."

That is amply documented in the record of the Ninety-fifth Congress, which union officials hailed on its election as prolabor. With the votes safely counted, these "friends of labor" embarked on a probusiness, anti-union, antiwomen, anti-Black crusade.

More of the same can be expected from the Ninety-sixth.

A desperate tyrant

Iran: mass movement forcing shah to wall

By David Frankel

Has the shah of Iran successfully weathered the massive upsurge of the last few weeks? Is he once again in control and secure on his throne?

This is the question raised by news reports that striking oil workers have begun returning to their jobs, and by the success of the military government in temporarily halting the huge protest actions that had repeatedly rocked Tehran.

The answer is no. The decisive confrontation between the shah's dictatorship and the Iranian people is yet to take place.

Over the past year we have seen the development of a largely spontaneous and unorganized mass movement in Iran. Beginning with protests by students and intellectuals in Tehran last November, the movement against the dictatorship was joined by Muslim religious leaders in January.

Outrage against the bloody repression carried out by the regime led to larger and larger mass demonstrations. Small shopkeepers, the unemployed, and other layers of the urban population were drawn into action. Finally, in early October, the working class entered the fight as an organized force.

Although the Iranian working class represents less than 10 percent of the country's population, its decisive power and social weight enabled it to take the lead in the struggle against the shah. The six-week-long general strike by Iranian workers brought the dictatorship to the brink of collapse.

'Utopian ideals'?

Washington Post correspondent Jonathan Randall pointed out the revolutionary temper of the workers in an October 10 article. Randall, who interviewed two young leaders of the coordinating committee running the strike of oil workers at the Abadan refinery, complained that their comments to him "suggested a devotion to utopian ideals rather than the give-and-take of labor-management struggle."

If one dismisses determination and class solidarity in the struggle to end a hated dictatorship as "utopian ideals," then Randall was correct.



Oil workers on sit-down strike at Abadan refinery. Claims of victory for shah in capitalist media are premature.

"We were suppressed for so many years. We suffered for so long that now we have burst," one striker told Randall.

Answering the claim that the shah is "liberalizing" Iranian society, the young strike leader declared, "It was not the shah who liberalized, but we who grasped liberalization from him. We took it."

The second member of the coordinating committee told Randall: "I say why did my father not act, and I do not want my son to ask me the same question."

Referring to two of the shah's murderous attacks on the Iranian people, he added: "We know that we might be killed, but we say we are no better than the people who were killed in the Rex Cinema here in Abadan or in Saleh Square in Tehran."

It is working-class fighters such as these who have borne the brunt of the shah's desperate attempts to break the strike of the oil workers.

Pressure on oil workers

During the height of the strike by oil workers, the section of the proletariat most vital to Iran's economy, production was slashed to about one-sixth of normal levels. The strikers purposely

kept up production for the domestic market in order to avoid hardship among the people during the coming winter.

As on November 13, officials of the National Iranian Oil Company were claiming that about 60 percent of the workers had returned to their jobs and that production had reached about 45 percent of normal.

This announcement followed the arrest of strike organizers, including the twelve-member coordinating committee at the Abadan refinery, and the firing of scores of workers. Workers who returned to their jobs were offered a 22.5 percent pay raise and cash bonuses, while those who refused were threatened with dismissal and eviction of their families from company housing.

Troops are occupying key installations, and at least 400 military technicians have been sent in to help open oil lines.

But such measures can only serve as a temporary expedient for the shah. "Discontent among workers is said to be widespread and many are reported to be returning to their jobs but doing a minimum of work," *New York Times* correspondent Nicholas Gage reported in a November 14 dispatch.

One oilfield engineer said, "So many workers have been radicalized by the strike, it won't take much for them to do it again soon."

One indication of the depth of the mass opposition is the fact, reported in the November 20 issue of *Time* magazine, that it has taken an occupation force of 100,000 soldiers and 200 tanks to quell the demonstrations in Tehran alone.

Meanwhile, protests continue in other cities. "The official death toll from three days of rioting in the southern oil-field cities of Khorramshahr, Ahvas, and Abadan stands at 11, and opposition sources say it is much higher," Tony Allaway reported in the November 14 *Christian Science Monitor*. "Deaths and extensive damage have also been reported from many other towns around the country."

Other protests have occurred in Isfahan, Kerman, Shiraz, Kermanshah, Sunqur, Lahijan, and Mashad.

Strikes continue

Strikes are also continuing all over Iran. Newspaper workers in Tehran have gone on strike to protest the reimposition of censorship by the military regime. Employees at the health, finance, and commerce ministries remain on strike, as do the country's 400,000 teachers.

Work on a \$1.4 billion copper mining complex at Sarcheshmeh, in southeast Iran, has been brought to a standstill, and protests are occurring at hundreds of other workplaces across the country.

Although the Iranian masses have as yet been unable to unseat the shah, the monarch at the same time has been in too weak a position to try to crush the mass movement outright. The result has been a temporary stalemate.

So far, no section of the mass movement, including the oil workers, has been decisively set back. While relying on selective repression, the shah has also been forced to concede big concessions, including the release of some political prisoners.

Thrown to wolves

Just how desperate the tyrant was became apparent when he ordered the arrest of Amir Abbas Hoveyda No-

Continued on page 8

Eyewitness report from Tehran

On November 12 the *Militant* was able to contact Dr. Ali-Asghar Hadj Seyyed-Javadi in Tehran. Seyyed-Javadi, a distinguished journalist, social critic, and short story writer, is one of the founding members of the Writers Association of Iran.

Following the "Black Friday" massacre of September 8, when the shah's forces murdered some 4,000 unarmed demonstrators in Tehran alone, Seyyed-Javadi was forced into hiding. Today he remains under a travel ban, with the regime refusing him permission to leave the country.

Seyyed-Javadi charged that since November 4, "there have been more killings than on Black Friday. There have been killings in Zanjan, Amol, Mashad, Hamedan, and in the south of Tehran."

Asked whether people have been intimidated by the installation of the military regime and if the movement against the shah was beginning to ebb, Seyyed-Javadi declared:

"In no way has the movement started to ebb.

"Maybe the immediate effect of military rule was to cause confusion, but I say without hesitation that things will return to their previous condition.

"Firstly, the hatred of the people has increased. The people in no way believe the shah is fighting against corruption, nor do they believe that he will give more power to them.

"Right now, in Jamshidabad [a plush district in Tehran], those arrested by the government for corruption are participating in private parties, as they do every night.

"Parviz Sabeti [a notorious SAVAK torturer] has escaped. They took him out of the country even though he was under a travel ban.

"It's funny. An Iranian student who was returning to the country was immediately arrested at the airport [by SAVAK]. Mr. Sabeti, the known torturer, who is under a travel ban, escapes under the protection of SAVAK.

"The people know that all the promises of the government are lies.

"In Chaloos [a city near the Caspian Sea] people sat in the streets to protest military rule. In Mashad they protested in the same manner. In Zanjan, strikes are going on."

The *Militant* asked Javadi if the shah had abandoned attempts to form a new government that would include some opposition figures. He replied:

"To try to assemble a coalition government when parties do not exist has no meaning. A coalition government must consist of parties, in which case you must approach the opposition groups.

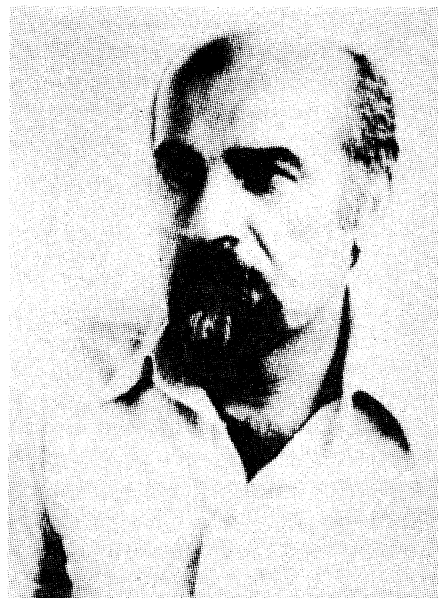
"The shah has in no way been in touch with the opposition groups, groups that fundamentally oppose his autocratic rule. He has been in touch with some old timers, but even they refused to participate in a coalition government. Everyone has come to the conclusion that after thirty-seven years of autocratic rule, the shah cannot rule in any other way.

"No rights have been granted. Some political prisoners have been released. But they were released because the people gave thousands of dead to obtain their freedom."

In regard to the killing of demonstrators, Seyyed-Javadi pointed out that "the killings were carried out by the Javedan guards, soldiers that have undergone special anti-riot training. They were all trained by the United States."

Despite the repression, the Writers Association is continuing its work.

Nicholas Gage reported in the November 14 *New York Times* that "the Association of Iranian Jurists, the Writers Association and other respected groups" issued a statement November 13 "condemning the military Government and commending all resistance."



DR. SEYYED-JAVADI: 'The people know that all the promises of the government are lies.'

'Everything has suddenly changed'

New openings for Iranian

The following interview with an Iranian Trotskyist leader from the Sattar League, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International, was obtained by the 'Militant' November 9.

Question. Last December you told the Militant that "a decisive shift in the situation in Iran" had occurred with the widespread student protests against the shah's dictatorship. (See the January 13 Militant, page 28.)

Now we have seen virtually every sector of Iranian society join the protest movement. What do you think the prospects for the shah are after this?

Answer. Even many reporters for the American mass media have concluded that the prospects for the shah are not very good.

The shah has been the sole individual with final authority over the vast state bureaucracy, the governmental apparatus, the army, over everything. He is the head of the Iranian ruling class. So, this movement against the shah threatens the whole capitalist system in Iran.

And it's not just that the people are against the shah. The people are against the government authorities, the SAVAK [secret police], the army generals, at every level. The workers and peasants have suffered under their oppression for twenty-five years.

Just three years ago, for example, in the southern part of Iran, the government leveled sixty villages as part of its agricultural plan. They drove out 70,000 peasants and their families.

Now we have seen people taking control of cities, arresting the mayors, the heads of the police departments. In Amol, they arrested them, set up a tribunal, and sentenced them to do agricultural labor and produce food.

Q. What about the military government? Do you think that it can break the strike movement and stop the protests?

A. As things stand now, none of the strikers have returned to work. The workers have paralyzed the whole economy.

Turning into a showdown

The government is concentrating on trying to force the workers back in a few key areas. They have shut down all the press, and radio and TV are being run under strict military control. Yesterday [November 8], they announced that the oil workers had gone back to work, but then the BBC broadcast that the oil workers had not gone back. People have their own ways of getting information—mouth to

"I think we've stabilized the situation."



mouth, and so forth—and they know what is happening.

The workers are standing firm, and it is turning into a showdown.

Q. You feel that the shah is going to need a showdown with the workers to force them back to work?

A. We cannot tell for sure if that is the option the shah will try. In the week before the declaration of the military government, the army was not used to break the strikes or machine-gun the strikers. There were brutal killings at the university and of some of the unemployed who demonstrated in the cities. But the army was not used against the strikers.

And that was for a good reason. Because using the army against the oil workers or other sections of the industrial working class could bring about a mass mobilization that might split the army.

There have been reports that three brigades of an airborne division in Tehran revolted. There has been constant dissent in the army barracks and instances of soldiers committing suicide in the streets rather than firing on the people.

At the University of Tehran, the week before the massacre there [on November 4], there were orders given every day for the soldiers to fire. These orders were disobeyed, and finally they brought in new units that did carry out the killings.

So, it would be difficult for them to order the army against the whole working class.

Q. But how long can the shah go on without moving against the strikers?

A. Well, the shah will probably have to do that eventually. But in the meantime he is trying to work out a compromise and get some of the known opposition leaders to join the government. He wants to find a way to weaken the mass mobilization before trying to crush it militarily. It is our opinion that military means alone cannot defeat the mass movement at this stage.

Q. You think the shah will have to try to form a government that the masses will have illusions in?

An appeal to our readers

Help reach Iranian students with Persian-language literature

The revolutionary upsurge in Iran has sparked a new interest in politics among the thousands of Iranian students studying in the United States. We urge bookstores and individual readers to join the effort to reach these students with Persian-language books and magazines published by opponents of the shah.

Payam Daneshjoo, a weekly Iranian oppositionist journal. Single copies, \$1. Subscriptions, \$24 per year.
Order from: P.O. Box 1266, Brooklyn, New York 11201.

Barresi Socialisti, a political journal distributed by Fanus Publications. The first issue consists of three documents of the Iranian Trotskyist movement on the general political situation, women, and nationalities. \$3.

Order from P.O. Box 217 New York, New York 10014.



The following literature from Fanus Publications can be ordered through Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, 10014.

The Communist Manifesto by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. \$1

The Transitional Program by Leon Trotsky. \$2

The Oppression of Women in Iran by Azar Asi, Foroogh Rad, and Evelyn Reed. \$1

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revolutionists

A. Yes. But that is not a very easy thing to do, because most of the opposition elements at this stage are afraid to be identified with the shah. Karim Senjabi, the head of the National Front, said in an interview in France that a year ago it was possible to do something like this, to form a coalition government under the shah. But today shaking hands with the shah would bring about the rebellion of the people.

So far, this prospect has prevented the bourgeois nationalist leaders from making a deal with the shah.

Q. Do you think that the sacrifice by the shah of some prominent scapegoats, including some of his closest associates, will appease the anger of the people?

Appeased by sacrifices?

A. No. For twenty-five years the shah has told everybody that he is the sole ruler, that everything is under his power, that everything is decided by him, that nobody can oppose him.

You can't take some minor official, or even a former prime minister, and put them on trial and say these people were responsible. Everybody knows that for twenty-five years the shah has bragged that he is the sole person who decides everything.

And everybody knows that [Gen. Gholam] Oveisi—who is known for [literally] beheading the Kurdish militants during the struggle of the Kurdish people for self-determination a decade ago—is now in charge of the ministry of labor.

The shah's propaganda about liberalization and the fight against corruption is meant more for international consumption than for the people of Iran. We know about the monarchy from our own experience.

Q. The capitalist media has charged that the opposition movement in Iran is largely a right-wing movement. How do you see it? How do you feel about the influence of religious leaders such as Ayatollah Khomeyni?

A. Muslim traditions are unfamiliar to the people of the United States and Western Europe, and the supporters of the shah try to use this, to make something scary out of the role of Muslim religious leaders. It would make just as much sense to start a scare campaign over some priest in the United States saying something against Carter.

Khomeyni is the highest of all Iranian religious figures. His consistent opposition to the shah and the monarchy has turned him into a very popular symbol. This is easy to understand.

The American rulers cannot come out openly and say that the movement in Iran is a movement for democracy and liberation. If they did, the American people would support it. So they have to make up something else.

They dig up the 100-year-old lies about how they brought civilization and progress to the backward Muslims. But the lies are becoming harder to sell.

Impact on Iranian students

Q. Can you describe the impact the upsurge in Iran has had on Iranian students abroad?

A. The upsurge is turning everybody in a political direction. Iranian students who previously felt that the people would never stand up under the shah's empire of torture and repression have been inspired. Everything has suddenly changed. Now, not only the Iranian militants abroad, but also the skeptics who did not feel it was urgent for them to speak out are turning in a political direction.

Meetings of Iranian students that used to attract ten, twenty, or thirty students are now attracting hundreds and hundreds.

Q. I understand that there was a meeting in London of 850 organized by Iranian Trotskyists there.

A. Yes. That just shows you an example of the growing interest among Iranian students abroad.

A film of the march of millions in early September was shown at the meeting, and a talk was given on the Trotskyist analysis of what is taking place in Iran. The talk explained:

- Why the Trotskyists say, "Down with the shah,

long live the constituent assembly!"

- Why the Iranian Trotskyists call for full rights for the oppressed nationalities and for women.

- Why they call for the establishment of a workers and farmers republic.

- Finally, the talk explained why it is necessary to build a party of the Iranian revolution, a section of the Fourth International.

The call to build the Fourth International drew the longest applause, which tells you again something about the openness Iranian youth are showing toward revolutionary socialist ideas.

Q. What has been the response among the students who follow the Maoists?

A. The Maoists are having a tough time. Hua Kuo-feng and the Chinese leadership support the shah. Now all the Iranian students can understand what's wrong with Maoism. They just have to look at Hua's visit to Iran.

Prospects for revolutionary party

Q. What steps have been taken by the Sattar League to take advantage of the new situation?

A. The most important thing is that we are moving toward a unification of the Iranian revolutionists who support the Fourth International.

Besides the Sattar League, which is a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International, there is the Organization of Iranian Supporters of the Fourth International in the Near East and Europe. The two groups have reached political agreement on the new developments in Iran and are agreed on a fusion that will result in a single section of the Fourth International in Iran.

With the splintering of the Maoist forces, and in light of the insignificant influence of the pro-Moscow Communist Party in the student movement, the situation has opened up in favor of Iranian Trotskyism.

Q. What kind of activities will the new organization carry out?

A. The most important project of the new organization will be putting out a regular weekly paper of Iranian Trotskyism. That is the first major task facing us.

Until then, *Payam Daneshjoo* (Students Correspondence), an independent paper that has been published in the United States for the past five years, will be publishing as a weekly, rather than a monthly. *Payam Daneshjoo* is the most widely circulated Iranian publication abroad. Before the military government, there were five articles in a row in the uncensored daily press in Iran in Iranian papers abroad. Every one of them mentioned *Payam Daneshjoo*.

The newspaper of the new unified Trotskyist party will be formed by a merger between *Payam Daneshjoo* and *Kandokav* (Search), which is published by the Organization of Iranian Supporters of the Fourth International.

Q. How much success have you had in actually getting Trotskyist literature into Iran?

A. *Payam Daneshjoo* reaches Iran regularly. It is not a paper with mass distribution, but a lot of people regularly receive it, when one takes into account the repression and censorship. In addition, there are books and pamphlets printed by Iranian Trotskyists abroad, which have been circulated in Iran.

Most Iranian student militants consider themselves Marxists, but neither the Soviet nor Chinese regimes are very popular. Most Iranian militants consider the pro-Moscow Tudeh Party as the organization primarily responsible for the defeat of 1953 [when the CIA restored the shah to his throne].

The Tudeh Party did not organize against the coup, and it left the battlefield without presenting any significant resistance. Its leaders just packed up and went abroad.

So, Trotskyist ideas have a lot of attraction. And the fusion will set an example for all these militants. It will show how revolutionists can come together and lay the basis for an organization that can get involved in the struggles of the oppressed and organize the best militants in these struggles around a clear socialist program.

No U.S. aid to shah!

By Peter Archer

Around the country Iranian students and their supporters are demonstrating their opposition to continued U.S. support to Iran's bloody tyrant. Demonstrations, picket lines, press conferences, and meetings have been held in cities from coast to coast.

In New York City, 250 people came to a forum at New York University Law School Friday, November 10. The meeting, sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance, featured Bahram Atai, a writer for the Persian-language opposition magazine *Payam Daneshjoo*. Atai reported on the extent and character of the upsurge and explained why he supports the demands of Iranian Trotskyists for the overthrow of the shah, a democratically elected constituent assembly, and establishment of a workers and farmers government.

A meeting sponsored by the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran is planned for November 21. Speakers will include exiled Iranian poet Reza Baraheni; American Indian Movement leader Vernon Bellecourt; Prof. Bertell Ollman; Anne Sheppard Turner of the Wilmington Ten; and others.

The meeting will be held at the New York University Law School, Tishman Auditorium, at 7:30 p.m.

Baraheni will also be a featured speaker at a planned meeting in Philadelphia on November 30. Other speakers at the meeting, organized by CAIFI, will include Parvin Najafi of *Payam Daneshjoo*; Adam Finnerty from Liberty for Captives; Sonia Sánchez, a Black activist and poet; and Kay Camp, international president of Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. The meeting will be held at 7 p.m. at Tabernacle Church, 3700 Chestnut Street.

On Saturday, November 11, Liberty for Captives called a picket line to protest recruitment by the Bell Helicopter Company of personnel to go to Iran. The picket was successful, and Bell was forced to close down its recruitment.

Pickets demanding an end to U.S. intervention in Iran have also occurred in Washington, D.C., where 600 people marched through the downtown area November 13, and in Kansas City, Missouri.

In Kansas City, 70 people picketed President Carter when he appeared at the national conference of Future Farmers of America on Wednesday, November 9. The next day, the picket swelled to 600. The Secret Service was so concerned about Carter's "security" that they locked the doors to the conference before 3,000 of the conference participants could enter. Some of them, while waiting outside the hall, joined the pickets.

"Iran, the next Vietnam!" the demonstrators chanted. "Vietnam has won, Iran will win!"

Elsewhere in the Midwest, a demonstration of 400 took place in Chicago on Saturday, November 11. The demonstration, organized by members of the Iranian Students Association, called for: Down with the shah! No U.S. intervention in Iran! Smash the shah's martial law and military government!

The previous day, 100 pickets had demonstrated at the *Chicago Tribune* to protest that newspaper's biased coverage of events in Iran.

In Los Angeles, 3-400 people showed up for a picket line called by the Iranian Students Association and the Revolutionary Student Brigade on November 11. Another picket line was organized for November 14 by the Compton Mosque. And a meeting at Cal State University was held November 9 to discuss "Prospects for socialism in Iran." The meeting was organized by the Young Socialist Alliance and *Payam Daneshjoo*.

Other activities to support the demands of the Iranian people and to demand that the U.S. get out of Iran are planned or have taken place in Detroit; Seattle; Bloomington, Indiana; Minneapolis; and elsewhere.

For times and places of future events about Iran, see page 24.

...Iran: decisive battles yet to come

Continued from page 5

vember 8. Hoveyda, who served as prime minister for thirteen years (1965-77), was considered by many to be the shah's closest associate. Also thrown to the wolves was Gen. Nemathollah Nassiri, who headed SAVAK—the Iranian secret police—from 1965 until this June.

Of course, the arrest of a few of the shah's henchmen meant no change in the basic character of the regime. As Gage noted in a November 9 article:

"The Shah is said to feel that his wholesale dismissal of senior officials has not been an excessive drain on the nation's experienced leaders since their replacements have been familiar figures on the political scene for years."

A few sacrificial lambs, no matter how highly placed, have failed to placate the anger of the masses. Meanwhile, although promises of "liberalization" continue, some 2,000 of the shah's opponents have been arrested since the appointment of the new military government November 6.

On November 11, the shah ordered the arrest of two of the main bourgeois opposition leaders. Karim Sanjabi and Dariush Forohar, both leaders of the National Front, were arrested as they tried to hold a news conference to denounce the shah.

(Asked about these arrests November 13, a State Department official said that political arrests are generally "regrettable," but that the "emergency situation" in Iran is "fully apparent.")

Problem of organization

It would be remarkable indeed if a spontaneous mass movement such as the one opposing the shah did not go through periods of pause, vacillation, and hesitation. But the situation in Iran today is one in which the mass



Troops confront students at gates of Tehran University

movement, including the oil strike, can break out again at any moment with redoubled force.

The Iranian masses, and especially the Iranian workers, have gone through an intensive political experience. They have found that they can fight and force the government to back down. They have gotten the idea that they should be allowed to think and speak for themselves, and put forward their own demands.

For the shah, this is an intolerable situation. Each day that passes without the rebellion of the Iranian people being suppressed once and for all further weakens the dictatorship, and further erodes the confidence and cohesiveness of the regime.

On the other hand, the choices open to the shah are limited indeed. In fact, only one factor—the lack of organization of the Iranian working class—has enabled the shah to hang on in an upsurge that would otherwise have swept him away.

At the beginning of the upheaval now shaking Iran, the working class was not even organized into its own trade unions, due to the severely re-

pressive character of the regime. The workers had to organize themselves in the heat of the struggle, and without a revolutionary party to help point the way.

Right now, the shah is biding his time, seeking to divide the mass movement, to pick off the boldest leaders, and to maneuver for the best possible position. But no maneuvers by the shah can make the deep-seated hatred for his dictatorship and the powerful social discontent that has been manifested over the past weeks disappear.

'Army must shoot it out'

Clearly, there is no question about the sentiments of the Iranian masses. What is needed is an organized revolutionary socialist party that can lead the masses in a struggle for power against the dictatorship. The organization of such a party is a matter of life and death for the Iranian people.

As Allaway noted in his November 14 article, "Sources say there is a growing body of opinion in the military hierarchy that the Army must shoot it out with the opposition at the earliest opportunity. They see the his-

tory of 1963, when the Army quelled anti-Shah violence after five bloody days, being repeated."

However, Allaway quoted "a knowledgeable Iranian informant" who warned that history might not be repeated. "The Army is more stretched now than then and the opposition much greater. Even at that time, they had to turn the soldiers around regularly in order to prevent them from knowing exactly how many they were gunning down. Had that rioting gone on for perhaps another 24 hours I think the Army would have cracked."

Short of abandoning his blood-stained throne, the shah has little choice but to prepare to "shoot it out" with the Iranian people. Nothing less than that will finally cut off the mass protests that have shaken his regime to its roots.

Cynics like Jonathan Randall may condescendingly dismiss the "utopian ideals" of those oil workers who were prepared to die for their beliefs. But, as the shah is well aware, it is those "utopians" who may yet bring his dynasty to a well-deserved end.

...referenda

Continued from page 4

work law would have made Missouri the twenty-first state to outlaw the union shop. Under such laws, labor contracts cannot require workers to join the union or even to pay union dues.

It was the first campaign by the "right to work" forces in a highly industrialized and unionized state.

"Once this law is passed," bragged one of the measure's prime backers, Republican state legislator Paul Dietrich, "it will be seen as a turning-point in the decline of labor."

The union movement countered with a United Labor Committee and local union "truth committees." Inadequate as the effort by union officials was, the ranks of the labor movement turned out in high numbers to defeat the "right to work" law. In St. Louis, the vote was 79 percent against to 21 percent for.

But labor had help. The "right to workers" had appealed to the state's farmers in a blatant effort to pit them against the unions. It failed. In every county except two, the measure was rejected.

Briggs initiative

Also claiming national attention was California's Proposition 6, the Briggs initiative. This draconian attack on civil liberties sought to ban gays and gay rights supporters from teaching or other employment in public schools.

Gay activists, unionists, and Black and women's groups mounted an educational campaign against the measure. They succeeded and handed the antigay bigots a national defeat, winning "no" votes from 59 percent of the high turnout.

A referendum in Seattle to rescind that city's gay rights bill also failed. But in Dade County, Florida, a proposed ordinance to provide equal rights for gays failed.

In Montana, 64 percent of voters okayed an antinuclear measure that will require a public vote on any proposed nuclear plant in addition to strict safety and liability standards. A separate proposal for a total ban on nukes in Missoula County passed three to two. Both votes reflect the growing sentiment nationwide against nuclear power.

Hawaiian voters also passed a constitutional amendment requiring a two-thirds vote of the state legislature to approve any nuclear plants.

In Oregon, opponents of a women's right to choose were set back when voters defeated a proposal to cut off state funds for abortion.

Defeats for Blacks, women

But all the initiatives didn't turn out so well for working people.

In Nevada, an advisory recommendation on whether voters favored passage of the federal Equal Rights Amendment—put on the ballot by opponents of the ERA—failed.

And in Florida, a proposal to add sex to the antidiscrimination clause of the state Bill of Rights failed.

In Washington State and Massachusetts, antibusing proposals passed.

An Oregon initiative to reinstate the racist death penalty and a California proposal to expand the list of crimes subject to the death penalty were both approved by wide margins.

Taken altogether, the referenda were another arena in which the capitalist politicians tried to confuse and trick working people through damned-if-you-do, damned-if-you-don't alternatives and demagogic appeals.

But the labor movement—along with the women's, Black, gay, and antinuclear movements—can turn the tables on the rulers by educating about the real issues and alternatives. And the rejection of the "right-to-work" law in Missouri and the antigay initiative in California shows that working people can win.

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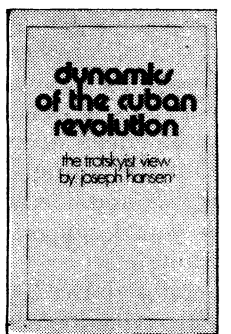
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CP, CP(ML) fall in line

Moscow, Peking Stalinists stick with Iran tyrant

By Fred Feldman

Carter administration officials sometimes point to the danger of "Soviet expansionism" to justify supporting the shah's repression. When they are in the mood to speak more frankly, they'll admit that the Kremlin bureaucrats oppose the popular upheaval in Iran.

William Sullivan, U.S. ambassador to Iran, told *New York Times* reporter Nicholas Gage, "Ironically all the major powers—the U.S., Britain, France, China and the Soviet Union—are alarmed by what's going on in Iran. The Russians don't want to see an Islamic republic here."

On October 26, Brezhnev addressed birthday greetings to "Your majesty Mohammed Reza Pahlavi, light of the Aryans, king of kings of Iran." The Soviet prime minister called for "all-round expansion" of "good neighborly relations."

The Soviet press provided an example of Brezhnev's idea of neighborliness. The government newspaper *Pravda* largely restricted its coverage to squibs in obscure corners of its international news page, topped with stirring headlines such as "On the Events in Iran" and "Tension Continues."

The Soviet press even omitted any criticism of Chinese Premier Hua Kuo-feng for visiting and hailing the shah this fall, despite the high priority usually given to denunciations of Peking.

As the monarch's survival was thrown into doubt by the mass upsurge, *Pravda* took a more critical tone towards his regime—while carefully avoiding any intimation that he should be overthrown.

For the Kremlin bureaucrats, the Iranian revolution poses a double peril. They fear both the impact of millions of people fighting for basic democratic rights just across the Soviet border and the unsettling effect that revolutionary upheavals can have on their search for détente with U.S. imperialists.

The U.S. Communist Party's *Daily World* has reflected Moscow's stance. The *DW* coverage cannot be as low-



Left, Brezhnev and shah hold "neighborly" meeting. Right, Hua Kuo-feng hails shah in Tehran.

keyed as *Pravda's*, since the Iranian events have been front-page news in the United States. But the upsurge rated a *DW* front-page headline only once.

While the tone of the *Daily World's* coverage has been hostile to the shah, the paper has not backed the main demand of the Iranian masses—"Down with the shah!" Even the statements by Iranian Stalinists, who are compelled to speak against the shah in order to win influence over the rebellious masses, have been edited from this standpoint.

When the central committee of Iran's Tudeh Party issued an appeal for the "overthrow of the regime of the shah" and "abolition of the monarchy," the *DW* followed *Pravda* in reporting the statement without mentioning these demands. (The CP's West Coast weekly *People's World*, which sometimes misses signals from the front office, noted the demands in its September 23 issue.)

Peking's stand differs from Moscow's only in its greater brazenness. Open support of the shah is part of the

Chinese bureaucrats' current whirlwind courtship of U.S. imperialism.

An October 28 dispatch in *Hsinhua*, the official Chinese press agency, showed the distorted version of Iranian events being fed to the Chinese people—when they are told anything at all:

"The shah pledged that liberalization measures would be stepped up and more political prisoners would be released. It was reported that 1,126 political prisoners had been set free to mark the shah's 59th birthday.

"The press reported that in the northwestern town of Rezaiyeh, farmers drove their tractors through the streets on October 26 to celebrate the shah's birthday, and took part in demonstrations supporting the monarch. On the same day, workers in the nation's vital oil fields announced the end of their strike."

Of course, no report of the thousands killed by the shah in recent months has slipped past the Peking censors.

Official Chinese enthusiasm for the royal torturer has placed Hua Kuo-feng's echoes in this country—the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist)—in something of a bind.

At first the *Call*, newspaper of the CP(ML) tried to have it both ways. An editorial in the September 18 issue hailed Hua's trip to Iran, asserting that "Iran's independence and security are of major importance."

But an article in the same issue denounced the shah for "unleashing a bloodbath." After trying to protect its Peking flank with cold-war rhetoric about the USSR "taking advantage of the present instability," the article concluded: "But the mass movement itself is playing the dominant role in the present struggle. Its broad base and legitimate demands are winning support from people throughout the world."

The irritation such daring statements could cause in Peking evidently terrified the *Call's* editors, for since that time it has carried only two reports from Iran. One supported a "West German scientist" who blamed Soviet nuclear testing for Iran's recent

earthquake. A second item, on an inside page in the October 30 issue, briefly summarized an October 4 *Hsinhua* dispatch that took note of strikes in Iran.

Most likely Chairman Michael Klonsky and the other leaders of the CP(ML) are nervously fingering their worry beads, hoping that the Iranian people's struggle will go away before it disturbs their recently acquired franchise from Peking.

Cuba backs anti-shah fight

In contrast to the Stalinists in Moscow and Peking, the Cuban press has closely followed the Iranian struggle and clearly taken its stand with the masses against the shah. A headline in the September 3 edition of the English-language Havana weekly *Granma* declared the events to be "The Largest Popular Rebellion in 25 Years."

When Chinese Premier Hua Kuo-feng visited Iran in the midst of the upsurge, *Havana's* September 10 article on the visit was entitled, "Jumping on the Imperialist Bandwagon."

The September 22 issue of the magazine *Bohemia* contained an analytical article on Iran. It concluded that shifts in government personnel ordered by the shah might buy time for the regime but would

not prevent "its ultimate downfall."

The October 23 *Granma* stated, "The systematic campaign to depict the militancy of the masses as being due to religious fanaticism and to center the wave of protests on old Ayatollah Khomeiny, a religious leader now in France, is aimed at limiting the scope of the popular upheaval and blocking the drive for unity initiated by the opposition."

The article reported demonstrators' demands for a republic, for use of oil funds to develop the country, for genuine agrarian reform, and against imperialist intervention.

The November 5 issue laid stress on the strikes as indications of the deepening crisis and noted reports from reliable sources that most of the shah's family has fled the country. —F.F.

...Wilm. 10

Continued from page 4

was intense pressure on Washington, both within the United States and internationally. There have been demonstrations of up to 8,000 demanding that the convictions be overturned. The ten have been adopted as "prisoners of conscience" by Amnesty International. The State Department has admitted that the Wilmington Ten case has

caused "serious problems" internationally for Carter's "human rights" campaign.

The Wilmington Ten were involved in a 1971 campaign to desegregate schools in Wilmington, North Carolina. They were framed up for the fire-bombing of a grocery store during white racist vigilante attacks on the Black community. After a trial marked by prosecution bribes and threats,

perjured testimony, and other irregularities, they were convicted in 1972 and sentenced to long prison terms.

North Carolina Gov. James Hunt made token reductions in the sentences in January 1978, while insisting that the defendants received a "fair trial" and the jury made the "right decision."

The Justice Department brief was presented to North Carolina federal District Judge Franklin Dupree, Jr., who will hear the appeal on a defense

motion for a new trial. (The prosecutor's office has admitted that if a new trial were ordered, "the state would lack evidence sufficient to prosecute the case.")

Theoretically Judge Dupree can ignore the administration's intervention, although such behavior would be regarded as quite strange.

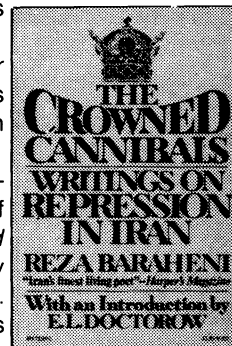
Anne Sheppard Turner has called for continued public pressure "to turn this into a final victory for justice."

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Witnesses document Mexico repression

New evidence supports

The U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service is threatening to rule any day on Héctor Marroquín's request for political asylum. A ruling against Marroquín would open the way for the INS immediately to start deportation proceedings and schedule a deportation hearing.

This "rush to judgment" would mean that the powerful new evidence summarized below could not receive due consideration, and Marroquín could not get the complete and uncensored FBI files his attorneys are demanding.

The Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee has issued an urgent appeal for supporters to send letters and telegrams to Castillo, demanding that he postpone ruling until all the evidence in the case is in. Messages should be sent to Leonel Castillo, Director, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington, D.C. 20536; with copies to the defense committee at Post Office Box 843, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003, telephone (212) 691-3587.

By Matilde Zimmermann

When political refugee Héctor Marroquín met with Leonel Castillo last March, the immigration chief refused to admit that there is repression in Mexico. He would say only that Mexico is "not as open as the United States."

Castillo should study carefully the 300 pages of documentary evidence recently sent to the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service in support of Marroquín's request for political asylum in the United States. Submitted in the form of an affidavit by Marroquín's attorney, Margaret Winter, this material proves beyond any doubt that the Mexican police, army, and government-inspired right-wing paramilitary groups are guilty of illegal arrest, torture for the purpose of extracting false confessions, imprisonment without trial, kidnappings, and murder. It reconstructs in frightening detail the way in which Marroquín was framed up by the Mexican police and press for crimes he had nothing to do with, and proves his innocence.

When Héctor Marroquín first entered the United States in April 1974, he was in many ways just like hundreds of thousands of other Mexican immigrants.

He was twenty-one years old, with no money, no papers, and no faith in the capitalist system. He



HECTOR MARROQUIN

Militant/Arnold Weissberg

knew that if he was lucky enough to get a job, he would do backbreaking work for miserable wages.

There was one thing that made Marroquín different from most other immigrants, however. He was running for his life, afraid that if he remained in Mexico he would be gunned down by police, beaten into signing a phony confession, or kidnapped by rightist terror squads.

Marroquín was forced to flee after he was publicly accused of the assassination of a school librarian, under circumstances that guaranteed he would not be given a chance to prove his innocence. At the time, he was already a political activist, a socialist, and an outspoken opponent of tactics such as assassinations.

A student activist

Although only fifteen years old during the Mexican student upsurge of 1968, Marroquín was deeply affected by that struggle and by the police massacre

of hundreds of students in Tlatelolco Plaza in Mexico City.

Several years later he became a leader of the movement for student autonomy at the University of Nuevo León in Monterrey. He participated in demonstrations against police repression and became a member of a group called the Comité Estudiantil Revolucionario (Revolutionary Student Committee).

In a pamphlet entitled *My Story* Marroquín has explained the nature of the CER in early 1973: "We discussed the economy and politics, and came to some conclusions—that what was needed in Mexico was a workers' and peasants' government; that the present government represented the capitalists and could not solve our problems; that students, workers, and peasants had to organize independently from the government."

Sworn statements included in the new evidence submitted to the INS confirm that Marroquín's political activity had nothing to do with terrorism. For example, the principal of the school where Marroquín was a student teacher in 1973 writes: "I was very familiar with [Marroquín's] political opinions, which were the same as those of other teachers who were also persecuted by the police. He worked to organize students around legal goals, in order to democratize the university and society itself."

Rejects guerrilla tactics

In mid-1973, the CER began to move toward guerrillaist positions that Marroquín did not agree with. An affidavit by Marroquín's wife, María Isabel Guadalupe García Zúñiga, explains how this happened:

"Around the end of August, Héctor explained the following situation to me: He had attended a meeting with CER activists to discuss how to build a campaign against right-wing terrorism and put forth the political ideas of the CER. A proposal to form political-military brigades was made at this meeting. These brigades would provide a way of talking to people, passing out leaflets, and defending the movement against possible paramilitary attacks. These defense guards were to be armed, because the right-wing gangs were armed.

"Héctor expressed his opposition to this tactic, saying he thought it would be counterproductive, since the government would take advantage of the situation to launch more severe repression against

Truth about Mexico 'amnesty' law

By Matilde Zimmermann

Héctor Marroquín's name is on the Mexican government's most recent list of political activists to be granted amnesty, according to the November 7 issue of the Mexico City daily *Excelsior*.

This means the López Portillo government has been forced to acknowledge that Marroquín has been the victim of political persecution. Unfortunately, it does not mean the persecution will stop.

Mexico's new amnesty was decreed in September in an effort to take the steam out of the growing human rights movement in Mexico and placate international critics. It has been something less than successful. A few days after the law went into effect, a crowd estimated as high as 100,000 rallied in Mexico City to commemo-



Rosario de Piedra: 'extremely dangerous' for Marroquín to return to Mexico.

Militant/Arnold Weissberg

rate the October 2, 1968, massacre of students in Tlatelolco Plaza. The demonstrators demanded that the government free all political prisoners and produce all those who have disappeared in police custody or been kidnapped by government-organized right-wing terror squads.

A leader of the October 2 demonstration was Rosario Ibarra de Piedra of the National Committee to Defend Political Prisoners, the Politically Persecuted, "Disappeared," and Exiled. In a telephone interview with the *Militant* November 10, Piedra characterized the new amnesty law as "incomplete and full of loopholes."

It would be "extremely dangerous," Piedra said, for Marroquín to return to Mexico now.

The committee has compiled a list of some 400 political prisoners, plus nearly that many persons who disappeared after being arrested, and about fifty political exiles.

The Mexican government has released the names of only 160 to be freed under the amnesty. Some of the people on the government lists are dead, according to activists in the human rights movement. Others have already completed their sentences.

Rosario Ibarra de Piedra says that only a handful of prisoners have actually been freed under the new law. The *Washington Post* estimates thirty in an October 31 article.

Furthermore, Piedra charges, some who have been released have been rearrested immediately.

There are also people who remain in jail even though their names are on the amnesty lists. The excuse frequently given is that they face state charges not covered by the federal amnesty law.

The amnesty applies only to overtly political offenses such as "illegal association," and not to

"criminal" charges used to frame up activists, such as robbery, kidnapping, or assault.

The Catch-22 character of the law is shown by the case of Héctor Marroquín, who has become one of Mexico's best-known political exiles. The government amnesty applies only to indictments for political crimes in federal courts. No federal charges have ever been brought against Marroquín. He has been accused only under state law, and only for "criminal" offenses.

Piedra explains further that the new law does not apply to those considered dangerous—for example, those accused of murder or terrorism. "But it gives the prosecuting attorneys the exclusive right to decide who is dangerous and who is not. And the prosecuting attorneys are the ones who put these prisoners behind bars in the first place!

"Nobody has said anything about an amnesty for the disappeared," Piedra points out. She tells the story of two students who were arrested and disappeared only a few days after the new law was passed.

One of the best-known "disappeared" persons is her own son, Jesús Piedra Ibarra. The government not only has refused to produce Piedra or to amnesty him—it issued a warrant for his arrest right after passing the new amnesty law!

Rosario Ibarra de Piedra knows that the struggle is not over. "We urge all those forces that came together October 2 not to step back now.

"As long as the political prisoners have not been released from jail; as long as the exiles are not allowed to return; as long as the disappeared have not been presented—that's how long we need to keep the pressure on."

Marroquin asylum bid

the students and smash their organization. He was very upset about the fact that the other members of the CER did not seem to understand what he was saying, and began to call him a petty-bourgeois reformist and lose confidence in him. Héctor had always taken his political work very seriously and therefore felt very bad about the whole situation."

García Zúñiga says that Marroquín's differences with the other members of the CER continued after this meeting. In fact, they deepened. He soon left the group and devoted himself to his studies and to political reading to strengthen his arguments against guerrilla tactics.

Marroquín knew from his own experience how the police used allegations of guerrilla activity to silence political activists. In January 1972, Marroquín's roommate and close friend Jesús Rivera was murdered outside an apartment the police said was inhabited by "terrorists." Marroquín happened to be nearby and saw the police shoot Rivera again and again as he came out of the building with his hands in the air.

Thus Marroquín had good reason to be afraid when he opened a Monterrey daily newspaper on January 19, 1974, and saw his own picture and those of several other political activists. The article identified Marroquín and the others as "the principal leaders of the Frente Estudiantil Revolucionario," and said they were wanted in connection with the killing of a school librarian two days earlier.

This was not the last time Marroquín's picture appeared in the newspapers. Over the next several months, the police repeatedly accused him of terrorist acts, calling him armed and "extremely dangerous." The cops variously identified him as a member of the CER, the Liga Comunista 23 de Septiembre (a guerrillaist group some CER members joined long after Marroquín left the CER), and the "Batallón Revolución 10 de Marzo."

Marroquín went into hiding with relatives after an attorney warned him that he had no chance of receiving a fair trial and would be tortured and possibly killed by the Monterrey police if he turned himself in.

Torture, forced confessions

Marroquín's attorneys and the Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee have collected dozens of sworn statements from Mexican political prisoners and from relatives of young people who were killed or "disappeared," that is, kidnapped and never heard from again. These affidavits show graphically what would have happened to Marroquín had he not fled from the police. They also show that the young student activist had a much more accurate perception of Mexican "justice" than does the head of the INS.

The testimony of Fernando Miguel Ruíz Díaz is just one example. Like Marroquín, he was involved in high school protests in the late sixties and in a struggle to democratize his university in 1971. By 1974, however, his political activity was limited to attending university council meetings as a student representative. In May of that year he was arrested, and for four days the police beat him, gave him electric shocks, and threatened to kill him. Finally, Ruíz Díaz says, he could not stand it anymore. "I agreed to sign a statement prepared beforehand by the police" confessing to a string of incidents he had nothing to do with.

Ruíz Díaz can prove that he is innocent. But he has not had a chance to present that proof in court. He has been in prison for almost four years without trial or sentence.

Two other political prisoners, who are now members of the Mexican Communist Party, testify that they were formerly members of the Comité Estudiantil Revolucionario. Both were arrested and tortured in 1974; they have been in prison for nearly four years without being sentenced.

A twenty-three-year-old prisoner named Sergio Manjarrez Cepeda testifies that he was also a member of the CER at the University of Nuevo León. He describes the group before it was influenced by guerrillaist ideas:

"The Committee became conscious of the need for profound social change in our country. Its only activities were to spread our ideas about how to do this and to analyze our social reality. The only brigades we formed were for distributing leaflets at the factories and schools and holding political discussions."

The volume and consistency of the documentation presented in the Marroquín case would convince the



Mexico, 1968. Brutal attacks on unarmed students are stock in trade for Mexican cops and army troops.

most skeptical reader that political repression is widespread in Mexico. This is confirmed by authoritative organizations such as Amnesty International.

The rule, not exception

In 1976, Amnesty International published the results of a fact-finding mission to Mexico: "There is little doubt in the minds of the mission," they concluded, "that 'police brutality'—a violent and aggressive behavior towards suspects—is so frequent as to constitute the rule rather than the exception. Frequently, prisoners who claim to have been tortured or just wrongfully arrested will, unless asked, omit to refer to the routine beating up. It is taken as a matter of course. . . ."

Amnesty also noted that ". . . particularly with regard to political prisoners. . . not only is routine ill-treatment alleged to be employed to secure confessions, but the techniques so alleged constitute so intensified and acute a form of ill-treatment as properly to merit the description of torture."

The Amnesty International report substantiates another fear that drove Marroquín to flee. If the police found him, he was afraid he might join the ranks of "disappeared."

"The Mexican daily newspapers frequently publish information or paid advertisements on persons who have disappeared for an extended period of time after allegedly being arrested by the authorities. Some never reappear. Others are found dead, sometimes mutilated, by the wayside. Several have appeared dead in police establishments, the authorities claiming that the detainees committed suicide. The relatives of these express scepticism, if not outright disbelief, about such 'suicides' and assert their conviction that such deaths are due to torture or ill-treatment by the detaining authority."

The fate of the other three students accused of taking part in the librarian's murder also shows what the authorities had in store for Marroquín. Two of them were gunned down by police in May 1974, one in an execution-style slaying by plainclothes cops. A third, Jesús Piedra Ibarra, disappeared after being arrested and was taken to an infamous torture site, Military Camp No. 1.

In their efforts to apprehend Jesús Piedra in April 1974, the police arrested his father, a surgeon who was then sixty-one years old and in poor health. An affidavit by Jesús Piedra Rosales describes how he was held incommunicado for several days, beaten, almost drowned, and kicked all over his body. His back was fractured, and he had to be hospitalized. The purpose of the torture was to force him to reveal his son's whereabouts, which he did not know.

Long-distance robbery

One of the crimes the Mexican police accused Marroquín of was an armed robbery at a Monterrey bakery on August 30, 1974. On this occasion the cops even claimed Marroquín was "positively identified" by eyewitnesses.

But on August 30, 1974, Marroquín was in a hip-toe cast in a Galveston, Texas, hospital, recovering from an automobile accident that broke his leg

and pelvis and punctured his lung. He had fled from Mexico on April 9, 1974, crossing the U.S. border at Eagle Pass, Texas.

Hospital records and bills submitted as part of the Marroquín evidence prove that he was nowhere near the site of the robbery. Marroquín's injuries were so serious that he was still wearing a cast in November 1974.

Documentary evidence also establishes Marroquín's innocence of another "terrorist" crime—a shootout with Monterrey police on April 23, 1974. Pay stubs from the Harold Farb Construction Company show that Marroquín was at work in Houston on April 23 and throughout the following period.

Role of FBI

When he went into hiding, Marroquín knew that the Mexican police were after him because of his political activity.

But he did not know that he had another powerful enemy.

Documents released to Marroquín under the Freedom of Information Act show that the FBI opened a file on him when he was a fifteen-year-old student.

Almost every word of Marroquín's FBI file was excised by government censors. But other FBI documents suggest that it was not unusual—only illegal—for the FBI to conduct surveillance of a Mexican high school student.

Files of the BOCOV ("Counterintelligence-Border Coverage") Program reveal a number of FBI operations designed to "discredit" Mexican radical groups. This disruption program—like that used against the Black movement, antiwar activists, and socialists in this country—included planting false stories in the Mexican press and issuing a poison-pen leaflet attacking a prominent member of the Communist Party.

Did the FBI also plant the articles in the Mexican press accusing Héctor Marroquín of terrorist crimes?

The few heavily censored pages turned over to Marroquín by the FBI show that the bureau was still following his activities in 1974. In fact, only seven days before Marroquín crossed into the United States, the FBI sent a series of urgent bulletins to border stations in the Southwest warning them to be on the lookout for him. Marroquín's attorneys have appealed for complete and uncensored copies of the files, in order to determine the extent of FBI complicity in the persecution of Marroquín by Mexican authorities.

One thing the full files would surely show is a cozy relationship between the FBI and the INS. FBI files obtained by the Mexican daily *Excelsior* in late 1977 show that FBI agents posed as INS representatives in order to interrogate people suspected of political activism and that the FBI arranged to have border-crossing cards canceled to pressure individuals into becoming informants.

The complete files would also show whether the FBI had anything to do with the fact that Marroquín was stopped at the Eagle Pass border station

Continued on next page

Miami trial opens Nov. 17

Leo Harris case spotlights cop brutality

By Lee Smith

MIAMI—"Law and order—these are the words we hear repeated over and over by the Democrats and Republicans," says Leo Harris.

Harris has had long experience with what "law and order" means for Black and poor people in this country. He has been active in many struggles against police brutality and for Black civil rights. And today he is himself the victim of the racist system of "justice" meted out by the cops and courts.

Harris goes on trial here November 17 on charges that could send him to jail for a year and force him to pay a \$1,000 fine. His "crime" was to participate in a demonstration of Haitians against racist treatment by a local supermarket chain.

It was on August 8, as Harris was walking toward a protest outside a Winn-Dixie store, that a cop drove a car into him, throwing him onto the hood and then back down on the pavement.

The cops refused to get the Black activist medical attention. Finally, under pressure from the demonstration's organizers, the police agreed to take Harris to a hospital.

Instead, they drove him to a police station and booked him on disorderly conduct and criminal mischief charges.

A Leo Harris Defense Committee was quickly formed to demand the city drop its outrageous charges. Endorsers include the Greater Miami branch of the NAACP; Coalition for Human Rights for Haitian Refugees; Florida Alliance Against Repression; Al Featherston, PAX-Miami; and Bob Hogner, executive board of the United Faculty of

**Drop
the
charges!**



Messages demanding that the charges be dropped against Leo Harris should be sent to Dade County State Attorney Janet Reno, 1351 N.W. Twelfth Street, Miami, Florida 33135.

Copies of such messages, along with urgently needed financial contributions to cover court costs, should be sent to the Leo Harris Defense Committee, P.O. Box 380013, Miami, Florida 33138.

Florida, American Federation of Teachers.

City authorities have thus far refused to drop the charges. The police have carried out a campaign of harassment against Harris and his family, defense supporters, and the Socialist Workers Party, to which Harris belongs.

At an October 22 meeting of the defense committee, Harris and other activists in the fight against police brutality discussed the history of cop murders and frame-ups in the Miami area.

"They promoted the cop who killed Jimmy Lee

Spann," Harris said. Spann was a young Black shot by cops in Broward County earlier this year.

"When three white racists killed Denis Telfort, a Haitian brother, the cops did nothing," he continued.

Harris talked about the case of Roscoe Washington, an imprisoned Black leader. He introduced Phyllis Eisman of All People, Inc., an organization founded by Washington, which works on his defense.

Eisman appealed for support for Roscoe Washington and also told the meeting about a rash of recent murders of Black inmates in Florida's prisons.

Jack Lieberman, secretary of the Leo Harris Defense Committee, read a message of support to the meeting from Florida State Rep. Gwen Cherry.

Rulx Jean-Bart, director of the Haitian Refugee Center, said that the Leo Harris case underscored something Haitians learned when they came to the United States "looking for freedom and democracy."

"The U.S. government and police use the same methods employed by [Haitian dictator] Duvalier against political opposition," Jean-Bart said. "Duvalier is more crude, but it is the same system operating in Haiti and in the U.S.A."

Another case discussed by Harris concerns several former members of the Black Afro Militant Movement (BAMM), a Black organization in South Florida infiltrated by police in the early 1970s. Police are charging the activists with conspiracy to commit murder. They claim BAMM members were involved in the killing of a Miami cop seven years ago.

...Marroquin

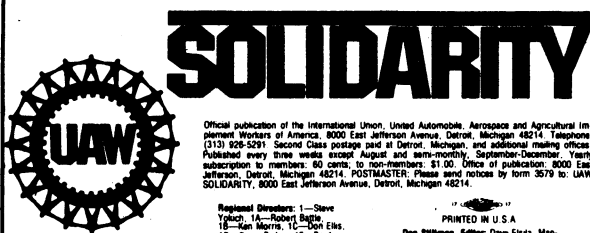
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when he tried to enter the United States for the second time, on September 18, 1977.

After three and a half years in the United States,

'Solidarity' backs Marroquin asylum

The following is reprinted from the October 15-30 issue of 'Solidarity,' the official newspaper of the United Auto Workers, with a nationwide circulation of 1.7 million.



WORLD OF WORK

"It is neither moral nor justified within international law for the United States to expel or return Hector Marroquin," says Rep. Ron Dellums (D-Calif.).

Dellums is referring to the growing support for Marroquin, a 25-year-old Mexican political refugee whom the U.S. government is trying to deport. If he is deported, Marroquin faces the strong likelihood of torture and even death at the hands of Mexican authorities.

Mexico has repressed free trade-unionism and the political liberties of students. While a student at the University of Nuevo Leon, Marroquin was ordered arrested on trumped-up charges of terrorism. Knowing that fellow students had been tortured and killed in jail, he fled to the U.S., worked as a labor organizer at a Texas Coca-Cola plant, and eventually sought formal political asylum from the U.S. government.

The government—specifically the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS)—responded by trying to deport Marroquin back to Mexico. Since both the U.S. and Mexican governments are influenced by many of the same multinational corporations, there is a mutual interest in throttling dissent in Mexico.

Fortunately, Marroquin's case has drawn so much support from so wide a spectrum of Americans that the INS is proceeding more cautiously than before. Even more public pressure may be needed to win asylum for the young Mexican.

"Hector Marroquin apparently exists on the blind side of Jimmy Carter's selectively forthright stand on human rights," says political cartoonist Jules Feiffer. "Our government's attempt to deport him... can only be halted by a loud, vigorous, and mounting protest." □

Marroquin had returned to Mexico over a weekend to try to get a lawyer's advice on the possibility of clearing himself of the charges against him. Marroquin's papers were challenged by U.S. border guards, and he was summarily convicted of attempting to enter the country illegally.

There seemed to be only a three-month stint in the Maverick County Jail standing between him and deportation back to Mexico, where he would face certain imprisonment and torture, and possible death.

'Nobody asked for papers'

Marroquin had made some friends in the United States, however, and had won respect for his political dedication. He was active in a successful Teamsters organizing drive at the Coca-Cola plant where he worked in Houston.

He had also found an organization that fit his own socialist ideas. He had joined the Socialist Workers Party.

First attracted by the SWP's campaign for mayor of Houston in 1975, Marroquin was impressed by the party's defense of the rights of undocumented workers like himself. As he explains in *My Story*, there was one thing that really told him what kind of movement he was joining:

"Nobody ever asked me for papers. Everywhere else I'd been, everyone wanted to see my papers. But all the comrades of the SWP and YSA were interested in was whether I agreed with the program and was willing to work with the other members to put it into practice."

With the help of the SWP and the Texas Raza Unida Party, Marroquin got legal help. While still in jail, he filed a petition for political asylum in the United States.

A few days after his release from jail, Marroquin flew to Detroit for the national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance. There the YSA voted to launch an all-out campaign to save Marroquin's life.

The Héctor Marroquin Defense Committee was formed to publicize the facts of the case and build the broadest possible support for Marroquin's request for political asylum.

That campaign has had considerable success. In the first five months of 1978, Marroquin told his story to audiences in sixty American cities.

His right to political asylum is supported by the 1.6 million-member National Education Association, the Detroit City Council, members of Congress, and many other prominent individuals. Thousands of people have signed petitions or sent letters and telegrams to Castillo demanding that Marroquin be

Help save his life



The story of a twenty-four-year-old student rebel, union activist, undocumented worker, and socialist forced to flee his homeland to escape political repression. 16 pages, 50¢. 35¢ each in orders of ten or more.

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granted political asylum.

Castillo and *la migra* may not like Héctor Marroquin. They may find it a frightening idea that a young socialist and trade-union activist without "proper" papers could have a right to remain in this country.

But the American people have shown, whenever they have had the chance, that they do not share these sentiments.

Many of these people do not agree with Marroquin's socialist ideas. But they are outraged by the idea that the U.S. government would deport a persecuted refugee just to avoid admitting that repression exists in Mexico.

Marroquin's supporters do not think that political asylum should be granted only to refugees from countries on Washington's "enemies list," such as Cuba and Vietnam.

If this fight for political asylum is successful, it will not only be a victory for Héctor Marroquin. It will also be a victory for everyone who has fled repression in Iran, in Chile, or in South Africa, and for all supporters of political freedom.

'Stakes high for Ky. labor'

Socialists fight right-wing violence in Louisville

By Wendy Lyons

LOUISVILLE, Ky.—Jim Burfeind is a twenty-eight-year-old machinist at the General Electric plant of 18,000 workers here. He ran for U.S. Congress on the Socialist Workers Party ticket in this election.

When his union—the International Association of Machinists—struck GE, he used his campaign to build support for the strikers and to tell their side of the story.

On the night of November 4, he was getting ready to give a speech to a rally at the SWP campaign headquarters here.

Suddenly, Burfeind heard a commotion at the door. A CS gas grenade had been lobbed into the gathering. Burfeind, who had army training in grenades, heaved it into the street just as it began to release gas.

If the gas had been fully released in the enclosed room, it would have caused serious injuries and possibly fatalities.

This bombing fits into a pattern of right-wing attacks here in Louisville. Since 1975, there have been more than twenty cases of violence against Black residents of areas that were previously all white.

Racist antibusing groups tried to halt court-ordered desegregation in the

fall of 1976 by stepping up anti-Black assaults.

In the summer of 1977, the Ku Klux Klan broke up three public meetings, including one on abortion rights. This intimidation has had some effect in keeping people here from speaking up for their rights. "But the right-wing thugs don't represent the thinking of the majority of people in Louisville," Burfeind points out. "Most working people are repelled by their violence and don't agree with their reactionary ideas."

"As a matter of fact, the recent campaign of violence began after a highly successful morning of socialist campaigning on the GE grounds. About twenty of my supporters distributed thousands of campaign brochures and sold thirty copies of the *Militant* before the company stopped them from selling."

Many of his co-workers had seen Burfeind on TV the previous weekend. He had debated conservative independent candidate Thomas Beckham, who campaigned against school desegregation. Beckham had been abusive, yelling out, "Communist!" several times in an attempt to interrupt Burfeind. "He even suggested that the people of Louisville should boycott GE products because I work there," Burfeind said.

Many of Burfeind's co-workers liked

Unionists condemn attacks

LOUISVILLE—Jim Burfeind and other socialist unionists here plan to bring the issue of right-wing violence to the labor movement in Kentucky. Burfeind went before his International Association of Machinists lodge to discuss the attack.

A heated debate took place there over how such attacks affect the union and whether or not the union should go on record against the recent attacks. After the debate, the meeting voted in its majority to send the following letter to the mayor and chief of police:

"We, the members of IAM Lodge 2409, while not supporters of Jim

Burfeind or the Socialist Workers Party, condemn the use of violence against his recent campaign for public office. We encourage you to take any appropriate steps to apprehend those responsible. Threats to anyone's civil liberties are a threat to everyone's civil liberties."

GE workers who didn't attend the union meeting have already signed the petition against terrorist attacks.

One young Black GE worker and his brother dropped by the SWP headquarters the other day.

"Hey, I heard you had some trouble," the GE worker said. "Is there anything I can do to help?"

the way he had handled himself.

On Tuesday, October 17, the day of the plant-gate campaigning, Burfeind was taking a lunch break. Suddenly, two gallons of oil were poured down on him from a catwalk above his workbench. The next day, Ed Bloomer, a campaign supporter and member of the International Union of Electrical Workers at GE, found a wire hanging noose at his workbench.

After the attack on the campaign rally, the socialists went into action to organize opposition to the assault. Among others, local politicians were urged to make protests.

When Thomas Beckham was contacted, he told an ominous story. He said he had heard there was a contract out to kill Burfeind and proceeded to describe the oil-throwing incident at GE.

Socialists have won wide support for their demand that the mayor and police investigate the violence and arrest those responsible. A petition has been signed by four members of the

board of aldermen and prominent leaders of civil liberties, Black rights, women's rights, and campus organizations.

In the midst of their campaign to win support against terrorist attacks, the socialists are also going ahead to get 8,000 signatures to ensure Elizabeth Jayko a spot on the ballot for the 1979 gubernatorial election.

Burfeind feels the union movement has a big stake in the campaign against violence and intimidation.

"The harassment on my job and the attacks on my campaign headquarters endanger the whole union movement," he says. "Whoever threw that oil on me and put the hangman's noose by Ed's bench is doing the company's dirty work."

"It's only GE that has an interest in silencing a union member who is running for office and speaks out for the rights of all workers, including Blacks and women. Only the company benefits from creating an atmosphere of fear and intimidation on the job."



Jim Burfeind at his work station at GE

NY rally to demand files

By Roger Rudenstein

A December 9 rally in New York City will bring together a broad range of speakers to protest FBI crimes. The meeting will demand that the government hand over informer files in the Socialist Workers Party's \$40 million lawsuit.

The rally is sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund, the group that publicizes and raises money for the suit.

Since 1973, when the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance filed the suit, it has brought to light widespread criminal activity on the part of the FBI, CIA, and other government agencies. In June Griffin Bell became the first attorney general in U.S. history to be held in contempt of court when he

refused to obey a judge's order to hand over eighteen informer files demanded by the SWP's attorneys. The uncensored files will reveal how the FBI uses finks to disrupt the activities of Black and Chicano activists, trade unionists, feminists, and others.

The suit has united many political activists and civil liberties supporters in the fight to get out the full truth about FBI crimes and stop them.

The speakers list to date appears on the accompanying ad.

The rally will start at 7 p.m. in the Tishman Auditorium of the New York University Law School, on the corner of West Fourth and MacDougal streets, Saturday, December 9. The donation at the door is three dollars. For further information call PRDF at (212) 691-3270.

Rally to
Stop FBI crimes
Demand Bell turn over informer files

Sat., Dec. 9
7pm Tishman Aud.,
NYU Law School

Corner W. 4th St. and MacDougal, New York City

Hear:

- Robert Meeropol—son of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, Fund for Open Information and Accountability (FOIA Inc.)
- Linda Jenness—Socialist Workers Party
- Leonard Boudin—constitutional rights attorney
- Héctor Marroquín—fighting for political asylum in U.S.
- Dave Dellinger—Seven Days magazine
- Imani Kazana—coordinator, National Wilmington Ten Defense Committee
- Annette Rubinstein—literary critic

Sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund

Donation: \$3

PR
DF

clip and mail to: PRDF, P.O. Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, NY 10003

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____

Zip _____

Enclosed is my contribution of _____

Iran sales spur 'Militant' circulation drive



Militant/Lou Howort

By Peter Seidman

Of all the statistics and stories streaming into the *Militant* circulation office this week about our special effort to get out the truth about the revolutionary upsurge in Iran, the most heartening comes from Chicago (for a summary of the most recent sales figures, see facing page).

Young Socialist Alliance member Stan Smith sold a *Militant* from a literature table at Roosevelt University to an Iranian student.

No one in the Chicago YSA or Socialist Workers Party had ever met this student before. But after reading that issue of the *Militant*, he eagerly got in touch with the Chicago socialists.

He was a member of a study group made up of some ten Iranian students, he explained. They considered themselves revolutionary socialists and agreed with what they had read in the *Militant*.

Several members of this study group came to the *Militant* Fiftieth Anniversary Banquet held in Chicago the next weekend.

The student who had bought the *Militant* earlier in the week gave inspiring greetings to the rally.

Reports from around the country show that the warm response this group of Iranians in Chicago gave to the *Militant*, while exceptional, was by no means unique.

Baltimore socialists report the "highest campus sales ever" as a result of the *Militant's* in-depth coverage of events in Iran.

A team of socialists traveled from St. Louis to campuses in the southern Illinois towns of Carbondale and Edwardsville. They sold fifty papers.

In Bloomington, Indiana, Iranian students on a hunger strike against martial law in Iran "gave a very good response" to *Militant* salespeople, buying nine papers one afternoon.

At one business school in Berkeley, California, "we sold twenty *Militants* to Iranian students in fifteen minutes. We just held up the paper, and people lined up to buy them."

One *Militant* supporter, anxious to reach Iranian students at Compton College outside Los Angeles, dodged campus gumshoes enforcing an administration gag rule against the radical press for an hour—selling twenty papers at the same time!

Similar experiences were called in about campuses from Newark to San Diego.

Militant salespeople report that the paper also received a ready welcome on the many picket lines and protest meetings held this week against U.S. support for the shah (see story, page 7).

At the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis, for example, more than one-fourth of the audience of 100 people at a meeting on Iran addressed by Don Luce of the Clergy and Laity Concerned, bought copies.

Many of the Iranian students at the meeting—who had been under the influence of Maoism—expressed their

disagreements with some of the ideas in the *Militant*.

Nonetheless, they indicated serious interest in discussing these in the framework of united action against U.S. support to the shah's dictatorship.

Denver socialists sold the last fourteen *Militants* they had on hand at a demonstration of 150 people at the State Capitol.

And in Kansas City, twenty-six *Militants* were sold at a demonstration called by the Iranian Students Association to protest a speech by Jimmy Carter to the national convention of the Future Farmers of America.

Morgantown: 'Only paper that tells miners' side'

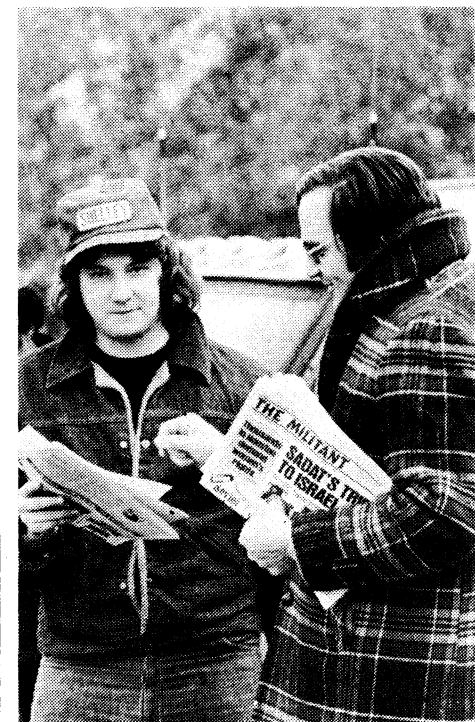
By Eric Olsen

MORGANTOWN, W. Va.—For the past two months a big part of the Socialist Workers Party's activity here has been regular sales at mine portals. Accounting for 25 percent of our total, an average of thirty to forty *Militants* are sold at these locations every week.

In order to really appreciate that statistic, you have to understand that coal mines aren't big-city factories. Mine portals are usually located down unpaved access roads, far from any major towns.

The *biggest* mine employs only 600 miners, working three full shifts.

Last week one sales team went to a mine where we hadn't sold before. We took a wrong turn along the way, and by the time we got to the portal, we were too late to catch anybody except the tail end of the outgoing shift. In fact, only five miners drove out while we were there. The first four bought



Militant/Howard Petrick
Selling the 'Militant' in Morgantown

copies of the *Militant*. The fifth miner didn't want one—because he'd already got a subscription at a supermarket a few weeks before.

We meet a lot of miners at the supermarkets.

We also do a lot of door-to-door sales in residential areas where miners live.

A couple of weeks ago, a car carrying two miners stopped on its way into a portal where we were selling. The driver started digging fifty cents out of his pocket. His friend told him, "I wouldn't buy that paper. It's socialist."

The first miner responded, "I know it is. That's why I'm buying it. A friend of mine has a subscription, and he says it's the only paper around that tells the miners' side of things."

Then, a few days ago, one of our salespeople approached two young Black men at a supermarket. Both turned out to be miners. One already had a subscription that he bought from a door-to-door sales team. The other bought a copy, partly on his friend's recommendation, and partly because he'd seen a couple of copies lying around in the lamphouse at his mine.

The state Socialist Workers Party election campaign here played a major role in helping our sales effort. U.S. Senate candidate Rosalinda Flint went on a two-week tour through the southern coalfields in October.

Many miners were particularly receptive to our call for a mass labor party based on a democratic and revitalized trade-union movement.

One miner, after listening to a *Militant* salesperson's explanation of what the SWP campaign stood for, bought a copy of the *Militant*. He said, "There's no question in my mind that what working people in this country need more than anything today is their own political party. I'd like to know what you socialists have to say about it."

Los Angeles: 'PM sales a real campaign'

By Harvey McArthur

Los Angeles socialists have set an outstanding example this fall by selling more than 100 copies every week of *Perspectiva Mundial*.

Andrea Lubrano, who organizes sales of the Spanish-language socialist biweekly there, explained, "while making our sales goal every week has been very exciting, the response *Perspectiva Mundial* is getting from new readers is even more exciting."

"For several weeks, meetings and rallies against the Somoza regime in Nicaragua took place here almost every day," Lubrano said.

"We were always there. We quickly found that selling *Perspectiva Mundial* has been the best way to discuss

our socialist analysis of events in Nicaragua. All the information and analysis is right there. People want to take it home and study it. For instance, at one march of 100 people, four of us sold sixty copies.

"The article in the November 6 issue by Fausto Amador, 'Why Somoza Did Not Fall,' sparked special interest," Lubrano said. "Many of the demonstrators supported the political strategy of the Sandinista Front in Nicaragua. They strongly disagreed with many points in Amador's article, but they were all reading and discussing it."

"Last week, for example, we held a forum on Nicaragua. Nearly everyone active in the protests against Somoza had read Amador's article and had received many invitations to attend."

"Thirty-five Nicaraguans came to join the discussion. Even the speaker presenting the Sandinistas' politics spent most of his time discussing points made in the *Perspectiva Mundial* article."

Los Angeles socialists regularly sell *Perspectiva Mundial* at industrial plants, as well. "The best results so far have been at the Anaconda Copper plant," Lubrano said. "Workers there walk in, so we get a chance to talk with them and show them the magazine."

"One socialist who works there comes along on the sales. Many workers will stop to talk, since they know her. And she often knows who may be especially interested in a Spanish-language magazine."

Regular sales are also organized at shopping centers, markets, cultural events, and busy streets in the large Chicano and *mexicano* communities in Los Angeles. These sales make up a large portion of each weekly total.

"Readers take the magazine seriously," she stressed. "Recently, several of them insisted that we organize a Spanish-language discussion group so they could talk about the articles in greater depth. These readers include an Argentine student and the owner of a small store next to our bookstore in East Los Angeles."

Sales of *Perspectiva Mundial* got off to a flying start when 222 copies were sold at the Mexican Independence Day celebration in Los Angeles last September.

The next week was the first national sales target week. Los Angeles socialists sold 139 copies of *PM* and 715 copies of the *Militant*.

Sales are discussed thoroughly at the weekly Socialist Workers Party membership meetings. "We first explain what is in the latest issue of *PM*," Lubrano explained. "This is especially important since many of the people who sell it cannot speak or read Spanish."

"We also have charts and graphs all over the walls, showing total sales for each week, sales for the entire fall, individual participation, and so forth. These have helped make the *PM* sales a real campaign for everyone."

Join the YSA

The Young Socialist Alliance helps defend South African freedom struggles. For more information, send this coupon with your name and address to the YSA, Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

- ☐ Send me a copy of the *Young Socialist* reprint on the campaign to end U.S. ties to South Africa.
- ☐ Send me the 'Divest now!' button (50¢ each).
- ☐ Send me information about the YSA and its December 28-January 1 convention.

Below we are printing the cumulative scoreboard showing the results of our drive to sell 100,000 copies of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* between September 1 and December 15.

We are not printing the regular weekly scoreboard showing sales figures for issue number forty-two of

the *Militant* and the second week of selling issue number twenty of *Perspectiva Mundial*.

But here is a brief summary of that week's results.

Altogether, 6,009 were sold out of a goal of 7,238. This was 83 percent of the total.

There were 5,529 *Militants* sold and 472 copies of

Perspectiva Mundial.

Twenty of the forty-one areas reporting made or exceeded their goals. The top five cities were Denver (118 percent); Tucson, Arizona, (113 percent); Kansas City, Missouri, (112 percent); Dallas, Texas, (110 percent); and Morgantown, West Virginia, (109 percent).

Progress toward cumulative sales goal

CITY	SINGLE COPIES	SUBSCRIPTIONS*		TOTAL SALES*		CITY	SINGLE COPIES	SUBSCRIPTIONS*		TOTAL SALES*	
	Sold	Sold	Goal	Sold	Percent		Sold	Sold	Goal	Sold	Percent
Albuquerque	1912	65	1900	2562	134.8	Oakland	1537	48	2500	2017	80.7
Kansas City, Mo.	1330	48	1500	1810	120.7	Cleveland	1381	22	2000	1601	80.1
Louisville	1141	50	1450	1641	113.2	Los Angeles	5024	74	7200	5764	80.1
Iron Range, Mn.	458	34	720	798	110.8	Toledo	1142	18	1650	1322	80.1
San Antonio	1354	16	1450	1514	104.4	Indianapolis	1170	11	1650	1280	77.6
Newark	1764	46	2200	2224	101.1	Raleigh	1110	27	1800	1380	76.7
						Atlanta	1847	27	2900	2117	73.0
New York	8606	210	11000	10706	97.3	St. Paul	721	32	1450	1041	71.8
Miami	1524	20	1800	1724	95.8	Chicago	3600	104	6500	4640	71.4
Portland	925	45	1450	1375	94.8	Phoenix	1102	17	1800	1272	70.7
San Diego	1390	31	1800	1700	94.4	San Jose	1091	16	1800	1251	69.5
Minneapolis	1191	61	1950	1801	92.4	Washington, D.C.	2426	44	4250	2866	67.4
Morgantown	1417	60	2200	2017	91.7	Detroit	2022	37	3600	2392	66.4
Dallas	1659	17	2000	1829	91.5	Denver	985	27	2000	1255	62.8
Salt Lake City	1568	20	1950	1768	90.7	Gary, Ind.	419	3	720	449	62.4
Pittsburgh	1564	36	2200	1924	87.5	Boston	1625	61	3600	2235	62.1
Tucson	245	13	430	375	87.2	Albany	820	25	1800	1070	59.4
Seattle	1570	34	2200	1910	86.8	Houston	2244	32	5050	2564	50.8
St. Louis	1656	25	2200	1906	86.6	Miscellaneous		58		580	
Milwaukee	1233	32	1800	1553	86.3	TOTALS	74,452	1,796	100,000	92,412	92.4
Tacoma	1258	29	1800	1548	86.0						
Berkeley	1551	32	2200	1871	85.0						
Baltimore	1406	12	1800	1526	84.8						
New Orleans	1331	53	2200	1861	84.6						
Cincinnati	981	22	1450	1201	82.8						
San Francisco	2792	47	4000	3262	81.6						
Philadelphia	2360	55	3600	2910	80.8						

* 10-week introductory subscriptions count as 10 towards total sales.

These totals include all single copy sales of the 'Militant' through issue 42 and all single copy sales of 'Perspectiva Mundial' through the second week of sales of issue 20. They include all subscriptions received in the circulation office by November 15.

* 10-week introductory subscriptions count as 10 towards total sales.

These totals include all single copy sales of the 'Militant' through issue 42 and all single copy sales of 'Perspectiva Mundial' through the second week of sales of issue 20. They include all subscriptions received in the circulation office by November 15.

'Keep up the excellent work'

"The *Militant* is essential in keeping up with world events. Reading the local papers is a disgusting experience—irrelevant attempts at 'human interest' stories, articles about what Carter had for breakfast on his vacation, occasional articles that amount to little more than advertisements for some new product, or 'ideas for Xmas shopping,' etc.

"Then there are pieces that only quote the government or bosses, or are already slanted by the choice of what they cover and how they do it. A lot of what they leave out is important to know.

"I would hate to be doomed to relying on that sort of rag for information. I look forward to the new *Militant* every week."

D.B.
Albany, N.Y.

"Please accept this contribution to the *Militant* 50th Anniversary Fund.

"I want to see the *Militant* grow in the self-confidence it showed when it launched such excellent and helpful new columns as "Our Revolutionary Heritage," "Learning About Socialism," and "Union Talk."

The recent miners' strike and Mesabi Range coverage, as well as the exciting reports from Peru, have been exceptional.

"Your eyewitness accounts and on-the-street interviews, such as the one last year after the street riots in New York, Andrew Pulley's recent ISR article on his experiences among steelworkers, and the Baltimore report on waiting in line for nonexistent jobs—all these seem entirely appropriate for your paper, and are the one thing I would like to see expanded. Surely the *Militant* has the eyes and ears it can rely on to increase this type of coverage.

I want to see the *Militant* clearly present and reveal the problems facing working people; to suggest the questions facing us, if not immediately the answers, and to become ever more accessible to the many new readers you will yet speak for and with!

P.S.
Chicago

"Let me say emphatically that it is impossible to function as an informed and clear-thinking socialist without reading the *Militant* every week.

"About a year ago, on reaching the conclusion that only through socialism can the peoples of the

world move forward, I knew I needed to read about what was going on in the socialist movement.

"I searched a few radical bookstores to get an idea of the many socialist tendencies current in the U.S. today. And what better way than to pick up a copy of each tendency's newspaper.

"I picked up a few issues of the *Daily World*, the *Guardian*, the *Call*, *Workers World*, *In These Times*, and the *Militant*, plus some others.

"I subscribed only to one—the *Militant*.

"Six months later, without having talked to one member of the SWP, I walked into the party's

Philadelphia branch office and said, 'I want to join the SWP!'

"To all comrades who work long and hard hours putting together the finest workers newspaper in the U.S., I say—Keep up the excellent work!"

S.K.
Philadelphia, Pa.

A few comments on these letters. First, each of them included something else.

Along with his letter, P.S. of Chicago sent a solid contribution of \$500.

D.B. of Albany contributed \$10.

And S.K. of Philadelphia sent in \$25 for a two-year *Militant* subscription.

Each of these is *equally* appreciated.

Obviously we much appreciate a \$500 contribution. But we know that few of our readers are in the fortunate position of being able to contribute that generously. That's why the smaller contributions are equally important. There are, so to speak, more of them.

And of course, long-term subscriptions help financially as well as politically.

We appreciate the nice things that these letters say and especially value the central point of each—the importance of a socialist paper in the fight for a better world.

We hope you agree on that point and will register your agreement by clipping the coupon below and sending your contribution to our 50th Anniversary Fund.

—Harry Ring

50th

Anniversary Fund

Goal=\$75,000

\$60,000

As of Nov. 14 \$42,022=56%

\$45,000

\$30,000

\$,000

COUNT ME IN

Here's my contribution of ☐ \$5, ☐ \$10, ☐ \$25, ☐ \$50, ☐ \$100, ☐ \$500, ☐ other.

Name _____

Street _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

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

A STRATEGY TO DEFEAT WEBER

Campaign of education, action needed to defend affirmative action

By Andy Rose

Brian Weber's lawsuit against affirmative action at Kaiser Aluminum is the most dangerous challenge today to equal job rights for Blacks, other minorities, and women. (For background, see box on this page.)

By attacking the right of the United Steelworkers of America to negotiate an affirmative-action plan in its contract, Weber's suit is also an assault on the entire labor movement. It infringes on collective-bargaining rights and seeks to block unions from representing their Black and female members.

Can Weber be defeated? If so, how?

The Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals ruling in Weber's favor rested on the claim that Kaiser "never discriminated" against Blacks.

As the *Militant* has demonstrated with first-hand testimony from Kaiser workers in Louisiana, this claim is false. Kaiser Aluminum is guilty of prolonged, flagrant, illegal discrimination. (See September 22, September 29, and October 13 *Militants*.)

For years the company kept its Louisiana plants segregated. It excluded Blacks from all of the more desirable jobs. It paid Blacks less than whites for doing the same work.

Kaiser not only refused to train Black (or white) employees for skilled, craft positions. It refused to hire experienced Black craft workers for these positions.

A strategy to lose

But no testimony on Kaiser's record of discrimination was heard in the Weber case. The only witnesses Kaiser called to "defend" the affirmative-action plan were two of its own personnel officers, who assured the court—naturally!—that the company never discriminated.

Kaiser's "defense" is designed to lose the case, which should come as no surprise. After all, the company fought against putting the affirmative-action training program into effect in the first place. It agreed to the plan only because of pressure from the union and from federal civil rights laws. Weber has boasted that top company officials are secretly cheering for him.



March on Washington in 1963 helped force passage of Civil Rights Act. Its enforcement in the interests of the oppressed requires more mobilizations of labor, Black, and women's movements.

Unfortunately, the lawyers for the United Steelworkers chose not to put any Black union members on the stand to expose Kaiser's discrimination. In fact, the union called no witnesses at all.

If all the evidence is presented, the legal case against Weber is powerful. But the courts do not hand down rulings solely—or even mainly—on legal grounds. They make *political* decisions.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 was a product of political struggle. The provisions of the law itself are contradic-

tory. And their interpretation and enforcement has been determined—not by fine points of legal arguments, *not* by the shifting composition of the U.S. Supreme Court—but by the relative strength and aggressiveness of the forces for and against Black rights.

'Griggs' decision

The court's strongest ruling ever against job discrimination was issued in 1971, under the Nixon administration, by Nixon-appointed Chief Justice Warren Burger.

In the case of *Griggs v. Duke Power Company* the court unanimously declared that the civil rights law prohibits "not only overt discrimination but also practices that are fair in form but discriminatory in operation."

The court held that "practices, procedures, or tests neutral on their face, and even neutral in terms of intent, cannot be maintained if they operate to 'freeze' the status quo of prior discriminatory employment practices."

A strong case could be made that Kaiser's tests for skilled jobs—"fair in form but discriminatory in operation"—were illegal under this ruling.

The *Griggs* decision obviously did not stem from good will on the part of the court or the Nixon administration. Rather, it was one aspect of the government's response to the ghetto uprisings of the 1960s, student protests, and a barrage of lawsuits and protests by Black workers.

In the past two or three years, the top court has been steadily whittling down this sweeping mandate for affirmative action. In some cases it has ruled that the victims of racial oppression seeking legal redress must prove

not only a pattern of discrimination but also "intent" to discriminate. The court has also upheld seniority systems that perpetuate the effects of past discrimination.

The most serious legal blow was the Supreme Court's *Bakke* decision last summer, which legitimized the concept that affirmative action is "reverse discrimination" against white males.

In making these rulings—as well as others restricting the rights of women, unionists, and workers in general—the Supreme Court is simply operating as one arm of the overall government and employer offensive against working people.

Power

Behind these antilabor attacks stand powerful forces—the biggest and richest corporate empires in the world—with control over the news media, education, and both the Democratic and Republican parties.

But the potential power of working people—who are the vast majority of the population and who produce all the goods and services that keep society running—is even greater.

Last winter the coal miners gave a hint of that power. They stood up to the entire government and showed that Carter and the courts were powerless to enforce a back-to-work Taft-Hartley order.

When the independent power of working people is brought into action, the trend of chipping away at civil rights *can be halted*.

Another example of how to do so was seen when Congress abruptly reversed gears and granted an extension of the deadline for ratifying the Equal Rights Amendment. What swayed the "law-

Weber case: what's at stake

The case of *Weber v. Kaiser Aluminum and United Steelworkers* is now before the U.S. Supreme Court.

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.

Before this program, Blacks and women were effectively excluded from skilled jobs by Kaiser's requirement that craft workers have many years of prior experience.

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.

Blacks held *less than 2 percent* of the skilled jobs at Kaiser Gramercy before the affirmative-action program. There were no women in skilled jobs.

Brian Weber, a white, male worker at Kaiser Gramercy, sued to overturn 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. If upheld by the 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.

makers" was not constitutional arguments but the rising tide of mass action by women—culminating in the July 9 march on Washington for the ERA.

The *Bakke* decision itself revealed the shakiness of the rulers' position. The divisions in the court reflected hesitations in top ruling circles about how far and how fast their anti-Black, antiwoman, antilabor offensive can go. The ambiguities of the conflicting opinions also left the court ample room to retreat if it meets strong opposition.

Education

Of course, the movement to defend affirmative action (and defeat *Weber*) has a long way to go before it can mobilize thousands of people in the streets. Right now the overriding task is education.

So far the top officialdom of the United Steelworkers, while opposing *Weber* in court, has done nothing to inform the union membership or the general public about the issues at stake. Steelworkers have a special opportunity and obligation to turn this around and insist on an aggressive public defense by their union.

Civil rights committees and women's committees in the union can take the lead in getting out the facts about *Weber*. Since confusion over the question of quotas and "reverse discrimination" is widespread, union-sponsored debates between supporters and opponents of *Weber* may help clarify the issues.

Locals of the Steelworkers and other unions can adopt resolutions supporting the official USWA position against *Weber*.

Meanwhile, other defenders of civil rights don't have to wait for the union to act before undertaking their own educational efforts.

The National Organization for Women, at its October convention, voted to file a court brief against *Weber* and to "immediately begin a national educational campaign." New Orleans NOW is sponsoring a public speak-out against *Weber* November 28. Other NOW chapters may decide to organize similar events.

The NAACP has also announced plans to file an anti-*Weber* brief before the Supreme Court. The Coalition of Black Trade Unionists adopted an anti-*Weber* resolution last May. Chapters of the NAACP, CBTU, and the Coalition of Labor Union Women may be interested in sponsoring forums, teach-ins, or debates.

While the *Bakke* case was before the Supreme Court last spring, students took the lead in rallying opposition to *Bakke*, including a march of 10,000 on Washington. If the forces that defended affirmative action against *Bakke*'s challenge can be brought together again, they could build on what was accomplished last spring to organize bigger and broader actions against *Weber*.

Say 'no' to Weber!

The National Organization for Women, New Orleans chapter, sponsors a panel discussion on the *Weber* attack on affirmative action.

**Tuesday, November 28
7:30 p.m.**

**Newcomb Women's Center
Tulane University
Admission free**

Speakers: **Shirley B. Porter**, 1st vice-president, New Orleans NAACP; **Jane Van Deusen**, New Orleans NOW and United Steelworkers Local 13000 Civil Rights Committee; **Cynthia Hawkins**, USWA Local 13000, first woman in Kaiser skilled job training program; others.

New Orleans rights leaders speak out



Militant

From left: Rev. Avery Alexander, Louisiana state representative, speaking for Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Sara Jeffries, vice president, New Orleans NOW; Rev. Isidore Booker, president, West Bank-Jefferson Parish

NAACP, chairperson, USWA Local 13000 civil rights committee; Barney Morel, USWA subdistrict director; Connie Goodley, executive council, United Teachers of New Orleans; Rashaad Ali, news conference organizer.

By Karen Newton

NEW ORLEANS—At a widely covered news conference here November 13, leaders of the labor, Black, and women's movements called for a public campaign to defeat *Weber*.

Rev. Isidore Booker read a joint statement that declared: "This case threatens every affirmative-action right women and minorities have won."

"What is necessary is that we must sound the alarm and get the word out on the *Weber* case. We must win all those who support equality to fight *Weber*. If we lose on this front, it will open the way for further assaults on women, Blacks, other

minorities, and trade unionists."

The statement also called for a meeting November 30 at Southern University of New Orleans as an educational forum on the issues posed by the *Weber* case. The meeting will discuss the next steps in the fight to defend affirmative action.

Reverend Booker is president of the West Bank-Jefferson Parish NAACP and chairperson of the civil rights committee of United Steelworkers Local 13000.

Other signers of the statement included Gretchen Hollander, executive director, Louisiana ACLU; State Rep. Avery Alexander; Nat LaCour, president, United Teachers of New Orleans; Sara Jeffries, vice-

president, New Orleans NOW; Ronald Chisom, City-Wide Housing Coalition; Clarence Crayton, Service Employees International Union; and Trevor Bryan, Louis A. Martinet Society.

Also speaking at the news conference were Barney Morel, United Steelworkers subdistrict director, and John Charbonnet, University of New Orleans Young Socialist Alliance.

A few days before the news conference, on November 7, 100 students attended an anti-*Weber* meeting at the University of New Orleans. That meeting was sponsored by the campus NAACP.

In launching an educational campaign against *Weber*, two aspects of the case should be kept in mind.

'Reverse discrimination'

First, the facts about Kaiser's discrimination should serve as the jumping-off point to refute the whole myth of "reverse discrimination." The amount of miseducation that must be overcome is staggering.

One indication is a comparison of Louis Harris polls taken in 1970 and 1977 to measure white perception of racial discrimination. The proportion of whites who believe Blacks are discriminated against in "assuming full equality" dropped sharply from 76 percent in 1970 to only 33 percent in 1977.

A CBS/New York Times poll last year found that 40 percent of white adults believed the unemployment rate for Blacks was *less than or equal to* that for whites.

Such figures are cause for alarm. They show that the opponents of equality have succeeded in blinding many millions of white Americans to the reality of racist oppression.

Now is the time for defenders of civil rights to take the ideological offensive back from the racists. We need to pound away at the facts and figures that show how anti-Black discrimination today is getting *worse* in many respects. How the gap between Blacks and whites in income and employment is increasing. How the schools are becoming more segregated.

Attitudes toward civil rights, as partially revealed by these polls, are contradictory. While there is rampant confusion over quotas, there is more sentiment than ever among working people—including whites—for equality and against discrimination.

For example, another poll last year found that a big majority—nearly three-fourths of those questioned—opposed "extra consideration" for Blacks and women. But *an even bigger majority* said the government should pass laws "to guarantee equal job rights" for Blacks and women.

What must be explained patiently and tirelessly is that without "extra

consideration," without affirmative action, without quotas, there can *never* be equal job rights for those who have been subjected to hundreds of years of oppression and discrimination.

Must whites sacrifice?

Second, the question must be squarely faced, does the call for affirmative action mean that white males have to give up something? Are white males being asked to sacrifice jobs or other gains in order to give Blacks and women a fair chance?

The answer is no. White male workers have nothing to lose and everything to gain by standing up for the rights of Blacks and women.

White male workers *are* being told they have to sacrifice. They do face demands to give up gains won in the past.

All working people face these threats—from unemployment, inflation, unfair taxes, social service cutbacks, and union-busting.

But it is not the aspirations and demands of Blacks and women that are responsible for the problems of white male workers. Blacks and women suffer the *worst* from these economic and social evils.

Those responsible are the giant corporations and their super-rich owners, along with the Democratic and Republican politicians who follow their dictates. They are the ones who profit from inflation, who profit from unemployment, and who profit from shifting the tax burden onto workers.

They are also the ones who profit from discrimination—from paying less to Blacks and women and keeping them in the worst jobs. They profit from keeping workers divided and thereby driving down wages and working conditions for all. They are the only ones who stand to gain by pushing Blacks and women down even further.

Solidarity

If white workers are tricked into joining the attack on Blacks, they will end up worse off than today, not better.

Because they will be making it impossible for working people to carry out a united fight against their real enemies.

Growing numbers of unionists are coming to recognize that *solidarity* is the key to their own self-defense. But solidarity is not only respecting the picket lines of other workers. Solidarity means the unions must represent *all* their members.

Solidarity means that when a section of workers has been victimized and oppressed, the unions stand up for them and put real muscle behind their demands.

Solidarity means the labor movement fights for affirmative action, for passage of the ERA, for desegregated schools and housing, for abortion rights and pregnancy benefits.

The July 9 ERA march—which drew the biggest union contingents of any women's rights march in history—was an example of solidarity. It not only scored gains for the ERA, it *strengthened the entire labor movement*.

Liberal politicians, union officials, and even some Black figures in retreat on affirmative action never tire of repeating that "only when we win full employment will we have genuine civil rights."

This is exactly backwards. Only when the labor movement is united in *defense of genuine equality for the victims of discrimination* can it win full employment. Only then can it defend and win gains for all workers—Black and white, men and women.

That's what *Weber* and his corporate backers are trying to prevent. And that's why *Weber*'s suit is a dagger pointed at the heart of the union movement.

Defeating *Weber* and turning back the offensive against affirmative action will not be easy. But it can be done.

Because the group of people who really benefit from such anti-Black, antiwoman, antilabor attacks is very small. And the forces that can be rallied to oppose them are very, very large—including the majority of white male workers once they know the facts and hear an explanation of what it really means for them.

New political discussion unfolds in NOW

October conference marks step forward



Militant photos by Susan Ellis & Diane Wang

NOW delegates gave warm reception to civil rights and labor speakers. From top left: Coretta Scott King; Gloria Johnson, Coalition of Labor Union Women; Elisa Sanchez, Mexican American Women's National Association.

By Cindy Jaquith and Wendy Lyons

(Second of a series)

The National Organization for Women is undergoing a political evolution. NOW's October 1978 national conference marked important steps forward since the April 1977 conference.

NOW's national meetings have not traditionally hammered out strategy or debated political issues. There have been some exceptions, such as the 1971 conference where the organization went on record in support of lesbian rights after a protracted debate.

1977 conference

The character of NOW conferences began to change at the 1977 national meeting. The organization had moved to center stage in the women's movement with the disappearance of many of the other early feminist groups. At the same time, attacks on women's rights were stepped up. More and more women began to look to NOW for answers.

A group of delegates to the 1977 conference put forward a resolution urging NOW to mobilize a counteroffensive to the government's antiwoman policies. Known as the "Defending Women's Rights" resolution, it pointed to the pattern of attacks in recent months—the stalemate on the ERA, the Hyde amendment cutting off funds for abortions, the Supreme Court's scrapping of pregnancy benefits, and increased assaults on affirmative action.

These attacks were directly aimed at the most oppressed women, the resolution explained, but their purpose was to undermine the gains of all women. NOW should immediately go on the offensive to defend those women under siege, it argued, uniting with allies in the Black and labor movements. The resolution called for a campaign of public actions—demonstrations, teach-ins, picket lines, and educational activities—to halt the erosion of women's rights.

The majority of women at the 1977 conference did not recognize the danger of the government's at-

tacks, however. The "Defending Women's Rights" resolution never came to the floor for a vote.

In fact, the opposite perspective was advocated at the conference by most of NOW's central leaders. They discounted the extent of attacks on such rights as abortion and argued that the one big battle that remained was to win the ERA. The next step for NOW, they said, was to gain greater influence within the Democratic and Republican parties and in that way win the ERA.

Political action committees and an ERA strike force were established at the conference to lobby, promote the election of "prowoman" legislators, and help defeat ERA opponents at the polls.

But shortly after the conference, the attacks multiplied fast and furious. The Hyde amendment went into effect. Gay and lesbian rights suffered a big defeat in the Dade County, Florida, referendum. The Democrats and Republicans refused to budge an inch on the ERA.

Houston Women's Conference

The Carter administration's "prowoman" image began to wear thin as the president failed to deliver on the ERA and led the attack on legal abortion. By November 1977, at the Houston National Women's Conference, a shift in consciousness had become evident in NOW and the whole women's movement. The conference voted overwhelmingly in favor of the ERA, legal abortion, and gay rights.

Struggles by other victims of the government/employer offensive also deepened consciousness of the extent of the attacks and the stake for women in fighting them. In last week's article, we described the decisive impact of the miners' strike on women and other oppressed groups. The fight to overturn the *Bakke* decision was also an important factor in turning NOW members toward other sections of the population who were fighting common enemies.

The need for unity with victims of racism and antilabor attacks was borne out in practice by the living example of an alliance in action—the July 9 demonstration for the ERA. This had a powerful impact on the NOW membership.

All these experiences set the political framework

for the October 1978 NOW conference. The conference was a celebration of the ERA extension victory. But it was also a highly serious political discussion of the problems women face and how to fight back.

Unlike previous conferences, the workshop sessions this time focused on the central issues confronting NOW—such as the ERA, abortion rights, ties with the labor movement, minority women, and sterilization abuse.

Shift on labor

The most important political shift in the discussion was the attitude of NOW members toward the labor movement. References to the need for an alliance with the unions—made in speeches by NOW President Eleanor Smeal, Coalition of Labor Union Women leader Gloria Johnson, and AFL-CIO lobbyist Jane O'Grady—won loud applause.

A groundbreaking resolution on women and labor passed overwhelmingly. It both put NOW on record on key union issues—such as "right to work" laws and the *Weber* case—and urged NOW chapters to establish labor task forces.

This represented a big change for NOW and the whole women's movement, which grew up in the 1960s in a period of quiescence in the labor movement. Many feminists used to look on the unions with hostility, in part provoked by the antiwoman policies of the labor bureaucracy.

On one hand, the new attitude toward labor expressed at the conference stemmed from the growing recognition that women and working people face a common enemy. On the other, the conference demonstrated the attractive power of the labor movement when it begins to fight. NOW members had seen this both in the miners' strike and in the important role labor played in winning extension of the ERA deadline.

This sense of solidarity extended to the struggles of oppressed nationalities. When Coretta Scott King arrived to address the conference on the last day, she received a standing ovation. Elisa Sanchez of the Mexican American Women's National Association and Veronica Murdock of the National Congress of American Indians were also guest speakers.

Forced sterilization

An important expression of NOW members' desire to reach out to Black, *latina*, Native American, and Asian-American women came under the discussion on forced sterilization. At the 1977 conference, a resolution condemning this practice never even came to the floor. But this year it became one of the most important debates at the conference.

Delegates went on record opposing forced sterilization and for an educational campaign around the issue. Significant progress was made in clarifying the most controversial aspect of this question within NOW—whether to support a waiting period before sterilization to protect women from ruthless doctors and hospitalization.

Resolutions were also passed on abortion—calling for January 20-21 actions in defense of the right to choose—and on gay rights, pledging a fight to defeat antigay referenda in California and Seattle.

The discussion of strategy to win these rights also took a step forward at this conference. One important example was around the issue of democracy in the movement. Without an atmosphere in which free exchange of ideas thrives, it is impossible to hammer out a course that can win women's liberation.

At this year's conference there was a series of proposals that would have restricted free discussion inside NOW and limited the autonomy of local and regional bodies. Delegates voted down many of these proposals.

The most important victory for democratic rights was the defeat of a proposal from the NOW National Board that would have required women to agree with "NOW policy" in order to belong to the organization. Seeing this as a gross infringement of members' rights to freely express differing points of view, delegates defeated it overwhelmingly.

This vote was doubly significant because proponents of the "policy" stricture had used red-baiting attacks against socialist members of NOW to motivate their proposal. But other delegates upheld the right of all women, including socialists, to belong to NOW, denouncing red-baiting as an attack on the democratic rights of all NOW members.

This was a welcome change from the 1977 conference, where a motion condemning the participation of Socialist Workers Party members in NOW passed.

In our final article we will take up the discussion in NOW on perspectives for winning the ERA and other rights. Should NOW build an independent women's movement through more actions such as July 9? Or does the road forward lie in reforming the Democratic Party?

The fight to organize Black trade unions in South Africa

Drake Koka is a founder and general secretary of the Black Allied Workers Union in South Africa. BAWU was formed in 1972 as a general union open to all Black workers.

He was also a convener of the founding conference of the Black People's Convention, an umbrella organization that developed out of the Black Consciousness Movement. The BPC was outlawed along with other major Black organizations in October 1977.

Because of these activities, Koka was threatened with arrest by South African authorities last year, forcing him to flee the country. Two years earlier he had been detained, jailed, and held in solitary confinement by the apartheid regime.

He has now been named a "co-conspirator" in the trial of eleven student leaders charged with "sedition" and "terrorism" because of their participation in the Soweto rebellion of 1976.

Koka has been touring the country speaking to students, unionists, and Black activists about the struggle in South Africa and urging Americans to build a movement to force an end to U.S. government and corporate complicity with South Africa.

Question. you are a leader of a South African trade union. On your tour here, what would you suggest to American unionists to help the struggle in South Africa?

Answer. The best way they can effectively participate is for them to stop handling the commodities that are being taken over to South Africa, to start demanding that their own management stop investing in South Africa. Workers here should be united in drawing up programs whereby they can start boycotting South African goods or boycotting companies that have dealings with South Africa.

Q. Shifting back to the situation in South Africa. You already mentioned the lack of recognition of Black unions. What other kinds of obstacles are there to organizing Black unions?

A. One of the great obstacles we face is police harassment. The Black unions that are initiated by Blacks and run by Blacks have the heavy hand of the government upon them. The police ransack their offices, take all their files, take the names of members, and start intimidating the membership. Sometimes they go to the extent of arresting the officials, and interrogating or detaining them.

Then we still have financial problems. The law in South Africa says that no white nor employer can deduct dues for a Black trade union. This makes it difficult for the workers to pay trade union dues from their wages. There is no effective system of collection of dues.



KOKA: 'Our biggest problem is police harassment.'

Q. What's the current state of the trade-union movement? How many workers are organized, in what sectors? What's the strength of the Black Allied Workers Union, other unions?

A. Well, the total number of unionized Black workers in South Africa is about 800,000. It is still a very small figure in comparison to the 7 million Black workers we have in the labor force.

Q. The most common figure cited in the white-controlled press is 80,000. Is that then an underestimate?

A. It is very much underestimated, definitely underestimated. Take for instance the National Union of Clothing Workers of Lucy Mvubelo. It alone has 25,000 members. And the Black Allied Workers Union has 22,000 members. These are just two unions. We also have the transport union, the engineering unions, the metal workers unions, and so forth.

The Black Allied Workers Union is really a general trade union. The last time I took statistics according to job categories, there were forty-six. But we are mainly among the textile workers, the engineering and electrical workers, the laundry workers, and the dock workers in Durban. We have not yet penetrated the motor industry.

We deliberately drew up a plan to concentrate in the heavily populated cities, in the industrial areas. We said we must select the industries where we think we can organize, because we are running a trade union with a purpose. Now, so far, we have got our branches in the Johannesburg region, in Durban, Pietermaritzburg, Ladysmith, Kingwilliamstown, and Port Elizabeth. We are trying to organize as much nationally as possible.

Labor is the most political aspect of our lives. We have got the Industrial Conciliation Act, politically decided. We have got job reservation, the Bantu Settlement of Disputes Act. All these acts flow down to us from a political platform. They are there to entrench white domination as a whole. Therefore our attacking them, even if from a purely labor angle, will always tend to be political.

Q. Over the past few years there've been attempts to form a Black trade-union federation. How has that development progressed?

A. I'm sorry to say that last month there was a little bit of a split from the people who were organizing it. The difficulties came from the white-oriented trade unions.* They didn't want to be subjected to such attempts. Therefore they could not agree. It is still a stalemate.

Q. If such a federation were actually formed, what kind of role do you think it could play?

A. It would be a power bloc, representing workers. They could then wield their power, even to bring down the government. Because the Black labor force in South Africa is 80 percent of the total.

Q. What role do you see the Black working class playing in the overall liberation struggle? What kind of relationship do you see between the struggles of Black workers, and the struggle for Black majority rule?

A. I must point out that at this moment it is a misnomer to say that we have got a Black working class and a sort of Black non-working class. That gives the connotation that we have got different classes in the Black community. You see, the apartheid system has brought Blacks together, no matter whether they are workers, white collar, or even businessmen. They have brought all of us into one camp, the camp of Blacks. So we do not see Black workers as a separate entity from the rest of the Black majority. Therefore, in the struggle for liberation they are fused into one. So therefore at the present moment I fail to see a distinct Black working class.

But the workers are still the major force upon which we rely. That is why we are doing our best to organize workers.

*Black trade unions that receive informal assistance or directions from white unionists.

Student meetings back spring anti-apartheid actions

Midwest

By John Hawkins

ANN ARBOR, Mich.—The Midwest Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa was formed at a meeting here November 12. Attending were more than eighty people, including representatives of campus divestment committees and other groups active in the fight against U.S. support to apartheid.

The new coalition grew out of the Midwest Conference on University and Corporate Involvement in South Africa, held last month in Evanston, Illinois.

The meeting launched an endorser drive for a national week of actions March 18-24, 1979—the nineteenth anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre in South Africa. The week of actions was the main action proposal adopted by the Evanston conference.

Dennis Brutus, exiled South African poet, and initiator of the Evanston gathering, convened the meeting here,

then turned the chair over to Bob Van Meter of the University of Chicago Action Committee.

Peter Thierjung, an organizer of the Evanston gathering, reported that the major resolutions adopted there had been sent to several hundred anti-apartheid groups across the country and around the world.

A proposal on structure for the Midwest Coalition was presented by Heide Gottfried of the Washtenaw County [Michigan] Coalition Against Apartheid. Participants unanimously adopted the proposal, which called for establishment of state coordinating committees and a coalition newsletter.

Gina Small from Chicago, representing the Tupelo Support Committee, reported on an upcoming antiracist demonstration in that Mississippi town November 25.

Participants voted to hold another steering committee meeting the week-end of January 12 in Bloomington, Indiana.

Other proposals adopted were: for

defense of the Bethell 18, members of the Pan Africanist Congress of South Africa currently on trial; support of ten students victimized by the campus administration for divestment activities at Vassar College; and support for the release of the Charlotte 3 frame-up victims in North Carolina.

Contributions to the newsletter and endorsements for the week of actions can be sent to Newsletter, P.O. Box A3423, Chicago, Illinois 60647.

Southeast

By Steve Craine

DURHAM, N.C.—Close to 100 anti-apartheid activists from throughout the southeast met at Duke University here November 11-12 to discuss building the movement to end university and government support to the racist regimes in southern Africa.

Among those attending were a large number of African students and representatives from schools in Tennessee, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carol-

ina, and Virginia.

The conference unanimously endorsed the call for a national week of actions March 18-24, 1979—the week of the nineteenth anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre in South Africa.

The conference also voted to support efforts to defend four students of the University of Tennessee at Knoxville who are being victimized by the campus administration.

The four were part of a delegation that attempted to present a proposal on possible divestment to a trustees' meeting in October. The delegation was ejected and the four arrested on trumped-up charges of disorderly conduct and assault on a policeman.

At a forum entitled "Changing Government and Corporate Policies," exiled South African poet Dennis Brutus pointed out the key role of U.S. investments in propping up apartheid. Chris Root of the Washington Office on Africa also spoke.

Another planning meeting was set for mid-January in Knoxville.

Teamsters under attack

How California strikers can win

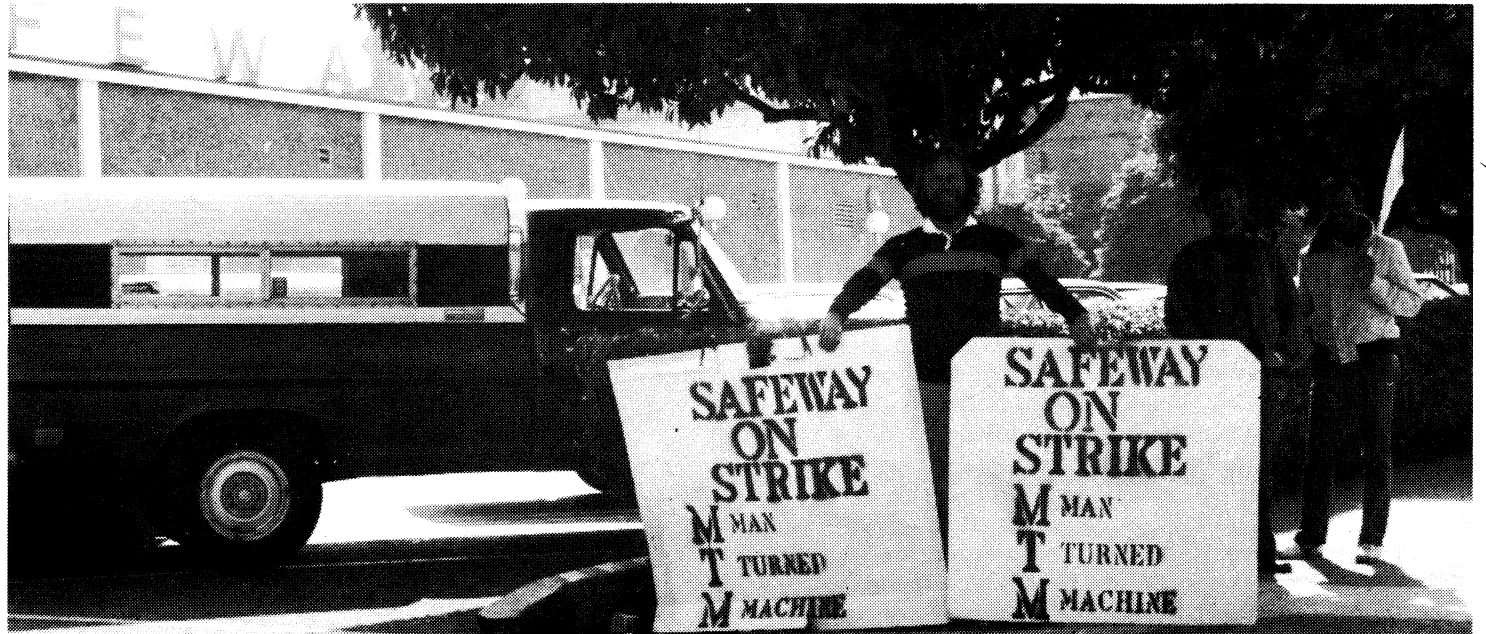
By Frank Grinnon and Jon Olmstead

OAKLAND, Calif.—November marks the fourth month of a bitter strike and lockout battle between 3,500 Teamsters and the Bay Area's four major supermarket chains.

The employer offensive is led by the world's largest grocery conglomerate—Safeway Stores.

The strikers are warehouse workers and truck drivers belonging to nine Teamster locals.

Already the Food Employers Council is bragging that, if it can beat the Teamsters in northern California, it will dominate labor negotiations in the West. In fact, the outcome of this



Militant/Susan Muysenberg

Safeway strikers protest new speedup plan, Motion Time Management. Speedup is the central issue in the four-month-old strike

BULLETIN

OAKLAND, November 13—Today the Food Employers Council rejected an offer by international union negotiators to submit outstanding strike issues to arbitration. In response, the nine striking locals are discussing stepping up strike activity through mass picketing and mass meetings.

showdown will affect the relationship of forces between organized labor and the corporate rich nationwide.

If the supermarket conglomerates can get away with a frontal assault on the Teamsters, the largest union in the country, it will signal big business everywhere that even the strongest unions can be beaten.

In addition, the grocery strike is a probe by big business, in which aggressive strikebreaking tactics are tested and refined for use in upcoming battles—especially the 1979 negotiations for the Teamsters' Master Freight Agreement.

According to *Voting Rights in Major Corporations*, compiled by the U.S. Senate Committee on Government Affairs, the controlling stockholder in Safeway is the Republic of Texas Corporation. The same corporation is also the second largest stockholder in Consolidated Freightways—one of the largest trucking companies in the country!

Recently the Teamster locals pulled

Frank Grinnon is a member of Teamsters Local 315. Jon Olmstead is a member of Teamsters Local 70.

their pickets off three of the struck chains—Safeway, Alpha Beta, and Ralphs—to concentrate on Luckys, thought to be the "weak link" in the bosses' united front. This shift in tactics is a response to the hard-line stance of the employers, whose contract offers have gotten worse as the strike continues.

The employers are pressing ahead in their drive to impose a computerized speedup plan on warehouse workers at Safeway's Richmond distribution center, the initial source of the strike. And they firmly reject amnesty for strikers, demanding the right to fire several hundred unionists.

According to Chuck Mack, secretary-treasurer of Teamsters Local 70, "The four chains have spent about \$40 million in trying to beat the union in northern California, southern California and Denver."

These funds have been used to recruit massive numbers of scabs to keep retail stores stocked and operational. Safeway alone has used 2,400 supervisory personnel and professional strikebreakers from as far away as Washington, D.C.

Hundreds of roving armed guards, attack dogs, and imported goons have been put to work to terrorize the strikers. One group of Luckys thugs travels around in an unmarked van carrying guns, clubs, and mace.

At the top of the strikers' casualty list is Randy Hill, a twenty-five-year-old striker killed in August by a scab-

driven car. Dozens of other unionists have been badly beaten and some severely mauled by police dogs.

The grocery giants have also waged an effective publicity campaign with ads, radio, and TV spots asking customers to "shop where the pickets are."

The companies blame the Teamsters for soaring food prices. But Safeway's profits for the first half of the year—\$66.5 million—represented an increase of 25.3 percent. Sales increased only 14.1 percent. The profit surge stems from higher food prices and decreased labor costs before the strike.

Boycott

How have the striking unions responded to this major attack?

The northern California Teamsters' strategy has concentrated on urging a consumer boycott of the struck stores. The unions' appeal to shoppers has had some effect, particularly in working-class neighborhoods.

But striking Teamsters cannot exert enough pressure through this tactic to force the bosses to back down.

It is next to impossible to effectively picket the 530 or more retail stores owned by the four chains—some of which are open seven days a week, and others around the clock—with 2,000 or so active pickets. Shifting larger numbers to Luckys is unlikely to provide the needed leverage either, because the struck chains have vowed to come to one another's financial aid.

A shoppers' boycott is not the best way to tap the tremendous potential strength of the union. With the market bosses using union-busting tactics from the 1930s and 1940s, it's time for our union to answer in kind—with the militant, mass-action tactics that built our industrial unions in those days.

One such tactic is massive picket lines to stop the use of scabs at the point of production or distribution.

In this strike, rather than disperse our forces over the 530 retail stores or even the 90 Luckys-owned stores, it would be more effective to concentrate masses of pickets at the dozen strategic warehouses and distribution centers. These are in fact the primary struck job sites.

By stopping or crippling the flow of scab-driven supplies to retail stores, the unions could more effectively reduce business and put the employers under greater pressure to settle.

Injunctions

Mass picketing earlier in the strike met with some success. But the employers promptly secured injunctions from friendly judges limiting pickets to two or four per entrance. Police and company guards then aggressively attacked the tiny, isolated groups of pickets.

This is the heart of the problem. The

unions will have to challenge the employers' injunctions and mobilize mass picket lines if they are to bring effective economic pressure to bear. The strategy of picketing the retail stores evades this challenge.

Can Teamsters successfully exercise our basic rights that are being denied by injunction?

The coal miners did so in their strike last winter, successfully defying both local injunctions and Carter's imposition of the Taft-Hartley Act.

The key to meeting this challenge is the mobilization of our membership. Our members must be honestly informed of the problem posed by the injunctions and on that basis make the necessary tactical decisions.

If a decision to challenge the injunctions is made, ways will be found by an active and conscious rank and file to bring ever wider layers of the labor movement into battle on the side of the Teamsters.

Only a membership encouraged to discuss freely and decide all questions of strike policy can achieve the difficult task of mobilizing the labor movement for this fight as well as the ones that are surely coming.

'Racial conflict'?

It is also crucially important to combat the divisions Safeway hopes to create by recruiting young, unemployed Blacks as scabs.

The company aims to portray any confrontation between scabs and strikers as a "racial conflict." The fact that many of the strikers are Black or Latino does not deter Safeway's deceitful propaganda. Nor does the fact that the company has been cited six times for failure to fulfill affirmative-action hiring.

The Teamsters can counter the bosses' divide-and-rule game with greater efforts to forge alliances with the Black and Chicano communities as well as the women's movement. Key to such alliances is aggressive union support for affirmative-action programs and measures to reduce unemployment.

When unions come to be known as the champions of the unemployed and oppressed, we can count on the organizations representing these groups to intervene aggressively on the union side in conflicts such as the present strike.

We would also seek out broader labor support for our cause by sending strikers to other unions to explain our demands. We can see from the experience of the miners' strike the pressure that active labor solidarity brings to bear.

However this strike ends, we have important lessons to learn from our experience. The fight is just beginning. The decisive battles are yet to come.

Lessons from Teamster history



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Samuel J. Stone
International President

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P.R. trade unionist threatened with jail

The following article appeared in the November 20 issue of 'Perspectiva Mundial,' a Spanish-language fortnightly published in New York. The translation is by Anne Teesdale.

"This is an attempt at open repression of the Puerto Rican labor movement. They are trying to bleed our union economically, discredit it before the workers of the country, and jail some of our leaders."

These were the words of José Antonio (Tony) Merle, secretary of publicity and propaganda of the Unión Nacional de Trabajadores (UNT—National Workers Union) in a telephone interview with *Perspectiva Mundial*.

The National Labor Relations Board (NLRB)—for "National," read "Yankee"—is asking that contempt citations be issued against the UNT and against Merle personally for allegedly violating a federal court injunction.

In response, the union has launched a campaign of protest telegrams and petitions. "This case is important not only for Puerto Rican workers, but also for all North American unionists," Merle said, "because the [Taft-Hartley] law and the agency that is persecuting us are American."

"They can apply these laws to us because of the political status of Puerto Rico as a colony of the United States," Merle explained. And if the National Board can set a precedent here, they will soon use the same tactic there in the United States.

"So we urge Puerto Ricans, Latinos, and all American workers to support us in this struggle to defend the rights of the unions."

Merle pointed out that the UNT has been targeted for repression because of its combativity. Among other things, it has always stood in strong opposition to the Taft-Hartley Act and its application in Puerto Rico.

Political repression

Another aspect of the case, Merle said, is repression against independent and socialist political activists. "It is well known that compañero Arturo Grant, the UNT's president, is a member of the Partido Socialista Puertorriqueño (Puerto Rican Socialist Party). There are also other socialists in the leadership of the union—myself, for example."

Merle is a founding member of the Liga Internacionalista de los Trabajadores (LIT—Internationalist Workers League), a sister organization of the Socialist Workers Party in the United States.

Merle joined the union while working at the Pinturas Superior (Superior Paints) factory. He was elected a union delegate and was fired by the company in 1976 for his union activities. A UNT membership assembly decided that Merle should remain in the union as secretary of publicity and propaganda and as a member of its executive board.

According to Merle, the case against the UNT started in 1971 when the NLRB began compiling information on alleged violations of labor laws and supposed acts of violence in an attempt to discredit the union.

In June 1976, a U.S. court ruled against the UNT. The union was fined, and former General Secretary Radamés Acosta Cepeda was sentenced to three months in jail.



Militant/Mark Satinoff
MERLE: victimized for his political and trade-union activity.

The Yankee court also issued a permanent "Broad Order" against the union. The order demanded that the union cease "harassing and threatening" the bosses, under threat of being held in contempt.

In an action characterized by the union as "extraordinary and historic," the UNT was forced to print the order in all general-circulation newspapers in Puerto Rico.

In February 1978, the superior appellate court of Boston, Massachusetts—which tries cases from Puerto Rico—rejected an appeal by the UNT. The union was forced to comply with the decision handed down by the lower court.

The NLRB requested on September 6 that contempt citations be issued against the union. The case is to be heard by Administrative Judge Francis Young on November 27. Young, who speaks no Spanish, will be sent to Puerto Rico by the U.S. government.

False accusations

The NLRB alleges that the union did not publish the "Broad Order" quickly enough. They also charge contempt because the UNT printed along with

the order an open letter denouncing the board's actions.

The NLRB also accuses Merle and two other workers, Julio Matos and José Santiago, of threatening violence against strikebreakers during a labor conflict at the Servacar de Puerto Rico, an Esso Standard Oil subsidiary that operates gas stations.

Merle explained that the first of the accusations is a clear case of harassment. "We printed the order in the newspapers after the appellate court decision. We did not delay in this. And in printing the letter along with the order, we were simply exercising our right to opinion and expression. These are democratic rights that have been won by the workers through years of struggle."

As for the threats of violence, "that is a crude fabrication," Merle said. "There was an incident at the picket line, but it had nothing to do with the strikebreakers. Instead it was provocation by one of the supposed customers who came to start trouble. In fact, explained Merle, one of the 'customers' was carrying a pistol in his belt."

Merle said that the union as well as the bosses brought charges before the NLRB after the incident. Both parties, however, agreed to withdraw them when a contract agreement was reached. Even though the bosses tried to carry out reprisals against the workers for this incident, the charges were ruled groundless by an arbitrator.

"The bosses concede that the 'threats' are a closed case," Merle said. "The NLRB has kept the question open for its own reasons, even though it accepts the union's withdrawal of charges against the bosses."

Merle said that if the court rules against him, he can be fined and sentenced to three months in jail.

The UNT is asking that messages be sent to demand that the charges against the union and its members be dropped, and that the NLRB withdraw its arbitrary rulings against the union.

Letters and telegrams may be sent to Hon. Francis Young, Administrative Judge, Drug Enforcement Administration, 1405 I Street Northwest, Room 11111, Washington, D.C. 20532. A copy should be sent to the union: UNT, Avenue 65 Infantería, Calle Marginal #24 Altos, Urbanización San Agustín, Río Piedras, Puerto Rico 00924.

Smith orders new raids, no elections

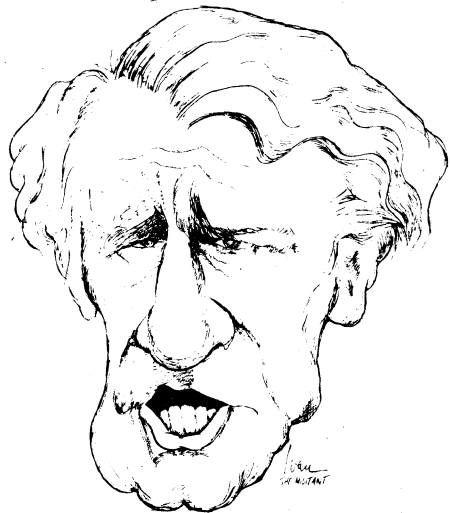
By Ernest Harsch

Speaking at a news conference in Salisbury October 29, Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith announced that the "free" elections that had been promised for December would be postponed.

Smith claimed that the delay was due to "purely mechanical reasons." But the real reason was political. His Black colleagues in the Executive Council—Bishop Abel Muzorewa, Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole, and Chief Jeremiah Chirau had not been able to generate anywhere near enough Black support for Smith's "internal settlement" (which seeks to perpetuate white dominance under a Black cover) to undercut the rapidly growing popularity of the Zimbabwean liberation forces.

Under the circumstances, Smith had little choice. An attempt to stage-manage the elections would have been so patently fraudulent as to expose even further the fundamental weakness of his regime.

In announcing the postponement, Smith claimed that during his visit to the United States the Carter administration expressed understanding about the move. He also said that U.S. Secre-



SMITH

tary of State Cyrus Vance had given him "prominent attention," and that this amounted to a de facto American recognition of the Smith regime.

While Smith may view his U.S. trip as a political boost, he at the same time realizes that such diplomatic forays, by themselves, will do little to effectively bolster the eroding position of his racist regime. It was for that reason that Smith combined his trip to the United States with stepped-up mil-

itary assaults against Zimbabwean refugee and guerrilla camps in Zambia and Mozambique.

The raids, launched on October 19, were among the largest ever carried out by Salisbury and were the first simultaneous strikes into both countries. Hundreds of Zimbabweans, many of them refugees, were killed by Rhodesian bombers, helicopters, and ground troops. Journalists accompanying the Rhodesian forces to the Mkushi camp in Zambia reported that the Rhodesian soldiers systematically went through the camp after the initial attack to finish off the survivors.

A few days later, on October 31, the regime announced that its forces had destroyed a Zambian military installation just across the border. And on November 2, Rhodesian warplanes again struck into Zambia, hitting a Zimbabwean camp just ten miles from the capital of Lusaka. Initial reports from Lusaka said that about 100 persons had been wounded in the attack and that about a dozen were killed. According to Salisbury, the target was a guerrilla base, but the Zambian government said it was in reality a children's refugee camp.

Confirming the seriousness of the military situation, Smith further extended martial law October 31 to cover nearly half of the country. The white minority is well aware of the precariousness of their position. Figures on immigration and emigration for September showed a net loss of 1,490 whites, the highest for any single month.

Although white troops still form the core of Smith's combat forces, the steady drain on white personnel and resources has forced him to try to enlist greater Black assistance.

Given the increasingly active opposition to Smith's racist regime, however, his ability to carry through such plans appears to be extremely limited.

One example of the difficulties he will face in trying to draft Blacks came on October 30, when hundreds of Black university students signed petitions rejecting the conscription move. "Our participation in your army is immoral," the petition declared. "We are in no position to reconcile our conscience with the idea of fighting for a minority government against the majority of our country."

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

New depression on the way?

Behind the financial panic of 1978

By Jon Britton

In the wake of wholesale dumping of dollars on world money markets and one of the biggest plunges of the Wall Street stock market ever, President Carter announced new measures to prop up the dollar November 1.

By the time Carter acted, a panic was beginning to engulf financial markets around the world. The dollar was falling a dizzying 1% to 2% *per day* against major foreign currencies. Gold had shot up by \$17 an ounce to \$243 in five days. The stock market was in a deepening nosedive that had seen the Dow industrial average fall by 105 points in twelve trading days.

To stem that panic, Carter had to signal a real willingness to shift away from the expansionary economic policy he has followed since coming into office, toward credit-restricting "tight money" and sharply reduced government deficits.

Every aspect of Carter's defense of the dollar is to be paid for by exacting further sacrifices from American working people. It is the prospect of more cutbacks in social services, more unemployment, and an all-around escalation of the offensive against job safety, health, and working conditions that has cheered—at least temporarily—Wall Street and the world money markets.

The October financial panic and Carter's response to it are important signposts on the road to the next economic downturn, in which millions of American workers are likely to lose their jobs.

The new slump, which now looms on the horizon, will appear to have been caused by the bitter medicine announced by Carter. But in reality the Carter administration is simply responding in the time-honored fashion of all capitalist governments to insoluble contradictions of the decaying private-profit system. The headlong flight from the dollar was the most threatening manifestation of a developing economic crisis caused by growing overproduction* in the world capitalist economy.

The measures announced by Carter on November 1 include a 1% rise in the discount rate (the interest charged by the Federal Reserve on loans made to member banks) and an increase of \$3 billion in the amount that banks are required to keep in reserve against

certain large deposits.

In addition, Carter said that the Federal Reserve's "swap" lines of short-term credit with the central banks of Japan, West Germany, and Switzerland had been increased and other arrangements made to enable Washington to borrow up to \$30 billion in foreign currencies for use in buying dollars being dumped abroad. Finally, the Treasury Department will sharply increase its monthly sales of Fort Knox gold.

These measures follow a series of moves, begun last January, to counteract a fall in the dollar that threatened to tear apart the international monetary system and collapse world trade.

More bark than bite

Every single one of the earlier pronouncements by Carter turned out to have more bluff than substance from the standpoint of international bankers and corporate financial chiefs. Each time, after a momentary rally, the dollar resumed its downward slide. By late October the U.S. currency had lost half its value in Swiss francs and nearly that much in relation to the Japanese yen, compared to a year earlier.

The main factor behind this decline is the fact that in face of worsening overproduction the Carter administration has continued to run a huge budget deficit (more than \$50 billion in fiscal year 1978) and the Federal Reserve has printed new money in massive amounts to finance a portion of the government's expanding outlays. The "loose money" policy of the U.S. central bank has also encouraged a ballooning of the credit bubble in the private economy, past the astronomical figure of \$2 trillion.

The Carter administration and Federal Reserve had weighty reasons for continuing an expansionary fiscal and monetary policy beyond the phase of the capitalist business cycle when it was "financially prudent" to do so, including the following:

- Under Carter the U.S. rulers are in the process of reversing a decline in armaments spending (measured in noninflated dollars) that has been going on since the Vietnam War high point. Carter has projected a big step-up in such spending in hopes of stemming the worldwide decline in power of U.S. imperialism that resulted from its defeat in Vietnam.

- Carter has both held down social spending and raised taxes in the past year to help make up for the increased military outlays. But out of fear of massive protests and political upheaval he has not dared to do so on the scale required to achieve a balanced budget.

- For similar reasons, Carter has



wanted to avoid presiding over a new slump. The rulers know that a big rise in unemployment while the supposedly "prolabor" Democratic Party controls both the White House and Congress, and when workers are beginning to radicalize, would shake the capitalist two-party system to its roots.

- Finally, the Carter administration was no doubt influenced by a widely held theory that a fall in the value of the dollar relative to other currencies was not all that much to worry about because it would be self-correcting.

This theory holds that by lowering the price of U.S. exports (in yen, marks, and so on) and raising the price of goods imported into the United States, the falling dollar would strengthen the competitive position of U.S. corporations in world trade and ultimately lead to a stronger dollar. Thus, the dollar's decline was actually a good thing as long as it didn't get out of hand and seriously disrupt world commerce.

Cost of economic growth

Prodded by Carter's expansionary deficit spending and the Federal Reserve's "loose money" policy, the U.S. economy has continued growing, and at a significantly faster pace than the other imperialist powers. But this has been achieved at the cost of a massive trade deficit (as overproduced goods from abroad have poured into the country) and a faster and faster shriveling of the dollar.

Late last year, the governments of Japan and the European countries with relatively strong currencies began to move toward more inflationary policies themselves, partially as a result of U.S. arm-twisting.

These moves promised to ease the pressures on the dollar in two ways.

Speeded-up economic growth would provide expanded markets for U.S. goods, thereby reducing the U.S. trade deficit. And more rapid depreciation of the Japanese yen, West German mark, and other major currencies would reduce their attractiveness as stores of value, discouraging the dumping of dollars to some extent.

Up till now, however, growth in Europe and Japan has continued to lag. While there have been signs of an economic pickup in some of these countries, the upturn has so far been too feeble to restore equilibrium in world trade. Moreover, prices in Japan, West Germany, and Switzerland have continued to rise at a much slower rate than in the United States.

Thus, it is not surprising that the international financiers have not been impressed with Carter's past pronouncements on the dollar. Carter's credibility with the bankers was further eroded as a result of the chilly reception given his "Phase II" wage-cutting guidelines by the American labor movement and by working people in general.

By late October, according to the *Wall Street Journal*, "pessimism about the dollar and the administration's economic management had become so rampant that the nation was on the brink of, in the words of one New York banker, 'a 19th Century kind of financial panic' from which a genuine depression could have developed" (November 6).

In the opinion of a "Belgian expert" cited by *Time* magazine, "The world was facing its worst economic crisis since 1929" (November 13).

It may be weeks before monetary statistics confirm that Carter has really reversed economic gears. The rise in the discount rate will not by

*Overproduction, which is both disguised and prolonged by inflationary government policies, occurs when too many goods are produced to be sold at prices corresponding to their full values. The tell-tale sign of overproduction going on now is that since late 1976, prices measured in the money commodity, gold, have been falling in the United States and most other capitalist countries.

itself affect general interest rates significantly, since banks borrow relatively little from the Federal Reserve. Even the increase in the reserves that banks are required to hold against large deposits, and which will thus not be available for new loans, can be counteracted by other, reserve-creating actions by the U.S. central bank.

The editors of the London *Economist* are, in fact, not yet convinced Carter has bitten the bullet. In the November 4 issue of the influential financial weekly, they state that "what he is still trying . . . is to support the dollar without precipitating the United States from slowdown to slump."

This, however, is probably wishful thinking, reflecting nervousness on the part of the British rulers over the impact of a new U.S. slump on their own shaky economy.

Real policy shift

The chances are that Carter is now reconciled to a real shift in policy. He and his advisers must realize that the bluffs and half-measures of the past year will no longer suffice to prevent an all-out flight from the dollar and a panic that would make those of the nineteenth century look mild by comparison.

Wall Street Journal reporters Richard Janssen and Richard Levine, whose article was quoted earlier, cited "many New York analysts" for a similar assessment of Carter's latest moves: ". . . the package's most vital aspect wasn't any of the specifics but its signal that a 'courageous' Mr. Carter had come to accept tighter credit and an enhanced recession risk now rather than face more severe economic trouble later."

Newsweek concurred: ". . . Jimmy Carter rocked the financial world last week with the most dramatic change of policy since Richard Nixon slammed the gold window in 1971: a program to rescue the dollar, check inflation—and almost surely hasten a recession" (November 13).

The magazine went on to explain:

Carter had to make some dramatic move; the alternative was a serious risk of financial chaos within days or weeks. But the strategy he chose, at the urging of Treasury Secretary Michael Blumenthal, was the biggest political and economic gamble of his career. By accepting a dose of bitter medicine for the U.S. economy in coming months, he was betting that even sterner measures could be avoided later. As a Democratic President, he was abandoning his neo-Keynesian stress on growth and full employment in favor of a conservative doctrine that has been linked to hard times and Republicans for the past 30 years. His calculation was simply that the new policy would work—and that if inflation were reduced and the dollar and the economy were firmly on the upswing in election-year 1980, he could be forgiven.

Newsweek went on to buttress its assessment by revealing that Carter has asked his aides to find at least \$5 billion in additional cuts and deferrals in the current fiscal year's budget, and that he is considering vetoes of half a dozen spending bills passed by Congress. Among them is a measure that would add \$800 million to child-nutrition expenditures and another, costing \$1.6 billion, to shore up the District of Columbia's pension program.

No mention was made of any pending vetoes of military-spending bills.

Budget cuts of this scope would reduce the projected federal deficit for the current fiscal year to around \$34 billion compared to the \$48.5 billion projected as recently as last July. But finance capital will undoubtedly demand more.

A quick, mild recession?

A Swiss banker told *Newsweek*, "People have to suffer to pay for a quarter of a century of boom growth."

While the timing and depth of economic downturns cannot be predicted precisely, it is unlikely that Carter will get his wish for a mild recession that is over and done with by the time he begins campaigning for reelection in early 1980.

The Federal Reserve undoubtedly does have the technical means to precipitate a new downturn in a matter of weeks, but it is unlikely to do so. The drastic curtailment of credit that would be required would set off a big wave of bankruptcies, both personal and corporate, and another financial panic. The central bank is therefore much more likely to squeeze down credit very gradually.

Gradual credit-tightening moves were put into effect in late 1972 following an expansionary policy under Nixon similar to Carter's up till now, and the momentum of a capital-spending boom prolonged the expansion for well over a year.

While there is not a comparable boom going on now, capital spending by the corporations has been picking up significantly in the last few months. (Whatever the present uncertainties, many corporations must replace worn out or technically obsolete plant and equipment if markets are not to be lost to more efficient competitors.)

Such spending could continue to increase for a time even after housing construction, automobile production, and other sectors dependent on easy credit turn down.

The Japanese and European economies will probably continue expanding for some time, also cushioning the effects of a new tight-money policy.

Thus, the next slump may not hit with full force until late 1979 or early 1980, and unemployment far above "normal" will probably linger on right through the elections.

As for the depth of the next slump, if the economy continues expanding for another year or so, overproduction is likely to be as bad or worse than it was in 1973-74 and the ensuing crisis will have to be correspondingly severe to set the stage for a recovery.

Carter also hopes that price rises will be dampened down next year as a result of his "anti-inflation program." But if the experience of 1973-74 is any guide, the prospects are for a further speeding up of price rises, extending right into the next downturn.

The likelihood is, then, that millions of workers will lose their jobs even as prices continue to soar. Those who are lucky enough to keep working will have to tighten their belts as the purchasing power of their pay checks falls. The millions of youth, Blacks, women, and others now unemployed face an even bleaker future.

Controls no answer

Working people should have no illusions that accepting wage and fringe-benefit increases in line with Carter's 7% "standard," or going along with mandatory wage and price controls such as George Meany is calling for, will reduce in the slightest the chances of a new round of "slumpflation." Carter's propaganda blitz on behalf of his "anti-inflation program" aims at convincing working people that the only way to avoid a slump is to accept wage restraints (actually wage cuts).

This is a lie.

The truth is that economic slumps have always occurred under the profit system and always will, regardless of what "control" gimmicks bourgeois economists and politicians have come up with in the past or will invent in the future. Overproduction inevitably makes its appearance at regular intervals in the unplanned capitalist economy and can only be eliminated through cutbacks in production, bankruptcies of weaker firms, and massive unemployment.

Inflation invariably occurs whenever the government artificially prolongs overproduction through deficit spending, postponing the day of reckoning. In fact this is precisely what is behind the depreciation of the dollar in the 1970s.

Overproduction, and therefore inflation, have become chronic since the long post-World War II boom ended in the late 1960s. "Small" depressions like that of 1974-75 can only partially eliminate overproduction and can moderate inflation but not end it. Only a major world depression on the scale of the 1930s can lay the basis for another extended period of "healthy" capitalist growth and restabilized paper currencies. The rulers fear the social upheavals and political explosions that would inevitably accompany such a catastrophe and have acted to stave it off.

Thus spiraling inflation and mass unemployment are both inevitable products of capitalism in decay. These evils can be eliminated in only one way: by abolishing the profit system and putting in its place a planned system of production based on human need rather than profit.

Short of that ultimate solution, which will require a workers government to carry out, the only recourse working people have is to fight for the fullest possible economic protection. That means escalator clauses that fully adjust wages and other incomes to every rise in the cost of living. And it means massive public-construction programs and a shortening of the workweek with no cut in pay to eliminate joblessness.

Accepting wage restraints now only means workers will bear even more of the costs of the coming crisis.

I wrote in a previous article that "Carter's room for maneuver has narrowed considerably since he came into office." In terms of economic policy, his maneuvering room has now narrowed qualitatively. Runaway inflation and a worldwide financial panic leading to a major depression, or a "controlled" slump—that is the choice he faces. To ward off the most immediate threat he appears to have opted for the latter course.

But further down that road also lie financial panics—different in form, perhaps, but the same in essence as the recent rush for hard cash—and potential political crises as well. As these are encountered or approached, Carter will, no doubt, reverse economic gears once again. If society has paid a sufficient price in lost production and increased unemployment, a new recovery could then get under way, possibly by November 1980.

But by the time of the next presidential election, American politics in general and the Democratic Party in particular are sure to have been shaken up considerably.

With wage contracts expiring next

year in such major industries as oil, trucking, electrical equipment, rubber, and auto, the Carter administration is openly suggesting that the employers face strikes rather than grant wage increases that exceed the "Phase II" austerity guidelines: "If there are irresponsible unions we may have to take a strike in order to beat inflation," Alfred Kahn, Carter's new wage-control czar said on NBC-TV's "Meet the Press" program November 5.

Of course, if and when strikes occur the administration may change its tune. The ability of the coal miners union to defy Carter's back-to-work orders and overcome a calculated union-busting attempt last winter underscored the enormous difficulties the capitalists face in any head-on confrontation with a major industrial union. The example of the miners has also inspired the ranks of other unions to resist employer assaults.

Thus, the class struggle had already heated up before Carter unveiled his new wage-cutting plan. The Labor Department reported October 30 that strike activity had increased to a four-year high in this year's first nine months. The increase was largely due to the coal strike and the nationwide walkout of railroad workers, both provoked by the bosses' offensive. With the prospect of a slump encouraging the employers to go for blood, even bigger confrontations may be shaping up for next year.

Meanwhile, according to a poll commissioned by *Time* magazine, the number of voters expressing "considerable confidence" in Carter's management of the economy has sagged steadily from 33% in March 1977 to a feeble 14% in October 1978. In light of economic prospects, this figure is likely to sag toward zero.

It can also be imagined what the likely impact of the coming economic crunch will be on New York City's finances, on the conditions of the oppressed communities in the United States, on "affirmative-action" job programs for women and oppressed minorities, and on semicolonial countries such as Peru and Zaïre, staggering under a mountain of debt owed to the imperialist banks.

Newsweek magazine in its November 6 issue attempted to explain why voters were expected to stay away from the polls in droves despite growing concern for the economic outlook. One "expert" they cited was California poll-taker Mervin Field, who said, "People think it's the system. They don't believe you can change it by voting for one candidate over another."

This dawning realization by working people that it is the system that needs to be changed reflects the beginnings of a radicalization that can be expected to speed up in the period ahead.

From *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*



New round of 'slumpflation' will increase already large pool of unemployed Blacks, other minorities, and women.

Quote unquote

"Doesn't anybody believe that something can be done honestly here?"

—New York City Mayor Edward Koch, responding to charges of favoritism in the awarding of a multimillion dollar contract.

TEXAS PRISON BRUTALITY

A lawsuit filed by state prisoners in Texas has brought to light widespread brutality, inadequate medical care, denial of basic legal rights, and unsafe working conditions. One prisoner lost both his arms below the elbow when forced to load a farm machine by hand in violation of normal safety procedures. The prison ambulance broke down on the way to the hospital, and the prisoner had to wait for another one to make a twenty-mile trip. All the charges have been borne out by witnesses and documents from the state department of "Corrections." The U.S. Justice Department, which is backing the prisoners' suit, called the Texas prison system "probably the best example of slavery remaining in this country." The suit went to trial in September, and hundreds of inmates staged a work stoppage to show their support.

STRIKE CHALLENGES CARTER WAGE CONTROLS

At midnight October 31, 300 workers, members of United Electrical Workers Local 10, struck Westinghouse Air Brake Company and Union Switch and Signal in Pittsburgh over terms of a new three-year contract.

McBride retreats on job security

A full year and a half after the basic steel contract was signed, bargainners for the United Steelworkers and ten steel companies have announced agreement on a special pension supplement supposedly won in that contract for victims of plant shutdowns.

The union's *Steel Labor* newspaper trumpets the deal as "a significant and far-reaching advance in job security." But a look at the fine print shows that the USWA tops—who gave up the union's right to strike four years ago—were able to wheedle few concessions from the companies.

In the event of more plant closings, workers whose age plus seniority equals sixty-five are eligible for a \$300 a month pension supplement.

But the new agreement "allows the companies to avoid the pensions by offering 'suitable long-term employment' instead," the *Wall Street Journal* explains. "Suitable" may mean at plants hundreds of miles away.

It would be naïve, to say the least, to think the companies won't use this loophole to disqualify as many workers as possible. As the *Journal* approvingly notes, the deal "needn't be as costly as industry bargainners had estimated" last year. In a joint statement

USWA President Lloyd McBride and U.S. Steel's J. Bruce Johnston declared that the agreement "reflects the spirit of the [no-strike] Experimental Negotiating Agreement." No kidding.



Militant/Charles Scheer
Campbell Works, before last year's shutdown by Youngstown Sheet & Tube. Loophole in 'job security' deal allows company to cheat fired workers out of pension supplement.

This is the first major strike to challenge Carter's "voluntary" 7 percent wage control scheme. In addition, the WABCO contract traditionally sets the trend for the General Electric and Westinghouse national contracts, which expire early next year.

Recent hiring of many young

Black and women workers has added new militancy to the local. Bargaining demands were voted on last summer by the membership. Frequent leaflets and reports from shop stewards kept the members informed on negotiations.

The day after Carter's wage "guideline" speech, all the

workers left the plants early for a union-sponsored rally. A union leaflet declared that "working people are getting the shaft the same as we got from Nixon's wage freeze. We are going to fight back every way we can!"

One of the key unresolved issues is the low 3 percent general wage increases in the second and third years.

COURT AGREES CIA CAN'T OPEN MAIL

A federal appeals court upheld a ruling November 10 awarding \$1,000 to each of three persons whose mail was illegally opened by the Central Intelligence Agency.

American Civil Liberties Union attorney Melvin Wulf, who represented two of the three, said he would seek the same amount for everyone whose mail had been opened—perhaps tens of thousands of people, he estimated.

The government declared it would appeal to the Supreme Court.

COURT NIXES WHITE SCHOOL DISTRICT

It would be illegal for a wealthy white area of Houston to form its own school district, a federal appeals court ruled November 7. The court said the proposed move would cause serious harm to efforts aimed at desegregating the Houston schools.

The residents of the area called Westheimer began their secession effort in 1970, the same year a court ordered a desegregation plan in the city.

NEW GUIDELINES ON STERILIZATION

New guidelines for sterilizations paid by Medicaid were announced November 7 by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

Incorporating a demand fought for by women's rights supporters, the new rules require a thirty-day waiting pe-

riod between consent to sterilization and the operation itself. The old regulations required only a three-day wait. The longer waiting period is designed to prevent women from being coerced into the operation.

The new rules, which will take effect in ninety days, also forbid sterilizations in prisons and mental hospitals.

DEMAND FREEDOM FOR CHARLOTTE THREE

Fifty people, most of them Black, demonstrated in Raleigh, North Carolina, October 28 to demand a pardon for the Charlotte Three, Black civil rights activists framed up and sentenced to long prison terms.

Two of the three, Jim Grant and T.J. Reddy, had been free pending appeal, but were sent back to prison in October. Parker was already in jail on another charge.

Sponsored by the Ad Hoc Committee to Free the Charlotte Three, the rally heard Rebecca Finch, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate, and statements from Reddy and Grant.

CARTER'S GRATITUDE

Black unemployment has risen by half a million—from 1.3 million to 1.8 million—since Jimmy Carter took office, NAACP National Board of Directors chairperson Margaret Bush Wilson said in a speech October 29. Wilson noted that this increase came despite the fact that Black voters overwhelmingly backed Carter in 1976.

THEORY OF INHERITED IQ DEBUNKED

The founder of the "theory" that intelligence is inherited, Cyril Burt, made up all the statistics on which he based his views, according to a recent article in *Science*, a scholarly journal.

Burt's theory "proved" that the rich were more intelligent than the poor, that the Irish and Jews were less intelligent than the English, and that men were smarter than women.

His falsified statistics and methods have been used to similarly "prove" that Blacks are less intelligent than whites.

Although Burt's theories were published early in the century, they were never subjected to a critical examination until after his death in 1971.

For his efforts, Burt was knighted in 1946 and received a host of scientific and professional honors.

NLRB: UNIONS CAN GET JOB BIAS DATA

A National Labor Relations Board decision made in early November gives unions a potentially powerful weapon for combatting job discrimination.

The board held that employers cannot deny unions access to detailed statistics on women and minorities in their work force. The case was brought by the International Union of Electrical Workers against Westinghouse Electric.

The IUE was seeking breakdowns by race and sex of information on wages, job classifications, seniority, hiring, promotions, and complaints of discrimination.

In a separate case brought by IUE against East Dayton Tool and Die Company, the NLRB said the union is also entitled to statistics on the race and sex of job applicants.

What's Going On

CALIFORNIA LOS ANGELES

FIFTY YEARS OF THE 'MILITANT.' Speakers: Betsey Stone, Socialist Workers Party National Committee; others. Sun., Dec. 10, 3-6 p.m. Community Service Organizations Hall, 2130 E. 1st St. Donation: \$3.50. For more information call (213) 482-1820.

OAKLAND

WHAT'S AT STAKE IN THE GROCERY STRIKE. A discussion with strike activists from Teamsters Local 315. Tues., Nov. 28, 7 p.m. 1467 Fruitvale. Donation: \$1. (Strikers free.) \$1 discount on any of Teamster book series by Farrell Dobbs sold at the meeting. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 261-1210.

SAN JOSE

WHAT'S AT STAKE IN THE GROCERY STRIKE. A discussion with strike activists in Teamsters Local 315. Sat., Nov. 25, 8 p.m. 942 E. Santa Clara St. Donation: \$1. (Strikers free.) \$1 discount on any of Teamster book series by Farrell Dobbs sold at the meeting. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (408) 295-8342.

LOUISIANA NEW ORLEANS

'MILITANT' FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION. Speaker: Frank Lovell, staff writer for the 'Militant.' Sat., Dec. 2, refreshments 6 p.m.; dinner 7 p.m.; rally 8 p.m. 1st Unitarian Church, 1800 Jefferson Ave. Dinner \$3; rally \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (504) 486-8048.

MASSACHUSETTS BOSTON

KAREN SILKWOOD MEMORIAL MEETING. Speakers: Dick Greenwood, International Association of Machinists; Florynce Kennedy, feminist activist; Sam Lovejoy, antinuke activist; Leslie Sullivan, organizer of District 65, Distributive Workers; Kitty Tucker, National Supporters of Silkwood; George Wald, Nobel laureate. Sun., Nov. 19, 7 p.m. Arlington St. Church, Boylston & Arlington. Ausp: Mobilization for Survival, New England Supporters of Silkwood, Young Socialist Alliance, Environmentalists for Full Employment, Socialist Workers Party.

PENNSYLVANIA PHILADELPHIA

'MILITANT' FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY RALLY AND GRAND OPENING OF PHILADELPHIA SOCIALIST BOOKSTORE. Speaker: Jack Barnes, Socialist Workers Party national secretary. Sat., Dec. 2. Open house, 7 p.m.; rally 8 p.m. 5811 No. Broad St. (2 blocks north of Olney). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore. For more information call (215) 387-2451.

UTAH

SALT LAKE CITY IN COMMEMORATION OF KAREN SILKWOOD. THE THREAT OF NUCLEAR POWER. Speakers: Carl Idsvoog and Diane Orr, producers of KUTV's 'Extra' program; Eddie Berger, member of United Steelworkers Local 4208; movie, 'Meltdown at Montague.' Sun., Nov. 19, 7 p.m. 677 S. 7th East. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

Protest shah's tyranny

COLORADO DENVER

U.S. HANDS OFF IRAN! A protest meeting. Tues., Nov. 21, 7 p.m. St. Cajetan Church, Auraria campus, 9th & Lawrence Sts. Ausp: Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran; Nizar Badwan, vice-president of Palestine Human Rights Campaign; Bill Pace, Amnesty International; Young Socialist Alliance; Ray Marcoullier, Brewery Workers Local 366. For more information call (303) 722-8422.

MICHIGAN DETROIT

NO U.S. INVOLVEMENT IN IRAN! Speakers: Abdeen Jabara, National Lawyers Guild; Bahram Atai, Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran; representatives of Palestine Human Rights Campaign and Organization of Arab Students. Tues., Nov. 21, Wayne State Univ. Ausp: Committee to End U.S. Involvement in Iran.

NEW YORK NEW YORK CITY

NO U.S. INTERVENTION IN IRAN! Speakers: Vernon Bellecourt, American Indian Movement; Reza Baraheni, exiled Iranian poet; Prof. Bertell Oll-

man; Anne Sheppard Turner, Wilmington Ten; representative of Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran. Tues., Nov. 21, 7:30 p.m. New York University Law School, Tishman Auditorium. For more information call (212) 673-6390

PENNSYLVANIA PHILADELPHIA

IRAN AT THE CROSSROADS: DEMOCRACY OR TYRANNY? Speakers: Reza Baraheni, exiled Iranian poet; Parvin Najafi, writer for 'Payam Daneshjoo'; Kay Camp, international president, Womens International League for Peace and Freedom; Adam Finnerty, Liberty for Captives; Sonia Sanchez, Black activist and poet; others. Thurs., Nov. 30, 7 p.m. Tabernacle Church, 3700 Chestnut St. Ausp: Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

STOP U.S. INTERVENTION IN IRAN—OPEN THE SHAH'S JAILS. Speakers: Reza Baraheni, exiled Iranian poet; Kateh Vafadari, Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran; representative of the Socialist Workers Party; others. Wed., Nov. 29, 8 p.m. Sanctuary All Souls Church, 16th & Harvard Sts. N.W. Ausp: CAIFI & Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699



Cincinnati: 300 say no nukes



Three hundred people rallied in downtown Cincinnati October 28 against the nearby Zimmer nuclear power plant.

Dennis Shattuck, a member of the environment committee of United Steelworkers Local 1010 in Gary, Indiana, spoke. "Our local's decision to oppose the construction of nuclear power plants was taken because we believe that even in the short run, nuclear power is not in the interest of the

people we represent," he said.

Other speakers included Pat Wright, Socialist Workers candidate for governor; Kathy Helmbok, president of the Cincinnati chapter of the National Organization for Women; Native American activist Harold Ironshields; and Richard Pollack, director of Critical Mass Energy Project.

The protest was sponsored by Citizens Against a Radioactive Environment.

2,000 hit gay rights defeat

Two thousand supporters of gay and lesbian rights marched through Manhattan to Times Square November 9 to protest the defeat of a gay rights bill in a New York City Council committee.

The bill, which would have outlawed discrimination against gays and lesbians in housing, employment, and public accommodations, was voted down in committee November 8 as 100 people picketed outside. It was the fifth defeat in six years for the bill at the hands of the

Democratic-controlled council.

Mayor Edward Koch, who has said he favors the civil rights measure, nevertheless piously declared it a "matter of conscience" for each council member to decide.

At a rally preceding the protest march, Eleanor Cooper, a spokesperson for the Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights, declared, "Some of the bigots on the city council didn't think we had suffered enough humiliation. We're not going to take no for an answer after seven long years. We cannot take any less any longer."

That's a comfort—"Bonn, West Germany—German householders living near atomic power plants have been told that in case of a radiation leak they will be given 'iodine pills' to protect their thyroid glands."—The Kansas City Star.

Equal inequality—"If she was a middle-class white, she would not be in prison," declared UN Ambassador Andrew Young. Who, Joanne Little? No. Patty Hearst. Labeling Hearst a "political prisoner," Young opined, "Society discriminates radically against the poor, but also against the superrich."

Street wise—Audubon magazine reports that a study in New York's Central Park using tape recordings showed that the pigeons ignored such sounds as that of a barking dog, a plane or train, or even

an erupting volcano. But they split when they heard police sirens.

Go chase an ambulance—The Pennsylvania Supreme Court voided an injunction obtained by a law firm against an indigent client who was picketing it, charging it had sold her out to an insurance company. She marched with a placard and a flag-bedecked shopping cart, ringing a cowbell and blowing a whistle to gain attention. The lawyers obtained the injunction on the grounds that they couldn't sue an indigent for slander. The high court said, so what.

Plain-talk department—A headline in the *Washington Post* about the "vote white" campaign of Philadelphia Mayor Frank Rizzo advised that the campaign had "racial overtones."

Union Talk

It wasn't 'Washington Post'

This week's column is by Frank Lovell.

Feelings were muted at New York newspaper board rooms on November 6 when the city's two largest dailies resumed publication after an eighty-eight-day strike. The *Daily News* and the *New York Times* finally settled with the press operators union on terms that are a far cry from the high expectations of the publishers when they provoked the strike last August 9.

In the beginning the publishers, including *New York Post* owner Rupert Murdoch, were united in their determination to destroy the union, just as the *Washington Post* did in 1975. They sought to impose a 50 percent work force reduction in their pressrooms.

When the old contracts expired last March 30, the publishers stalled. They sought to reach an understanding with the drivers union for newspaper delivery in the event of a strike. Supervisory personnel were trained to operate the presses.

It all added up to a concerted move to divide the unions, smash the press operators, and demonstrate conclusively that newspapers using modern technology can be produced without the craft unions of the past.

In the end the publishers signed a six-year contract guaranteeing work to all 1,508 presently employed press operators through 1984. In return, the publishers won a basic reduction of one journeyman per press and an overall 30 percent reduction of the pressroom work force through attrition.

The employers said the strike cost them \$150 million in lost revenue. They estimate that they will save \$400 million in wages as the work force shrinks.

Union members were glad to get back to work under the protection of new contracts, but they sense that the employers are tougher now than ever before. The unions scored a momentary victory in this battle because the ranks remained solid. As the long strike became an endurance contest, it was the tenacity of the newspaper workers that finally forced a settlement.

The union leadership proved incapable of developing any strategy to expose the aims of the publishers and win broad support. The idea that workers are entitled to benefit from automation through a shorter workweek and more jobs for everyone was never mentioned.

William Kennedy, president of Printing Pressmen's Union No. 2, called the job-cutting settlement "just and equitable." He agreed before the strike to make concessions and at the end abandoned other

newspaper workers. The press operators and other crafts returned to work while the Newspaper Guild at the *Times* was still without a contract.

The newspaper delivery drivers were the key to the solidarity of the strike. They remained out because of rank-and-file solidarity with the strikers, not because of any bold antipublisher stance by their union president, Douglas LaChance, who enjoyed a close personal friendship with the publishers throughout. A *Times* article reported that LaChance was affectionately called "Georgie" by newspaper officials, who during the strike "arranged to get him tickets for a World Series game."

The publishers were hampered by weakness and greed among themselves. The publishers of the *Times* and *News* were jealous of *Post* publisher Murdoch because his two weeklies, the *Village Voice* and *New York* magazine, were profiting from the strike. On October 5 Murdoch deserted the others and signed an agreement with the press operators to resume publication and accept the basic terms of whatever industry-wide contract was reached.

There were other miscalculations by the New York publishers that prevented them from repeating the *Washington Post's* union-busting performance. The *Washington Post* embarked upon a single-purpose operation to smash the press operators local. It was not in alliance with any other publisher. It planned the operation more carefully than its New York colleagues. Most important, the delivery drivers at the *Washington Post* are "independent businessmen," unorganized and without union representation.

The outcome at the *Washington Post* was a crippling blow to all the printing trades unions there. In New York the unions are intact, but on terms that assure a continuing decline in their power. The press operators settlement was modeled on the ten-year deal signed in 1974 by the International Typographical Union—lifetime job guarantees in exchange for allowing total automation.

The decline of the craft unions has prompted serious moves by the ITU and the Newspaper Guild toward merger and establishment of an industrial union. That idea has also taken hold among other crafts.

But there is little likelihood of any reversal in the downward slide of wages and working conditions without the further development of class-struggle determination among the ranks. Worker solidarity during the New York strike demonstrated the potential for a class-struggle resurgence. It remains to be organized and led.

RCMP

The Real Subversives

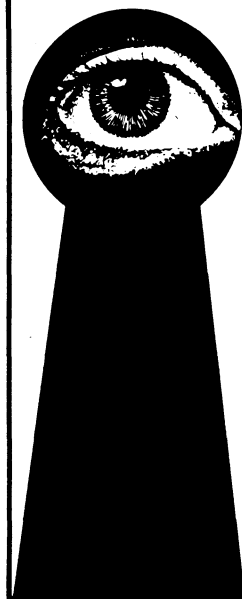
by Richard Fidler

There are striking similarities between the illegal harassment by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and the FBI's Counterintelligence Program activities in the U.S. *RCMP: The Real Subversives* exposes the hidden role of Canada's political police and has valuable lessons for defenders of democratic rights everywhere.

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Our Revolutionary Heritage

Celebrating 50 years of the Militant, 1928-1978

1934—new party formed

"The Workers Party of the U.S. has been formed!" proclaimed a front-page story in the December 8, 1934, *Militant*.

The article described the December 1, 1934, conference at which the Communist League of America and the American Workers Party voted to form a common organization. A.J. Muste, the central leader of the AWP, became national secretary of the new party. James P. Cannon, a founder of CLA, took on the task of editing the Workers Party's newspaper, the *New Militant*.

The fusion was a big advance for revolutionary socialism in the United States. The CLA, formed in 1928 by Cannon and other expelled leaders of the Communist Party, had been virtually alone for five years in defending revolutionary Marxist views in the United States. Together with other sections of the International Left Opposition led by Leon Trotsky, it concentrated on trying to reform the Communist Party and the Communist International, which were being destroyed as revolutionary instruments by the antidemocratic and anti-internationalist policies of Stalinism.

The failure of the German CP to organize any resistance to Hitler's rise to power convinced the ILO that the Comintern had degenerated beyond recovery. The ILO set out to build new Communist Parties and a Fourth International.

This turn coincided with a sharp rise in the militancy of the American workers, evidenced in strikes and unemployed struggles. This ferment produced new socialist formations. One of these was the Conference of Progressive Labor Action founded by A.J. Muste, which later became the American Workers Party.

The CLA and the AWP were drawn closer together by their role in labor struggles. In 1934, members of the CLA led truckdrivers' strikes that firmly established unionism in Minneapolis, while AWP members gave effective leadership to a successful strike of workers at the Auto-lite plant in Toledo.

Following a long string of defeats for workers, these battles had national impact.

As James P. Cannon later wrote in *The History of American Trotskyism*, "the AWP was not a homogeneous organization. Its progressive character was determined by two factors: (1) through its energetic activities in the mass movement, in the trade unions and in the unemployed field, it had attracted some rank and file militant workers who were in dead earnest about fighting capitalism; (2) the general direction in which the American Workers Party was moving at the time was clearly to the left, toward a revolutionary position. These two factors... attracted us toward it."

The CLA appealed for unity to the American Workers Party. It stressed that secondary differences, organizational



A member of the AWP at the time of fusion, Art Preis authored *Labor's Giant Step*.

problems, or differences in tradition and style should not block the coming together of the two groups on a principled revolutionary socialist program.

In an article for the November 17, 1934, issue of the *Militant*, Cannon noted the significance of the approaching unification:

"First the fusion will represent the first step toward *unification* of the revolutionary forces that has been seen for thirteen years! . . .

"The general picture of the whole post-Lenin period in the United States has been a picture of disintegration."

The regroupment represented by the fusion had objective causes, Cannon pointed out. "International events have played their part, especially in the fundamental ideological regroupment, but it is the rising mass movement of the American Workers which is putting all the organizations and groups to the test, shaking them out of the old ruts and driving them to seek a new point of departure."

He noted that the CLA had been compelled to tolerate isolation for a time. This was the price of defending its principles under unfavorable circumstances. But things had changed.

"The small propaganda groups which came into existence in the period of stagnation and reaction are confronted by events with a veritable command to break out of their propaganda circle and connect themselves with the mass movement or suffer annihilation. Those groups which do not heed this command in time are doomed."

By pressing for and accomplishing a fusion with the revolutionary-minded forces of the AWP, the revolutionary Marxists of the CLA had shown their capacity to pass this decisive test.

—Fred Feldman

Solidarity with Iranian working people



Protesters march in Tehran

Upsurge in Iran

Millions of people have been demonstrating against the shah's dictatorial regime which, in fact, is openly backed by the United States government. On one hand, Jimmy Carter talks about human rights. On the other hand he calls this ego-maniac butcher, the shah, "my friend." When it comes to the oil interests, we see the hypocritical face that lies behind the human rights slogan.

In Iran, which is today one of the richest countries in the world, many of the people live in absolute poverty. Hundreds of women, children, and unarmed people have been massacred by the shah's army. Where is your human rights slogan now, Mr. Carter?

Only the Iranian people will decide what kind of government they want.

Iranian people are united today to gain their freedom. Using tactics to divide people, or unleashing the army to massacre people, or sending in foreign advisors and troops will not crush the people's will for freedom. The people of Iran have decided to die for their freedom. Any intervention, directly or indirectly, will be the graveyard for the shah's regime and for any government that backs that regime.

Haven't you learned from Vietnam, Jimmy Carter? Think about the interest of the American people too.

Noshin Hatemi
New York, New York

Antiwar mov't revisited

November 15, 1969, was the height of the antiwar movement. A million Americans marched on Washington while President Nixon watched a football game.

I was part of that great mass of people, and remember the exuberance and sense of purpose that we all felt. Millions watched from the sideline.

Those days are just memories now. The war ended; Nixon was impeached. The issues have faded with time. And somehow they don't seem so important anymore.

But let us imagine for a

moment, that instead of November 15, 1969, it was September 9, 1978. Instead of a million Americans demanding an end to the war, it was a million Iranians calling for the shah's impeachment. Imagine you were there among them.

It's a different time and a different place, but try to imagine the horrors the Iranian people are going through. Try to understand that our government is supporting this kind of dictatorship.

Let us raise our voices in conjunction with the Iranian students who are struggling for our attention. Let's welcome them and show them we care.

Richard Kanegis
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

'Lou Grant' politics

The producers of the "Lou Grant" show should be very proud of the episode dealing with the torture of political prisoners by America's "allies."

The episode dealt well—in one hour—with: the arrest and torture of the innocent victims of dictatorships; the cordial reception the dictators receive in the United States; the military training and arms the U.S. supplies to these regimes.

Although the wife of the dictator was portrayed as naïve, and the bourgeois press in this country as honest, the show still gave an amazingly powerful and clear depiction of existing atrocities. The parallel with Iran was unmistakable.

Edward Asner, the star of the show, has proven himself in the past to be a supporter of democratic rights. But it is still surprising that CBS permitted such a dramatization. Perhaps they feel the American public is so apathetic that it is safe to air such a program.

I think instead, the viewing audience will begin to look beyond the slanted view of the bourgeois press when reading about Iran, Nicaragua, Mexico, Peru, etc. I hope they will turn to the *Militant*, the only paper which gives consistent, honest reporting of these repressive regimes.

Jane McComsey
New York, New York

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Learning About Socialism

Is the USSR imperialist?

Rail series

I've been reading with great interest your series in the *Militant* on the railroads. It's great. What I and others here are wondering is if, when complete, it will be published in booklet form? It would be a great piece to sell at job sites nationwide. I think a lot of workers will be surprised to find out just what happened and is happening with the tacky owners of their companies.

Jeanine Stake
Atlanta, Georgia

Gay rights vs. Briggs

A couple of errors appeared in the *Militant's* coverage of California's Proposition 6, the Briggs initiative.

In the editorial "No on Calif. Prop 6" in the October 20 issue, the *Militant* wrote:

"The pro-6 gang is pouring big sums of money into a last-ditch media drive to stir up antigay prejudice.

"The anti-6 forces may not be able to match the money of the Briggs people. But we can mobilize large numbers of activists in a massive, visible fight for human rights."

It's true that Briggs' committees raised a large sum of money. As of September 23 they had raised \$1,123,745 since the antigay drive was launched more than a year ago. The bulk of this money—almost a million dollars—was spent in the petition effort to get the initiative on the ballot.

However, between July 1 and September 23, Briggs' committees reported having raised only \$32,554. This is considerably below what anti-6 groups raised. Between July 1 and September 23, anti-6 groups raised more than half a million dollars.

The November 3 *Militant* printed that "growing public pressure has forced Jerry Brown and even Ronald Reagan and Howard Jarvis to say they oppose the antigay measure."

Jerry Brown has always said he was opposed to the Briggs initiative. The day after it qualified for the ballot, Brown focused a good part of his remarks at a University of California Berkeley meeting against the Briggs initiative. What Jerry Brown has not done is to organize his supporters to join in the fight against Prop 6. He has not spoken at any of the rallies or picket lines sponsored by anti-6 groups across the state.

Nancy Brown
Los Angeles, California

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.

Ever since the Russian revolution, the nature of the Soviet Union has been a crucial issue in the world labor movement. The U.S. ruling class has raised a hue and cry about Soviet imperialism, pointing to such "crimes" as Soviet aid to Cuba and Soviet support to regimes on bad terms with U.S. imperialism—for example, Angola and Ethiopia.

The Chinese and the Albanian regimes and their supporters also describe the Soviet Union as "social imperialist."

And many socialists who want nothing to do with Jimmy Carter, Hua Kuo-feng, or Enver Hoxha consider the USSR an imperialist superpower. Such socialists point to Stalinist crimes like the oppression of minority nationalities; anti-Semitism; counterrevolutionary invasions of Hungary and Czechoslovakia; betrayal of revolutionary struggles around the world; and the totalitarian regime in the USSR.

"Only imperialists would be capable of such things," they insist.

This, however, does not settle the matter. Imperialism is not defined by its oppressive policies but by its economic content—monopoly capitalism. Monopoly capitalism, unlike the planned economy of the Soviet Union, opens up no new roads of development and offers only ruin to modern society.

In its early days, capitalism gave a tremendous impulse to the development of material wealth, and to culture, which rests on the foundation of material wealth. In its monopoly stage, however, this same social system threatens to undo all the positive things it accomplished in its youth. Nuclear war and ecological disaster threaten to destroy modern civilization completely. The alternative of socialism or barbarism is not an agitational phrase but a simple statement of fact.

The Russian revolution of October 1917, which brought the working class to power, demonstrated the constructive power of a new social system. With the means of production taken out of the hands of the capitalist class, and with the establishment of a planned economy, the Soviet Union was able to transform itself from a weak, backward country into the second-most powerful in the world.

This transformation, accomplished in only thirty years and in spite of an economic blockade by the capitalist powers and the devastation wrought by World War II, has no equal in history. Today, we have only to compare China to India for another example of the progressive character of the abolition of private property and the establishment of a planned economy.

While state ownership and planned economy as they exist in the present-day Soviet Union do not represent socialism, they are necessary preconditions for socialism. Once freed from the shackles of the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracy and the constraints of national boundaries, the planned econ-

omy will make possible the liberation of the working class and will allow the human race to develop to its full potential for the first time.

Because the basic institutions of the planned economy and state ownership have not been overturned, the Soviet Union remains a workers state, though bureaucratically degenerated. It is the elementary duty of the world working class to defend the Soviet Union against imperialist attack.

In order to realize the socialist potential of the planned economy, it is necessary to both overthrow the current corrupt bureaucratic rulers within the Soviet Union and extend the October revolution internationally.

Since the Soviet Union is a workers state, its behavior differs in crucial respects from that of the imperialist powers, despite the Kremlin's counterrevolutionary policies.

For example, while Washington spends billions to smash the national liberation movements in the semicolonial world, Moscow sometimes provides them with some material aid—for instance in Cuba, Indochina, the Middle East, and Africa. Their aim in doing so is not to capture new areas for Soviet investment. Their aim is to influence—and to restrict and betray—these struggles as bargaining chips in dealing with world imperialism. But this is quite different from the aims and methods of monopoly capitalism.

Even in Eastern Europe, Soviet policies differ radically from those of imperialism. Far from extending the power of capitalist monopolies and banks, Moscow's local agents were forced to expropriate these institutions.

This is not to deny that the Kremlin's policy is economically oppressive in Eastern Europe. It is simply to point out that it is *different*. Surely it is absurd to call both the extension of the power of the monopolies and their expropriation "imperialist."

The fact that the Soviet Union is frequently forced to take actions against imperialism does not mean that the Kremlin remains loyal to the program of the October revolution. Moscow is forced to act this way because it is locked in a life-and-death struggle with imperialism, which no policy of peaceful coexistence or détente can change.

An analogy can be made with the trade unions in the United States. The top bureaucrats who now lead the unions have completely betrayed the program of the fighters who built them. This, however, does not make the policies of the union bureaucrats and the bosses identical. On the contrary, while the bosses and their government try to break strikes, the union bureaucrats are sometimes compelled to call them.

For a more detailed discussion of this crucial question, the reader should consult *The Revolution Betrayed* and *In Defense of Marxism* by Leon Trotsky.

—William Gottlieb

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Students & fight to end U.S. aid to So. Africa

By Omari Musa

This fall has seen a rapid growth on college campuses of demonstrations in solidarity with the freedom struggle in South Africa.

These actions have focused on demands that universities get rid of stocks they hold in U.S. companies operating in South Africa.

Student protests have put the spotlight on the huge profits U.S. corporations reap from the brutal exploitation of Black labor. They have also begun to expose the U.S. political, economic, and military support that protects those profits and bolsters the apartheid regime.

Campus-based actions have already begun to convince growing numbers of Americans that the United States must get out of South Africa altogether.

The Young Socialist Alliance is part of the developing movement. YSA National Chairperson Cathy Sedwick explains why. "As a revolutionary socialist youth organization, it is the YSA's internationalist duty and responsibility



Militant/Susie Winsten
Young Socialist Alliance chairperson
Cathy Sedwick.

"One of the proposals conference participants will discuss is a call for a week of anti-apartheid activity March 18-24, the nineteenth anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre."

"This proposal was passed at the recent Midwest Conference on U.S. Investments in South Africa," Sedwick points out.

"A week of actions would give campus activists an excellent opportunity to carry out educational activity to win even more students to the divestment struggle."

"It would provide a way to organize divestment committees where they don't yet exist and broaden the base of support for those already active."

"The March 18-24 proposal," Sedwick continues, "will give a focus for

teach-ins, picket lines, rallies, forums, and film showings.

"These activities will not only help to organize students—but they will give student activists a chance to reach out to broader forces, especially the Black community and trade unions. These allies of the student movement have the raw power to force the United States out of Africa."

"We in the YSA see the March 18-24 projected activities as an important step in organizing a broad movement, both on and off campus, that can get the U.S. government, banks, and corporations out of South Africa."

She explains that these spring actions can provide greater coordination among campus activists and unite the growing number of anti-apartheid committees.

"The series of protests called by NECLSA from October 18 to November 4 are an example of what can be done."

"NECLSA was established by uniting students around three basic points: the United States should get out of South Africa; self-determination for the peoples of southern Africa and support to the liberation groups fighting for this goal; and a recognition that solidarity with the struggle in southern Africa is a contribution to the fight against racism here in the United States."

Sedwick explains that by organizing around these points, NECLSA has been able to bring together many individuals and organizations, regardless of their differences on other issues.

Cuba's role

Sedwick says that the role of Cuba in Africa is also being discussed by anti-apartheid activists.

"The Carter administration's anti-

Cuba campaign is designed to blunt the African solidarity movement here and confuse the American people about the issues.

"We think it was good that Cuba sent troops to help crush the South African invasion of Angola. We are for South Africa's defeat in Angola and Namibia."

"We support the right of African liberation groups to call for Cuban assistance in winning their independence. We are for Cuba giving aid to freedom fighters in Zimbabwe and South Africa."

"We also support the aid Cuba gave to Ethiopia when U.S. imperialism sought to move against the gains of the Ethiopian revolution through Somalia's intervention."

"The Carter administration's threats against Cuba are aimed both at the Cuban revolution and at the African liberation struggle," Sedwick continues.

"Carter is trying to throw up a smokescreen to hide the support the U.S. government provides for the white regimes in southern Africa. It is imperialism, with the United States in the lead, that stands as the roadblock to the South African freedom struggle."

YSA members are urging all anti-apartheid activists to attend the NECLSA conference. "This conference and the projected March 18-24 actions can advance the solidarity movement on the campuses, winning new support for the demands, 'Divest now!' and 'U.S. out of South Africa!'" Sedwick explains.

"And by strengthening the student movement, we will be taking a big step forward toward building an even broader movement that can force an end to U.S. support to the apartheid regime."

For more on the struggle against apartheid see page 19.

ity to aid the struggle of our South African sisters and brothers," she says.

"The U.S. government, corporations, and banks provide powerful support for the apartheid regime."

"Protests demanding that universities divest reflect the desire of thousands of students and other young people to aid the African liberation struggle."

Soweto rebellion

"It was the actions of Black students in Soweto, fighting against white-supremacist education, that inspired the divestment movement," Sedwick adds.

"When Soweto exploded in 1976, it had a tremendous impact in the United States, especially in the Black community."

"Black youth marched with banners proclaiming, 'Harlem-Soweto—Same Struggle,' as they protested repression in South Africa."

"The divestment movement," Sedwick continues, "is one that is capable of striking political blows against apartheid."

"But divestment is only part of the struggle," she points out.

"After all, it is the banks and corporations that are cashing in on the slave-labor system in South Africa. And it is the U.S. government, which speaks for those banks and corporations, that continues to give political support to the racist regime—despite all the pious rhetoric of Jimmy Carter and Andrew Young."

"What we are seeing today is the beginning of a movement demanding that the United States get completely out of South Africa."

"This is the kind of demand that can unify in action students, Black groups, trade unions, women, and others who oppose U.S. support to the apartheid regime," she explains.

An important step in this direction is the November 17-19 conference called by the North East Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa (NECLSA).

South African freedom fight

will be a major topic at the

YSA Convention

in Pittsburgh, December 28-January 1. For more information send this coupon to the Young Socialist Alliance National Office.

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