

THE MILITANT

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

Iranian masses return to streets

Despite massacre, protests defy shah's tyranny



TEHRAN, December 5—Young Iranians rally out of range of shah's machine-gun-toting troops. Since December 1, thousands have been massacred throughout Iran. For news and analysis, see pages 3-5. Interview with Iranian student leader, see pages 18-19.

CARTER: 'GUNS, NOT BUTTER'

Real face of inflation plan

"YES or NO: Should the federal government take billions of dollars away from programs for jobs, health care, education, and

lot anywhere in the United States last month. The reason is simple. Voters would have responded with a resounding "no!"

Editorial

social welfare, to be given to the Pentagon for more missiles, tanks, and nuclear warheads?"

That proposition did not appear on any election bal-

Nevertheless, the Carter administration is following exactly that course in its "anti-inflation" austerity drive. And it is trying to excuse its reactionary policies by citing a "conservative mood" allegedly displayed in the elections.

Continued on page 2

Interview with Rev. Ben Chavis

Wilmington 10
frame-up victim
explains how he
landed on gov't
'Black hit list'

—PAGES 14-15



REV. BEN CHAVIS

...Carter's war budget

Continued from front page

"Not a single Democrat ran against the defense budget," an administration official told the *New York Times*.

Perhaps not. But that says far more about the Democratic Party than about the sentiments of the American people.

Poll after poll has shown big majorities in favor of more government spending for education, health, transportation, and the environment. In recent days, however, a steady

Next week's 'Militant' will be our last issue before the holidays. After a two-week break, the 'Militant' will resume publication with the issue dated January 12, 1979.

stream of White House leaks has revealed some of next year's budget proposals. These include:

- \$5 billion cut from Medicare, Medicaid, and Social Security;
- \$11 billion cut from welfare proposals;
- A reduction in CETA (Comprehensive Employment and Training Act) jobs from 625,000 to 251,000, along with elimination of 500,000 summer youth jobs and 11,000 youth-training slots.
- \$1.5 billion cut from housing;
- Various health-care cutbacks including preventive medical care for Indians, scholarships for Black medical students, and programs on drug abuse, alcoholism, hypertension, immunization, and venereal disease.

Meanwhile, the administration has been trumpeting its "commitment" to increase military spending sharply—by 3 percent a year more than the rate of inflation. (What happened to Carter's 1976 preelection commitment to lower war spending by \$5 to \$7 billion is never explained.)

These budget figures are, of course, trial balloons. Carter is leaving himself leeway—depending on the level of public outcry—to "compromise" on just how many billions of tax dollars will be shifted from human needs to military hardware.

But the budget proposals make glaringly clear the real nature of Carter's "anti-inflation" program. It aims to squeeze the workers and the poor from every angle—wage

limits, social service cutbacks, tax increases—in order to boost corporate profits with tax giveaways and protect the profit system worldwide with a beefed-up military apparatus.

A typical beneficiary of this apparatus is the bloodstained shah of Iran, who is using U.S.-supplied tanks and machine guns to massacre unarmed demonstrators. What prompts Washington's military buildup is not the alleged "Soviet threat" but the rising tide of protests—from Iran to southern Africa—against exploitation and domination by U.S. corporate wealth.

Carter echoes Nixon and Ford before him by claiming that "national security" justifies multi-billion-dollar arms expenditures. But stockpiles of nuclear explosives and production of such fiendish new weapons as the neutron bomb and MX missile contribute nothing to the security of American working people. They only heighten the chances of a nuclear holocaust that would annihilate humanity.

Unionists have responded with scorn and anger to one aspect of Carter's inflation plan—his proposed wage limit. Already strikes have erupted against the attempt to hold increases in wages and fringe benefits to 7 percent while living costs soar at 10 percent or higher. Bigger confrontations may be on the way as major contracts expire next year.

Labor's hand would be strengthened immeasurably in these battles if the unions began to explain the truth—that the war budget is the prime cause both for inflation (because the government relies on deficit spending and expansion of credit to pay its arms bills) and for the intolerable tax burden on working people.

There is plenty of wealth in this country to provide higher wages, jobs for all, free medical care, free education, and a safe and clean environment. . . if this fantastic squandering of society's resources is ended.

That should be a rallying cry for unionists, the unemployed, the poor, Blacks, *latinos*, and the women's movement.

After meeting with Carter December 4 on the 1980 budget, a group of prominent Black leaders said they were "deeply distressed" by the prospect of higher unemployment and cutbacks. Vernon Jordan, president of the National Urban League, warned that unless some relief is offered for Blacks and other minorities, "it will be impossible to contain their despair or for them to sublimate their anger through the political process."

Similarly, United Auto Workers President Douglas Fraser has called Carter's budget proposals "absolutely indefensible" and warned that their adoption would damage the Democratic Party.

The task at hand, however, is not to protect the Democratic Party or to "sublimate" and "contain" the justified anger of working people. Rather, it is to mobilize and lead that anger in effective protest actions against the antilabor course of both the Democratic and Republican parties.

Rocky Flats

On November 29, a jury in Golden, Colorado, convicted Daniel Ellsberg and nine other people of trespassing at the Rocky Flats nuclear weapons plant. The ten had been arrested for blocking railroad tracks to the plant last May. Their action was part of protests that included a rally of 6,000 people.

Rocky Flats has become one of the key symbols of opposition to both nuclear weapons and nuclear power. Within its walls, the plutonium triggers are assembled for every U.S. nuclear weapon.

Judge Kim Goldberger refused to allow the jury to hear testimony from leading scientists on the dangers Rocky Flats poses to the lives and health of the nearly 2 million people who live nearby.

One of these witnesses, Dr. John Gofman, professor emeritus of medical physics at the University of California, explained the extreme health hazards of plutonium, which has leaked from the plant in liquid form.

When the liquid dries, plutonium dust is blown by the wind toward Denver, sixteen miles away.

The federal government, which pays Rockwell International Corporation millions every year to operate Rocky Flats, has long sought to minimize the dangers of the plant and hide the truth. Judge Goldberger continued that cover-up.

The ten defendants are guilty of no crime but opposition to nuclear-weapons production and concern for human life. Their convictions should be protested by everyone who wants to keep the Pentagon from blowing up the world.

Even one of the jurors, while saying she could not condone the defendants' action, wrote in a note: "My support and prayers are with you all."

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Ky. unionists discuss rightist terror

A debate was sparked by Louisville electrical worker Jim Burfeind (left) when his union voted to condemn a bomb attack on a socialist meeting there. Page 6.



Miners' health under attack

One year after beginning of their 110-day strike, how are coal miners faring without a union medical plan? Page 10.



Peruvian students fight austerity

On-the-scene report of how young Peruvians are challenging military regime's belt-tightening policies. Page 20.

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Iran: masses return to streets

'Tanks, bayonets, guns cannot stop us!'

By David Frankel

Wrapped in the white burial shrouds of Islam to show their readiness to die for their cause, demonstrators poured into the streets of Tehran December 1. Similar protests throughout Iran signaled the opening of a new offensive against the shah's dictatorship.

Supporters of the regime were surprised and distressed by the depth of the latest upsurge. The military government had vowed to suppress any protests "mercilessly," and pro-capitalist commentators had focused on the December 11 holiday of Ashura as the main danger point for the shah.

The masses replied with the chant that "Every day is Ashura!"

Shouting "Death to the shah!" and "Tanks, bayonets, guns cannot stop us," they took to the streets in courageous defiance of the shah's tyranny.

"Within minutes," the December 3 *New York Times* reported, "army tanks and troops began to roll and the sounds of machine-gun and automatic-weapons fire mingled with the chants."

News reports said the firing went on for more than three hours. According to the *Washington Post*, "There were confirmed reports of artillery fire."

Not even the foreign correspondents rubbing elbows with the Iranian ruling class at Tehran's Inter-Continental Hotel were able to give credence to the government lie that only seven were killed and thirty-seven injured in the carnage.

"Witnesses said that all of Tehran's 30 hospitals were nearly filled with wounded demonstrators and in the city's cemeteries many freshly dug graves were evident," the *New York Times* reported December 5.

Eye-witnesses reached by telephone said the massacre was even worse than the Black Friday bloodbath of September 8, during which an estimated 4,000 people were killed.

Rooftop protests

Demonstrations in cities such as Isfahan, Gorgan, Shiraz, Kangavar, and Bushire were also attacked by the army. But the regime's bloody repression has failed to stop the mass movement.

Calling the results "discouraging for the Shah," *Times* correspondent R.W. Apple, Jr. noted that "a surprisingly large number of political analysts . . . believe that the monarch's 37-year reign may be drawing to an end."

In Tehran, a new type of protests has appeared. Whole neighborhoods take to the rooftops each night and chant slogans against the shah, with groups of demonstrators occasionally going into the streets to confront the shah's troops.

"Thousands of Tehran residents staged their fourth consecutive night of rooftop chanting in defiance of the government," *Washington Post* corres-



Troops chase demonstrators in Tehran. Massacre of thousands has failed to stop protests.

pondent William Branigan reported in a December 4 dispatch.

Strikes continue to paralyze the country's economy. A leaflet issued by striking electrical workers in Tehran declared, "Better to have darker todays for brighter tomorrows."

Oil strike

On December 4 the National Iranian Oil Company admitted that the strike among oil workers was spreading once again and that production had been cut by 30 percent. By December 5 Iranian authorities conceded that production was less than half the normal rate and was still falling.

Despite repeated claims by the state-run oil company and American reporters that production had earlier returned to normal, Jonathan Randal reported in the December 5 *Washington Post* that "the Shiraz refinery has been closed for more than a month."

Randal cited reports of oil specialists who said "that of Iran's five refineries only a small unit at Kermanshah in western Iran was operating to full capacity. . . ."

"The Tehran refinery limped along at 50 percent capacity and Tabriz, which worked throughout the earlier work stoppages, went on strike today."

In addition, Randal noted that "all six natural gas plants were also shut down," and that the giant refinery at Abadan "reported strike action in the offing."

BBC Radio reported on its December 4 Farsi-language broadcast that the oil workers have set up a nationwide union and initiated a general strike demanding that the shah abdicate.

During the struggle against the imposition of military rule in November, the oil workers emerged as one of the

most combative sections of the Iranian working class. Since their labor is responsible for 60 percent of Iran's gross national product, the economic weight of the oil workers is far greater than their numbers would indicate.

New arrests of strike leaders in the oil fields have been reported, but the threat of arrest is not likely to succeed where tanks and machine guns have failed.

Regime blames 'saboteurs'

Faced with this situation, Gen. Gholam Reza Azhari, the head of the military government, held a news conference in Tehran December 5 to denounce the "atheists" and "saboteurs" who he said were responsible for the protests. "Every real Iranian is in favor of His Imperial Majesty," Azhari declared.

Asked whether the shah was in danger, Azhari replied: "Not at all. The majority of the people are so fond of his activities, the jobs, the improvements he has made. Everybody is so fond of him."

Like the gangster he is, Azhari told reporters, "The policy of the government is to convince people," but "if we are not able to change their minds, I will use force against these guys."

Along with his threats against the Iranian masses and his fantasies about the shah's popularity, Azhari attacked Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeyni as "a tool of the enemies of this country."

Khomeyni is the Muslim religious leader whose intransigence has made him a symbol of the opposition movement and its most respected figure.

Calls for action from Khomeyni have served as a rallying point for the movement against the shah in the

absence of any strong workers party. A general strike called by Khomeyni for November 26 was observed throughout the country. According to the *International Herald Tribune*, a demonstration of 1.2 million took place in Mashad, and 200,000 marched in Qum.

Khomeyni's role

Unlike other Shi'ite religious leaders, Khomeyni has refused any suggestion of compromise with the shah. His following among the masses—which is conspicuously greater than that of other religious leaders—is based on that uncompromising stance.

Thus, Khomeyni declared December 3 that "the strike in the oil industry in particular, which prevents the looting of the nation's wealth, is an act of obedience to god."

Khomeyni denounced the slaughter of unarmed protesters in Tehran as "a bloody massacre, an infamy for the shah and his supporters," and said, "I ask all Iranian soldiers to flee from their barracks."

By urging continuation of the strikes and mass demonstrations against the shah, and by refusing to support any government formed under the royal butcher's auspices, Khomeyni has played a progressive role.

For this reason, he has come under attack from the shah's henchmen, and the shah's imperialist supporters have tried to gag him.

While the shah's elite troops were gunning down thousands of unarmed people, the French Foreign Ministry warned Khomeyni—who is in exile in France—not to call for "violence" in Iran. The French government has warned Khomeyni three times about his statements against the shah.

But the fundamental problem for both the shah and his imperialist backers is not Khomeyni as an individual. It is the Iranian masses themselves.

Determination of masses

Any doubt as to the temper of the Iranian people has certainly been dispelled by the example of the protests in Tehran. Those demonstrators who dressed themselves in white shrouds showed a degree of determination, and a depth of anger, that is rarely seen.

The shah faces a mass movement that has gone through the experience of a nationwide general strike that lasted for weeks, and of the crackdown by his military government. As is shown by the formation of the oil workers union, the working class is continuing to develop its own forms of organization despite repression.

Moreover, Iranian Trotskyists report that popular defense formations have sprung up in many smaller cities. Although the government declared martial law throughout the country, it found that it did not have enough

Continued on next page

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USSR warns Carter: 'No U.S. troops to Iran'

By Gerry Foley

The Soviet leadership has begun issuing loud and clear warnings that it cannot stand idly by if Washington resorts to open military intervention in Iran.

The November 19 issue of *Pravda*, the Soviet Communist Party organ, featured a statement by Brezhnev on the possibility of a U.S. intervention. It was in the form of an answer to a question from a "Pravda correspondent," and was run in the center of the front page, directly below the masthead.

The question was:

How do you assess the reports appearing in the foreign press about interference by the Western states, especially the U.S., in the events taking place in Iran, and about the possibility that this may go as far as military intervention?

Brezhnev said:

Indeed, reports have been appearing about the possibility of a military intervention by some states. In this regard, we cannot help being concerned about the fact that the government officials in question do not actually deny these reports. Or if they do deny that they are trying to intervene, they do so in a roundabout way that does not exclude the possibility of intervention under a suitable pretext.

The Soviet chief concluded:

It should be clear that any intervention, and still more so any military intervention in the affairs of Iran—a country that borders directly on the USSR—would be regarded as affecting the interests of the security of the USSR.

Brezhnev's statement has been followed up by a series of articles in the Soviet press pointing to the danger of U.S. military intervention in Iran and amplifying the warning he issued. The campaign on this theme has been measured. It has not dominated the Soviet press. But it has been given sufficient prominence to assure that the Kremlin's message gets across both to Washington and the Soviet people.

The Soviet government has shown in the past that it considers that it has vital interests at stake in the Middle East, and it has confronted the Western powers more boldly in this part of the world than in any other.

Clearly the part of the Middle East that concerns the Russians most directly is the northern tier—Iran, Tur-



BREZHNEV: says U.S. military moves in Iran would endanger security of USSR.

key, Afghanistan, and Pakistan. Imperialist predominance in this region is a standing threat to the Soviet Union. In particular, Iran and Turkey are key elements in the U.S. policy of militarily encircling the workers states.

It is evident that the strategic stakes involved in the northern tier of the Middle East are extremely high, both for Moscow and Washington—considerably higher in fact than they were in Indochina.

Therefore, there is every reason to believe that the Kremlin's warning to Washington was in earnest. Despite Moscow's clear concern about maintaining détente, the world situation is quite different now from that of the immediate post-World War II period, when Stalin helped the imperialists reconsolidate their control of Iran.

The U.S. press noted that Washington responded with unusual haste to assure Moscow that it did not plan a military intervention. It is to be hoped that the Soviet government's warnings will dissuade the U.S. imperialists from any such attempt. That could avert tragedy for the peoples of Iran, and who knows how much of the rest of the world's population.

From *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*

...Iran

Continued from preceding page

reliable troops available to garrison every city.

If the ferment in Iran continues unchecked, it is only a matter of time until it affects the ranks of the armed forces and they begin to disintegrate. On the other hand, the mass movement against the dictatorship has grown so powerful that a sustained attempt to crush it could well result in a split in the army.

An indication of how some of the insiders in his regime view the shah's chances of solving this dilemma came November 27 when striking workers at the Central Bank of Iran released some banking records to the public.

A list of 180 people who had transferred some \$4.2 billion out of Iran in September and October—an amount equal to 20 percent of the country's annual oil revenue—was composed almost entirely of members and close associates of the royal family, top generals in the army and secret police, and former government ministers.

One crestfallen hotel manager in Shiraz summed up the situation when he complained to *New York Times* correspondent Jonathan Kandell November 23, "Even when the shah had to leave the country 25 years ago, the

Socialists and the Fight Against Anti-Semitism

By Peter Seidman

An answer to the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League's attacks on left opponents of Zionism, including a chapter on the little-known record of the U.S. government in closing the door to Jewish refugees from Nazi terror. 32 pp., \$60

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By Maxime Rodinson

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crisis lasted only a few weeks. This just goes on and on. And more people seem to join in all the time."

Disrupters fail to halt Iran solidarity meeting

By Jon Hillson

PHILADELPHIA—Twenty-five attackers failed to break up a November 30 meeting here sponsored by the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran. Supporters of the meeting have begun efforts to win wide condemnation of the violence, which resulted in several serious injuries.

The attackers belonged to three factions of the Iranian Students Association: the Confederation of Iranian Students-National Union; the ISA-Confederation of Iranian Students; and the ISA-Federation of Iranian Students. Four members of the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade, youth affiliate of the Revolutionary Communist Party, also joined in the attack.

When leaders of these groups refused to pledge not to disrupt the meeting, they were barred from entering. They then began chanting, "CAIFI is CIA," and slandering poet Reza Baraheni, the evening's keynote speaker. The disrupters claimed Baraheni was an agent of the shah's hated secret police.

When their effort to storm the entrance to the meeting failed, the disrupters pulled individual monitors into a gauntlet, where they were kicked and pummeled. One CAIFI monitor received puncture wounds in the back from a nailed board. Monitor Mike Finley, a member of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks, was also hospitalized.

Philadelphia police then entered the church, allowing most of the disrupters inside. But the meeting—protected by three rows of monitors—went on.

The CAIFI event was the most broadly backed anti-shah event held here recently. Co-sponsors included: Philadelphia National Organization for Women; United People's Campaign Against Apartheid and Racism; Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee; Mobilization for Survival; Philadelphia Workers Organizing Committee;

Young Socialist Alliance; and Bernie Dinkin, education director of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers union.

Speakers at the rally included poet Sonia Sánchez and Rev. Paul Washington, a widely respected Black activist.

It is particularly important to repudiate the hooligan attack here, since Philadelphia's news dailies falsely claimed CAIFI shared responsibility for the turmoil at the meeting.

The attack appears to have been planned in advance. The evening before the meeting, Rev. Washington received an anonymous phone call from an American telling him "to be careful" if he attended.

Disruptions of anti-shah event allow the media to portray the shah's opponents—rather than the reactionary regime in Iran—as violent. That only serves the foreign policy of the shah and his ally, Jimmy Carter.

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Iran newspaper strike protests censorship

Since the imposition of a military government on November 6, the journalists, press operators, and other employees of *Kayhan*, *Etelaat*, and *Ayandegan*—Iran's main daily newspapers—have been on strike. They are protesting the government's effort to reimpose press censorship and the arrest of a dozen journalists.

The pressmen have also refused to print any censored papers. Therefore, *Rastakhiz*, the government paper, and *Kayhan International* and *Journal Du Tehran*, the English and French editions of *Kayhan* and *Etelaat*, are also

not being published.

The shah has stubbornly refused to grant the just demands of the strikers. Instead, he has arrested more than a dozen of them and has cut off their pay.

In response, the union of the reporters and writers of the press as the representative of all strikers, has issued an appeal for financial help. A bank account has been established, and all those willing to send help can contribute to: Bank Melli Iran, Central Branch, Fardosi Avenue, Account No. 862000.

The following telegram in solidarity with the press strikers was sent by the 'Militant.'

We salute the courageous newspaper workers—and all the workers of Iran—who have gone on strike to protest the shah's tyranny.

In striking against the censorship of the military government, you are upholding the finest traditions of journalism—service to the truth.

Here in the United States, we have followed your inspiring struggle with close attention. We want you to know that although President Carter and the U.S. government support the shah's dictatorship, they do not

speak for the American people.

In order to justify their shameful support for the dictatorship, the U.S. government and the big-business media have had to spread the lie that your movement for democratic rights is really a right-wing movement directed against modernization of Iran, against social progress and against religious freedom.

We have done our best to get out the truth about what you are fighting for. We stand shoulder to shoulder with you in demanding the release of all political prisoners, an end to martial law, and a democratic government that would truly represent the interests of the Iranian people.

"It's a sobering lesson for the U.S. and ironic, too, given the probability that President Carter's human-rights policy may have helped create the crisis in the first place."

Like the editors of the *Wall Street Journal* and right-wing columnists such as Evans and Novak, Stone concluded that even empty talk about human rights "is not without risks" and should be used sparingly, if at all.

Plans for intervention

But maintaining imperialist rule around the world requires more than just political and financial support to dictatorial regimes. It will require direct military intervention, and new Vietnam-style wars. Discussion of the possibilities has already begun in Washington.

Imperialist experts were stunned by the eruption of the mass movement in Iran. "Oil sources point out that virtually no one had expected that a regime as solid as Iran's could so quickly come close to tumbling down," *Business Week* reported in its November 20 issue.

Iran, after all, was viewed as a bulwark of imperialist domination in the Middle East. Although as a semicolonial country it was never expected to play the same role as Israel, it was instrumental in helping to suppress the rebellion of the Dhofari people in Oman.

The fragility of the Iranian regime reflects the instability of the entire imperialist status quo. An article in the November 15 *New York Times* noted that as a result of the shah's troubles, "National Security Council aides have begun to question the strategy of relying heavily on local powers to protect American interests and, according to one, the Administration is accelerating programs for training and equipping special American combat units for combat in the Persian Gulf."

One of the lessons of the Iranian upsurge cited by Stone was "to be prepared for other crises in the Persian Gulf area with its vital oil wealth—crises in which military power could well be decisive. We should understand that if we are called upon to use armed force—for example, to help Saudi Arabia stave off a radical coup—the odds are that this country will be forced to go it alone."

A dead end

Just as in Vietnam, U.S. officials have responded to the crisis of the Iranian regime on the level of military and police measures. Carter himself has chastised the CIA for not anticipating events.

"In hindsight," one specialist told the *New York Times*, "we should have seen it coming and been prepared. But the threat of internal revolt was seen as the least likely contingency."

Not explained is exactly how Washington could have prepared for the rebellion in Iran. Should it have sent even more guns to the shah? Should it have sent more "advisers"? Or should it have been prepared to openly intervene with U.S. troops?

Washington is faced with popular uprisings against tyrannical regimes from Peru to Iran to southern Africa. The U.S. government continually threatens to involve the American people in new Vietnams. And any one of these situations contains the seeds of a nuclear confrontation with the Soviet Union.

The American people have no interest in defending the property of Gulf Oil and Du Pont in Iran, or the investments of IBM, Ford, and GM in South Africa. The same corporations that squeeze the wealth from oppressed peoples around the world also oppose decent wages and living standards here in the United States and try to divide the working class through the perpetuation of racist and sexist oppression.

In fighting to throw off the yoke of the shah and to liberate their country from imperialist domination, the Iranian people are fighting the enemies of the American working class. Their fight is our fight.

Crisis in Iran puts spotlight on imperialism

By David Frankel

CBS News commentator Marvin Kalb recently described the reaction of the Carter administration to the upsurge in Iran as "hope bordering on prayer" that the shah's dictatorship would survive.

Millions of people take to the streets in opposition to one of the world's most notorious tyrants and torturers, and Carter prays for the shah. A more telling example of what the U.S. government really stands for would be hard to find.

Of course, the big-business media have done their best to weasel around the fact that Washington is siding with the dictator against a mass movement for democratic rights.

The shah as liberalizer, the shah as modernizer, the shah as progressive—and in contrast, the Iranian masses as backward, fanatical, and irrational—have been constant themes in the capitalist media.

'Xenophobes' at work

One U.S. official, according to *Wall Street Journal* reporter Kenneth Bacon, said of the religious figures opposed to the shah: "These mullahs want to move Iran back to the 15th Century. They're anti-Western xenophobes."

The main demands of virtually every strike and demonstration in Iran over the past three months have been for an end to the monarchy, for an end to martial law, and for the release of all political prisoners. It may be that Carter and his underlings view such demands as "anti-Western," but they are certainly not out of the fifteenth century.

New York Times correspondent Jonathan Kandell has also complained about "xenophobia" in Iran, and the "crude nationalistic banners" waved by opponents of the shah.

It has probably never occurred to Kandell that the real example of crude, reactionary nationalism in Iran is Carter's support to the shah's dictatorship in the name of "U.S. interests." There is nothing xenophobic in the just demand that the dictator's foreign helpers get out of Iran and go back where they came from.

In any case, neither sensitivity to antiforeign sentiments nor concern for the future of a supposedly benighted people is behind the unanimity about Iran among supporters of American capitalism.

The American ruling class controls a worldwide economic empire that represents the third-largest economy on earth after those of the United States itself and the Soviet Union. U.S. foreign policy is based on preserving and extending this economic empire. In Iran, this means support to the shah.

Order books threatened

Business Week explained November 27 that "Iran's political and economic turmoil threatens the stability of the Middle East, the security of the West's oil supplies, and the order books of some major European and U.S. companies."

New York Times correspondent Youssef Ibrahim similarly noted November 26 that "the upheavals in Iran could well mean the end of what had seemed a limitless bonanza for foreign industries."

One U.S. executive mourning lost opportunities said, "It was too wild, too good to be true."

As of the end of 1977, U.S. banks held \$2.2 billion in loans to Iran, and direct U.S. investment there is now about \$700 million. A similar amount has been invested by Japanese capitalists, while the West Germans, British, and French have about \$540 million in direct investments.

In addition to the profits from the exploitation of Iran's vast petroleum reserves, imperialism relies on Iran as its most important market in the entire Middle East. Last year Iran imported \$16 billion worth of goods—85 percent of them from Japan, Western Europe, and the United States. This year, Iranian imports are expected to top \$19 billion.

Finally, Iran is a key link in the chain of imperialist military bases surrounding the Soviet Union,



Pentagon has stepped up training of troops for intervention in Mideast but faces opposition of American people to any new military adventures.

and in Washington's political and military domination of the Middle East.

Faced with these considerations, Carter has put aside his promises about conducting a foreign policy based on moral values and human rights. The revolutionary upheaval in Iran has forced him back to the ABCs of imperialist rule.

Imperialist pattern

The American ruling class has found through long experience that if the masses in the colonial and semi-colonial countries are free to organize politically, they will raise demands against the foreign domination of their lands.

When democratic rights for the masses come into conflict with the ability of imperialism to maintain its stranglehold over markets, sources of raw materials, and military bases, the imperialists look to dictators willing to protect their interests.

The shah himself was returned to power by the CIA in 1953 in order to stop the development of a mass anti-imperialist movement in Iran. A more recent example of this same process was the CIA-backed coup in Chile.

Henry Kissinger summed up the real attitude of the American ruling class toward democracy when he commented shortly before the election of the Allende regime in Chile: "I don't see why we need to stand by and watch a country go Communist due to the irresponsibility of its own people."

But after the experience of the Vietnam War and the Watergate revelations, the American people were not so ready to support military adventures abroad. Carter's human rights drive was intended to rebuild popular support for U.S. foreign policy.

Unfortunately for the imperialists, the Carter approach backfired. Here in the United States, more and more people began to ask why Washington was supporting dictators such as Marcos in the Philippines, Park in South Korea, and the shah of Iran, if the extension of democracy and human rights was really one of its main aims.

Meanwhile, new pressures have been placed upon the dictatorial regimes supported by Washington. The hopes of their own peoples have been raised by Carter's rhetoric and by the State Department's urging of cosmetic reforms.

As an editorial on Iran by Marvin Stone in the

The Ethiopian Revolution

By Ernest Harsch

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National picket line

Court upholds BRAC picket rights

On November 27 the Supreme Court let stand a lower-court decision that allows striking railway clerks to picket railroads providing financial aid to the struck Norfolk and Western line.

Members of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks had struck N&W last July over job security and union jurisdiction. In September the strikers extended their pickets to seventy-three other carriers engaged in a mutual aid pact with N&W—to the tune of \$6 million a week. Rail workers shut these lines down tight in solidarity with the BRAC strike.

District Court Judge Aubrey Robinson refused to grant the affected railroads an injunction against BRAC. He ruled that their mutual-aid pact demonstrated their "economic self-interest" in the strike.

BRAC's eighty-one-day strike was ended by court order September 29, and the disputed issues are now before a presidential emergency board under the provisions of the Railway Labor Act. But the court ruling means that if BRAC does not accept the board's recommendations, it will be legally free to continue its strike industry-wide when the present "cooling off" period ends January 14.

In the meantime, according to BRAC President Fred Kroll, national contract talks between the union and industry have stalled and BRAC is seeking to initiate procedures for a general contract strike.

"I'm not strike-happy, but we've been without a contract for almost ten months," Kroll said. "Our people are extremely restless, and I'm fearful of sporadic unrest and walkouts around the country."

National actions hit J.P. Stevens

On November 30 more than 3,000 demonstrators—representing New York's major unions—picketed corporate office of J.P. Stevens. Similar actions were held across the country in support of the two-year long boycott of Stevens products. Initiated by the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers union, the boycott is part of the union's campaign to win recognition in the company's southern mills.



Defend Canadian postal workers

Seven hundred people rallied in Vancouver November 17 to defend the Canadian Union of Postal Workers. Since the government crushed a nationwide strike by CUPW in October, union militants have been hit with fines, suspensions, and warning letters.

The Vancouver rally, organized by the Vancouver local of CUPW, heard pledges of support from leaders of unions and the New Democratic Party, Canada's labor party. The rally came a few days after a successful fund-raising benefit attended by more than 600 people.

Under union pressure, Vancouver postal management has backed off from its indefinite suspensions of three strike activists, imposing ten-day penalties instead. The Vancouver and Toronto CUPW locals are calling for a special union convention to coordinate and unify this defense effort.

American workers—especially postal workers suffering similar harassment—can show their solidarity by sending telegrams to: Canadian Union of Postal Workers, 280 Metcalfe, Ottawa, Ontario.

Dissident Teamsters make gains

Dissident Teamsters scored a victory in November when a slate fielded by Teamsters for a Democratic Union swept every incumbent from office in Local 332. The Flint, Michigan, local includes 4,000 drivers and warehouse workers.

The TDU slate, campaigning for the right to elect business agents and for better handling of grievances, rebuffed a red-baiting campaign by incumbent union officials. The city cops—who are Teamster organized—helped these attacks. They staged a last-minute disruption of the vote-counting to investigate a fake "bomb threat." But the tally showed a two-to-one vote for the opposition candidates.

The Flint victory came on the heels of the October election of TDU member Jack Farrell to the presidency of a 7,000-member Oklahoma City local. Both TDU and PROD, another dissident group, are fielding candidates in key upcoming elections to try to assure greater representation for their views at the union's 1981 national convention.

—Shelley Kramer

Condemn attack on SWP

Ky. unionists discuss right-wing terror

By Liz Jayko

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 the November elections.

On November 4, at a preelection rally for Burfeind held at the SWP headquarters here, a chemical gas bomb was hurled into the meeting by right-wingers. Burfeind was able to throw the bomb back onto the street before anyone was injured.

Burfeind and one of his supporters at the GE plant have also faced right-wing harassment and threats on the job. Two gallons of oil were poured

Liz Jayko is the 1979 Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Kentucky.

down onto Burfeind from a catwalk above his work station, for example.

Black activists, feminists, and many others in Louisville have spoken out against the gas-bomb attack, which fits into a pattern of right-wing violence in the city. The board of aldermen passed a resolution November 28 condemning the attack.

Support from union lodge

Support for the socialists' right to free speech has also come from Burfeind's union, International Association of Machinists Lodge 2409. Prior to the November 12 union meeting where the attack was discussed, Burfeind had gotten the support of Lodge President Brad Cecil and four other lodge officials.

Burfeind described what happened: "When the point on the agenda came for me to make my presentation, I began by discussing what the issues in my campaign were.

"I pointed out that as a socialist and a trade unionist, I had explained the issues in the election from the point of view of working people. For example, I opposed the use of the Taft-Hartley injunction against striking coal miners and opposed Carter's belt-tightening policies. I also explained the working-class alternative in my campaign.

"I told my co-workers that the reason my campaign office had been attacked and I and my supporters had been harassed at GE was because we had been getting a good response to our ideas.

"I explained it was dangerous to have any union member's democratic rights disrupted. It's only in the interest of the company to prevent someone from campaigning who is speaking out against the company."

Burfeind ended his presentation by

explaining that he believed the slogan, "An injury to one is an injury to all," is in the best traditions of labor solidarity.

When Burfeind finished speaking, the atmosphere was tense. The first comments came from the back of the room, where someone standing in the doorway yelled out, "What you really need is some buckshot in your ass." Someone else said they thought a thank-you letter should be sent to the people who threw the tear-gas bomb into the SWP headquarters.

A discussion followed these outbursts. One worker asked if it wasn't a bad idea for the union to support the Socialist Workers Party. Brad Cecil, the lodge president, explained that the motion was simply to oppose the violence against Burfeind and his party—not to support the SWP's program.

Burfeind described what happened next:

"A journeyman spoke and said that he was in favor of violence and opposed to civil liberties. He said he thought that civil liberties had gotten us busing and that he thought it was good to use violence against people who support busing."

Burfeind described how he answered: "I said I didn't think this person had actually meant what he said.

"The kind of violence he was advocating would result in the destruction of the union. I explained how the United Mineworkers of America (UMWA) was made strong by having real democracy in that union—the right to discuss and vote on contracts, for example. It is in the interest of the company to have people terrorized to stop them from getting out their political ideas."

Support for motion

Bill Harned is the business agent for District 27 of the IAM and past president of Lodge 2409. Harned spoke next, and Burfeind described what he had to say.

"Harned began by saying that he thought what I was asking the union to do was 'take a look at ourselves.' He said that he wouldn't be able to leave the meeting holding his head up if he didn't approve the motion. He gave the example of George Wallace, who had run for president and had been put in a wheel chair for expressing the politics that he believed in. Harned said he thought many of the people in the room had supported Wallace.

"The other example Harned used was the two Kennedy brothers. They had both campaigned for political office and had been killed. He explained that you couldn't have political democracy in the United States if people running or elected to political office are

Continued on page 8



Jim Burfeind, a machinist at GE and former Socialist Workers Party candidate

Events at 'Democracy Wall'

Teng orders halt in criticism of Mao, Hua

By Leslie Evans

The Chinese government moved on November 30 to try to halt the nightly rallies that had been going on for a week at "Democracy Wall" in Peking, and to prescribe political limits for the content of the hundreds of wall posters being put up by citizens in the country's capital. The December 1 *New York Times* reported that a broadcast on Peking's closed-circuit loudspeaker system called on people to stop participating in demonstrations demanding democracy and to stop putting up wall posters criticizing Chinese Communist Party Chairman Hua Kuo-feng.

The wall-poster campaign began on November 19 with a sharply worded blast at Mao Tsetung, accusing him of having supported the now-disgraced "gang of four"—purged members of the CCP Politburo—and of having helped to impose a dictatorship over the Chinese people during the Cultural Revolution of the mid-1960s. A central focus of the wall posters has been support for Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-p'ing, and praise for antigovernment demonstrators in Peking's Tien An Men Square in April 1976.

There can be little doubt that the wall-poster campaign was initiated and authorized by forces in the CCP hierarchy around Teng Hsiao-p'ing. It did not erupt spontaneously, but was prepared beforehand in careful stages. But the campaign is something more than the mobilization of the members of Teng's faction against the diehard Maoists in the apparatus. It would also appear to be an attempt by Teng to present himself to the Chinese people as a champion of democratic reform, an operation that to be successful requires some genuine concessions.

There have been elements of both kinds of campaign in the events in Peking in the later part of November. Much of the poster campaign and demonstrations focused on simple adulation of Teng and sharp criticism of men in the leadership whose record should make them Teng's political opponents.

Prominent holdovers from the Mao era, such as former Peking mayor Wu Te, Peking garrison commander Ch'en Hsi-lien, and trade-union functionary Ni Chih-fu have been denounced and their removal from office demanded. These men are accused of complicity in actual crimes against the Chinese people—particularly in the brutal suppression of the Tien An Men demonstrations.

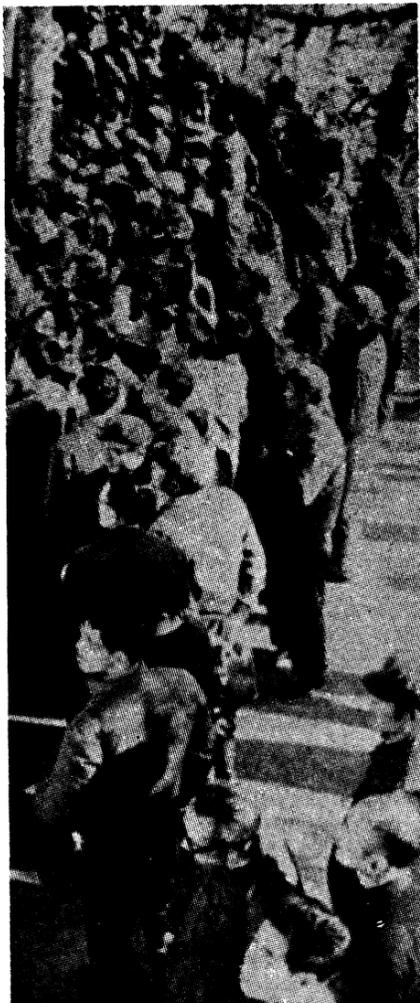
The other side of this campaign is the promise of an end to the worst abuses of the Mao era, the institutionalization of certain elementary democratic rights, and a loosening of the stranglehold of the Maoist censorship and thought-control apparatus.

One of the first hints of the public criticism of Mao came in an October 22 report of a recent speech by People's Liberation Army (PLA) general and Politburo member Hsu Shih-yu of Canton, long a close associate of Teng Hsiao-p'ing and reputed to have sheltered him after he was purged in 1976. According to Hsinhua:

He said that Lin Piao and the gang of four had passed Mao Tsetung Thought off as the "ultimate truth" and outlined many "forbidden areas" to fetter the people's thinking and obstruct the development of the revolution. . . . Hsu Shih-yu said: "My understanding of this teaching [Mao Tsetung Thought] is that we must uphold revolutionary truth and not personality cult.

Promise of no retaliation

At the same time the press began to run many articles inviting criticism by the masses and promising that any officials who retaliated against citizens for airing their views would be punished (*Liberation Army Daily*, November 9).



Peking throng reads wall posters

A further development has been the appearance of a differentiation within the previously completely monolithic Chinese press.

The most important example is the resumption of publication in September 1978 of *China Youth*, suspended by the Maoists in 1966. On November 18, Hsinhua carried a summary of an article from the current issue on the question of democracy and the legal system that went beyond anything to appear in the more established newspapers. It said in part:

There were deep-seated social and political causes for the appearance of the gang of four on Chinese soil. They were a product of history. They took advantage of inadequate laws, and the lack of a sound judicial system or institutions which could be depended on to secure socialist democracy. . . .

Real ownership by the working people in the economic sphere requires corresponding democratic rights in the political sphere. In those places where the people's democratic rights are only nominal, is not economic ownership nominal too? . . .

Any dictatorship which excludes this sort of democracy is definitely not a dictatorship of the proletariat.

The article raises some concrete demands:

All the democratic rights of the people should be accurately and comprehensively spelled out in laws which are effectively enforced. The right of the people to elect, dismiss and supervise state administrative and managerial personnel should be guaranteed. People's deputies should be elected by secret ballot and measures should be taken to change the state of affairs in which the masses do not even know their deputies, much less know what they are doing and advocating.

This—for China—rather astonishing article was republished by the *People's Daily* on November 13, just a few days before the first wall poster appeared. All of this helps to explain the climate in which the demonstrations at "Democracy Wall" have taken place.

Four questions about Mao

The November 24 Paris *Le Monde* reports from Peking a wall poster which posed some questions:

Ask yourself: if Mao was not in agreement, how could Lin Piao have acquired such power?

Ask yourself: didn't Chairman Mao know that Chiang Ch'ing (his wife) was a traitor? . . .

Ask yourself: if Chairman Mao was not in agreement, how could the "gang of four" have launched the campaign against the "Right deviationist wind" and struck down Teng Hsiao-p'ing?

Ask yourself: if Chairman Mao was not in agreement, how could the Tien An Men incident have been characterized as counter-revolutionary?

Two days later a poster appeared in Peking calling for the rehabilitation of former head of state Liu Shao-ch'i; this was followed by posters calling for the rehabilitation of one-time Defense Minister P'eng Te-huai, the two most important figures in the CCP leadership purged by Mao in 1966 and 1959 respectively.

At the same time, veiled attacks on party Chairman Hua Kuo-feng continued to appear. One poster parodied Mao's alleged last words, handing power over to Hua ("With you in charge, I am at ease"), substituting, "With Teng Hsiao-ping in charge, the people of the entire nation are now finally at ease."

Sampling from wall posters

Other posters that week declared:

- From 1966 to 1976, China was under a fascist regime and the only person who defended us ordinary people against the fascists was Chou En-lai [and people close to him such as Teng.]

- We cannot tolerate that human rights and democracy are only slogans of the Western bourgeoisie and the Eastern proletariat only needs dictatorship.

- No wonder foreigners call the National People's Congress a rubber-stamp parliament. It has only its name but no real power.

- As far as we know, China is a people's republic and not a feudal dynastic state. People have the right to appoint and dismiss their servants. [*New York Times*, November 26. This last was in reference to Mao's personal appointment of Hua Kuo-feng to serve as China's premier after the Tien An Men demonstrations.]

Actually, according to some of the reports, the majority of the posters do not address themselves to directly political questions, but air personal grievances. An account by Frank Ching from Peking in the December 1 *Wall Street Journal* contains the following examples:

A 64-year-old Mongolian wrote that he had come to Peking to accuse the Communist Party of responsibility for the death of his son, who was in the air force. A 15-year-old girl put brush to poster to tell passers-by

that her mother had been arrested illegally.

One of the most striking things about the poster campaign has been the accompanying rallies and discussion meetings, marked in particular by an unprecedented willingness to talk to foreign reporters.

'Democracy Wall'

The most interesting changes began on November 25 on Chang An Avenue near the intersection of Hsi Tan Street, the site of the main wall where the posters are put up, now called "Hsi Tan Democracy Wall." Crowds of up to 10,000 came daily to read and copy the wall posters. On November 25, Chinese began to start conversations with the Western reporters, and this soon escalated into a series of mass meetings. The most detailed account of these meetings has been supplied by John Fraser, Peking correspondent of the *Toronto Globe and Mail*.

Fraser said the crowd seemed to be generally supportive of Hua Kuo-feng, and to be very friendly toward Teng. At the same time, many of the questions and comments were pointed.

One frequent question was: "A few years ago, did everyone in the West think the Chinese people had gone crazy?" And: "Tell us the state of democracy in your country. Is it true that you can criticize your leaders without being labelled a traitor?"

Fraser reported some of the demands as follows:

They want more contact with "foreign friends" so that the masses can have a means of conveying their wishes to Chinese leaders;

"The Chinese people want a true democracy, true freedom and true human rights." They do not want dictatorship or despotism in any form. The kind of democracy they want is "socialist democracy." . . .

They want the "Hsi Tan democracy wall" institutionalized as an area of free speech just like Hyde Park corner in London (the parallel was made by the Chinese.)

They want Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping to visit the Hsi Tan wall and take a look at the posters.

They want the people of the West to know about Hsi Tan wall and to show support to the Chinese people as they fight for democracy.

The following night, Monday, November 27, the gathering broke up into discussion groups surrounding foreign journalists. Fraser recounts:

We asked people if the evening's events would be reported in the *People's Daily* and

Continued on page 21



Wall posters in Peking are openly criticizing Mao Tsetung and many of Mao's most cherished policies are being reversed by his successors. *China After Mao* probes one of the most dramatic turnabouts of modern times—

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Media figures at reception

LA supporters welcome Marroquin

By Joanie Quinn

LOS ANGELES—Well-known media figures and civil libertarians sponsored a reception for Héctor Marroquin during his recent tour here.

Sixty-five guests attended the November 19 gathering to meet the Mexican socialist now seeking political asylum in this country. Signers of the invitation to the reception were Ed Asner, star of the popular television show "Lou Grant"; Ellen Stern Harris, former consumer columnist for the *Los Angeles Times*; Aileen Adams, national board member of Amnesty Inter-



HECTOR MARROQUIN

Militant/T.J. Grillo

national; Frank Wilkinson, executive director of the National Committee against Repressive Legislation; and Blase Bonpane, professor of political science at California State University at Northridge.

Bonpane introduced Marroquin. After Marroquin's account of his fight to win political asylum, a lively discussion took place for close to one hour.

One guest, a correspondent for all-news radio KFWB decided to interview Marroquin for the station.

Later, guests gathered around a television set to watch an interview with Marroquin on "The Sunday Show," an influential public-affairs program on the local NBC affiliate.

Almost half the guests were Chicano or *latino*, including several members of the Mexican-American Political Committee of the Campaign for Economic Democracy, the California organization led by Tom Hayden.

Also in attendance were Lou Haas, an assistant to California Sen. Alan Cranston; members of Chile Democratic; and a number of people involved in other defense cases. Several people attended from a group working to help victims of anti-Semitism in Argentina.

Earlier in the week Marroquin spoke before the regular bi-monthly state board meeting of the Service Employees International Union Local 535

(SEIU). The SEIU local, which represents 10,000 registered nurses and social service workers in California, was the first union local in the country to endorse Marroquin's asylum request.

Marroquin also spoke at a community meeting of 100 people here November 15. John T. Williams, a former Teamster official and longtime activist in the antiwar and civil rights movements, welcomed Marroquin to Los Angeles. "Marroquin is carrying on a fight for workers, a fight somebody had to do," he said.

Dorothy Healy, a leader of the New American Movement and commentator on KPFK radio in Los Angeles, also spoke.

Marroquin received a warm reception. Explaining that a ruling on his asylum request could come at any time now (see box), he asked his supporters to be ready to respond if the government rules against him.

The defense committee also helped organize several campus meetings. At California State University at Los Angeles, sixty-five students attended a meeting cosponsored by the Latin American Society and the Young Socialist Alliance.

At the University of California in Los Angeles, Marroquin's meeting was sponsored by the Organization of

Latin American Students (OLAS), the YSA, and the Third World Coalition. OLAS is conducting a campus petition drive for Marroquin.

Marroquin was also invited to speak to a rally of 200 UCLA law students protesting cuts in affirmative-action programs. At the rally, nearly everyone signed the OLAS petition. In just a few hours it totaled well over 200 signatures.

More than \$700 was raised for Marroquin's defense during his Los Angeles visit.

INS to rule on asylum

The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) is about to rule on Héctor Marroquin's request for political asylum in the United States.

If Marroquin is deported to Mexico, he will face imprisonment, torture, and possible death. Nearly 400 political activists have disappeared after arrest there.

For more information, contact the Héctor Marroquin Defense Committee, Box 843 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

Strikers rally in Pittsburgh

Truckers demand right to representation

By Brett Merkey

PITTSBURGH—The Allegheny Social Club was the scene of a spirited rally December 2 by 300 members and supporters of the Fraternal Association of Steel Haulers.

FASH is leading the nationwide strike of steel haulers that began November 11 over demands for economic gains and the right of the independent truckers to represent themselves in bargaining.

The rally issued an angry protest against a rash of court actions aimed at breaking the truckers' strike.

U.S. Steel—which admits that its deliveries are down some 20 percent—has filed suit with four other steel companies in Pittsburgh to force the steel haulers back to work. Charging FASH leaders with "illegally withdrawing rigs from service," the suit seeks \$1.3 million in damages and thousands of dollars more in additional daily fines.

The steel companies have also filed suit in Pittsburgh to revive a 1971

injunction against FASH and are seeking a similar court order in Cleveland.

All of the bosses' court actions are based on the claim that steel haulers are "small businessmen" and do not have the right to strike.

There are some 30,000 steel haulers in this country; about 10,000 belong to the Teamsters union. The majority of steel haulers own their rigs but must lease their services to carriers recognized by the Interstate Commerce Commission. The carriers pay the truckers a percentage—which has been steadily shrinking—of the rates they set for deliveries.

FASH national chairperson William Hill blasted the company suits and the rumors the bosses are spreading about defections in the strikers' ranks. These are efforts to start a back-to-work movement, he said.

"We're shut down because we must win a decent standard of living," Hill said. "But even if we could win our monetary demands tomorrow, we won't have anything unless we win the

right to represent ourselves. We're the only group of workers that have no say over our rate of pay and working conditions."

The news media are collaborating with the companies to underplay the effectiveness of the truckers' strike, Hill added. But steelworkers have reported growing stockpiles and smaller companies are beginning to shut down. Toledo Pickling and Steel Service Company had to stop production November 30 after truckers refused to haul its 7,000 tons of stockpiled steel.

As the press tells it, the strikers are engaged in a mad spree of violence against Teamster members. This slander was also dispelled by Hill.

"We're strictly against any type of violence," he told the rally, "because it gets all the media coverage and it turns the public against us. Violence only serves to overshadow the real issues in the strike."

Rally participants laid plans to engage in mass picketing "like the miners did."

Taking another lead from the miners' successful strike, truckers' wives discussed the need to sponsor their own support actions.



FASH leader William Hill

...Louisville

Continued from page 6

terrorized to prevent them from saying what they think.

"Harned ended by suggesting that the wording of the original motion be changed to make it even clearer that the union was not supporting the Socialist Workers Party's ideas."

After Burfeind accepted the amendment to his motion, it was passed by a close vote.

The motion was to send a letter to the mayor of Louisville and the chief of police that said the following:

"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."

Four days after this union meeting, Burfeind was told by a co-worker that Burfeind had come very close to being blinded and crippled by some right-wingers at GE. The attack was stopped by co-workers who were against such violence.

During this discussion, Burfeind's co-worker said, "You have a lot of guts to keep saying what you think."

Burfeind answered that it wasn't a question of courage but a question of his political right to say what he thought and that there were a lot of people who agreed he had that political right.

Burfeind related one other discussion that took place with a co-worker the week following his union meeting.

"This co-worker told me that the reason people want to do violence against me is 'because your arguments are too good.'"

Memorial protests for Milk

About 3,500 people packed San Francisco's Opera House November 30 for a memorial service for slain city supervisor and gay rights activist Harvey Milk. Another 2,000 people, unable to get inside, listened outside over a public-address system. California Governor Brown was among the speakers.

Milk and San Francisco Mayor George Moscone were shot November 27 by Dan White, a cop and former supervisor.

White had run for office on a right-wing platform and was supported by many cops. One of his election brochures stated: "I am not going to be forced out of San Francisco by splinter groups of radicals, social deviates, incorrigibles. . . ."

He was the only supervisor to vote against the city's gay rights ordinance.

About 350 people braved a cold New

York City rain December 3 for a candlelight march and memorial meeting for Milk. The march was called by the Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights.

Speakers at the meeting included Steve Ault, who discussed the need for a national gay rights march on Washington. Milk had supported this proposal.

Other speakers included Eleanor Cooper of CLGR; Rev. Paul Abels of the Washington Square Methodist church; and Craig Rodwell, a friend of Milk's.

Plans were announced for a December 9 community meeting. The meeting takes on special significance in the wake of the city council's vote November 29 against considering a gay rights bill. This is the sixth year in a row that the council has failed to pass the bill.

90-year-old votes socialist

'They were getting out and doing things'

In 1978, the Socialist Workers Party conducted election campaigns in twenty-five states and Washington, D.C.

The following are excerpts from two Dallas newspapers on the socialist candidates in Texas. The first is from an article by Bill Porterfield that appeared in the November 10 'Dallas Times Herald' titled, 'Carl Brannin and voting.'

Carl [Brannin] is a widower. He shares his little brick house on Ridgedale with a friend. He felt a special sense of duty about election day so he got up early, just about sunrise, fixed himself an egg and papaya juice, and read the newspaper. Then he set to work reviewing the races and the candidates, making a mental list in his mind of his choices.

He tended to some of his correspondence . . . drew on a funny little hat and a red sweater and went out to warm up his car. It is a faded green Volkswagen plastered with stickers and political slogans. "Stop Nuclear Power," one reads. "Good Neighbors Come in All Colors," says another.

It was a touching sacrament because Carl is 90 and may never vote again. And it seemed cavalier because Carl had cast his lot with losers.

He had just voted to send Miguel Pendas to the United States Senate. He picked Sara Jean Johnston for the governor's mansion. Agnes Chapa got his vote for attorney general, Andrea Doorack for lieutenant governor. They sound like the evening shift from a union shop on the Houston Ship Channel, and most of them are. They were also candidates of the Socialist Workers Party.

But Carl is not a straight ticket man. He voted for a Democrat here and there. And he even went for a Republican. . . .

After voting for Woodrow Wilson in 1912, Carl would go for six presidential elections before he got a winner in 1940 with Franklin Delano Roosevelt. In between, he had voted for guys like Allen Benson, Eugene V. Debs, Robert M. LaFollette and Norman Thomas.

In 1936, Carl himself ran for governor of Texas on the Socialist ticket. He got 962 votes.

On a May day 40 years later he was picketing President Ford outside the Fairmont Hotel.

For 47 years Carl and Laura [Brannin] were in the vanguard of social reform across the country. Whatever others might call them, the Brannins saw themselves as civil libertarians fighting for justice. Their compass was the Constitution; their target: bigotry and oppressive power. And for a long time, the means to all this was the Socialist Party. Later, dogma would drain them.

But Tuesday he went for the worker Socialist kids "because they were getting out and doing things." He voted in earnest, entertaining no hope of their winning.

"Well what about 1980? Will you support Carter again?"

"I don't know," he said. "It will depend on who else is running. If Carter remains indecisive, I'll vote a protest again."

The following are excerpts from an article by Sam Attlesey that appeared in the October 2 'Dallas Morning News.'

The first hint this was not going to be a typical political rally was the

words scribbled on the East Dallas storefront: "Militant Bookstore."

About 40 people gathered under orange and white streamers and the blue and gold banner that proclaimed the reason for the meeting: "Vote Socialist Workers in 1978."

Although the Socialist Workers Party can boast only about two dozen hard-core members locally and about 200 statewide, the party has candidates on the ballot for six state races.

And the local congressional race between Democrat U.S. Rep. Jim Mattox and Republican challenger Tom Pauken offers voters a third choice. Jim White, a 26-year-old machinist at Dresser Industries, is the Socialist [Workers] candidate in the 5th Congressional district.

"This hall is an organizing center for freedom and justice," White said, preaching the gospel of the Socialist [Workers] Party that "working people should have a say in the system."

"My opponent, Jim Mattox, is a perfect example of the fact that the Democratic and Republican parties are both run by big business," White said, contending Mattox only gives the "illusion" he is a friend of labor.

"Racism, sexism and greed are the only reasons people are walking around without jobs," White said.

Pinned on his brown corduroy suit was a button with a picture of a smog-infested city with the words: "Capitalism fouls things up."

The Socialist [Workers] candidate for U.S. Senate, Miguel Pendas, continued the tirade against the two major parties, saying neither represented the majority of the people.

"The goal of our party is to organize and educate the working class to form

a workers' government and initiate Socialism," the 33-year-old retail clerk from Houston said before the rally.

When asked why the party was fielding a slate of candidates with virtually no chance of winning, Pendas was quick to reply.

"It's better to vote for what you want and not get it, than to vote for what you don't want and get it."

Derrick Adams, a black Dallas construction worker who is the party's candidate for state treasurer, continued the theme, calling the American tax system a "total rip-off where the fat cats get off free."

He advocates divestment of all state funds that help finance South African apartheid.

At one point during his speech, a 'right on' was heard from one of the audience, which included Mexican-Americans, Blacks, men with beards and a strong contingent of women favoring the Equal Rights Amendment.

Representatives from the National Organization for Women, the anti-nuclear movement and the "Free Oliver Lee Davis Committee" also were present at the rally.

Plugs for the ERA, jobs for everyone and civil rights dominated the rally.

The only thing missing was the party's candidate for governor, Sara Jean Johnston, a steelworker at Hughes Tool Co. in Houston. She couldn't attend because she reportedly was being "harassed on her job," members of the local party explained.

The rally not only provided a forum for Socialist [Workers] Party philosophy, it allowed them to do what Democrats and Republicans are noted for: raising bucks for the candidates.

African solidarity notes



Divestment debated at Utah university

More than 150 students attended a debate on divestment at the University of Utah in Salt Lake City.

Two university faculty members and a representative of the Utah Committee for University Divestment spoke in favor of divestment. Opponents of divestment included a private investment counselor, a law student recently returned from a two-year stay in South Africa as a Mormon missionary, and an assistant to the university's president.

Schlafly supports apartheid

The anti-ERA, anti-abortion, antigay, and antibusing bigot Phyllis Schlafly recently threw her support to the apartheid regime in South Africa.

In a column appearing in the reactionary *News World*, she claimed the Soviet Union already "controls" the Horn of Africa. Schlafly warned of serious consequences should the West let the "rich prize" of Africa fall into Soviet hands.

She said to prevent this catastrophe the United States should continue supporting South Africa, which she calls "consistently anti-Communist." Needless to say, she opposes divestment.

Trustees maneuver to rescind divestment

Lawyers for Michigan State University claim that the trustees' decision to divest could make them "collectively and individually" liable for any resulting loss of university funds.

Last March the trustees—under pressure from protests organized by the South African Liberation Committee—said they would divest their interests in companies doing business with South Africa if the firms had not begun pulling out by December 1.

—Omari Musa

Come to a New Year's Eve rally
and celebrate

Twenty Years of the Cuban Revolution

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8 p.m.

Pittsburgh

William Penn Hotel



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Coal miners' health care

For nearly thirty years the United Mine Workers health fund provided care far surpassing any other plan in the country. What are the prospects for medical care in the mining communities now that that plan no longer exists? Below Frank Lovell examines that question and takes a look at a new magazine with an article on the same topic.

By Frank Lovell

It was just one year ago that 160,000 coal miners walked off the job. The very existence of the United Mine Workers was at stake, and the ensuing 110-day battle became an inspiration to unionists and others across the nation.

The miners succeeded in fending off some of the most devastating industry threats to their union. But the contract they were finally forced to ratify drastically curtailed their health benefits.

"There has perhaps been no other labor strike in American history in which workers' health benefits—the specific scope of their health coverage and its administration—have been so much at issue," wrote Suzanne Jaworski Rhodenbaugh in the first issue of the magazine *Crossroads*.

Crossroads is the successor to the newsletter *Coal Patrol*, edited by Thomas Bethell. A former researcher for the United Mine Workers, Bethell knows a great deal about the coal industry, and judging from the July-August issue of his magazine, he also knows how to find writers and other contributors who can explain what is happening in the coalfields.

Rhodenbaugh's piece, titled "Death by Computer and Contract: The UMWA Health and Retirement Fund," is useful reading for anyone interested in the present state of the miners union. It also has insights for those fighting for a national health plan.

The UMWA contract settlement at the end of last March eliminated union control of health care for the first time since 1948, when the UMWA Welfare and Retirement Fund first began providing medical services and paying benefits to disabled miners and their dependents.

Prior to that, the isolated mine communities suffered some of the worst health neglect in the country. In the contract negotiated by John L. Lewis for the UMWA during the federal control of mines in 1946, the U.S. Navy Bureau of Medicine was assigned to make a study of health conditions

Conditions shocking

The study was completed in 1947, and the findings were shocking. There was no public sanitation, few doctors, and hardly any serviceable hospitals. "Three quarters of the hospitals are inadequate," the report said. For injured miners the distance

from coal pit to hospital ranged from 1 mile to 160 miles for the 188-mile area surveyed. Disabled miners were entirely dependent upon their meager savings or private insurance of which they had none.

The new welfare fund provided retirement pensions of \$100 a month, rehabilitation for sick and injured miners, free medical care for miners and their families, death benefits, and cash assistance for widows and orphans.

In 1948 this was a miraculous transformation in the lives of those who had never before thought such a sudden change possible.

In 1952 the union, led by Lewis, forced the coal operators to raise the tonnage royalty on coal for health care to forty cents for every ton mined. The health fund then built ten modern hospitals in the mining regions at a cost of \$30 million.

The benefits were not limited to miners. The new sanitation, modern hospitalization, preventive medicine, and rehabilitation programs benefited all those in the mountain communities.

Over the past quarter-century, since 1954, the UMWA health-care programs have encountered many administrative and financial difficulties. Most resulted from fluctuations in the economy of the coal industry and from the declining power of the union that reached its worst point under the bureaucratic and inept leadership of the Tony Boyle machine. Boyle inherited control of the union in 1963.

But the basic health plan remained in place until this year and provided community service unparalleled elsewhere in this country.

The replacement of the union plan was prepared by sabotage on the part of the coal operators and by mismanagement by "experts" appointed in 1974 by UMWA President Arnold Miller.

Operators dissatisfied

The operators were never satisfied with a health fund tied to the union, even though in theory it was managed by a tripartite board of trustees—one each for the union, the coal companies, and the "public." The difference between the UMWA plan and commercial insurance companies was that the union funds were set up on a nonprofit basis for the needs of coal miners.

When the 1974 contract between the union and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association was negotiated, a serious "error" in income projections for the health funds was made. That, added to skyrocketing costs of health care, created a financial crisis for the health plan by the time the contract expired.

Without facts to back it up, the coal operators blamed the crisis on miners' "wildcat" strikes and succeeded in scuttling the health plan in the 1977-78 negotiations.

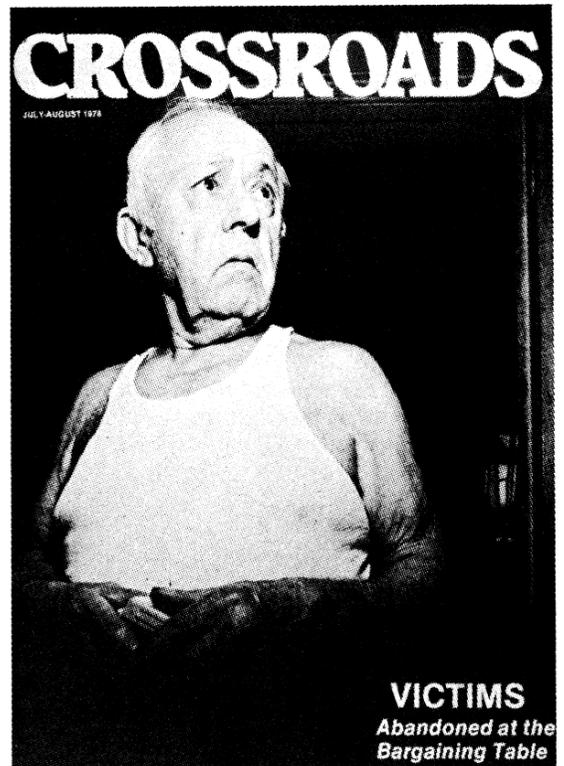
Rhodenbaugh, a former special assistant to the Johnstown, Pennsylvania, regional administrator of the UMWA health fund, describes in detail what happened in the mining communities after the new contract was signed.

"For the time being, at least, all cost and quality controls are gone with the wind. Health care providers have been deluged with new forms to fill out and procedures to follow. A massive backlog of unpaid bills has jammed up. Many doctors and hospitals in effect are meeting miners at the door, refusing to honor their insurance identification cards and insisting on cash on the barrelhead for any services rendered.

"Across the coalfields, miners feel that they are being treated as second class citizens or worse."

Rhodenbaugh raises and explains several questions that are undoubtedly on the minds of many people in the mining communities, especially miners and local officials of the miners union. They include:

- Who will police the new system?
- Who will determine the scope of benefits?
- Who will protect miners against future reductions in benefits?



'Crossroads' is published by Brophy Associates at 1611 Connecticut Avenue N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009. Subscriptions are twelve dollars a year.

- What will happen to the fund's advocacy, counseling, and service role to miners and their families?

Hospital closed

"Finally," Rhodenbaugh says, "the shift to commercial health insurance has abruptly ended the retainer financing of coalfield clinics." One of the ten Appalachian hospitals—in Man, West Virginia—has already closed.

The coal operators are prepared to initially pay higher costs to the commercial insurance companies than under the old plan. There are two reasons for this in Rhodenbaugh's view. One is the prospect of eventually cutting costs by reducing benefits. The other is to undercut the power and prestige of the union.

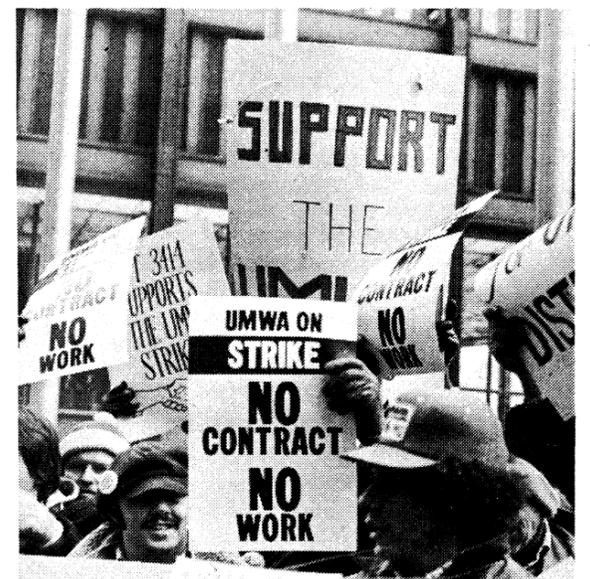
"It wasn't so much a matter of controlling costs," she says, "as it was of making sure that miners understood, once and for all, that these were *company* benefits, not something that automatically accompanies possession of a union membership card."

Rhodenbaugh concludes her report with this comment: "The irony would not have been lost on Lewis that once again the industry which has killed and crippled so many miners down through the ages will have direct control of even their healing."

The demise of the miners' health plan is an appropriate commentary on the Democratic and Republican politicians who pledge support for some kind of a national health-care plan some time in the future.

The miners had a system providing free medical care in the present. But when the operators opened their drive to scrap the plan, no voice of opposition came from any government official. Instead, the so-called promoters of national health care—like Carter—tried to break the miners' strike.

Miners and other working people cannot expect Congress and the White House to hand them national health care. Just as it took a struggle to first win the UMWA health and welfare fund, it will take an organized battle by the labor movement and its allies to achieve national medical care for all Americans.



There has been no other labor strike in which workers' health benefits were so much at issue.

The 110-Day

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Calif. nurses break Prop 13 wage freeze

By Lorraine Thiebaud

SAN FRANCISCO—In spite of Proposition 13, which froze the wages of California public workers and cut social services, a campaign by registered nurses at San Francisco General Hospital has won increased pay and helped revive the combativity of other city workers.

The nurses had negotiated an 8 percent pay increase, but the raise was legally blocked on the basis of Proposition 13.

This worsened an already critical understaffing problem in the city hospital, where nurses' wages have fallen 13 percent behind those paid in private hospitals. In three months, 74 of general hospital's 340 nurses quit.

While many city workers were demoralized by the overwhelming vote for Proposition 13—which seemed to cut them off from their traditional allies in the working class—the nurses increased their militancy. As highly skilled workers in the midst of a statewide shortage of nurses, they sensed their uniquely advantageous bargaining position.

Using this favorable position, Service Employees Local 400, which represents the registered nurses as well as 12,000 other city employees, decided to challenge the Proposition-13-imposed wage freeze.

Lorraine Thiebaud, a registered nurse, is a member of Service Employees International Union Local 400 at San Francisco General Hospital. She served on the nurses' negotiating committee.

The nurses and their union pressed their advantage in a series of public meetings, news conferences, hospital rallies, and a demonstration in front of city hall.

The nurses reached out and won support from those with a stake in defending S.F. General—the only hospital providing care for those unable to pay. Retired people, Black and *latino* community groups—even the firefighters—backed the nurses' demands.

The nurses demonstrated their solidarity with other city workers by rejecting offers that would pit them against one another. Such as granting wage increases for the nurses only if other members of Local 400 would forego increases. Or nullifying the nurses' increase if they engaged in activity aiding other city workers.

When the nurses finally won a monthly benefit package of \$146—everything taken away by the wage freeze—it was a victory for all city workers. It undermined the legal dodge that "our hands are tied, since a wage increase is against the law."

Inspired by the nurses' fight, more than 800 city workers demonstrated outside city hall for the first time since the passage of Proposition 13. City officials were forced to meet with the union to begin discussing "methods" of granting similar "allowances" for all city workers.

It should be noted that the nurses' struggle was successful mainly because of their favorable bargaining position, rather than because of a clear strategic perspective on the part of the

official union leadership.

Initially the union officers had tried to go to their longtime Democratic political allies for help. But finding these forces solidly behind the Proposition 13 tax swindle and wage freeze, they were forced by the militant nurses to go beyond the confines of depend-

ence upon the Democrats and other capitalist politicians.

Important steps were then taken toward forging the kind of alliance the nurses and all public workers need—an alliance with other unions and with those who depend upon their services.



Militant/Thurston Williams

Actions to rally support for public hospital helped lead to nurses' victory

Jeep workers: 'Company out to destroy union'

By George Windau

TOLEDO, Ohio—"It seems the Company is trying to divide this membership and destroy this Union," charged the executive committee of United Auto Workers Local 12-Jeep Unit, announcing its decision to cancel all Saturday forced overtime.

The committee's action came November 2 in response to escalating attacks by American Motors.

Tensions have been building at Jeep almost since the imposition of forced overtime in June. At that time the executive committee urged the membership to vote for Saturday overtime as a concession to the company, which was threatening to transfer its Toledo operations to Canada.

Two workers were fired for distributing literature calling for a "no" vote on the overtime issue.

By mid-October these tensions had reached the boiling point. When management refused to shut down an assembly line for safety reasons—and a worker said he was hit by the general foreman—first-shift skilled-trades workers heeded a union call and sat down on the spot.

George Windau is a member of United Auto Workers 12 at American Motors Jeep in Toledo.

Demanding that the quick-fisted foreman be fired, first-shift production workers joined the following day.

Despite the fact that the two-day action was sanctioned by the union's executive committee, the news media portrayed it as a "wildcat" strike and slandered the union as "over-emotional."

AMC seized the opportunity to try to undermine the local stewards and preclude any future sit-downs. On October 25 and 26, the company issued disciplinary letters to some 2,000 workers for "participating in an unauthorized work-stoppage." Most first-shift stewards were laid off for three days. The shop chairperson was issued a thirty-day penalty layoff.

In an October 27 letter to the membership, the union executive committee bemoaned the fact that it had tried to "cooperate" with management on the overtime issue but that "the company has gone the opposite direction with indiscriminate discipline, changing time studies and man-assignments, and creating chaos in general, and with total disregard for safety."

These charges are true—and union members are in no mood to "cooperate" any longer. Under pressure from the steward body—and over the opposition of the international union—the

executive committee moved to cancel forced overtime.

This is an important first step in answering the company's attacks. But the workers fired last June are still without jobs. And the issues stemming

from the October strike—firing the guilty general foreman and lifting all discipline—are still unresolved.

According to the executive committee, these problems will be taken up in the next contract negotiations.

Rally backs fired activists

TOLEDO, Ohio—About seventy-five people attended a rally October 29 to support Jim Meagher and Ray López, two members of United Auto Workers Local 12 at American Motors Jeep Assembly.

Both were fired last June for passing out leaflets in the plant urging workers to vote against a company proposal for forced overtime.

Union leaders have taken the case to arbitration. "Since the inception of this Union in this plant in the middle of the 1930's," unit Chairperson Ray Okdie wrote to management, "we have distributed literature freely and openly and we intend to continue to do so. We do not consider this a privilege, we consider it a right and we have no intention of relinquishing that right now or ever."

Okdie sent a message to the defense rally that said, "We want Jim and Ray back to work—work with all their seniority and with an apology."

Staughton Lynd, well-known labor attorney who is representing the fired workers, also sent a support message.

Ernie Buschman, a Jeep steward, pointed out that "once they can deny you the right to free speech and to vote, it's not too much further to denying your right to work—and just about anything else."

The rally, chaired by Local 12 member George Windau, collected more than \$200 for Meagher and López. Workers attended from Jeep, various other Toledo area plants, and the Ford River Rouge complex in Detroit.

NOW defends ERA boycott in Missouri trial

By Marty Pettit

KANSAS CITY, Mo.—"We have called thirty-five witnesses, including the American Association of University Women, the United Presbyterian Church, the City of Seattle, and the National Council of Churches: surely the oddest collection of felons ever assembled in a courtroom."

These were the opening words of the National Organization for Women's final defense in its economic-boycott trial here November 15.

Missouri is one of three states that

seek to prevent NOW from carrying out its campaign to convince organizations and corporations not to hold conventions in states that have failed to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment.

The suit, which was brought against NOW by the State of Missouri and Missouri's Attorney General John Ashcroft, alleges violation of Section 1 of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act.

In his closing argument, NOW attorney John Vanderstar emphasized that this was not an anti-trust case, but an attack on the political process. "A boycott is a natural, normal political

tactic used to show the depth and scope of feeling behind an issue. . . . Who is threatening the political process, the NOW economic boycott or the state? . . . The courts have been used before to suppress the labor movement and the movement for racial equality.

The case was taken under advisement by Judge Elmo B. Hunter. A decision is not expected for several weeks. Similar cases are pending in Nevada and Louisiana, but this is the first case to go to trial.

Support for the economic boycott has

grown tremendously in the past several years. A list of 28 endorsers in July 1977 grew to 75 in November 1977 and then to 110 in February 1978. Today more than 350 groups have pledged not to hold conventions in states that have not yet ratified the ERA.

Among the boycott's supporters are the National Council of Negro Women, American Federation of Teachers, United Auto Workers, Retail Clerks, Socialist Workers Party, and Young Socialist Alliance.

Final push in campaign

By Peter Seidman

As the latest scoreboard shows, supporters of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* are 9,759 over our goal of selling 100,000 papers by December 15.

Despite this victory, a number of areas remain behind schedule in making the cumulative goals they accepted last September.

Many of the branches of the Socialist Workers Party in these areas are now making special efforts to meet their goals or make sure they come as close as they possibly can.

In Chicago, for example, supporters decided to put an extra push on selling subscriptions during the last two weeks of the drive. Each branch took an informal goal of twenty-five or thirty subscriptions.

In Boston, the SWP branch formed a special committee to organize a drive to go over the top. Subscription sales tied to building the *Militant* fiftieth anniversary rally will be central to the committee's efforts.

Louisville socialists, who are already way over the top on their cumulative goal, are setting another good example as the circulation drive draws to a close. They plan to go out with a bang—projecting big sales of this issue, with coverage of their campaign against right-wing threats to free speech.

Sales are projected to members of the largest United Steelworkers local in their area at the Vogt Machine Company and to members of the giant Electrical Workers union local at the General Electric plant.



Militant/Nancy Cole

Weekly sales goals

CITY	MILITANT		PM		TOTAL		
	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Percent
Morgantown	125	135			125	135	108.0
Los Angeles	240	236	60	72	300	308	102.7
Salt Lake City	125	134	10	3	135	137	101.5
Dallas	125	127	20	19	145	146	100.7
Albuquerque	115	107	20	28	135	135	100.0
Cincinnati	75	75			75	75	100.0
Gary Ind.	50	50			50	50	100.0
Kansas City, Mo.	100	94	8	12	108	106	98.1
Houston	300	272	50	55	350	327	93.4
Phoenix	110	83	15	29	125	112	89.6
Denver	120	110	20	15	140	125	89.3
Miami	100	78	30	34	130	112	86.2
Portland	100	86			100	86	86.0
Pittsburgh	145	119	5		150	119	79.3
New Orleans	115	91	5	1	120	92	76.7
Baltimore	95	76	5		100	76	76.0
Atlanta	200	140		2	200	142	71.0
Cleveland	115	83	5	1	120	84	70.0
St. Louis	140	92	10		150	92	61.3
San Antonio	75	50	25	10	100	60	60.0
Seattle	145	88	5		150	88	58.7
Toledo	110	64	5		115	64	55.7
Milwaukee	120	69	5		125	69	55.2
San Diego	105	62	20	6	125	68	54.4
San Jose	110	57	20	13	130	70	53.8
San Francisco	250	110	25	23	275	133	48.4
Berkeley	135	66	15		150	66	44.0
Detroit	200	88			200	88	44.0
Newark	140	65	10	1	150	66	44.0
Washington, D.C.	270	111	30	21	300	132	44.0
Albany	100	46	5		105	46	43.8
Tucson	30	13			30	13	43.3
St. Paul	95	42	5	1	100	43	43.0
Minneapolis	135	50			135	50	37.0
Chicago	385	119	65	34	450	153	34.0
Boston	225	67	25	10	250	77	30.8
Philadelphia	235	76	25		260	76	29.2
Tacoma	125	34			125	34	27.2
Louisville	50	13			50	13	26.0
New York	575	133	75	18	650	151	23.2
Oakland	160	29	15	6	175	35	20.0
TOTALS	6,270	3,640	638	414	6,908	4,054	58.7

Indianapolis; Iron Range, Mn., and Raleigh are not reporting.

These figures report sales for issue no. 45 of the 'Militant' and the first week of sales of issue no. 22 of 'Perspectiva Mundial'.

Lots of words, but very little truth

By Harry Ring

It's hard to guess how much the media spent on their coverage of the tragedy at the Jonestown colony in Guyana. Crews of reporters, photographers, technicians, chartered planes, phone and wire bills. . . . It surely ran into the millions.

Newsbreaks like Jonestown sell papers, and this one was really pumped for all it was worth—page after page of stories and grisly photos.

But after you plowed through those countless pages of largely superficial and often flatly contradictory material you really didn't know a great deal more about the meaning of what happened than you did to begin with.

The *New York Times* featured the opinion of one "expert" who said the problem is that Americans have too many choices, so some freak out.

The *Los Angeles Times* solemnly reported the views of six different psychologists. Each had a differing, largely irrelevant opinion to offer.

Much of the media took special relish in emphasizing the alleged Marxism of Rev. Jim Jones—putting aside, of course, the fact that he was a staunch Democrat.

And virtually all of them suggested—more or less blatantly—that Jonestown indicated that Black people somehow are more susceptible to this type of cultism.

Needless to say, the *Militant* saw the events altogether differently. And, I think, we said far more about Jonestown that was valid and meaningful than any of the capitalist media—in a lot less space. (We hope you will agree that a paper like ours is essential in responding to such events and will indicate your agreement by supporting our fund drive.)

For a socialist paper, an event like Jonestown poses a special responsibility.

To begin with our regular readers wait with special interest for what we have to say about a big, controversial, intensely discussed occurrence like this.

And when socialists are discussing something

like Jonestown with shopmates and others, they want to be able to effectively rebut the racist reactionary exploitation of the issue by the politicians and media. They want to present the socialist view in a serious, plausible way. They want to be able to answer the questions that so many people

are posing about this.

So they look forward to the issue of the *Militant* that will deal with it. They expect it to provide them with the ammunition they need.

And, equally important, we want to get our estimate of the tragedy out to the maximum number of people we can reach. We want to counter the efforts to use Jonestown to discredit socialism.

And we make every effort to explain what's involved in such a way as to educate people in basic socialist ideas.

We say what we think openly and plainly, not skirting the controversial issues involved—explaining, for example, why Marxists are atheists and why we think religion is part of the problem, not the solution.

We know that our ideas are controversial and that not everyone will agree. But we also know there are people out there looking for meaningful answers and we make every effort to reach them. And, equally, we're convinced that many of those who may not agree now will remember what we have to say and, at a later time, come to agree.

In sum, an event like Jonestown underlines why the *Militant* is so vitally needed. And, by the same token, why your support to the *Militant* is needed. So, if you haven't done so already, why not act before our December 31 fund deadline. Clip the coupon and mail it in—today. Thanks.

50th

Anniversary Fund

Goal=\$75,000

As of Dec. 5
\$47,449=63%

\$60,000

\$45,000

\$30,000

\$15,000

COUNT ME IN

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

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

'Militant' made big gains

George Novack on the close of WW II

By Harry Ring

George Novack is the author of several philosophy books. But his record in the Socialist Workers Party flatly contradicts the stereotype of the philosopher as an ivory-tower recluse.

He joined the Trotskyist movement in 1933 and was a full-time activist from the outset.

His work on behalf of Tom Mooney and the Scottsboro Boys had already established him as an authoritative figure in the civil liberties movement.

In the late 1930s, he was secretary of The American Committee for the Defense of Leon Trotsky. This body was instrumental in the creation of the commission of inquiry into the Moscow trials. The commission, headed by philosopher John Dewey, demolished Stalin's frame-up charges against Trotsky and his son Sedov.

Novack was also national secretary of the committee that defended the eighteen leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Teamsters railroaded to prison during World War II.

Changed assignment

Shortly after the eighteen were released from jail, Novack did a stint as acting editor of the *Militant*. This was from the winter of 1944, just after the European war ended, to the summer of 1945, just before the defeat of Japan.

In an interview, Novack discussed some of the experiences and highlights of that time.

It was a period of rising class struggle, here and abroad.

"From the outset of the war," Novack recalled, "American workers had been clamped in the vise of a wage freeze, the no-strike pledge given by the union leaders to Roosevelt, rationing, and continually rising prices.

"With all this," he continued, "the workers became increasingly restless." The Socialist Workers Party sensed the new mood of militancy developing among the industrial workers as the war wore on. This came through in a number of ways, Novack said.

"Most immediately," he recalled, "was the response of the workers to the *Militant* circulation drives, which we began toward the end of 1944. They were far more successful than anyone had anticipated."

The first major drive was launched April 1, 1944. This was immediately after the *Militant* won back its second-class mailing rights. These rights—without which the cost of mailing papers is prohibitive—had been revoked by the postal authorities a year previous at the instigation of Roose-

velt's Justice Department.

The circulation drive ran for three months, with a goal of 3,000 introductory subscriptions.

"At the end of the three months, we had sold 7,614.

"The next year, we set our sights higher, aiming for 10,000 new readers.

"The results were even more impressive. When the springtime drive was over, we had sold 22,437 new subscriptions. In the fall of the year, another 10,000 were sold."

Recruitment to the SWP stepped up during this period, adding to the opportunities for expanded activity.

In addition, the release of the party's central leadership from prison eased the personnel shortage in the national headquarters, and it was possible to strengthen the *Militant* staff, Novack said.

Such able writers and editors as Joseph Hansen, Art Preis, Tom Kerry, Frank Graves, and John G. Wright became the backbone of the staff. Cartoons by Laura Gray, a gifted artist, brightened the pages.

It was also at this time that Evelyn Reed, author of *Woman's Evolution*, became a staff member.

She did a very popular series of feature interviews with working people—a striking newspaper delivery worker, a dock worker victimized by the cops, a group of union scrubwomen in a Manhattan office building. The interviews were illustrated with attractive sketches by Reed of her subjects.

Black liberation focus

An important focus of the *Militant* during that time was the Black liberation struggle.

During the sales drives, large numbers of subscriptions were sold in the Black communities.

"The reception," Novack said, "was very favorable. I know this because I went up to Harlem a number of times to sell subscriptions."

While the *Militant* and the SWP worked energetically to relate to the developing mood of struggle in the United States, they also followed closely the events occurring in Europe.

The developments there pointed to excellent prospects for promoting socialist revolution.

In Italy, the working people had toppled the Mussolini dictatorship. In France, there was a deeply radicalized antifascist partisan movement. In England, in the first postwar elections the workers swept Churchill out and put a Labour Party government in.

But the European upsurge was successfully curbed.

This was mainly due, Novack explained, to the status-quo agreement worked out between Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin at their 1945 meeting in Yalta.

What they arrived at there, Novack said, "was essentially an agreement to carve up the continent into spheres of influence according to the relationship of forces among them.

"Stalin was awarded mastery of Eastern Europe. Western Europe was reserved for the imperialist powers."

Betrayal in Greece

"An early result of this," Novack continued, "was the Stalinist betrayal of the Greek partisan movement. Led by the Communist Party, this movement was so powerful that an invading Nazi army had been unable to suppress it."

When the Nazi army was on the verge of retreat, the British decided to send troops into Greece. This was opposed by the guerrilla forces, who correctly saw the British move as a new threat to Greek independence.

But Moscow persuaded the CP leadership of the partisan movement to let the British troops in without resistance. After the British expeditionary forces arrived, they unleashed a savage assault on the partisans. The Kremlin responded by persuading the Greek CP leaders to disarm the guerrillas.

The British then brought the discredited, profascist Greek king back from exile. Greek capitalism was "reestablished."

In Belgium, Italy, and France, Novack continued, the Communist parties were brought into tripartite governments, along with the reformist Social Democrats.

Together, they succeeded in channeling the workers movement into collaboration with the capitalist rulers.

"This was a juncture," Novack declared, "when the workers had very real possibilities of taking power and eliminating capitalism. But the Stalinists and Social Democrats ruined that opportunity."

Returning to the situation in the United States, Novack discussed how the increased circulation of the *Militant* among union activists helped influence developments within the labor movement.

"Quite a few militant unionists were reading our paper," he said, "and were influenced by what we had to say. Our people were selling hundreds, even thousands, of subscriptions in the plants, and this had a big impact.

"During this time," he continued,



GEORGE NOVACK John Gray

"there was a new, growing interest among unionists in breaking with the Democratic Party. There was a lot of talk about the formation, or at least the desirability of forming, a labor party."

In 1945 Richard Frankenstein, a vice-president of the United Auto Workers, ran for mayor of Detroit as an independent, challenging both the Democratic and Republican machines. The SWP gave Frankenstein critical support and campaigned for his election.

Rich internal life

During that period, Novack explained, the UAW was the most democratic of the CIO unions, and competing union caucuses provided a rich political life within the union. Red-baiting was not a significant factor then. "Radicals had played a big role in building the union," Novack said, "and their presence was, so to speak, taken for granted."

That situation existed, he added, until 1947 when Walter Reuther consolidated his grip on the union and, in the context of the developing cold war, opened a drive to oust left-wingers from positions of influence in the union. This accelerated the bureaucratization of the UAW.

But in the period preceding the cold-war clampdown, the ideas of the *Militant* made a big impact throughout the union.

This was especially true, Novack said, of our campaign to break the no-strike pledge and for independent labor political action. The *Militant* was also in the forefront in popularizing other key issues, he said.

Among the most important was the idea of a cost-of-living escalator clause in union contracts to cope with inflation. Another was the demand that the corporations open their books so that the workers could more adequately determine what the bosses could really "afford" to pay.

The escalator clause later became a standard feature in many union contracts, and the demand to open the corporate books was used effectively by the UAW in its bitterly fought 1945-46 strike against General Motors.

But apart from the *Militant's* particular, pioneering contributions to the class struggle, Novack concluded, its most impressive feature has been its political consistency.

"We made episodic mistakes, of course," he said. "But throughout, we adhered firmly and scrupulously to a working-class point of view. We can be proud of that.

"I believe that ours is the only radical paper that can say to newcomers, or interested scholars: Read what we said thirty, forty, fifty years ago. We take back nothing. We're still traveling the same path we set our feet on in 1928."

SATURDAY, JUNE 2, 1945 THE MILITANT PAG

22,437 Subscriptions Rolled Up In Smashing Climax To "Militant's" 3-Month Campaign For New Readers

By Reba Aubrey, Campaign Director

The Militant Subscription Campaign for 10,000 new readers came to a glorious, rousing finish with a grand total of 22,437.

Comrades and friends of the Socialist Workers Party thus more than doubled the original quota, achieving 224 percent! This final total surpassed even the 20,000 figure set in our second campaign thermometer.

The total new subscriptions during the last week alone reached an unprecedented peak — 4,582 — more than double the highest week of the campaign.

From coast to coast the Militant Army organized a Red Sunday Mobilization on May 27 to close the campaign as appropriately as it was begun. The campaign was launched, it will be recalled, with an inspiring coast-to-coast mobilization on February 27 that netted 1,226 new readers in the single day. On May 27 all sub-getters again met at the appointed hour in local headquarters where they were supplied with sub cards and literature.

After several hours of concentrated house-to-house canvassing for subscriptions in working class neighborhoods, all sub-getters returned to their headquarters to await final returns, and to celebrate this record-smashing campaign. Total subscriptions obtained for the day in the closing mobilization were 3,430 — a real Red Sunday for the Militant!

During the festivities awards were made to branch Pace-Setters and to winning teams. All branches that made 150 percent of their quota will be awarded a red banner to display in their headquarters. The first ten national Pace-Setters will be awarded a 1944 bound volume of Fourth International with a...

MILITANT PACE-SETTERS

Here are the twenty who have sold the highest number of subscriptions in this campaign.

Name	Branch	Subs Sold
Mike Warren	West Side, New York	850
Jerry Kirk	Detroit	415
Paul Kujac	Chicago	308
Howard Mason	Akron	277
Doris Hilton	Detroit	274
E. Logan	Detroit	248
Ernest Drake	Detroit	247
Marion Winters	Brooklyn, New York	222
Hattie McGowan	Toledo	219
Joe Simpson	Minneapolis	204
Fred Kaminsky	Buffalo	190
L. Leo	Los Angeles Youth Group	185
Robert Kendall	Toledo	175
Jack Wilson	Youngstown	174
Dorothy Lesing	Newark	173
Julia Miller	Central Branch, Los Angeles	169
Dotty Hill	Brooklyn, New York	168
Say O'Brien	Detroit	161
Justine Lang	East Side, New York	158
Izzy London	Cleveland	158

BRANCH PACE-SETTERS

Name	Name	Subs Sold
Akron	Doris Hilton	274
Allentown	Herb Newell	125
Bayonne	Phil Burns	25
Boston	Al Cutler	69
Buffalo	Fred Kaminsky	190
Chicago	Paul Kujac	308
Cleveland	Izzy London	158
Detroit	Jerry Kirk	415
Flint	Jeff Thorne	53
Los Angeles		

SCOREBOARD

Branches of the Socialist Workers Party	Quotas	Subs	Percent
Akron	85	588	692
Allentown	30	300	600
Cleveland	200	901	450
Flint	50	204	408
Minneapolis	300	1,137	379
Toledo	230	756	314
Detroit	1000	2722	272
St. Paul	100	272	272
Youngstown	300	807	269
Milwaukee	100	255	255
San Diego	50	116	232
Buffalo	350	800	229
Rochester	50	100	200
New York	2500	4679	186
Philadelphia	150	285	190
San Francisco	350	636	181
Seattle	350	578	165
Newark	1000	1610	161
Reading	75	120	160
Boston	200	303	152
Los Angeles	2000	1501	150
Chicago	400	579	146
Bayonne	150	182	121
Groups, Members-at-Large and Friends	140	367	262
Eloise Black and Rudy Rhodes (Trail-Blazers)		899	
TOTAL	10,000	22,437	224

LEADING PACE-SETTER RELATES EXPERIENCE

By Mike Warren
LEADING NATIONAL PACE-SETTER

My experience on sub work in Harlem has been monotonous. For example, I do not believe I spoke to a single person who was fighting in this or other hand, I found I had to listen to a thousand reasons why that same person wanted to get out of Harlem. If any one of them had been a Communist Party member, I would say that Harlem has been considerably under-estimated. You have to speak with the people there, meet them on their own ground, and then—and only then—can you hear the real rumbings taking place.

The tough question in Harlem, of course, is discrimination. The party that fights the hardest against discrimination is the party that will win the allegiance of the Negro. For this reason, at least 10 per cent of my total subscriptions were made up of Negroes who are connected with the Communist Party. They don't mind tossing a quarter to see what it's all about, but there is definitely a feeling of inadequacy about their own party. They are tired, to put it mildly, of writing post-cards to Congress and making continuous sacrifices in this war and not seeing any results in return. By results I mean at least some progress on discrimination. But the war, it seems, has produced none.

Perhaps the best of responses that I have seen on this th many Jews in this co ever, the Harlem peo illusions about the "c straightening out the As a matter of fact, that charity should be —for they have learn- lesson only too well. SERIOUS NEW REA Summing up, I find to relate specific p perience which wo illustrate the respo sible of Militant sub- there hasn't been any- lots which ones to tel- trary. There have be good responses that I have seen on this th many Jews in this co ever, the Harlem peo illusions about the "c straightening out the As a matter of fact, that charity should be —for they have learn- lesson only too well. SERIOUS NEW REA Summing up, I find to relate specific p perience which wo illustrate the respo sible of Militant sub- there hasn't been any- lots which ones to tel- trary. 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The following interview with Rev. Ben Chavis was obtained by the 'Militant' through the mails. We were unable to interview him in person because he is under a gag order imposed by the North Carolina prison system. Reverend Chavis remains a prisoner in North Carolina's Hillsborough State Prison.

Question. What is the present situation with the defense of the Wilmington Ten?

Answer. The case is now in the eastern division of the federal district court in Raleigh. We have two writs of habeas corpus that have been pending for nearly three years in the federal courts, in which we show that all of the state's witnesses have recanted their testimony.

As a result of people's pressure nationally, and of international solidarity, the U.S. Justice Department has filed a friend-of-the-court brief supporting our original contentions: we are political prisoners. The brief concludes that we were illegally prosecuted solely because of our political activities in behalf of the oppressed.

Q. What is the current status of the defendants?

A. All of the defendants except myself were out of prison as of November 2.

I am not eligible for parole until 1980. Even then, my parole will be at the discretion of the governor and the parole board.

The only reason I'm still in prison is the repressive and racist politics of the Democratic Party, both nationally and statewide.

When I am released it will be the result of organized resistance against repression in the United States, and not the result of some court order or decision of some governor or even the president.

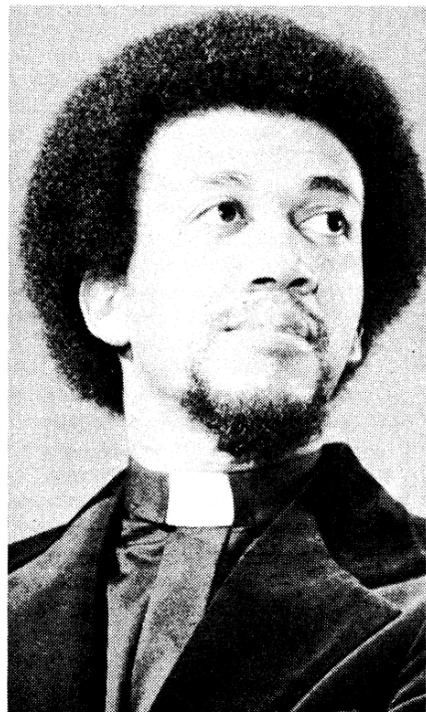
Q. Can you describe some of the political activities you were involved in before you were arrested?

A. I've been involved in the civil rights and human rights movement for sixteen years, since I was fourteen years old.

I participated in the early sit-in movements in North Carolina. In the mid-sixties I was a field worker for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

During the Vietnam War, I was one of the leaders of the antiwar movement in the western part of North Carolina where we set up draft-counseling sessions to prevent young men from being ripped out of high school to fight an illegal and unjust war.

I also became a labor organizer for the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) while I was a college student at the University of North Carol-



Rev. Ben Chavis

Interview w Rev. Ben Cha

Human Rights Begin at H
Free the Wilmington Ten



The sole Wilmington Ten frame-up victim remaining in jail the social struggles that landed him on Nixon's 'Black hit list,' explains the status of the defense case, and of views on the political issues facing the Black movement

ina at Charlotte. I helped the sanitation workers launch their first successful strike in Charlotte in 1968-69.

I worked with AFSCME in other parts of the South, too, during a hospital strike in Charleston, South Carolina, and during the 1968 sanitation strike in Memphis, Tennessee. This was the strike that brought Martin Luther King to Memphis.

In 1969 I became an employee of the United Church of Christ's Commission for Racial Justice. I traveled throughout the South, helping to organize against the repression and police brutality in the Black community due to the desegregation of the schools.

This was at the height of the Nixon-Agnew law-and-order repression against anybody who was opposed to the Vietnam War and against those in the civil rights movement. I soon became a victim of state repression by the Nixon regime.

I now know that Jim Grant, one of the Charlotte Three defendants, and I were on a national "Black activists hit list" that Nixon had. Jim Grant and I were co-workers in Charlotte and in other parts of the South.

We should note that Jim Grant and T.J. Reddy of the Charlotte Three have just been reimprisoned.

Q. What kinds of activities have you taken part in while in prison?

A. I have helped fellow prisoners try to organize a prisoners' union. I have been involved in several prisoner work stoppages. I helped set up a committee

of legal people and lawyers for prisoners. We have filed class-action suits against the Department of Corrections.

I have maintained contact with other political prisoners in the United States. And I am trying to maintain contact with all the different defense committees that have been working on the various cases. It is very important that all these committees begin to work in a united way to fight the common enemy.

I am still the chairperson of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression.

I am still the director of the Washington, D.C., office of the United Church of Christ's Commission for Racial Justice.

I'm also the cochairperson of the Southern Organizing Committee—the other chairperson is Anne Braden from Louisville, Kentucky.

I could have easily left the country and not allowed them to illegally and unjustly incarcerate me. But I felt it was very important to stay and fight.

I was political before going to prison, I remain political, and I will definitely be political when I am released, whenever that happens. It's a life commitment, until people in these United States are not oppressed because of race, class, or sex.

Q. What do you think of Carter's human rights campaign?

A. The question of human rights does not belong to the White House, the Pentagon, or Wall Street. It be-

longs to the people who are suffering the denial of human rights.

The United States of America, the so-called beacon of human rights, has not even ratified the Human Rights Convention of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, or the international covenants on political, human, and economic rights.

Now we have a president who is turning this issue into a cold-war campaign against the socialist countries, without any real regard for human rights in the United States. This is gross, absolute hypocrisy.

This winter the president is to make a major speech at the United Nations on human rights. As an American citizen, as an American political prisoner, and as an Afro-American victim of American racism and American violations of human rights, I appeal to all citizens of the United States not to let the president go to the United Nations to make such a hypocritical speech.

I think there should be demonstrations at the United Nations and the White House. We must not let Jimmy Carter go before that world body and pretend that there are human rights in the United States when in fact the U.S. government is the grossest violator of human rights in the world.

We must also expose our government's direct support to the fascist Somoza government in Nicaragua, and to the fascist governments of Chile, the Philippines, South Africa, and Rhodesia, and to the shah of Iran. The only

With Davis

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activists
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thing that is universal about human rights here and in those countries is their universal denial.

Q. What do you think are the major political questions confronting the Black movement today in this country?

A. The abuse of Black political power by the two major parties, the Republican and Democratic parties.

For too long we have allowed the Black vote to be prostituted off to one of these two major parties. After we go

and vote and put these people into office, there is no benefit. In fact, things get worse for the Black community.

One example is Jimmy Carter, who would not have been elected president if it had not been for the Black vote. But if we look at what has happened to the social and economic status, the basic lifestyle, and the suffering our people are still faced with, Jimmy Carter has not even tried to change anything.

So I believe we have to say to our people, do not vote for the Democratic Party. And we have to provide an alternative to a Carter, a Gerald Ford, or a Ronald Reagan.

We must organize an independent political party that will serve the basic needs of not only Black people but all of the oppressed national minorities, and all of the poor, who are not being represented by either major party, and therefore, who are not being represented by the government, the Congress, or the judicial or executive branches.

We will have to run the kind of candidates who will speak to the real issues, and who, if elected, will represent the people instead of the big corporations or elite.

By its very nature, a grass-roots independent political party would have to be involved in more than electoral politics. It would have to be involved in antirepression work between elections, in building public independent institutions and a viable framework for some independent economic structures. And it would develop ties internationally with other peoples who are struggling against imperialism and racism.

Such a party would have to be multi-racial. It would have to be in no way controlled by any of the forces in the Democratic or Republican parties.

As a minister, I feel that this can be achieved in the Black community by working through the Black church. I know that it is possible by working through the labor movement. I know that it is possible by working through the different segments of what is left of the civil rights movement.

Q. What steps do you think should be taken to rebuild the Black liberation struggle in this country on the scale of the civil rights movement in the 1960s?

A. The issues are there. The problem is leadership.

One of the things we have to do is to take a critical look at what was done in the past.

Second, one of the reasons we do not have the groundswell of overt, open support that we had in the sixties is because of fear after the repression of the Nixon period.

What we have to do is to develop a new consciousness of the necessity to once again struggle regardless of the consequences.

I think that the need to struggle now in 1978 is greater than it was in 1968.

I'm looking forward to the struggle, because I'm looking forward to the people's victories.

UN protest set

The Black United Front has called for a demonstration at the United Nations on Monday, December 11, to protest the denial of human rights for this nation's political prisoners. The Black United Front was formed after the brutal cop murder of Arthur Miller in Crown Heights, Brooklyn, last June.

The UN protest is endorsed by more than thirty organizations and churches, including the United Church of Christ Commission for Racial Justice, the National Conference of Black Lawyers, and the National Alliance Against Racism and Political Repression.

A car caravan will begin in Brook-

lyn and meet in Manhattan at Forty-second Street and First Avenue at noon. From there protesters will proceed to the Dag Hammarskjold Plaza at the UN where a rally will be held.

The action marks the thirtieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Rally organizers plan to present a 700-page document to the secretary general of the United Nations and to the United States Mission highlighting the denial of human rights to political prisoners.

For more information contact the Black United Front at (212) 596-1991.

Steel notes...

W. GERMANS STRIKE FOR SHORTER HOURS: Thirty-seven thousand West German steelworkers hit the bricks November 28 in a fight for a shorter workweek to save jobs. The steel bosses responded by locking out another 28,000 workers. It is reported to be the first union-sanctioned steel strike in Germany in fifty years.

Contrary to propaganda by the U.S. steel companies about foreign producers "stealing American jobs," European steelworkers face a jobs crisis even worse than the one here. In Germany, 120,000 steel jobs have been eliminated since the 1960s. The union has responded by demanding a thirty-five-hour workweek and a 5 percent wage increase. "If you don't change the work hours, then you'll have to cut the work force in half by 1985," says union president Eugen Loderer.

The employers are afraid a victory for the steelworkers will inspire other workers across Europe to demand shorter hours. Through a strike last June, Belgian steelworkers won a reduction of the workweek to thirty-eight hours as of next July.



USWA LEADER RAPS 'WEBER': If Brian Weber's attack on affirmative action succeeds, "the progress we have started to make will be dismantled," Frank Mont, director of the United Steelworkers Civil Rights Department, warned a meeting of 200 Black steelworkers in District 31 last month.

"Weber's going to do a job on us like Ferguson did on us years ago," Mont said, referring to the 1896 U.S. Supreme Court decision that legalized Jim Crow segregation. Weber, a white USWA member in Louisiana, is suing to overturn the affirmative-action program the union negotiated with Kaiser Aluminum in 1974 (see story on page 28).

Mont linked the attack on affirmative action to the overall right-wing assault on organized labor. He declared that white male workers have a big stake in defending the rights of Blacks, *latinos*, and women. "Until all Americans have attained economic security, none of us can be economically secure," he said.

Mont was the keynote speaker at a banquet held November 10 in East Chicago, Indiana, by the "40-3 Organization." The group says that Blacks, other minorities, and women make up 40 percent of the USWA membership but only 3 percent of the union staff.

SPARROWS POINT WOMEN ORGANIZE: More than forty women steelworkers from USWA Local 2609 at Bethlehem's Sparrows Point plant near Baltimore have joined in launching a Women's Advisory Committee to deal with problems of women in the mills.

At the founding meeting of the committee November 12, participants heard greetings from David Wilson, president of Local 2609, and from Alice Camara, president of the Baltimore chapter of the National Organization for Women. Camara reported on the labor resolutions from the recent NOW convention and urged an alliance between the labor and women's movements. Marion Wilson and Ruth Nelson, members of Local 2609, spoke on the past and present struggles of women at Sparrows Point. In addition, the film *With Babies and Banners*, about the role of women in the auto sit-down strikes of the 1930s, was shown.

SOLIDARITY WITH McKEESPORT STRIKERS . . . : Fort Pitt Steel Casting of McKeesport, Pennsylvania, has been blackmailing its employees for years with threats to shut down. The members of USWA Local 1406 went twenty-one months without a wage increase, gave up cost-of-living adjustments, accepted cuts in incentive rates, and helped the company lobby for a delay on health and safety timetables.

Nine months ago the workers said, "Enough," and walked out on strike. Once again the company (owned by Condec Corporation) is threatening to close the plant unless the strikers agree to elimination of 225 out of 325 jobs and reductions in pay and benefits.

Militant correspondent Kathy Rettig reports that on November 19, 400 strikers and supporters from other locals marched through McKeesport to protest the company's union busting. Local 1406 President James Garry told a rally, "Item by item, the company has taken away everything. . . . If we have to work in these conditions, they may as well close the plant."

The directors of USWA districts 15, 19, and 20 addressed the rally, which had been initiated by rank-and-file activists in District 15.

. . . AND WITH SUDBURY MINERS: On the Mesabi Iron Range, USWA locals 6115 at Inland Steel and 4757 at Reserve Mining have adopted resolutions of support for the striking nickel miners of Sudbury, Ontario. Local 4757 sent a \$200 contribution. Local 1938 at U.S. Steel's Minntac plant had earlier voiced its support. Iron range steelworkers are planning plant-gate collections in December to aid their brothers and sisters in Sudbury.

The 12,000 nickel miners, members of USWA Local 6500, were forced out on strike last September by Inco, the biggest nickel mining company in the world. Inco offered only a four-cent-an-hour wage increase and demanded a reduction in the power of union stewards.

The Sudbury miners, facing a long battle with the company and receiving only thirty-dollar-a-week strike benefits from the international, need all the support they can get. Contact Local 6500 USWA at 92 Froid Road, Sudbury, Ontario T3C 4Z4.

—Andy Rose

Union sues over wage limits

Carter aids paper mills in northwest strike

By Dean Cohen

PORTLAND, Ore.—The heavy hand of Carter's wage guidelines has come down on the side of the employers in a five-month strike by paper workers in the Pacific Northwest and Alaska.

About 15,000 paper-mill workers, most of them members of the independent Association of Western Pulp and Paper Workers (AWPPW), have been on strike for decent wages since last July.

Some mills have settled, but on November 16, the Carter administration "warned" the struck firms that any further granting of union demands would violate the president's "inflation fighting" wage guidelines.

The paper workers are asking for a 21 percent increase in wages over

the next two years and 3 percent above the rate of inflation during each of the following two years.

"All the companies have to do is sit back and hide behind the skirts of the federal government," said a union spokesperson in response to Carter's "warning."

Already the Crown Zellerbach Corporation, one of the major firms struck, has informed the workers that their final offer is 10 percent over the next two years—a proposal that "complies" with Carter's wage-cutting guidelines.

R.M. Boyle, executive vice-president of Crown Zellerbach, admitted the company never had any intention of improving its last offer. But "establishment of federal wage-price guidelines gives us no other choice than to hold fast," he said.

On December 1, the AWPPW filed suit in federal court, challenging Carter's wage-price plan as unconstitutional. The guidelines, the union charges, are really mandatory controls that the president has no authority to impose. The court action is the first legal test for Carter's scheme.

In addition, the paper workers union charges in its suit that the Carter administration is interfering in the collective bargaining process in violation of the National Labor Relations Act.

The struck firms are also being aided by a secret fund among the paper mills. The November 19 *Sunday Oregonian* reported that the pulp and paper companies have at their disposal a secret mutual aid fund to help cushion losses during

strikes. Companies that settle strikes early go on to pay high "penalties" to the fund. Those that hold out are then reimbursed for their losses.

The companies have refused to say anymore about the fund than that it does exist. It is known to include firms as far away as Wisconsin and Arizona.

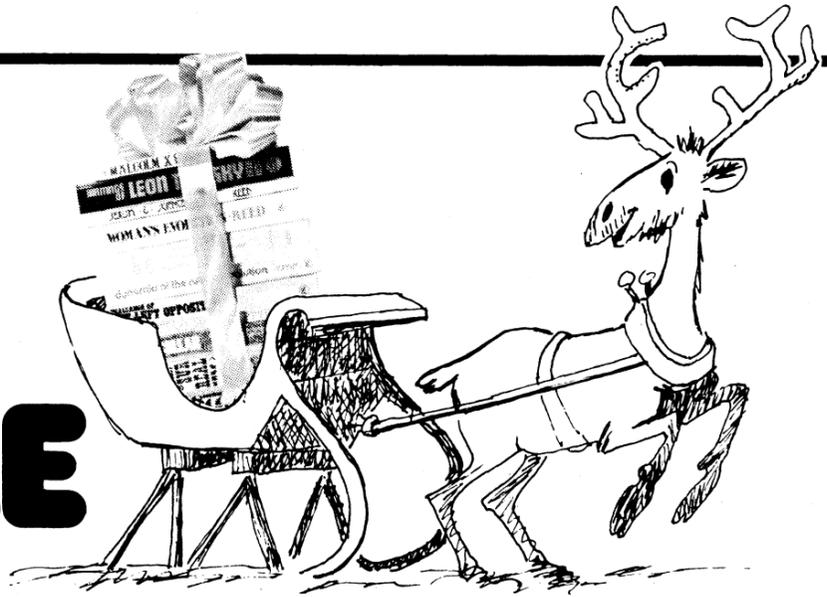
AWPPW President Farris Bryson contends the fund is only prolonging the strike. "We think it smacks of antitrust," he said. The U.S. Justice Department, of course, has said that no investigation of the fund is contemplated.

Meanwhile, the pulp and paper workers are continuing their fight for a decent wage and cost-of-living benefits in a strike that Portland paper distributors say may last into the beginning of next year.

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World Outlook

News, analysis, and discussion of international political events

South Africa

New wave of Black trade-union struggles

By R.D. Willis

JOHANNESBURG—Although there have been no major Black strikes in South Africa since the massive political actions of 1976, a series of recent labor disputes has given a glimpse of the simmering discontent that prevails in the country's factories, construction sites, and workshops.

One of the conflicts that has captured the most attention is a strike by more than 200 Black women workers at the Eveready battery plant in Port Elizabeth. The women, many of whom are members of the National Union of Motor Assembly and Rubber Workers of South Africa, halted work at the end of October after the management refused to recognize the union or negotiate the workers' grievances.

The women are demanding better conditions and a basic pay increase to replace the present bonus incentive scheme. They point out that the hourly rate of pay for Eveready production-line workers is 55 cents an hour, compared to 85 cents at Willard's and 92 cents at Ford's, both of which have plants in Port Elizabeth.

The company has so far been adamant in refusing to recognize the union, despite the fact that it is a legally registered union, being composed predominantly of Coloured workers. In fact, according to Brian Frederick, the national organizer of the union, "The factory have systematically tried to get rid of union members and new employees are not taken on if they belong to our union. Yet the white union is allowed to continue." Despite the harassment, the union claims 400 members in the plant, out of a total Black work force of 450.

J. Poulton, Eveready's factory manager, dismissed the workers' demands as "ridiculous and unrealistic."

Strike vote

The decision to go on strike followed a vote on October 19, when 62 percent of the workers polled favored strike action. A few days later, on October 25, a mass meeting of 1,300 union members was held in Port Elizabeth to support the Eveready workers (the union has 4,500 members nationally).

The bosses responded by sacking 198 of the women, to which the union countered by calling for a nationwide boycott of Eveready products. At least twelve unions have so far come out in support of the boycott. The union has also appealed for backing from the 1.5-million-member International Metalworkers Federation, to which it is affiliated.

Thus far at least, Eveready has vowed not to give in, and has warned of further retaliation. Managing Director Ben Allen threatened, "If a boycott se-



riously affects our production, we might have to reduce our labour force. . . ."

Simultaneously with the Eveready conflict, eighty Black workers employed by the Amanzimtoti municipality, just south of Durban, were fired November 15 for refusing to work until they received a pledge of higher wages. Dissatisfied with a meager

5 percent raise granted two weeks earlier, the workers had demanded pay hikes of between R5 and R15 a week (they currently earn weekly earnings of R27).

On November 17, about 160 Black municipal bus drivers and conductors in Johannesburg left their vehicles for several hours and flocked to the Department of Labour offices to demand the reinstatement of Joseph Zungu, the chairman of their works committee (an advisory body elected by the workers). According to the authorities Zungu had been fired for a technicality, but the drivers maintained he was being victimized. After a meeting with the protesting workers, officials of the municipal council announced that Zungu had been reinstated with a few days suspension.

In an earlier dispute, eighty-seven Black bus drivers in Alberton, just south of Johannesburg, were convicted August 1 of striking illegally (most strikes by Africans are illegal).

Sit-in

At the end of September, about 200 Black workers in Clermont, near Durban, staged a sit-in for higher wages at a construction site of the Port Natal Administration Board. Police reinforcements were rushed in to force the workers off the site.

Another recent struggle involves efforts by the Sweet, Food and Allied Workers Union to win recognition by the Unilever management at its Boksburg and Durban plants. The Black union has won a pledge of active support from the International Union of Food and Allied Workers Associations.

Visitors to the automobile factories of Port Elizabeth have noted a growing resentment among Black workers there as well, despite a few cosmetic reforms enacted by such companies as General Motors and Ford, primarily involving the phasing out of "petty apartheid" in the plants (segregated washrooms and dining areas).

One Black worker summed up the feelings of many when he stated, "It's more money we want. We don't care where we eat or what toilet we use. There's only one way to talk equality—money. We want exactly the same rates as whites doing the same jobs, and the same fringe benefits. We also want more chances for better jobs."

Trade-union federation

Against the background of scattered labor ferment, a number of Black unions have intensified their efforts to establish a Black trade-union federation, despite all the legal and extralegal obstacles placed in the path of Black trade unionism here.

In August and September, a number of Black unions in the Transvaal sent representatives to two meetings, resulting in the formation of an interim federal committee, similar to existing committees in other provinces, to work toward the construction of a countrywide federation. The main initiator was the National Union of Motor Assembly and Rubber Workers. Other unions involved were the Glass and Allied Workers Union; the Engineering and Allied Workers Union; the Paper, Wood, and Allied Workers Union; the Transvaal branch of the Metal and Allied Workers Union; and the Transvaal branch of the United Automobile, Rubber, and Allied Workers Union.

On October 22, twelve Black unions agreed on the constitution and policies of a new Black union federation. Representatives from the four interim regional committees in the Transvaal, Natal, Western Cape, and Eastern Cape also attended. Participants predicted that the inaugural conference of the federation, which is to be called the Federation of South African Trade Unions, may be held within six months.

If actually set up, such a federation could prove a powerful weapon for Black workers—an especially explosive development in a country where the entire economy is based on the exploitation of Black labor.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

Gov't retreat on Crossroads

By Omari Musa

The South African government announced November 30 that it was scrapping plans "indefinitely" to demolish Crossroads, an African squatter community near Cape Town.

Crossroads came into the international spotlight last September when hundreds of club-wielding cops attacked the more than 20,000 residents in midnight raids. The regime said this was a prelude to total demolition of the community.

Witnesses to the attack reported three people were killed, including a small child who was trampled to death. More than 1,000 people were arrested and jailed.

Rather than intimidating Crossroads residents, however, the assault strengthened their determination to defy the regime's policy prohibiting Africans from establishing "unauthorized" settlements in the Western Cape area.

The Western Cape has been designated a "labor preference area" for whites and Coloureds (persons of mixed ancestry), according to apartheid law.

Under this law the families of African workers, both those who come to the area legally and illegally, can be sent to the poverty-stricken Bantustans.

The refusal of the Crossroads residents to leave, and the worldwide support they have won, presented the government with two options.

It could unleash a bloody assault on Crossroads, physically driving the population out. This would undoubtedly provoke an international outcry, further isolating the regime.

Or it could postpone "indefinitely" the settlement's destruction, hoping international solidarity would eventually die out, permitting the destruction of the settlement at a later date.

The regime seems to have chosen the latter course. However, this decision also has political overhead for the racists.

The Crossroads struggle is seen as a symbol of opposition by Blacks in South Africa to the apartheid system. The victory preserving Crossroads for the time being could lead the Black population to press for more concessions, further challenging white minority rule.

The Iranian revolution

An eyewitness account of the mass upsurge



The following interview with Ali Ahmadi, campus leader in Tehran, was obtained in mid-November.

Question. To begin with, could you tell us about the recent week of solidarity with striking workers that was organized on the campuses?

Answer. The week of solidarity, which began October 28, was planned by a national organization of university professors. This association does not include all professors, but the most radical ones, from different ideological groups.

Q. Is this a new organization?

A. It's so new that they don't even have a charter yet. But as soon as they got together, they decided to have a solidarity week.

At first we weren't sure it was going to be that successful. Some people wanted to back out. But we went ahead.

On our campus, we decided to have speeches and a march—on campus, not outside, because the soldiers were outside with their guns pointing toward the campus.

For two days we had a sit-in and a teach-in during which the students, all the workers on campus, the professors, even the administration, participated in smaller groups in which all could discuss their point of view.

And then we decided to ask some other organizations to send representatives to our campus to give speeches, like the Committee for Defense of the Prisoners and the Bar Association of Iran.

On the first day all the groups, religious and leftist, came to listen to the opening speech. The leftist students had put up red banners and their slogans around the football stadium, where the speech was to be given. All the religious students and professors walked out, saying they were not going to sit under red flags.

We wanted a solidarity week, but right at the beginning we faced a possible split, the exact opposite of our aim. So the leftist students were urged to take down the red banners.

It was also suggested that the religious students could put their banners up too, that there would be nothing

wrong with having both. But the religious students wouldn't buy that.

Finally, the leftist students agreed to take their banners down, all the students joined together on the same field, and the speeches began. High school students came to participate during the course of the day, including from a women's high school. We might have had 2,000 to 3,000 students altogether.

In the afternoon after lunch, we had two groups again, separated. Other leftist students joined the leftist students from our school in a march around the football stadium with red banners and placards. One of their slogans was really good. It was, "Greetings to militant Khomeyni," to show the sympathy and support of the leftist students for Khomeyni [the exiled religious leader, who has refused to compromise with the shah's regime]. But the religious students did not like even that.

Religious students' views

They are influenced by what Khomeyni has been telling them—that the left has betrayed us and that Russia and China are as imperialist as the United States. Because of the record of betrayals of the Tudeh Party [Iranian Communist Party], the support to the shah by the Soviet and Chinese governments, and experiences with terrorist groups like People's Devotees (a guerrilla organization that claims to be Marxist), there is a lot of suspicion toward the leftists.

Q. Is that breaking down? Are there discussions going on?

A. During solidarity week, we organized discussions. Our intention was to give the leftists and the religious students a chance to express their points of view. We succeeded in this.

Q. What do the religious students call for?

A. They call for a "God's party," something utopian. They have a slogan, "A party, only God's party." You see, they don't know what a party is. They know they should have a party, so they want a "God's party." They do not want to allow any other party. And they say the only leader should be Khomeyni.

When they go on to say they want an "Islamic government" and you ask them what they mean, they can't really tell you. The most they can come up with is "a socialist government" that does not involve "class struggle." They don't believe there are such things as classes.

Q. What is the relationship of forces between the leftist students and professors and the religious ones?

A. Well, on my campus, I think there are four times as many religious students as leftists. But among the forty people who signed the initiating charter of the association of professors, there are, maybe, eight or nine who are religious.

Q. Did people other than high school students come to your campus during the week of solidarity to listen to the speeches, or was it mainly students and workers from the campus itself?

A. I think real education has started on our campuses. Beginning with this week we opened up our universities to all the people. No one had to pass an entrance examination. People didn't have to have an ID card to come onto the campuses. They didn't have to come at a certain time. They didn't have to go at a certain time. It was open, an open university, real education—what people wanted to learn. That's why they came to the campuses.

You could even see children from the primary schools who came to the campus and copied down different slogans, to take back to their schools to help spread the movement. Older women in veils came with their children to listen to the speeches. There were all kinds of people from all different strata of society. And that's what scared the government.

During the week some of the newspapers compared what was happening on our campuses, especially in Tehran, to something that you might see on the corner at Hyde Park. Anybody could give a speech. The walls were covered with leaflets from all different groups—both left and right.

Q. In this week of solidarity, what was the proportion of women who

participated and what role did they play?

A. I believe it was around 10 percent to 20 percent. It didn't make any difference whether they were religious or leftist, they joined. All the secretaries of the school came and participated.

Mothers of political prisoners made speeches. They came on the last day of solidarity week when someone from the Committee for the Defense of the Prisoners was giving a speech. They came to the microphone and told us how their sons and daughters had been arrested, what had happened to them, and how many years of imprisonment and how much torture they had suffered.

There may have been as many as 5,000 to 6,000 persons listening and they were all crying. Sometimes you can't stop yourself from crying when these people talk.

Q. Do you know anything about what happened at larger campuses, such as the University of Tehran and Aryamehr University?

A. What happened on our campus was similar to what was happening on other campuses. At Tehran University the number participating was larger, perhaps 20,000 to 25,000 persons.

Q. How are the leftist students organized? Is there one organization or are there a number of organizations that cooperate with one another?

A. The leftists usually sign their leaflets "Militant Students." But there are all sorts of different ideologies. There are Maoist groups. There are the liberal leftists. There are the old guerrilla groups. There are some independent groups. Communist Party youth don't usually participate with the other leftist students. They stand apart from this. They do their own work.

Q. What influence does the National Front have inside the universities?

A. Well, we have some liberals, people we call Social Democrats or "so-soul" democrats—that is, democrats of a nice, "stylish" type. They don't participate in any of the meetings of either the religious or leftist students.

They are the closest ones to the National Front. But generally this current has no following on campus. The students see the National Front as a "bunch of traitors."

Q. Would you describe how the strikes developed after Black Friday [September 8]? For instance, it was reported in the Tehran press that workers of different factories read messages of solidarity on the campuses.

A. That is true.

Explosion of strikes

Q. And what was the impact of the strikes on the rest of the population?

A. After the big marches in September the struggle in Iran took a different direction. The first strikes were in the bazaars, the commercial centers; all the shopping districts closed down. Then the factories, they started with economic demands. They just wanted higher wages. One by one all the factories, all the government ministries, went out.

One day I started writing them down. I couldn't keep up with them. There were so many that I would have a couple of hundred offices and factories to write down each day. And some were ending their strike and others were starting, so that I couldn't get anywhere. There were too many. We must have had a million people on strike at any given time.

At the beginning, not much attention was paid to these strikes because they raised economic demands only. But one of the strikes that was quite different involved the workers of Iran National Radio and Television (INRT). The first thing they wanted was freedom to separate themselves from the government organizations, to be able to make programs, to give speeches of their own without censorship.

The government had given a written statement to the newspapers pledging an end to censorship. The INRT workers wanted the same thing. They said, "This is mass communication as well, so why should the government give this to the newspapers but not give it to radio and television? We want the same right." So, they went on strike and won their demand.

The workers got more political. They raised another demand: "Release all the political prisoners!" And they demanded that all the exiles be allowed to return.

In March or April, the oil workers had gone on strike, raising economic demands. Now they went on strike a second time, with political demands: Lift the martial law, release all political prisoners, let the exiles return, and

expel the foreign workers.

Q. When the strikers demand that foreign workers leave, who exactly do they have in mind?

A. Well, Iranian workers are losing their jobs. They receive lower wages than the Americans or even the Japanese. They see foreign workers earning as much as ten times the wages paid to a Persian worker. Over the last few years the government has claimed that Iran is short of labor. They have imported highly skilled foreigners. There is even a prejudice against Persian workers in some factories. That's why the Persians reacted like that.

Q. Could you tell us about the current situation with the army, and how people view the soldiers?

A. I was at one of the September 4 marches, and on the march that took place on September 7, too. On those days, people were really hoping that the army would join in the struggle. I've never seen so many flowers on the streets. Nobody could avoid crying at that moment, when you saw maybe 500 women dressed in veils throwing flowers over the army trucks.

People were hugging the soldiers, and even the policemen. It really leaves you with a great impression. I think I will never forget this moment in my life.

But after these two days of giant marches, on Black Friday, when the government imposed martial law, the soldiers started shooting. It was unbelievable. The day before, we had poured flowers over the army men; and the next day they were shooting at us.

The people lost their confidence for awhile. They didn't know what to do. They thought they had lost. I had friends who came to me, shedding tears, thinking the whole thing was over.

But as time went on, the people regained their confidence. Two weeks ago or so, there was a demonstration. A huge march of 250,000 people went to Ayatollah Thlaghani's house to welcome him after he was released from prison. And we still had martial law. According to the law no more than two persons could gather.

I can give you another instance of what people were thinking. Young people who get drafted have to serve for two years. They hate these two years, but they can't do anything about it. They have to go to the army.

But since Black Friday, the whole attitude has changed. Now young people want to go into the army, to take it apart from inside. They want to learn how to shoot.



Troops and demonstrators. 'My friend told me that in the barracks they have discussions every night, political discussions on what's going on outside.'

I think the government had their spies among the people and know the mood of the people. So they excused 330,000 of the young people scheduled for conscription, and even many of the draftees who had already gone into the army were released.

A. You can get a student deferment, but after you finish school you have to serve in the army.

Q. So, the present draftees include many ex-students?

A. Yes, and they are pretty radical. Lately I have heard that they have released the draftees from all guard duties, so as to avoid giving them guns.

The ones who usually shoot at the people are well trained. The ones who fired on students at Tehran University were Royal Guards. They are trained for these things.

Q. And they are very well paid, these Royal Guards?

A. Their regular pay may not be so high, but they have big allowances for housing, food, and everything else. The government has built the best apartments for these people.

Let me tell you something about the campus guards and the guards on the streets. If they have to use a club, they get extra money. If they have to put on their helmet and shield to fight the people, they get extra money. If they use gas masks, they get extra money. Even if they are ordered to put them on but don't actually use them, they get paid extra. So, some of them, the poor ones, are glad to use this equipment.

On the other hand, I saw one of these same guards buy a newspaper on the birthday of Queen Farah. The first thing he did was to take the picture of the queen, tear it to pieces, and throw it away. Then he began reading the paper.

I asked him why he did that. He said, "All the troubles we are having in the country are because of these people."

I said, "Why do you beat up the students on the campuses?" He said, "Not me." They are under a lot of pressure.

U.S. role in army

Q. What is the American presence in the army? Is it like it was in Vietnam, with advisers at every level, or only at the top?

A. They run the whole army. Even the training is conducted by Americans. The high officers are trained in the United States, and the U.S. has about 10,000 army advisers in Iran. They run the whole show. But they can't come onto the streets.

Q. What is happening to the economy now? Have the strikes cut into the availability of common staples? Are

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Troops chasing demonstrators during one of the recent demonstrations

Students spark new struggles in Peru

By Miguel Fuentes

LIMA—The drive by Peru's rulers to terrorize the masses into passivity has run into a sharp challenge. During November, thousands of students, many of them primary- and secondary-school age, took to the streets in a show of defiance. November 21 marked the thirty-fifth day of meetings and demonstrations.

In mid-October the government of Gen. Francisco Morales Bermúdez decreed a rise of almost 50 percent in the cost of diesel fuel and cooking gas. This led to an immediate increase in transportation fares. The price of a single bus ride (*pasaje*) went from 12 soles* to 18 soles for ordinary passengers and from 5 soles to 9 soles for students.

This fare hike is having a drastic effect on the standard of living of many Peruvians. One father I spoke with in the Lima suburb of Comas told me that he has four children, each of whom must change buses once to go to school. This means four *pasajes* each day for each child, for a total of 144 soles. His wage—when he's working—is a little above the minimum of 230 soles a day.

Some of the students I talked to said the rise in bus fares has meant that there is no more milk in their households. The rise in travel costs in an average-sized family with a minimum income comes to about 60 soles—the price of a quart of milk.

Faced with this "choice"—milk or school—it is little wonder that Peru's students have taken to the streets. Whether they realize it or not, their action has implications far beyond challenging a bus fare increase. In reality, it is posing a major challenge to the military dictatorship's entire austerity program.

Austerity drive

To gain the "restructuring" of Peru's huge debt to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and big imperialist banks, the military has agreed to severe cuts in government spending. Price subsidies on a whole range of basic food products were suddenly eliminated last May, calling forth massive protests and a two-day general strike—the biggest in Peru's history. The recent hike in diesel fuel represents a further cut in the state budget, inasmuch as it is aimed at eliminating spending to offset a big deficit in the accounts of PetroPerú, the state-owned oil company. This has been a key demand of the IMF.

Thus, if the students' militant struggle forces the government to roll back the fare increase, an important part of the austerity program would be jeopardized. Hence the military's response: fierce repression, with concessions on other students' demands but not on the *pasajes*.

Besides a fare rollback the students have also been demanding the abolition of a recently imposed requirement that an average mark of 12 (on a scale of 20) be achieved in order to advance to the next grade. The old standard was 11.

The protests began October 18. From actions of several hundred in this school or that they quickly grew to involve thousands. The movement spread from Lima to other cities. Everywhere they were met with repression—at first tear gas, clubs, and water cannon; then firearms, beginning with the killing of one bystander and the wounding of five students in Huancayo on November 6.

The protests reached a peak in Lima on November 8. Tens of thousands of students mobilized in various parts of the city. They were joined in the streets by striking public employees, bank workers, and others.

Similar protests occurred in Cuzco, Huancayo, Zarate, Cangallo, and elsewhere. Reports on the true extent of these mobilizations is only now reaching Lima, owing to the regime's tight control over the major news media.

The exact number of dead is not known. Bodies "disappear" in the hands of the police, and families are warned to keep still. But it is known that two students were gunned down in Cangallo. In many cases the victims are children under the age of twelve—primary students who spontaneously join in the struggle.

On November 10 the military launched its fiercest attack to date at the Mariano Melgar Educational Center, a school that has been at the center of the mobilizations.

At 7:30 a.m. students from a nearby women's high school marched over to join their male comrades at Melgar. They met peacefully in the patio and decided to begin another march. As they entered the street they found themselves facing a *tanqueta* (a small armored vehicle with tear-gas cannon) and a squad of police.

Cop attack

As the students entered the street in front of Melgar they were attacked suddenly and brutally, without warning. Tear gas was launched from the *tanqueta* and from police rifles. Many students were forced back into the enclosed schoolyard while others managed to escape down the street.

The police quickly ran out of bombs and began throwing rocks. The students retaliated with the same rocks. Then two more *tanquetas* and several busloads of special Civil Guard assault troops arrived. After another heavy barrage of tear-gas bombs failed to dislodge the students from the portals of the school, the assault guards brought out shotguns, assumed firing positions with six standing and six kneeling, and alternated sending blasts of shells at the school.

At least eighteen students were hit. Many were badly wounded. Among them was sixteen-year-old Victor Alvarado, who received a shotgun blast to the head. He died on the operating table at 11:30 that evening.

Victor Alvarado was buried in the late afternoon on Sunday, November



Militant/Miguel Fuentes

November 8 demonstration by 5,000 secondary and primary school students in Lima

12. It was a gray, chilly day, but hundreds of family members and fellow students formed a procession to the cemetery. Hundreds more lined the streets and applauded and shouted protests as the cortege passed by.

Félix Alvarado, a poor taxi driver, and his family decided that their son's death should not go without protest. Speeches denouncing the repression were made at the cemetery. The Civil Guard mounted a big show of force, but it failed to daunt the militant spirit of those in attendance.

On November 12 the regime announced that the schools would return to the old passing grade of 11. But stepped-up repression was also declared: Students directly involved in the protests would not be promoted. Fifty-six were to be expelled, and the cases of 200 more were being "reviewed."

Besides this, more than 1,000 students have been arrested since the protests began. Many are still being held under abominable conditions. Those released have only been freed after their parents either paid a bond or promised to pay for any "damage" their sons or daughters may have caused. Also, a number of schools have been closed for varying periods.

The press reported November 12 that bus fares had been rolled back in Cuzco, which had also been the scene of heavy fighting.



Militant/Miguel Fuentes

Cops and troops attacked demonstrators with 'tanquetas' and tear-gas bombs

Fierce fighting took place also in Huancayo when the Civil Guard attacked new student mobilizations that began around November 13. (This information comes from an eyewitness; no account has appeared in any of the government-controlled dailies. The dictatorship often imposes an "embargo" on information to try to isolate protests. It is not unusual for the military even to stop traffic in and out of a city or to cut off phone service.)

In response to the police attacks, the students in Huancayo began blockading streets with chopped-down trees. Soon they made it impossible for the *tanquetas* or police reinforcements to reach certain points. The cops used their guns as they had two weeks earlier, but they lost control of the city nonetheless. Finally the government had to send in an infantry battalion to occupy Huancayo's streets.

There was a lull of several days in Lima after the bloody attack on the Melgar school. But on November 17 high-school youth were back on the streets, now joined by fresh contingents of university students. At the National University of San Marcos, some 2,000 high-school students were joined by 1,500 from San Marcos and another 500 from the National Agricultural University.

The march from San Marcos answered the question that had been on everyone's lips during the week. The students were rejecting the regime's carrot-and-stick policy. Students also mobilized in Comas and other districts of the city, and the unequal battle was joined once again.

Four thousand students marched in downtown Lima in the evening on November 17. *Tanquetas*, water cannon, and foot patrols were unleashed against the demonstration, and the center of the capital became a battle ground. The Avenida Grau was soon filled with large rocks, and trees were cut down to block other streets. As on November 8, a number of Civil Guard vehicles were put out of action.

Throughout the struggle the students continued to regroup and shout their slogans: "Down with the fare hike!" "Down with the cost of living—raise wages!" "All the people struggle for the general strike!" As on previous occasions their demands met with the approval of bystanders, who shouted their agreement or applauded.

Capacity to fight

November 17 was an important day in that it showed the capacity of the students to continue their fight despite heavy repression and the loss of cen-

*The exchange rate of the sol stood at 187 to the dollar as of November 10. Thus 12 soles equals approximately US\$0.06.

tral leaders to the dictatorship's jails. Also, the contingents from the universities gave evidence of the students' capacity to draw fresh layers into struggle.

University students from San Marcos had not mobilized in such numbers for several years. The agricultural students had experienced a five-year lull in actions of such scope, but on November 20 they held a rally of 1,000 and declared a hunger strike in support of their demands. The San Marcos students rallied again on November 21.

Another important factor in the situation is the call for a new national general strike. The main union federation, the CGTP, is coming under increasing pressure to set a date for the strike voted at its fifth congress in early October. (The Communist Party [Unidad], which controls the CGTP, acceded to the strike call at the insistence of left-wing forces at the congress, but so far has resisted actually organizing a countrywide work stoppage.)

The government cannot allow the current tug of war with the students to go on indefinitely. The recently concluded agreements with the IMF and the banks do not allow for economic concessions, and General Morales Bermúdez has called for a new period of "austerity."

Regime's dilemma

Austerity measures have been resisted with strikes and local semi-insurrections in the past. To allow the militant example of the students to continue is to invite the masses of workers and unemployed to join them in the streets, and to allow pressure to mount for a general strike. Given the mood of the masses, such a strike could

tend to go over from a defense of living standards to an insurrection aimed at bringing down the dictatorship once and for all.

Conceding a rollback in the bus fares would open a breach in the whole austerity program. But the alternative solution—a massacre of students in sufficient numbers to drive them off the streets—would pose far greater dangers.

The military was able to get away with a full-scale assault on striking miners in Lima in early September mainly because the miners' struggle had been isolated by the CGTP's failure to lend solidarity. But the miners had also come to Lima from other parts of the country. The students, on the other hand, live in Lima; so do their families. And fundamentally they are seen by the population as a whole as *children*. Thus an attack on them like the massacre in Mexico in 1968 might well ignite an explosion of protest throughout Peru.

A crisis point is rapidly approaching for the government. It is walking a tightrope of escalating repression and must soon decide to either go all-out or else concede the struggle. At the center of this stand children and teen-agers, nine to eighteen years old.

If the students at the Mariano Melgar Educational Center are any indication, the youth are not backing off. I arrived there at 5:30 in the afternoon on November 20. The Civil Guard were loading arrested students into vans. A hundred yards away stood more than 500 angry students, shouting their protests. And in the square hundreds of bystanders were watching very, very intently.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

...China

Continued from page 7

a huge, spontaneous laugh went up.

"No," said one very articulate young man, "the People's Daily only reflects the views and perspective of the leaders. It does not represent the true feelings of ordinary people. We would like to see the People's Daily report what the masses really feel as well as what the leaders think and in this way it would be a truly great newspaper."

Fraser adds:

In comparing Western accounts of news events which affect China with those published in the official press here, it is clear that many Chinese have come to distrust their own media—some vociferously.

The only response to all of this in the official press was the publication on Monday November 27 of excerpts from Teng Hsiao-p'ing's discussions with a representative of the Democratic Socialist Party of Japan. According to the Hsinhua summary:

On the question of the masses' putting up big-character posters, Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping pointed out: "This is a normal thing, and shows the stable situation in our country. To write big-character posters is allowed by our country's constitution. We have no right to deny this or to criticize the masses for making use of democracy and putting up big-character posters. If the masses feel some anger, we must let them express it.

At the same time, he added:

Some utterances are not in the interest of stability and unity and the four modernizations. We have to explain matters clearly to the masses and know how to lead.

Alain Jacob of *Le Monde* was also present at Tien An Men Square the night when Fraser made his speech and the crowd broke up into discussion circles. After the discussion with the foreign journalists, he reports, Chinese orators spoke to various groups. Some of the speakers simply raised themes taken directly from the pages of the *People's Daily*. Jacob described one all-Chinese discussion meeting in the square that seemed to be different:

The speaker demanded freedom of speech, raising some laughter when he demanded that the salaries of high officials be the same as that of the workers, or, additionally, that the people have the right to see

uncensored films and even to dance."

By Wednesday, November 29, the tolerant attitude expressed in Teng's comments in the press began to evaporate and the government started to rescind its invitation to air criticisms.

Official-looking wall posters began to go up urging people to refrain from criticizing Hua Kuo-feng. On December 1, Teng Hsiao-p'ing made a demonstrative public appearance with Hua. At the same time further wall posters went up demanding that attacks on Mao be stopped. One of these referred to Mao as "the red sun in our hearts," and warned that if the authors of the anti-Mao posters dared to sign their names, the people would "smash your dog heads."

Another poster urged Chinese not to criticize their country to outsiders.

At the same time that the poster campaign and rallies took place, a top-level but thoroughly secret meeting of the central party leadership was taking place elsewhere in Peking. Inasmuch as the "democracy movement" was also in large part a pro-Teng demonstration and directed at criticizing Hua and other Mao era leaders, it can be seen as in part at least tied in with Teng's strengthening of his grip on the party leadership. There seems to be little doubt that he has emerged as China's central leader in the last few weeks. That does not at all mean that the grievances aired in Peking in the last two weeks are not genuine or representative of deep feeling among the Chinese people.

Teng plays a risky game when he tries to coopt such sentiments and time their public expression to coincide with his own factional needs. This time he himself joined demonstratively in the counterthrust to slow down the protests that he had invited. This put him in the patently two-faced position of posing as a defender of Mao's reputation and repudiating as too harsh the wall posters that had attacked the late chairman. This provoked at least one bold author into the only reported criticism of Teng. According to the December 1 *New York Times* the poster declared:

"You can clamp down silence again on the people, but that won't solve anything."

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

Peking urges new U.S. aggression against Cuba

By Fred Feldman

"The shipment of MIG-23s into Cuba is another indication of the Soviet Union sharpening its offensive posture. . . . The presence of such air and naval craft in the neighborhood of the United States is a sure threat to the peaceful life of the American people. . . . But the U.S. government seems to be very hesitant in making a clear-cut judgment on the Soviet violation of the 1962 understanding."

This ringing call to arms doesn't come from the Joint Chiefs of Staff or the John Birch Society.

It's a commentary from the Peking *People's Daily* that was reprinted in a November 25 release from Hsinhua, the Chinese regime's official news agency.

This is the Hua Kuo-feng regime's way of letting the U.S. government know that China's propaganda machine stands ready to support any new aggressions the U.S. imperialists may contemplate against the Cuban revolution.

The *People's Daily's* commentator feverishly describes the MIG-23s as a "direct challenge" to the United States and declares that this "has brought U.S. public opinion to the boil."

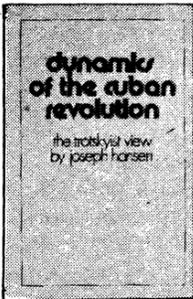
In fact, the U.S. rulers' campaign to persuade public opinion that Cuban weapons threaten the United States has not gotten off the ground—despite the Peking bureaucrats' treacherous assistance. Americans know that Cuba has never invaded or blockaded the United States. And many working people learned from the Vietnam War that it is the U.S. military machine that endangers "the peaceful life of the American people."

Peking's propagandists may dismiss such antiwar sentiment as dangerously soft on Communism. Nonetheless, it is a major reason why the U.S. rulers have been "very hesitant" of late to undertake direct military action—not only against Cuba but against any country where imperialist domination has been abolished. China, for instance.

SPECIAL OFFER

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...Iran

Continued from page 19
prices skyrocketing?

A. I think Iranians now expect civil war. They are buying groceries in large quantities and storing them. The food shops are completely empty.

As far as the economy as a whole is concerned, there is a slowdown all over, all the factories. The workers have been on strike, but even when they return to work, they just sit and talk politics.

As a result, the economy is in very bad shape. You go out on the street in Tehran, and it is like a war zone, like Beirut. The streets are empty. Many of the stores are smashed. All the movie theaters are burned. People are tense. It's nothing like two months ago.

Q. Are organizations of any kind beginning to develop—committees and so on—that are beginning to challenge and even displace governmental authority?

A. Definitely. One of the first examples was the Writers Association of Iran. One of its demands was to have authority for all the publications put into its hands. If you wanted to publish a book, or open a new printshop, you would arrange it through the Writers Association and not have to get permission from the government. They wanted to end censorship.

A second example was the Bar Association of Iran, which wanted to draft the laws themselves, saying the government has done a bad job.

The National Association of University Professors wants all of higher education in Iran in the hands of the students and teachers. They want democracy on campuses, and big steps have already been taken toward achieving this.

Now we're even getting all the secret files, the correspondence between SAVAK and the administration regarding what they were doing to us.

For instance, we have a report that the local head of SAVAK wrote about me to kick me off the campus. They have kicked a lot of people off the campuses through this kind of correspondence. Now I have the report, with its "secret" stamp on it.

Everybody, all the associations in Iran, the workers, want to participate in the decisions of their office or factory.

For instance, on our campus when the workers went on strike, their demand was that the head of the accounting office should be one of us.

There have also been groups organized to fight the shah's hooligans.

Q. What about communications? You mentioned posters being made, leaflets, and so forth.

A. Now they have closed the streets around Tehran University. There is a narrow street below which people have to walk. Before, you would see smugglers selling foreign cigarettes, chewing gum, and so on. Now you see these same people selling the *Communist Manifesto* or *Capital*. Or you see people giving out leaflets.

All the leftist groups have their own printshops, or maybe duplicating machines, which are illegal.

Tudeh Party

Q. Could you say a little about the influence and strength of the Tudeh Party?

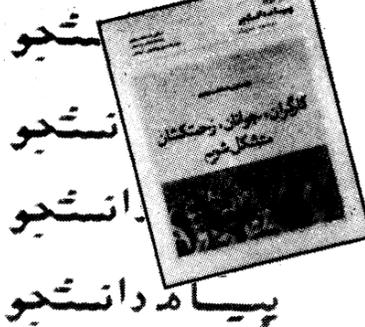
A. The Democratic Union of the People of Iran, which was recently announced, is the Tudeh Party under a different name.

They have changed their position on the shah in the last six months. They

Payam Daneshjoo
Weekly publication of Iranian revolutionary socialist

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were for the continuation of the monarchy before, but now they are calling for a republic. Now they are supporting the religious leaders and are saying that they might be a revolutionary force. They call for Shi'ism to be the national religion of Iran.

They support the "integrity" of Iran's borders, which means they oppose self-determination for the oppressed nationalities.

Q. So what is the extent of their influence?

A. I think they are working very hard—very, very hard. They are putting out a lot of books and they have quite a number of bookshops in Iran. They have sold 300,000 copies of the *Communist Manifesto* in the last two months (not from the bookshops because this is an illegal publication).

They have sold quite a few copies of

the Stalinist *History of the CPSU*. You can buy *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back* by Lenin. Now in Tehran they even have a book called *On Peaceful Coexistence* by Lenin, which has chopped-up, out-of-context quotations.

Out of 1,400 students on my campus they have perhaps 10. At other campuses that I know about they maybe have 30 or 40. But not much more. They are isolated on the campuses but they work very hard.

Q. What do you think will happen next?

A. I think that Iran's revolution will start a new wave of revolutions in the world. I think that this is the beginning of another classical revolution.

It's going to be another example for the socialist revolutions of the world.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

Puerto Rican Trotskyist on independence fight

Following are major excerpts from a speech by Juan Robles Burgos evaluating the resolution on Puerto Rico approved by the United Nations Decolonization Committee last September. The speech was delivered in the town of Lares at an anniversary commemoration of the September 23, 1868, revolt known as "El Grito de Lares."

Robles spoke as a representative of the Liga Internacionalista de los Trabajadores, (LIT—Internationalist Workers League), Puerto Rican sister organization of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party. The 'Militant' has translated the speech from the November-December issue of 'La Verdad,' the newspaper reflecting the views of the LIT.

On September 12, the decolonization committee of the United Nations unanimously approved a resolution concerning the colonial status of Puerto Rico. This resolution is the culmination of a wave of denunciation on an international scale against the colonial and oppressive nature of the relationship between our homeland and U.S. imperialism. It is also the culmination of a campaign first mounted by the Puerto Rican Nationalists under the leadership of Pedro Albizu Campos and continued today by socialists and other pro-independence forces.

The UN resolution implicitly recognizes that Puerto Rico is a colony of the United States. At the same time, it demands the complete transfer of governmental powers to our nation, and it lays out as possible forms of decolonization both independence and so-

called "free association." The UN resolution calls for the choice between these two alternatives to be made through a referendum free from any sort of coercion on the part of the United States, either military, political, or economic.

This resolution has caused an uproar throughout our homeland. Sections of the independence movement have characterized it as a "victory" for independence. On the other hand the free statists [supporters of Puerto Rico's current status] claim that the resolution gives international backing to the so-called Free Associated State [another name for the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico], now retitled "Free Association" by the leaders of the Popular Democratic Party.

And the ultra-American forces of the New Progressive Party denounce the resolution as interference in the internal affairs of Puerto Rico and the United States and try to bury their heads in the sand like ostriches.

We think the meaning of this resolution for Puerto Rico and for the struggle for national independence has not yet been put in the proper perspective. We should take note of the fact that the Cuban-Iraqi resolution includes the idea of so-called "free association" as a form of decolonization for Puerto Rico.

When the resolution was adopted with this formulation, the door was opened for the so-called autonomists of the Free Associated State to justify the current status of the island.

It also gives the United States room to maneuver, claiming that it is turning over certain powers to Puerto Rico. And that it allows our country to have a plebiscite to approve "free associa-

tion" as Puerto Rico's legal and political status, which would mean remaining a colony forever.

The basic error in this part of the resolution consists in seeing the colonial status and the oppression of our country as simply a matter of the formal political relationships. The colonial oppression of Puerto Rico is not simply a question of the formal legal relationship; it includes every aspect of life in our country.

The resolution overlooks that the content of imperialism as the economic exploitation of colonial and semicolonial people by capitalists who control the international market. Simply voting for so-called "free association" (should the U.S. imperialists even pay attention to the UN resolution) cannot in any way ensure that our country will cease being a colony. A new constitutional charter cannot bring about this "miracle."

This seems to us to be a concession to the so-called liberal section of the Popular Democratic Party, those famous "anticolonialists," who are even considered as such by some *independentista* forces. We have already seen the type of anticolonialism espoused by [PPD leader] Rafael Hernández Colón and his cohort in "struggle" Sen. Miguel Hernández Agosto.

At the first attack by [prostatehood Gov.] Carlos Romero Barceló, we saw these illustrious crybabies swear loyalty to Washington and to American citizenship.

The Internationalist Workers League considers the resolution approved by the UN a step forward in our people's struggle for true independence. Nevertheless, we totally reject the inclusion

of "free association" as a formula for decolonization of Puerto Rico, given the kind of economic and monopolistic control by the United States of Puerto Rico. We think it is important to be very clear that more than 70 percent of our economy is controlled by North American finance capital.

So-called "free association" is no guarantee that our productive and economic activities will be controlled by Puerto Rico and in the interests of our people.

It is necessary to be absolutely clear with the masses. The only independence is or can be real self-determination—economic as well as political independence from the United States. Only when we are independent will we be able to effectively control our economic life and our development as a people.

We shouldn't open the door to confusion. We don't in any way intend to allow the colonialists, whether they are annexationists, free-statists, or free-associationists, to use the moral authority that a decision of the UN carries to sow confusion and reinforce imperialist oppression in Puerto Rico.

We call on the independence movement and on revolutionary forces to use the positive aspects of this resolution to organize a campaign on a national scale around the different aspects of the resolution. At the same time, we should give a united rebuff to the opportunist interpretations of the resolution made by the Popular Democratic Party and the New Progressive Party, showing these people up for what they really are—mere cops of U.S. imperialism.

Who owns the railroads?

By Dick Roberts

(Sixth of a series)

At the turn of the century the railroad trusts were the most powerful financial groupings in this country. The New York Central empire of the Vanderbilts; J.P. Morgan's Southern, Atlantic Coast Line, Reading, Lehigh Valley, and Erie railroads; E.H. Harriman's Illinois Central, Union Pacific, and Southern Pacific; the Pennsylvania Railroad, with its Main Line owners—these intersecting financial empires dominated the American economy.

Their owners were well known. They included the wealthiest bankers and industrialists of the day. These personages had commanding authority in American politics.

Today the ownership of railroads is hidden. All railroads pretend to be public services, and a few of them—Amtrak and Conrail—are controlled by quasi-governmental agencies. Before we examine the present owners of the railroad companies it will help to take note of certain dynamics in the American economy that were to have a big impact on railroads in the twentieth century.

Petroleum had been discovered in Pennsylvania after the Civil War, and by the first decade of the twentieth century oil was also produced in Texas and Oklahoma. Automobiles were also first put on the market in the first decade of this century.

Just as investment capital had flowed massively into railroads in the previous century, it would now penetrate oil and auto on an even grander scale. Twentieth-century American industry would be commanded by Ford, General Motors, and the Standard Oil Trust. The railroads would suffer a relative decline in power and profitability.

J.P. Morgan

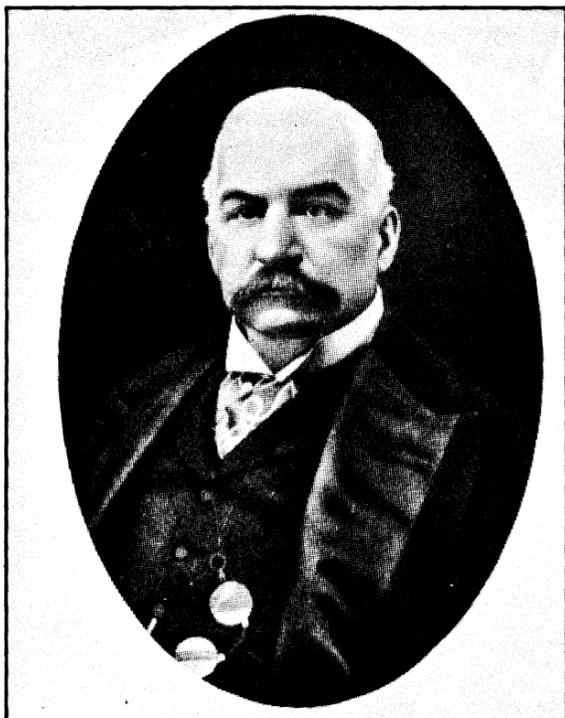
Around the turn of the century *banking* also emerged as pivotal to the capitalist economy. Industrial corporations could no longer manage all their financial needs without turning to the banks for credit.

Especially in times of economic collapse, when industry was short of cash, perhaps even on the verge of bankruptcy, the banks would offer money. But only in return for an increasing control of the industries themselves.

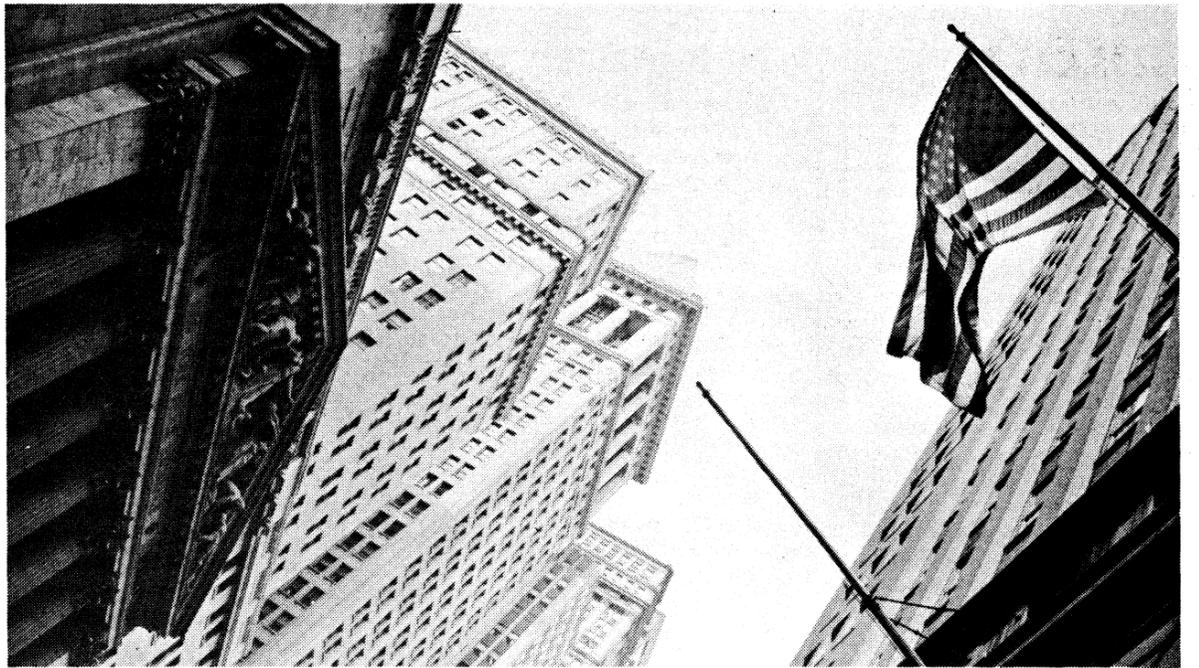
Thus the most powerful of all American banking systems, the "House of Morgan," was directly built out of the railroads. Beginning in the 1880s J.P. Morgan took over and centralized under a single command most of the eastern railroads.

Where previously the railroad companies had engaged in profit-devouring rate wars with each other, Morgan imposed a monopoly of fixed rates through his behind-the-scenes banking manipulations.

Morgan ultimately owned more of the New York Central than Vanderbilt. "The Chesapeake & Ohio was jointly controlled by the Pennsylvania and the New York Central," Peter Lyon writes in *To Hell in a Day Coach*. "The same two roads, through subsidiaries, shared control of the Reading. . . . Blocks of stock of the Lehigh Valley were held by the Erie, the Lackawanna, the Central of New Jersey, and a New York Central subsidiary. . . . This intricate



J.P. MORGAN



Wall Street. Ownership of the railroads is concentrated in the trust funds of the biggest Eastern banks.

web had been most deliberately spun by Pierpont Morgan."

Banks are not permitted to directly own shares of stock. But they do hold vast quantities of stock in trust for the real owners. Furthermore, the banks manage bonds and other credit instruments of corporations. These vital functions give banks a decisive say in the control of corporations.

Banking control of the railroads removed all the more the financial operation of these companies from their day-to-day management. The profit drive would remain the central force behind the railroad industry.

Ruling class

In 1937 Ferdinand Lundberg wrote *America's 60 Families*, a comprehensive study of the American ruling class. Lundberg proved beyond question that a tiny number of families owned and controlled the biggest U.S. corporations as well as the Democratic and Republican parties and the press.

It is interesting to note how important oil, auto, and rail are in the concentration of power of the

tions and banks to see who owns them.

It happens that in the 1970s one of the most far-reaching studies of corporate ownership in American history was undertaken by the late Sen. Lee Metcalf.

Metcalf's results have not gotten the attention they deserve.

Metcalf was never able to locate *who* actual owners of corporations are, but he was able find out *where* their shares are held and *how many* shares are held.

He found that the overwhelming majority of the controlling shares of the biggest U.S. corporations are held in trust funds of the major eastern banks. In many cases the banks themselves *vote* these stocks and consequently directly do control the corporations even though banks don't own the stocks.

Morgan Guaranty Trust

Metcalf listed the controlling interests in the 124 largest U.S. corporations in a report entitled *Voting Rights in Major Corporations*, released by the Senate Committee on Governmental Affairs in January 1978.

This showed that the Morgan Guaranty Trust, the direct descendant of J.P. Morgan and Company, held significant interests in eight of the ten largest U.S. railroads—and that it was the biggest shareholder in four of these railroads. (Amtrak and Conrail were not included in Metcalf's report.)

Of the eight largest U.S. railroads Metcalf covered, in which Morgan Guaranty held shares, it ranked as follows: Burlington Northern (largest shareholder); Chessie System (seventeenth largest); Norfolk & Western (first); Santa Fe (first); Seaboard Coastline (tenth); Southern Pacific (fifth); Southern Railway (first); Union Pacific (thirteenth).

The value of Morgan Guaranty's share holdings in the four railroads where it has the largest holdings are:

Burlington Northern	\$25,186,400
Norfolk & Western	\$26,428,951
Santa Fe	\$24,653,298
Southern Railway	\$58,174,842

In 1978 these four trust funds held by Morgan Guaranty will reap \$8.6 million in dividends.

Of the two other largest U.S. railroads among the ten listed in Metcalf's report, the main shareholders in the Chicago Milwaukee Corporation (Milwaukee Road) were Robert Reed, a director, and the Kaplan Family Interests. The main holders of the Rock Island were the Norris Family, International Mining Corporation, and the Crown Family.

From railroad to railroad the pattern is little different. The largest numbers of shares are held by a few private individuals, their bank trust departments, or ruling-class brokerage houses and other stock-holding companies.

The profits from the companies, raked off in quarterly dividends and semiannual bond-interest payments, go to the ruling-class owners. These profits are the central concern of the railroad companies. We will see in the next article how even railroad bankruptcies are simply another form of the ruling-class exploitation of railroad workers.

(next: railroad bankruptcies)



American ruling class. Lundberg listed the following nine family groupings, in descending order, as the most wealthy out of the "Sixty."

- | | |
|------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Rockefeller | Oil |
| 2. Morgan | Banking, steel, rail |
| 3. Ford | Auto |
| 4. Harkness | Oil |
| 5. Mellon | Aluminum, oil |
| 6. Vanderbilt | Rail |
| 7. Whitney | Oil |
| 8. Standard Oil Group* | |
| 9. Du Pont | Chemicals, auto |

It is commonly thought that the "Robber Barons," who admittedly ruled American industry in the nineteenth century, somehow disappeared in the twentieth. Lundberg showed that in the 1930s this was far from the case. And neither is it true today.

Trust funds

The truth is that the American ruling class *conceals its wealth*. Ownership of stocks and bonds is secret. Not even the U.S. government itself has been able to pry open the secret books of corpora-

*In the Standard Oil Trust, the dominant family was the Rockefeller family. The next most powerful partners were the Harkness and Whitney families. Lundberg then grouped a third echelon of families in the Standard Oil Trust as the eighth most wealthy sector of the American ruling class. Today this trust includes Exxon, Mobil, and Standard Oil of California.

Quote unquote

"1977 may just have been a bad year."

—A Bureau of Labor Statistics statistician 'explaining' a 21 percent jump in workplace fatalities.

ARMY MUST YIELD A-TEST FILES

A federal judge has ruled that the army must turn over films and recordings of a 1953 atomic bomb test to a former GI who says he got cancer as a result of exposure to the blast. Stanley Jaffee, forty-seven, was one of thousands of soldiers ordered to stand only 3,000 yards from the blast. The soldiers were then ordered to march toward the rising mushroom cloud.

Jaffee has breast cancer. He is seeking \$13 million in damages.

BLACK PRESS ON LEO HARRIS...

"Leo Harris, a black political activist who supporters claim was framed by Miami police because of political views and activities, was cleared last week of charges stemming from his involvement in a pro-

'National security' no excuse

The government may not set up "mail covers" in the name of national security, a federal judge ruled November 28 in the case of Lori Paton, a young New Jersey woman suing the FBI. In a mail cover, government agents note return addresses and names on all mail sent to a targeted group.

In 1973, Paton, then fifteen, wrote to the Socialist Workers Party, seeking information for a high school project. An FBI agent visited her school principal, and the bureau opened a file on her.

"National security is too ambiguous and broad a term," Judge Lawrence Whipple declared. "The memory of the lawlessness that masqueraded as 'national security' searches is too close to the memory of this court."

test demonstration last August in support of Haitian refugees," read a front-page story in the November 23 *Miami Times*, a Black weekly.

The story went on to describe how Harris, a member of the Socialist Workers Party, had been charged after a cop ran him down in a car. The story also described the widespread support Harris won.

...AND ON RIGHT-WING ATTACKS ON SWP

"Socialists Gain Support of Aldermen in Gas Bomb-throwing Incident," reported the *Louisville Defender* on the front page of its November 23 issue. The article described the

new support won by the Socialist Workers Party in its efforts to fight the campaign of right-wing violence that resulted in a gas grenade attack on an SWP election rally November 4.

FBI TRIAL TO OPEN IN JANUARY

Former FBI Director L. Patrick Gray and two top aides will almost certainly stand trial in January, charged with ordering illegal break-ins. A federal judge last month refused to dismiss the charges.

The defendants claim that more than 1,500 government documents vital to their defense have been destroyed. The documents, they say, would prove that the break-ins had been common practice for years.

The government asserts that copies of "virtually" all relevant documents are still available.

INS RAIDS START AGAIN

The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) has conducted new raids against businesses to apprehend undocumented workers. Such raids had been largely halted after a judge declared the INS could not use criminal search warrants—used to seek evidence—to enter a place of business and arrest undocumented workers.

The INS responded in at least one case by getting a civil

New, improved Doomsday

In his inaugural address, Jimmy Carter told us he wanted nothing more than to rid the world of nuclear weapons. Since then, his administration has cynically engaged in a series of disarmament negotiations—the SALT talks—with the Soviet Union.

But meanwhile, the Pentagon's Dr. Strangeloves have been given a free hand to develop more efficient ways to destroy the world. Here are a few examples of their successes.

- The Mark 12A, a nuclear warhead with a 350-kiloton punch (the Hiroshima A-bomb was 12.5 kilotons). A 350-kiloton A-blast will knock down buildings in a three-mile radius and kill half the people within a mile and a half. The warhead can be dropped within 600 feet of its target

from 5,000 miles away.

- The Trident submarine-launched missile, with a range of 4,000 miles. Each missile carries eight warheads with a 100-kiloton load apiece.

- The cruise missile warhead of 200 kilotons. The cruise missile is so accurate it can be counted on to hit its target almost exactly. A B-52 bomber can carry twenty.

- The neutron shell, little brother to the neutron bomb, with an "improved" twenty-mile range. The neutron shell kills not with blast and heat but with "enhanced" atomic radiation.

While the federal government cuts back on vital social services, the tax dollars of working people go increasingly to develop and build these fiendish weapons of mass destruction.



'The only serious drawback I can see about bringing this weapon into production is that it might bring civilization, as we know it, to an end.'

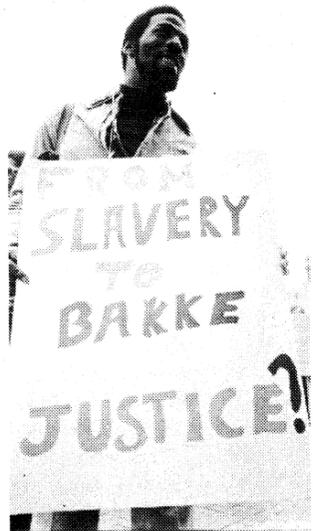
Fewer Black medical students

Although total medical school enrollment went up this fall, the percentage of first-year Black students declined to 6.4 percent, down from last year's 6.7 percent. The number of first-year Black students dropped to 1,064 from 1,085. The proportion of Black first-year medical students is now the lowest since 1970.

The decline in Black enrollment shows the continuing impact of the Supreme Court's *Bakke* decision. In the *Bakke* case, the Court ruled that a white engineer was the victim of "reverse discrimination" because he was denied admission to a medical school that had a special-admissions program for minorities.

Medical students, according to the Association of American Medical Colleges, are 86.4 percent white, 5.7

percent Black, 2.6 percent Asian-American, 0.3 percent Indian, 3.6 percent Hispanic, and 24.3 percent female.



Militant/Lou Howort

What's Going On

MASSACHUSETTS BOSTON

FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE 'MILITANT' RALLY & BANQUET. Speaker: Harry Ring, former editor of the *Militant* and political committee member of the Socialist Workers Party. Greetings from Boston political and community figures. Sat., Dec. 9, 6:30 dinner (full-course gourmet meal); 8 p.m. rally. Community Church, 565 Boylston St. (at Copley Sq.). Donation: \$5 (banquet & rally); \$2 (rally only). For more information call (617) 262-4621.

MINNESOTA ST. PAUL

SPORTS IN AMERICA: A RADICAL VIEW. Speaker: Dennis Richter, Socialist Workers Party; others. Fri., Dec. 15, 8 p.m. 375 University Ave. Donation: \$1.25. A usp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 222-8929.

PENNSYLVANIA PITTSBURGH

MEMORIAL MEETING FOR RUTH QUERIO. Wed., Dec. 13, 7:30 p.m. 5504 Penn Ave. A usp: Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (412) 441-1419.

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.

The Mounties' victims are shown to be Québec nationalists, trade unionists, Native militants, the New Democratic Party, farmers organizations, socialists, and other political dissidents.

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warrant instead. This was done for a November 17 raid on a Washington, D.C., restaurant. Fourteen workers without papers were arrested in the raid.

TWO KILLINGS DELAYED

The Utah Supreme Court agreed December 4 to postpone a double execution. Dale Pierre and William Andrews, both Black, were scheduled to be shot December 7. The two were

convicted of murder four years ago. Their attorneys argued that the issues of racism and the death penalty had not been heard. They will present their appeal to the state supreme court at a future time.

SWP VOTE TOTALS

The Socialist Workers Party ran candidates in twenty-five states and in Washington, D.C., in the November elections. Due to restrictive ballot laws and unequal media coverage, vote totals for SWP candidates are often delayed. In some states, write-in totals will not appear for months.

Following are SWP returns for Illinois.

Pat Grogan, U.S. Senate: 15,922 (0.5 percent); Cecil Lampkin and Dennis Braský, governor and lieutenant governor: 11,026 (0.3 percent); Marie Cobbs, secretary of state: 10,247 (0.3 percent); Guy Miller, attorney general: 13,366 (0.4 percent); John Eriksen, comptroller: 17,116 (0.5 percent); Randi Lawrence, treasurer: 15,411 (0.4 percent); Jo-Ann Della-Giustina, University of Illinois trustee: 47,191 (1.4 percent); John Pottinger, U. of I. trustee: 29,480 (0.9 percent); Lee Kail, U. of I. trustee: 20,071 (0.6 percent).

In Kentucky, SWP congressional candidate Jim Burfeind, running in Louisville's Third C.D., received 410 votes, or 0.9 percent of the total.



200 defend Palestinian rights



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

About 200 people came to a New York City meeting December 1 called in defense of Palestinian rights. Speakers included Shafiq al-Hout, the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization at the United Nations; Israeli attorney Lea Tsemel (shown speaking), who has defended numerous Palestinian political prisoners; and Sami Esmail, an American citizen of Palestinian descent recently freed after spending ten months in an Israeli jail. The meeting was sponsored by the Palestine Solidarity Committee.

NEWSBOYS WIN

A group of nineteen newsboys—average age eleven—won a holiday bonus and higher pay from the *Cinton* (Iowa) *Herald* after threatening to strike. The carriers won a one-dollar Thanksgiving bonus, an extra two cents per subscription, and earlier delivery hours. They had declared they would refuse to deliver a special Thanksgiving edition if their demands were not met.

HARSH SENTENCES FOR SEABROOK PROTESTERS

Ten people arrested in protests at the Seabrook, New Hampshire nuclear power plant construction site were slapped with sixty day jail terms at hard labor December 1, as well as \$200 fines. The ten, arrested October 7, had been charged with criminal trespass.



OUT NOW!

A Participant's Account of the American Movement Against the Vietnam War
by Fred Halstead

The first comprehensive history of the antiwar movement is now available! Fred Halstead traces the movement from its roots in the early ban-the-bomb movement, through the huge demonstrations of 1969-71, to the end of the war in 1975.

Halstead, a longtime socialist and trade unionist, was a leading figure in the antiwar movement. In addition to his own experience, Halstead draws on extensive correspondence, minutes, and documents of antiwar committees and coalitions. A thirty-two-page photo section is included.

A Monad Press book, 789 pages, \$8.95 paperback.
Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Please include \$.75 for postage and handling.

Prefire sale—A mail order operator offers uncut diamonds at \$8.95 per half-carat, advising prospective buyers to act now, "before Africa goes up in flames." "It seems reasonable to suppose," the hype continues, "the value of these diamonds will rise even more sharply when South Africa explodes into full scale warfare. . . ."

Spiritual note—The Los Angeles Police Department, always quite adept at keeping tabs on countless individuals suspected of possible political dissidence, has been having a hard time solving crimes. People ask why they can't apprehend the "slasher," the "strangler," etc. Action is now being taken. The LAPD officially announced it is soliciting the aid of mystics to help with unsolved crimes.

Extremism in Mormonland—A student at Brigham Young University was denied admission to a class because she was wearing pants. Moments later she was admitted wearing a coat over her underwear. In a letter to the campus paper she suggested there was something "perverse" about a dress code that denied her

admission in pants but not barelegged. An official responded that she sounded "like an extremist."

Just what we need—"I am not going to keep my mouth shut. I am going to speak out for peace and for freedom." — Richard Vietnam/Watergate Nixon.

Good theological thinking—The socially oriented Protestant Council of Churches of the City of New York was shaken to learn that its director, Rev. Dan Potter, is the owner of at least eighteen violation-ridden slum buildings in a Black area of Albany. Dr. Potter responded that he bought the buildings to help improve the neighborhood.

Better image—Americans now consume nearly twice as much wine as orange juice. Maybe it's because the wine industry doesn't have an Anita Bryant.

Born-again taxpayer—Our pious president valued improvements on his peanut warehouse at \$500,000 for local tax-payment purposes. He valued the same improvements at \$1 million for federal investment-tax credit.

Union Talk

Death on the tracks

This week's column is by Johanna Ryan, a railroad track worker and a member of Lodge 3012, Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees.

PHILADELPHIA—Two young trackmen were struck and killed here in September by a Metroliner pulling into Amtrak's Thirtieth Street Station.

Dennis Callahan, twenty-two, was cut in two and killed instantly. Peter Wells, twenty-four, died on the way to the hospital.

The newspapers called it a "freak accident." But Amtrak workers knew better. We had all seen this same accident almost happen a thousand times on the tracks. For us, the deaths of our two brothers were all the more horrifying because we knew it could happen to us any day.

Carelessness killed Pete and Dennis. Not the carelessness of one man but the institutionalized carelessness of a company that thinks nothing of risking workers' lives to save a few dollars.

One simple precaution—the posting of a watchman—could have prevented the whole tragedy. But for Amtrak, that was too much trouble.

Let me explain a few things about track work and track safety. It's common for work to be done on tracks over which trains are constantly running. At Amtrak, most work is done this way. Even when one track is shut down, the surrounding tracks are "live."

On the Northeast Corridor, trains travel at speeds up to 100 miles per hour. That's 150 feet per second. They don't make much noise, especially when traveling on modern welded rail.

When you're working bent over, using noisy machinery or hand tools, even the loudest freight train can go unnoticed . . . until it's too late.

The only protection a track gang has is one or more watchmen, stationed up ahead of the gang, equipped with flags and air horns, and devoting all their attention to watching for trains.

Safety rules require a watchman to give fifteen seconds' warning. That's not much, but it's all the protection we have.

Pete and Dennis had been working on

or about Track 5 all that morning, preparing to install some new welded rail.

They were working just inside the station tunnel; visibility was poor. But they didn't have a watchman. The general foreman had told them to watch out for each other—which is impossible to do and work at the same time.

We learned the details from a company official who came out to our toolhouses to explain what happened. His "explanation"? Pete and Dennis just hadn't been careful enough.

They hadn't been mindful of Safety Rule 3292, which says that "employees must be constantly on the lookout for their own safety." In other words, it was their own fault.

Why hadn't they had a watchman? Because company rules stated that it was safe for two or fewer employees to work without watchmen.

Would this rule be changed now? No, that would not be "practicable." Not profitable, was what he meant.

No one can say just how alert Pete and Dennis were to the danger they faced. But no one can deny that if there had been a watchman out on Track 5 that morning, they would be alive today.

The company knows this. Meanwhile they continue to skimp on watchmen. Their policy amounts to a guarantee that more of us will be killed. They can try to fool the public by talking about "freak accidents." It's murder, in my book.

At a recent local meeting, our lodge was re-named the Wells-Callahan Memorial Lodge. The action reflected the grief and anger felt by union members. But there's also a deep sense of frustration.

Faced with a government that supports the railroad bosses and a union leadership that opposes any effort to fight back, many track workers feel powerless.

But we're not powerless. The rail strike last fall showed us that we have the power to shut this country down. What we have to start talking about in our unions is how to use that power to defend our members against the greed of the railroad corporations.

That's the only "safety device" we'll ever be able to count on.

Free speech for students!

A major political battle between students and the University of California administration exploded on the Berkeley campus in the fall of 1964. The central issue was whether students had a right to organize activities on campus in support of the southern civil rights movement. To fight for this right, the students formed a movement that involved and inspired thousands of students at Berkeley and across the country.

Many of the students who entered the University of California at Berkeley that fall were affected by the militant actions of Blacks in the South. They were eager to lend their support. The university administration, in an attempt to stifle the political mood on campus, informed the students that they had no rights. They could not set up literature tables, collect money, from organizations, or organize meetings for "off campus" political activities.

Not only did the administration's attempt fail, but it evoked widespread anger at this blatant denial of students' basic democratic rights of speech and assembly.

Students responded to this attack by forming the Free Speech Movement. This broad group included civil rights activists and political organizations from the Young Socialist Alliance and the DuBois Clubs to the Young Republicans and the University Society of Individualists. The FSM directly challenged the administration by simply not abiding by the rules. They organized literature tables to be set up on campus.

University President Clark Kerr called in the police superintendent. The cops selected Jack Weinberg, a leader of the FSM, for arrest. A crowd of students gathered around the literature table where the arrest was taking place. The cop insisted that they keep quiet and let him make the arrest or he would "take all of you." As the crowd was growing to hundreds a cry arose, "Take us all!" Six hundred students surrounded the patrol car, demanding Weinberg's release. Thirty hours later the patrol car had not moved.

This incident sparked the militant actions that took place later that fall. On December 2, 1,000 students sat-in at Sproul Hall, the campus administration building. The students vowed to occupy the building until the administration agreed to discuss the issue of freedom of speech with the students and come to an agreement with them.

Then President Kerr brought out his big guns. He called on Gov. Edmund Brown, father of the current California governor, who ordered 600 cops onto campus to smash the sit-in. More than 800 students were brutally dragged off and arrested. But still they were not stopped. They called a general strike. The university was paralyzed.

From December 3 to December 7 the students brought the university to a halt. They organized and dispatched pickets to buildings across the campus. The Teamsters and the head of the Building and Construction union sent messages of support. Many truckers turned their rigs around, honoring the students' picket lines. The faculty voted unanimously to throw their support behind the FSM demands. Daily rallies were called with as many as 10,000 students attending to voice their outrage.

The students won many of their rights to organize on campus. But the significance and impact of the FSM went far beyond its initial free-speech demands. It heightened the political consciousness of tens of thousands of Berkeley students.

Many of the activists involved in the Free Speech Movement went on to form the Vietnam Day Committee, demanding that U.S. troops get out of Vietnam and for an end to university complicity with the war. This committee played an important role in the early antiwar movement.

The struggle in Berkeley was significant for another reason. It took place in a period before the working class had yet recovered from the 1950s witch-hunt.

The January 4, 1965, *Militant* noted that "even in the absence of a challenge by labor to the capitalist power structure and in the absence of a major economic crisis . . . youth are questioning the course prescribed by their elders. They have expressed through their actions at Berkeley their loss of confidence in the future of cold-war liberalism and are searching for a different road."

It's fourteen years later. Times have changed. Today the opportunities for independent political action are far better. There is a new rise of militancy in the labor movement, which carries the weight needed to decisively alter the course of politics in America.

Students have been affected by this new political mood. When the miners walked out last winter on their long, militant strike, students organized support committees on their campuses. During recent months students have organized anti-apartheid actions calling for university divestment and no U.S. aid to the racist South African government. As the Iranian people demand, "Down with the shah!" American students have organized protests against President Carter, demanding, "No U.S. aid to the bloody dictator."

The Berkeley Free Speech Movement was an early warning to the university administrations and the government. It helped pave the way for future actions by students and eventually working people against the oppressive capitalist system.

—Priscilla Schenk

CP distorts speech

The November 2 *Daily World*, newspaper of the American Communist Party, in its account of the U.S. Steelworkers convention, included distortions that should not pass unnoticed in connection with the speech former Soviet dissident Pyotr Grigorenko made there.

Rick Nagin, the article's author, chose to mention Grigorenko's speech when dealing with the tactics marshalled by the union bureaucrats at the convention to intimidate their rank-and-file opponents. Nagin says: "To top it off, Petro Grigorenko, an aged, former Soviet mental patient, was trotted out to ask the convention to believe that conditions in Russia were better under the czar."

The only section of Grigorenko's speech Nagin could be referring to was when Grigorenko was elaborating on the massive and militant character of the opposition to bureaucratic tyranny in the USSR today.

He said: "We can measure the strength of today's movement by comparing two separate eras. During the height of revolutionary activity

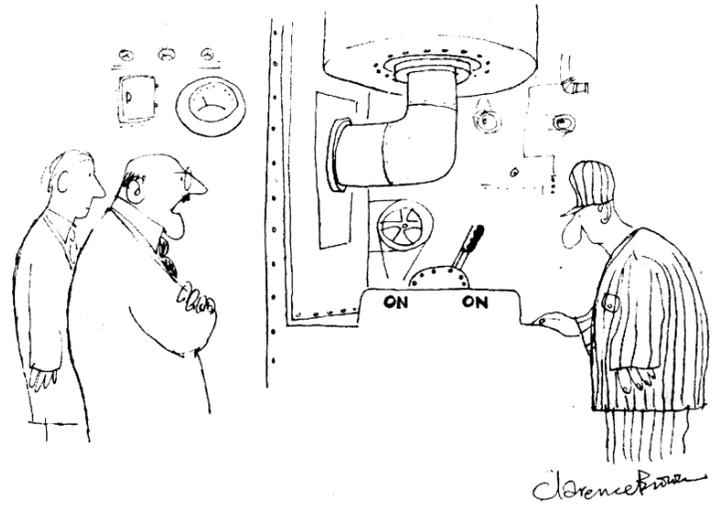
Grigorenko made a personal protest to the union officials against the goon attacks on those distributing literature outside the convention hall. Those attacked, by the way, included not only members of the SWP but members of the Communist Party as well.

Marilyn Vogt
New York, New York

Rejects CP's gay stand

The November 10 *Militant* article on the Communist Party's record on gay rights was an eye-opener for a budding Marxist working with the Gay Activists Alliance of New Jersey who's just recently become interested in the revolutionary Marxist political alternatives and involvement in liberation struggles.

He was considering joining the CP due to their involvement in labor struggles and recent reports that the CP has now "included" gay rights in their party program. But when I showed him the CP's record on gay rights and present policy towards the party's actions in that field, his belief that Trotskyism is a Marxist force was reinforced



Clarence Brown
Texas AFL-CIO News

Very simple concept, but his productivity has skyrocketed!

in tsarist Russia, from 1902-1912, the army was called out four times to smash workers' uprisings and three times to quell rebellions in the navy. In a ten-year span during Soviet rule, from 1962-1972, the army was called out twenty times to smash workers, including eight times in the Ukraine."

One could make a case that Stalin and his heirs were more repressive than the tsars were, but Grigorenko was not speaking of that in the above passage. It is Nagin, in his zeal to make Grigorenko look bad, who has concluded from Grigorenko's facts that therefore "conditions in Russia were better under the czar."

Concerning a second distortion, Grigorenko was a "former mental patient" because the Kremlin rulers sent him to a psychiatric hospital prison for more than five years to punish him for his defense of democratic rights. They said he suffered from that well-known mental disease: "reformist illusions."

The third distortion is in the context. Grigorenko was not a witting tool of the McBride bureaucracy's intimidation campaign at the convention. In fact, as the *Militant* reported,

greatly. To him, the *Militant* tells the truth about what's going on both at home and abroad and within the international revolutionary struggles.

I congratulate Diane Wang on her powerful article on the CP's stand on gay rights. I have been a Socialist Workers Party supporter since the anti-Vietnam War days and am renewing my subscription to the *Militant*. You tell it like it is.

John Aschov
Jersey City, New Jersey

K.C. Iran picket

The article in the November 24 issue reporting the actions that have taken place around the country in opposition to continued U.S. support to the shah of Iran was quite inspiring. However, there was a factual error in the report from Kansas City.

Seventy people picketed on November 9, the day before Carter was due into town. The next morning, a picket of more than 600 Iranian students and their supporters mobilized outside the Municipal

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Lenin's 'State and Revolution'

Auditorium, where Carter was to address the National Future Farmers of America conference.

This conference was attended by some 17,000 young people, both high school and college age.

The main theme of the demonstration was the demand for the United States to get out of Iran. Some 3-5,000 future farmers watched this demonstration, with upwards of 10 of the young conference participants joining in at various times.

The most inspiring thing for those picketing was one young conference participant from Wisconsin, who marched with us. His peers tried to force him out of the picket, demanding that he remove his Future Farmers of America jacket. He was pulled out several times by some of his adult advisers, but kept breaking away and returning to the picket.

His participation sparked many discussions between demonstrators and the young onlookers, many of whom argued with their adult advisers that they thought the demonstration was right. So much for the bourgeois media's attempt to convince the American people that young people are getting more conservative!

Sandi Sherman
Kansas City, Missouri

Department store strike

On November 10, 350 employees at five Joseph Magnin department stores and one warehouse began their strike. The striking workers are members of Department Store Employees Local 1100.

A major strike issue concerns a new commission plan recently instituted by the company. This commission plan would mean that salespeople would not make any commission income until they had reached a quota of sales. The company insists that under its new plan every wage increase will automatically raise the quota. This is an obvious attack on the income of the employees. In contrast to Joseph Magnin's, most sales employees at Macy's and the Emporium (both covered by Local 1100 contracts) do not have any quotas, and those who do have frozen quotas that can't be raised by a wage increase.

On November 11 there was a spirited picket line and rally of more than 100 people at the largest of the five stores being struck.

Don Harmon
San Francisco, 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.

Although all Americans are supposed to have equal rights under the law, elected officials, judges, and cops show little respect for the rights of workers, women, or oppressed nationalities.

They hit striking workers with injunctions, fines, and jail terms, while employers who violate contracts or endanger health and safety go unpunished.

Cops shoot down Black children and get away with it, but the government never seems to have enough "authority" to crack down effectively on racist discrimination.

And when the economy goes downhill, it is always working people who are asked to sacrifice, even though they can least afford to do so, while tax breaks and other "incentives" are offered to big business.

So it's no wonder that more and more Americans are angrily asking, "Why does the government come down on the side of the rich?"

The best answer will be found in a pamphlet written by Lenin in the midst of the Russian revolution of 1917. *State and Revolution* explains the origins and nature of the capitalist state briefly and powerfully.

In early human societies, Lenin explains, no state existed. Decisions were made by the whole group, or on the basis of common beliefs and traditions. Because all group members had common basic interests, no special army or police force was needed to control the population.

As human productivity improved, and society's wealth grew beyond the minimum simply required for survival, a few people came to monopolize that wealth. The vast majority had to work for this minority. Instead of being united by common interests, society was now divided by an irreconcilable conflict between the rich and the laboring masses.

Lenin explains that the state was established by the property-owning class to protect its wealth and ensure the submission of the laboring majority. It is a "special repressive force" with "special bodies of armed men having prisons, etc., at their command."

The state has undergone many transformations. The state that served the slaveowners in ancient Greece and Rome was replaced by the feudal state adapted to the needs of kings, nobles, the church, and other big landowners. The revolutions and wars of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries established capitalist states that served big industrialists, bankers, and merchants.

But one thing remains unchanged: all states defend the interests of the ruling class. In this basic sense, a capitalist state such as the United States is a *dictatorship of the capitalists*, even if elections are held and a degree of democratic rights is allowed.

This used to be frankly admitted by procapitalist thinkers. The eighteenth century economist Adam Smith wrote, "Civil government, so far as it is instituted for the

security of property, is in reality instituted for the defense of the rich against the poor."

Nor did the founding fathers of the United States have any doubt about whose interests the new state was to protect. They disenfranchised women, Blacks, and those without property. The Bill of Rights was added to the Constitution only as a concession to popular demands.

But as the oppressed—especially the working class—grew more numerous, better organized, and more powerful the capitalist class was forced to disguise its rule. It yielded to demands for universal adult suffrage and began to present the state as an instrument of majority rule serving "all the people."

The conflict between this ideology and the real performance of the capitalist state underlies many contradictions that working people see today.

The essential nature of the capitalist state was shown in Chile. The Popular Unity government, which took office in 1970, told the masses that a progressive society could be created by reforming the capitalist state. This was part of its overall strategy of collaborating with bourgeois forces. In this way, the government prepared its own overthrow.

When the U.S. and Chilean rulers found that the existence of democratic rights threatened their dominance, they forcibly removed the elected government and suppressed democratic rights.

The capitalists carried out this shift and continue to rule Chile today through the army, police, and bureaucratic institutions that they created long before to serve their interests.

Chile showed the truth of Lenin's argument that workers can't simply take over the capitalist state machine. They must dismantle it and create their own state, following the example of the Russian workers who established a government based on workers, peasants, and soldiers councils in October 1917.

In the United States the capitalists govern through the Republican and Democratic parties. Regardless of the promises capitalist politicians make to get elected, their job in office is to press the rulers' attacks on working people.

Working people need to act independently of the Democratic and Republican politicians in order to defend their rights and living standards. The state these demagogues uphold will yield nothing significant to working people without a struggle. That's why the Socialist Workers Party seeks to build a mass party of, by, and for working people as part of the fight to establish a government that will defend the oppressed and not their enemies.

Lenin's *State and Revolution* shows why the opposite course—trusting the capitalist parties and politicians to solve our problems—has only led to setbacks.

—Fred Feldman

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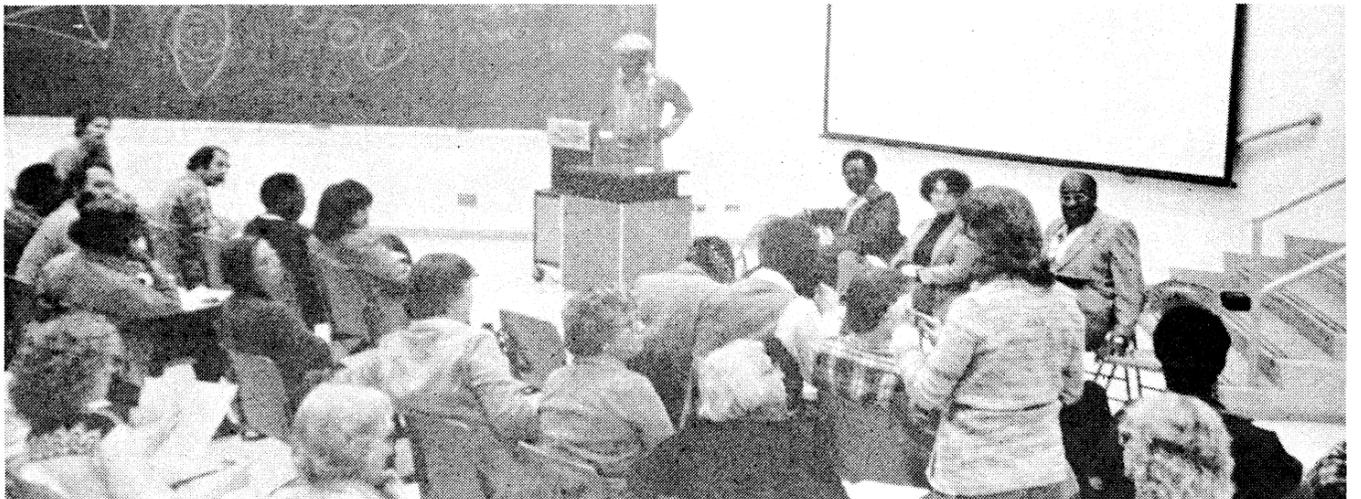
Defend Black job rights!

Labor, civil rights, women's groups unite to oppose 'Weber' suit

By Joel Aber

NEW ORLEANS—Leaders of labor unions, Black organizations, student groups, and the women's movement met here November 30 and launched a committee to defend affirmative action and overturn the *Weber* decision.

Eighty people attended the meeting at the Southern University of New Orleans. Included were elected officials of the two largest union locals in the area, representing New Orleans dockworkers and teachers, as well as repre-



Militant/Scott Breen

NEW ORLEANS—Participants in anti-'Weber' meeting agreed to launch educational campaign and call rally next March.

BULLETIN

CHICAGO, Dec. 5—United Steelworkers District 31 will sponsor a public meeting to oppose the 'Weber' decision, delegates to a district civil rights conference decided today.

Anti-'Weber' resolutions were submitted by USWA locals 1010, 1014, and 1033. Guest speakers, including USWA vice-president Leon Lynch, sharply condemned the new wave of attacks on Black rights, epitomized by the 'Weber' case.

In response to strong sentiment among delegates for action on the case, District 31 Director Jim Balanoff agreed that a protest meeting would be held within ninety days.

representatives of the steelworkers, painters, and piledrivers.

Brian Weber, a white steelworker in Gramercy, Louisiana, has sued to overturn the affirmative-action program negotiated by the United Steelworkers of America in its contract with Kaiser Aluminum. (For background, see box below.)

The meeting at Southern University was especially significant because union officials have begun to take the lead, together with Black community and women's movement leaders, in a campaign to defend equal job rights

for Blacks and women. This unity reflects a growing awareness that Weber's suit against the USWA contract is an attempt to divide and weaken the entire labor movement.

Rev. Isidore Booker, chairperson of the Civil Rights Committee of USWA Local 13000, called *Weber* "the most far-reaching case that affects affirmative action since its inception. The *Bakke* case reaches only a certain segment of the population that is in university programs," Booker said, but the outcome of *Weber* will affect "everyone who belongs to a union, everyone who works for a living."

Booker called for the representatives present to "mobilize your forces. The courts keep their ears to the ground, you know. They're human beings."

Black State Rep. Avery Alexander concluded with the same theme: "The Supreme Court heard Martin Luther King on his march from Selma to Montgomery. . . . Don't let anyone tell you they can't hear you. They listen to the voices of the people. We're people, and we're going to be listened to."

Sara Jeffries, vice-president of the New Orleans chapter of the National

Organization for Women, pledged NOW's support to the anti-*Weber* campaign.

The meeting was chaired by Rashaad Ali, a Black railroad worker active in United Transportation Union Local 1060. Ali called on participants in the meeting to take their inspiration from the kind of unity demonstrated in the July 9 march on Washington for the Equal Rights Amendment.

In that march, Ali said, NOW, unions, and civil rights groups marched side by side to ensure that the U.S. Senate would listen. "These are the forces we need to mobilize in the battle to defeat Brian Weber."

The meeting approved a proposal to call a big public rally during the first week of March to educate about *Weber* and to marshal support for affirmative action.

Signers of the proposal included Willie Montgomery, Louisiana AFL-

CIO field representative; Benjamin Lewis, representing the Urban League of Greater New Orleans; Clarence Crayton, representing Service Employees International Union Local 275; as well as Alexander, Ali, Booker, and Jeffries.

Paul Guillory, vice-president of International Longshoremen's Association Local 1419, the largest ILA local on the Gulf Coast, rose at the meeting to lend his support to the proposal.

Connie Goodly, director of organization for United Teachers of New Orleans, attended the meeting. She told the *Militant* she believed every trade union in New Orleans should become part of the committee.

At its November meeting, the Representative Assembly of the teachers union voted overwhelming approval of an anti-*Weber* resolution and decided to submit the resolution to the New Orleans central body of the AFL-CIO.

Issues in 'Weber' case

The U.S. Supreme Court is expected to announce any day whether it will review the case of *Weber v. Kaiser Aluminum and United Steelworkers*.

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 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. 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.

Contrary to lower-court claims that Kaiser "never discriminated" against Blacks, the *Militant* has published evidence that Kaiser kept its Louisiana plants segregated, excluded Blacks from more desirable jobs, paid Blacks less than whites for doing the same work, and refused to hire qualified Black crafts workers. (See September 22, September 29, and October 13 *Militants*.)

'Enlighten the membership'

NEW ORLEANS—In an interview with the *Militant*, Rev. Isidore Booker, head of the Civil Rights Committee of United Steelworkers Local 13000, described a series of discussions on affirmative action within the union.

Brian Weber had played upon racist prejudices and fears about job security to be elected chief steward at his own USWA Local 5702 at Kaiser's Gramercy plant.

Weber's local, Booker explained, passed a resolution condemning the affirmative-action training program won by the USWA. Weber then had this resolution submitted to Local 13000.

Booker said that he and one of the five women in the local had spoken out against the resolution and persuaded the members present to pass a motion opposing Weber's suit.

Two months later, in the first week of November, racist forces spearheaded by a few older whites caught the defenders of affirmative action off-guard, packed a union meeting, and passed a motion rescinding Local 13000's opposition to *Weber*.

They raised the sacred cow of seniority (for older whites), contend-

ing that the union contract was undermining seniority. The new motion even called on Local 13000 to send \$1,000 to Brian Weber!

At the following local meeting, Booker explained, the Civil Rights Committee secured the presence of Warren "Barney" Morel, USWA sub-district director, for a lengthy discussion on the issues.

"Morel gave a beautiful presentation," Booker said. "He told the local that in unity there is strength, that the affirmative-action program helps all workers. He made the point that Weber has a suit against our own union, and how can we send \$1,000 to a man who's out to invalidate our own union contract?"

Booker added, "One thing we have to be especially elated about. I've had some conversations with some older white workers at the plant. And they immediately acknowledged that what we are saying is right. . . ."

"Our local is suffering from a lack of information. But we will enlighten the membership as to the true meaning of the *Weber* case. Once they get an insight, they are ready to change their minds."
—J.A.