

# THE MILITANT

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

50 years for socialism  
—PAGES 13-18

## Millions march for freedom in Iran As Carter praises butcher shah

The people of Iran are standing up in their millions and demanding an end to the vicious dictatorship of Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi.

"In Tehran, it seemed at times as though all the people in the capital

### An editorial

were in the streets," the *New York Times* commented after the gigantic anti-shah protests of December 10 and 11.

There is no mystery about why the Iranian people have risen up against the shah. They want to read what they want and write what they want without being brutalized by the secret police. They want to speak without fear of reprisals. They want to control their own country and its resources.

In short, the Iranian people are fighting for their freedom and human dignity.

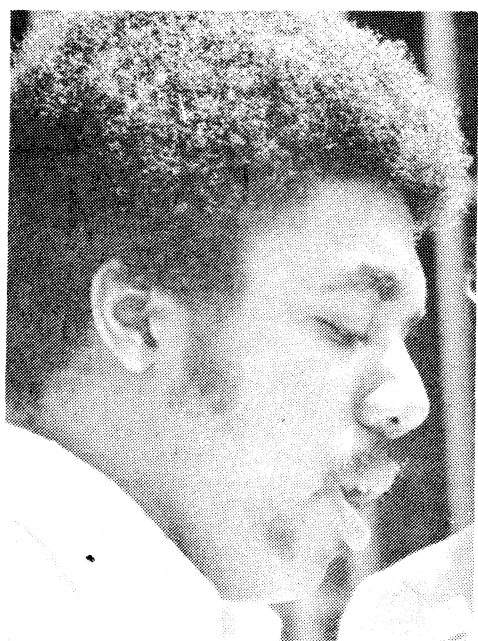
But Jimmy Carter doesn't give a damn about that.

Speaking one day after Amnesty

*Continued on page 2*



TEHRAN, December 11—Masses demand end to shah's dictatorship and denounce U.S. role in Iran. See Page 5.



TONY ADAMS: new evidence points to police cover-up in his murder.

## Demand inquiry into murder of Utah socialist

—PAGE 3

## INFLATION

Democrats  
endorse  
Carter's antilabor  
austerity drive

—PAGE 7

## ...Iran

Continued from page 1

International released proof of continued torture in the shah's dungeons, Carter declared, "The shah has our support, and he also has our confidence."

Even as Carter was speaking, the shah's troops were gunning down protesters in Isfahan from helicopters—helicopters undoubtedly supplied by the Pentagon.

Thousands upon thousands of unarmed demonstrators have been slaughtered by the shah's forces for demanding democracy and economic and social emancipation. But instead of blaming the shah's tyranny for the bloodshed, Carter attacked those fighting for freedom in Iran.

Referring to Ayatollah Khomeyni, the most prominent opposition leader, Carter said that the situation in Iran "has been exacerbated by uncontrolled statements made from foreign nations that encourage bloodbaths and violence."

What a despicable hypocrite!

It is Jimmy "Human Rights" Carter who is encouraging bloodbaths and violence in Iran—by praising the shah's dictatorship and supplying it with billions of dollars worth of arms and thousands of U.S. military advisers.

In order to carry out his counterrevolutionary policy in Iran, Carter has had to consistently lie to the American people. He has been aided in this by the capitalist media, which have portrayed the mass opposition to the butcher's regime as a reactionary religious movement.

Carter's policy of lies shows that he fears the American people as much as he fears the masses in Iran. He fears that the American people will not be taken in by his support to dictators in the name of human rights.

He is right. As the truth about the shah's brutal regime gets out, more and more American workers will join with their sisters and brothers in Iran to demand, "United States get out!"

## Carter's 'human rights' victims

Carter's arrogant attacks on the Iranian people has undermined his self-portrayal as the savior of human rights. But he is trying to brazen it out.

"As long as I am president, the government of the United States will continue to enhance human rights," he intoned on December 6.

But his self-righteous speech struck a defensive note:

"Our human rights policy is not a decoration. It is not something we have adopted to polish up our image abroad, or to put a fresh coat of moral paint on the discredited policies of the past."

Disguised as denial, this is actually an accurate description of what Carter's human rights speechmaking is all about—an attempt to hide the real role of the U.S. imperialism, the worst violator of human rights at home and abroad.

Look at but a few of the victims of Carter's "enhanced" human rights:

**The Wilmington Ten.** Nine have been paroled but Rev. Ben Chavis remains in prison, even though the U.S. government now admits—six years late—that the 1972 trial of the ten was a travesty.

**The Charlotte Three.** Like the Wilmington Ten, these civil rights activists were also jailed in North Carolina on trumped-up charges.

**Ronald Humphrey and David Truong.** They face long prison terms on the charge of giving "secrets" to Vietnam. The Carter administration is using their case to justify wiretapping and other forms of police surveillance on grounds of "national security."

**Tommy Lee Hines.** This Black youth is now serving a thirty-year jail term in Alabama after an all-white jury convicted him of raping three white women.

**Oscar Collaza, Irving Flores, Lolita Lebron, Rafael Cancel Miranda.** The four Puerto Rican nationalists remain in prison after more than twenty-five years because they won't give up their commitment to Puerto Rican independence.

A growing number of teachers, miners, and other unionists have also been recipients of Carter-style human rights, serving jail terms because they exercised the right to strike and picket. And in Puerto Rico, **Antonio Merle**, a union official and socialist, is being threatened with jail for his union's organizing efforts.

In Mexico, the U.S. government gives a clean human rights bill of health to a sinister regime that kidnaps, tortures, and murders political activists.

Carter is even trying to deport two such activists—**Héctor Marroquín** and **José Medina**—into the hands of the Mexican regime's executioners.

And he continues to support the racist South

African regime, which is now trying eleven Black youths for the "crime" of leading protests against apartheid.

Carter and his ilk have no interest in human rights in the United States or anywhere else. The system they defend can only survive by violating human rights.

But working people in this country have a very real stake in the battle for human rights. "An injury to one is an injury to all" is an old slogan that gives voice to this basic truth. The fight to free all victims of capitalist repression needs to be continued, broadened, and intensified in 1979.

## Defeat Weber!

The Supreme Court's decision to review the case of *Brian Weber v. Kaiser Aluminum and United Steelworkers* throws the national spotlight on this challenge to affirmative action (see story on page 12).

If the top court upholds Weber's claim of "reverse discrimination," it will become illegal for unions to negotiate affirmative-action provisions in their contracts. In other words, it will become illegal for unions to defend the rights of their women, Black, and *latino* members. Thus *Weber* is a calculated effort to divide and weaken the entire labor movement.

Lower court rulings on *Weber* have outlawed affirmative action except where a particular employer has been found guilty of illegal discrimination—and Kaiser says it never discriminated.

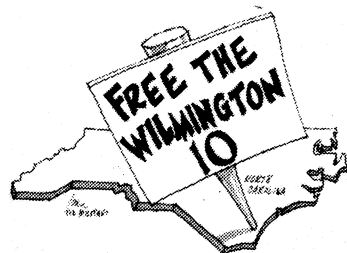
Nothing could be further from the truth. Kaiser kept its Louisiana plants segregated. It restricted Blacks to menial jobs. It even paid Blacks less than whites for doing the same work. Getting out the facts about Kaiser's record will help make clear why affirmative action quotas are necessary to prevent employers from perpetuating discrimination.

A campaign of education and action is urgently needed to defeat *Weber*. The stakes are high—but winnable if the labor, Black, and women's movements take up the fight.

That campaign has already begun in Louisiana with the formation of the New Orleans Committee to Overturn the Weber Decision and Defend Affirmative Action. A rally is planned for March 4. For more information, contact the committee c/o State Rep. Avery Alexander, 2803 Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard, New Orleans, Louisiana, telephone (504) 522-9819.

## Militant Highlights This Week

- 9 Young Socialist Alliance to meet
- 10 Koka tour big success
- 11 Illinois: ratify ERA
- 12 Steel union hits 'Weber' ruling
- 13 50-year fight for socialism
- 16 Rallies hail 'Militant'
- 19 Fight for Rosenberg files
- 6 As I See It
- 12 Steel Notes
- 20 National Picket Line
- 24 In Brief
- What's Going On
- 25 The Great Society
- Union Talk
- 26 Our Revolutionary Heritage
- Letters
- 27 Learning About Socialism
- If You Like This Paper . . .
- WORLD OUTLOOK
- 21 China's political prisons
- 22 Hands off Rudolf Bahrol
- 23 Stalinists harass Dzhemilev



### 'New York Times' smear job

Why is America's big-business daily spreading lies about the frame-up of ten civil rights fighters? Page 6.

### Golda Meir: peacemaker?

The late Zionist leader was directly responsible for the murder of thousands of Arabs. Page 8.



### Death threat against Chicago socialist

A forged letter, like many used in FBI Cointelpro operations, has threatened the life of SWP mayoral candidate Andrew Pulley (left). Page 4.



## The Militant

Editor: MARY-ALICE WATERS  
Managing Editor: STEVE CLARK  
Business Manager: ANDREA BARON

Editorial Staff: Peter Archer, Nancy Cole, David Frankel, Osborne Hart, Cindy Jaquith, Shelley Kramer, Ivan Licho, Omari Musa, Harry Ring, Dick Roberts, Andy Rose, Priscilla Schenk, Arnold Weissberg, Matilde Zimmermann.

Published weekly by the Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone Editorial Office (212) 243-6392; Business Office (212) 929-3486.

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscriptions: U.S. \$15.00 a year, outside U.S. \$20.50. By first-class mail: U.S., Canada, and Mexico: \$42.50. Write for surface and airmail rates to all other countries.

For subscriptions airfreighted to London then posted to Britain and Ireland: £2.50 for ten issues; £5.50 for six months (twenty-four issues); £10 for one year (forty-eight issues). Posted from London to Continental Europe: £4 for ten issues, £8 for six months (twenty-four issues); £13 for one year (forty-eight issues). Send checks or international money orders (payable to Intercontinental Press account) to: Intercontinental Press (The Militant), P.O. Box 50, London N1 2XP, England.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

# Protests urge probe into murder of Utah socialist

By Betsey Stone

SALT LAKE CITY—A broadly endorsed public campaign is under way to demand a full investigation into the brutal murder of Tony Adams, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party here. Adams, a twenty-five-year-old Black bus driver, was well known in Salt Lake as an advocate of gay rights, a fighter against racism, and an outspoken socialist.

Information released by the police at the time of the murder last month did not point clearly to a motive. However, new facts strongly suggest a police cover-up, if not direct police involvement in the killing.

Adams was murdered in his apartment on the November 3 weekend. He had been stabbed repeatedly, and his throat was slashed.

On October 31—just three or four days before the murder—Adams had been in a Salt Lake courtroom, where he successfully defeated a flagrant attempt at entrapment by city cops.

Last June, Adams had been phoned by a man claiming to know him. The caller asked Adams to meet him.

When Adams went to meet the person who had called him, the man pushed money on him with no explanation. Suddenly, two cops jumped out from a hiding spot and charged Adams with illegal sexual solicitation.

As a political person well acquainted with police harassment in Salt Lake, Adams immediately knew what the cops were up to.

Entrapment is standard police procedure in Salt Lake, as in other cities. Once the victim has been arrested, the



TONY ADAMS: New facts about his murder point to a police cover-up, if not direct police involvement in the brutal stabbing.

cops, prosecuting attorneys, and frequently the defense lawyers as well, all gang up to convince the defendant to plead guilty, often to a lesser charge. That way, the cops and lawyers cynically explain, "things will go easier with you"—just a light fine.

Once the conviction is on the record, however, the cops use it as blackmail to put the arm on people, keep them quiet, or force them to act as informers.

For the Salt Lake cops, Adams must have seemed especially valuable prey. He had been a spokesperson at the

pro-gay rights demonstration against Anita Bryant, when she appeared at the state fair.

An active member of the local NAACP, he had helped organize and had addressed a demonstration against the racist and sexist *Bakke* ruling in April.

As treasurer of the Utah Socialist Workers 1978 campaign committee, his name appeared on every piece of SWP election literature distributed here.

If entrapment could break his spirit, the cops hoped, Adams could serve them well as an informer against all these social movements.

But Adams refused to go along with this scenario. He pleaded not guilty.

When he showed up in court October 31, cops and other "witnesses" were on hand to intimidate Adams into changing his mind. But when Adams stood by his rights, the prosecuting attorney was forced to admit to the judge that he had no evidence, and the charges were dropped.

The cops who had sought to frame up Adams—as they prey on scores of others each year—were dealt an unexpected blow.

Is it mere coincidence, then, that Adams was stabbed to death in his apartment only a few days later?

One cop assigned to the murder case now admits that the man who phoned Adams was also a cop.

What was the caller's name?

Shouldn't he—along with the other cops who knew about the case and who carry out similar entrapment—be at the top of any list of "material witnesses"? *Continued on next page*

## ACLU board, NAACP leaders back inquiry

SALT LAKE CITY—Some forty organizations and individuals here have already signed a statement calling for the "fullest and most vigorous possible investigation" into the murder of Tony Adams and other recent violence against gays.

The executive board of the Utah chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union voted unanimously at its December 12 meeting to endorse the statement. It has also been signed by James Dooley, president of the Salt Lake NAACP; Rebecca Fenstermaker, co-coordinator of the Salt Lake National Organization for Women; and the Rev. Robert Waldrop, Metropolitan Community Church.

Pointing out that Adams was "a well-known advocate of gay rights, as well as a socialist and civil rights activist," the statement explains that

"murders such as that of Tony Adams represent a grave threat to all residents of this city, not only gays" and are "a special threat to everyone who wishes to express their views on any question."

A delegation presented the statement to the city's commissioner of public safety and to the mayor's office on December 13. The delegation included Shirley Pedler, executive director of the ACLU; Syd Stapleton, national secretary of the Political Rights Defense Fund; leaders of the Salt Lake Socialist Workers Party; Rev. Waldrop; Joe Redburn, owner of the Sun Tavern and candidate for the state legislature in 1978; Rev. Richard Henry of the Unitarian Church; and others.

The local press turned out in force to cover the delegation: the *Salt Lake Tribune*, three television stations, and radio news reporters.

Other endorsers of the statement include: David Appleby, Utah Committee for University Divestment; Robert Archuleta, chairman of the board of directors of Crossroads Urban Center; Allen Lee Blaich, chairperson of Lesbian and Gay Students Union, University of Utah; and Sandra Craghead, membership chairperson, Salt Lake NOW.

Also signing are: State Rep. Wyllis Dorman-Ligh; Bill Hoyle, 1978 SWP candidate for Congress; the Rev. G.E. Howlett, St. Marks Episcopal Church; retired state historian John Jamen; Father John Langlitz, All Saints Episcopal Church; and Ellen Malcolm, treasurer, Salt Lake NOW.

Also: Ruth Ross, vice-president, Salt Lake NAACP; Dr. Ricardo Sánchez, Chicano studies, University of Utah; and the Rev. John Wade.

## Special holiday offer!



One year of the 'Militant' for \$15. A great gift idea. And for every one-year subscription, we will send you or your friend a copy of 'Out Now,' Fred Halstead's exciting history of the movement against the Vietnam War, for only \$5 . . . a savings of \$4.

Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Enclosed is \$\_\_\_\_\_ (Use extra sheets for more names)

Send a one-year subscription to:

Send 'Out Now' to:

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

State & Zip \_\_\_\_\_

State & Zip \_\_\_\_\_

☐ gift card from:

☐ gift card from:

## We'll be back

This is our last issue for 1978. We'll be taking a two-week breather. Our first issue of 1979 will be dated January 12.

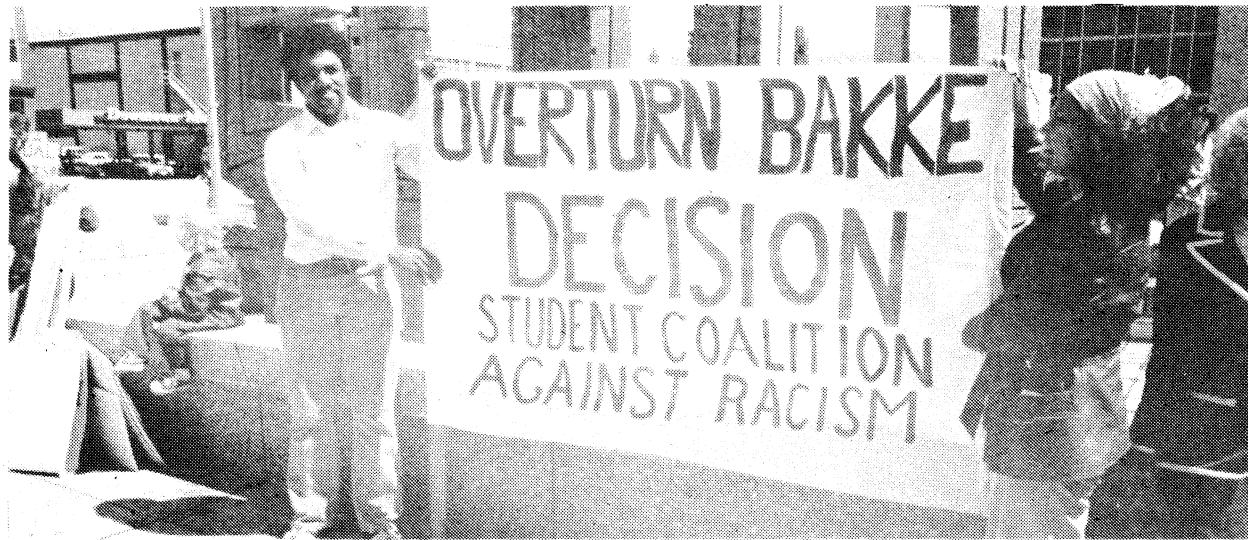
There will be special coverage coming up. We'll report on the Young Socialist Alliance convention to be held over New Year's, and on the rally during the convention to celebrate an historic event—the twentieth anniversary of the Cuban revolution.

We'll continue our reporting of the momentous struggle in Iran. We'll carry news and analysis of the *Weber* "reverse discrimination" case now before the Supreme Court, and more.

Meanwhile, from the entire staff, best socialist greetings for the new year.



# Tony Adams: a young fighter



Tony Adams (left) helped organize anti-'Bakke' protest last April

SALT LAKE CITY—Tony Adams was only twenty-five when he was killed, but his contributions to movements to change society were impressive.

He was a member of the Socialist Workers Party and treasurer of the 1978 socialist campaign of Bill Hoyle for U.S. Congress.

He was a bus driver and was active in his union, the Amalgamated Transit Union, Division 382.

He was a prominent fighter for gay rights.

He was an active member of the NAACP.

Adams hated all forms of racism. In the fall of 1977 he worked with Chicano students and others to build a Utah conference in defense of undocumented workers.

Later he worked with the Ameri-

can Civil Liberties Union and the NAACP to build a picket line in defense of affirmative action and against the notorious *Bakke* decision.

Adams played a leading role in one of the first demonstrations here for gay rights, the 1977 protest against antigay bigot Anita Bryant.

Most recently, he helped set up a committee at the University of Utah to demand divestment of the university's stock from racist South Africa.

Adams was Black, gay, a worker, and a trade unionist. He had a keen appreciation for unity among all those fighting for social change. He would often raise important social issues such as the *Bakke* ruling and women's rights at his union meetings.

Adams joined the SWP in 1977. He was convinced that the only way all the evils of this society would be erased was to change the system that caused these problems. He participated in all the activities of the party, including sales of the *Militant*.

In classes about socialism he always played an active role. This past summer he gave a class on the rise of industrial unions before World War II and the meaning of this for working people today.

Adams worked with and influenced many people. At his funeral were people from all walks of life—young people, old people, students, Blacks, NAACP members, gay activists, women's rights supporters, socialists, Chicanos, and many other friends and comrades. —B.S.

## ...Utah

Continued from preceding page

Far from following such obvious leads, however, Salt Lake police have been less than vigorous in their investigation. They are evasive in answering questions about the investigation.

First they suggested that robbery was the motive. But such valuable items as Adams's television and stereo were not touched. The cops' suggestion that a bicycle and some money may have been taken has turned out to be untrue.

In addition, the cops have refused to release autopsy results to the family and friends of Tony Adams. They insist that such facts are "police business" only.

The indications of a police cover-up and foul play surrounding the Adams murder are even more ominous against the background of the harassment of Blacks, Chicanos, socialists, and of antigay crimes here in Salt Lake.

A Detective Hutchinson of the police vice squad told the local gay newspaper, *The Open Door*, that gays should be warned about a rash of murders of gays in past months. But the cops have not yet said how many gays have been killed.

Is it a coincidence that this same Detective Hutchinson was the arresting officer in the entrapment attempt against Adams?

How many other Black, union, and gay activists has Detective Hutchinson tried to victimize?

Shouldn't he be questioned?

Other facts also point to the need for a vigorous investigation.

The July 29 *Salt Lake Tribune* reported on a "seminar" sponsored by the police vice squad. The article quoted Police Sgt. Dave Harkness as saying that Salt Lake is a "dynamite training ground for busting homosexuals."

Rev. Robert Waldrop, pastor of the Metropolitan Community Church and a prominent advocate of gay rights, received phoned death threats in the

months before the murder of Adams. There have been two break-ins at the church. In one case some files were stolen—common police and FBI practice, as recent revelations have shown.

Among the missing papers were cards with the names and addresses of Tony Adams and two other Salt Lake SWP leaders.

The reactionary stance of the powerful Mormon church hierarchy toward gays, as well as toward Blacks and women, also amounts to an incitement to murder.

"It was the Almighty Himself who laid down the law on this practice [homosexuality]," said an editorial in a recent issue of the official Mormon *Church News*. "He condemned it and classed it a capital crime. . . ."

In other words, it is god's commandment to execute gays.

The point is reiterated in the letter that Mormon President Spencer Kimball sends to gay church members before excommunicating them. "The death penalty was exacted in the days of Israel for such wrongdoing," Kimball warns.

The Mormon church hierarchy dominates much of the politics of this city and state. It was only this year that Mormon officials changed their previous position of barring Blacks from the priesthood. Women are still barred.

All this underlines the importance of the broad protest campaign that has been launched here.

In explaining the urgent need for such protests, Robert Waldrop, pastor of the Metropolitan Community Church, points out:

"If people here knew these things were happening, they would want the crimes stopped. That is why we have to get out the truth about what is happening and let the opinion of the majority be expressed."

In recent years there has been a marked increase here in struggles against racism, for women's equality, around union issues, against antigay bigotry, in defense of undocumented workers, against the death penalty, and most recently support for the freedom struggle in South Africa.

Tony Adams played a leading role in many of these activities (see article above). As such, he was an outstanding example of a new generation of young workers who are coming forward in Salt Lake to fight for social change.

The new struggles are affecting every area of life here—the campuses, the trade unions, the Chicano and Black communities.

The ferment extends into the Mormon church membership. A group called Mormons for the ERA was formed here recently. It challenges the hierarchy's opposition to equal rights for women. Hundreds of people have attended meetings of this group.

A Mormon student at the church-run Brigham Young University has published a widely circulated pamphlet opposing the church's bigoted attitude toward gays.

The Mormon church, the police, and state and city officials are determined to put a halt to this new situation, where growing numbers of people are challenging oppressive ideas and conditions.

The reactionaries here would like to go back to the time in Utah when gays, Blacks, Chicanos, and union organizers such as Joe Hill could be killed and harassed with impunity.

That's why they fight so hard to keep Utah a so-called right-to-work state, with an antilabor atmosphere.

That's why they harass and terrorize Black and Chicano communities.

Clearly the atmosphere created by the cops, the church hierarchy, and the Democratic and Republican state officials is responsible for this violence.

This underscores the importance of the broadest possible campaign to fight back. Those who are speaking out in Salt Lake, those who are demanding a full investigation into the murder of Tony Adams, are helping to change the atmosphere.

This campaign in defense of the right of socialists, Black activists, and gay people to live without fear aids all those in Salt Lake and elsewhere who are organizing against the injustices of this society.

# Chi. socialist hits forged threat

By John Studer

CHICAGO—The Socialist Workers Party election campaign here is protesting an ominous death threat received Friday, December 1.

The socialists have visited the police to demand an investigation into the letter, which followed by only two months the firebombing of the SWP headquarters by right wingers.

The letter purports to be a receipt for \$500 in weapons purchased by Andrew Pulley, the party's 1979 candidate for mayor of Chicago. It is a forgery, and it is signed with the name of a local political activist who has collaborated with the party for more than ten years.

"I'm going to blow your brains out," the letter threatens Pulley. It is filled with obscenities, calling Pulley a "son of a bitch."

The forged name is that of Esteban Romero. In a public letter Romero states, "The letter which the SWP received is a complete fraud. First I did not write it. Second, what it says is not true. It was clearly meant to cause antagonism between myself and the SWP, for which there is no basis."

In a statement issued December 6 to the police, the news media, and the movement, Pulley called the letter "a threat against my life."

Pulley explained that the letter implies, "I am interested in buying weapons—which is a total lie. We socialists are out to convince people of our ideas, not involved in backroom plots. That is why I am running in this spring's election for mayor of Chicago. 'The FBI has been illegally investigating my party for more than thirty years and has not uncovered one illegal activity,' Pulley said.

"This part of the letter is nothing more than a potential legal frame-up. Or worse. This is exactly the phony excuse government agents used as a pretext to murder Fred Hampton and Mark Clark in their beds."

Pulley reviewed earlier threats and attacks against the Chicago SWP. "Two months ago my campaign headquarters was firebombed by right-wing thugs who have not been apprehended," he said. "Last spring we reported to the police an anonymous typed letter we received. It threatened a number of Chicano and Puerto Rican members and supporters of the Socialist Workers Party, and it threatened Esteban Romero. A live bullet was scotch-taped to this letter as a sample of what 'we would get.'"

Pulley concluded by demanding that "these threats and this potential frame-up be stopped. The harassment of myself, my campaign, and Esteban Romero must be ended. The authors of this vicious letter must be brought to justice."



Militant/Lynn Henderson

PULLEY: Forged letter is typical of FBI Cointelpro tactics against socialists.



# Iran: millions join protests

By David Frankel

A little more than a year ago, President Carter received Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi at the White House and praised him for maintaining a "strong, stable, and progressive Iran."

Carter's view of the shah's regime was shared by the U.S. banks that loaned it \$2.2 billion, by the 500 U.S. corporations that built factories in Iran, by experts in the CIA and State Department, and by commentators in the capitalist media.

Even as late as this June, *New York Times* correspondent Nicholas Gage insisted in a major article that peasants and workers in Iran backed the shah, who "has taken great care to build both elements into pillars of support for his regime."

But now the American ruling class has been forced to change its tune. One Wall Street analyst told the *Christian Science Monitor's* financial correspondent, "The [stock] market is beginning to accept that the Shah cannot survive."

Just how dim the shah's prospects are was indicated by the enormous demonstrations of December 10 and 11. Opposition leaders asserted that 7 million protesters—one fifth of the country's population—marched in opposition to the regime on December 10.

CBS News estimated that 1.5 million marched in Tehran alone. "The sheer weight of numbers of the procession took even seasoned observers by surprise," Tony Allaway reported in the December 11 *Monitor*. "More than a quarter of Tehran's population had turned out to register their protest."

A million demonstrators took to the streets in Mashad, 700,000 in Tabriz, 300,000 in Abadan, and 100,000 in Isfahan. And the turnout on December 11 was at least as large.

## Shah forced to retreat

Although the shah had threatened to ruthlessly suppress the December 10 and 11 protests, the determination of the masses forced him to back down. Clearly, he was afraid that the army would crack if ordered to fire on such throngs.

As Jonathan Randal noted in the December 3 *Washington Post*, "Draftees make up an estimated 40 to 50 percent of the ground forces. Many serve their two-year terms near their homes, where they are subject to local opposition pressures."

But the size and character of the protests was a stunning political defeat for the shah's tyrannical regime. It cannot help but have a deep impact on the thinking of the troops—not an unimportant factor, since the army is the shah's sole base of support.

At the same time, the December 10 and 11 demonstrations have clearly



Demonstration in Tehran December 10. Similar huge protests took place throughout Iran.

established the real nature of the mass movement in Iran and shown once and for all where the violence there comes from.

Prior to the protests, the capitalist media tried to arouse distrust of the movement against the shah by portraying it as the work of religious fanatics. A typical example of this propaganda appeared in the December 18 issue of *Newsweek*, which said:

"All week, the chants echoed across Iran. In the holy city of Qom, religious zealots taunted the army from rooftops. . . . In the alleyways of Tehran's ramshackle bazaar, street toughs ripped open their shirts, pounded their chests and chanted: 'The flower garden of religion I shall water with my blood.' Iran was revving up for the annual holy day of Ashura, when fervid Shiite Muslims—the Shah's fiercest foes—literally whip themselves into a frenzy."

But the promised scenes of irrational frenzy never materialized. *New York Times* correspondent R.W. Apple, Jr., who had been predicting orgies of self-flagellation all week, admitted that the mood of the demonstrators in Tehran "was serious, determined and utterly calm."

Apple was forced to concede that "the character of the procession was neither religious nor traditional. None of the marchers, for example, flagellated themselves with chains or thongs, as was the practice of years past."

## 'U.S. out of Iran!'

Although the opposition to the shah is led largely by religious figures, it is a political movement, and its revolutionary demands against the shah and

against American imperialism came through clearly in the huge protests.

According to wire service reports, numerous placards demanded: "U.S. imperialists pull out of Iran." Students insisted that reporters "tell Jimmy Carter we want democracy and not a royal tyrant."

One demonstrator told Allaway: "It is wrong that we hate foreigners. That is the government telling lies so that foreigners will hate us."

"All we want is to tell the Americans that we don't want their Shah anymore and we want the Americans and British to stop stealing our oil."

Randal reported in the December 12 *Washington Post* that "banners, sometimes in English, read, 'We will kill Iran's dictator,' 'Death to the American establishment,' and 'We will destroy Yankee power in Iran.'"

Among the chants he reported were: "Arms for the people," "Wait until we get guns," and, "This American king should be hanged."

Only the previous week, the shah's troops gunned down thousands of unarmed demonstrators, so the intense anger indicated by the chants is certainly understandable. However, not a single instance of violence was reported on either of the two huge demonstrations in Tehran. The reason is simply that the shah's troops—the source of the violence—stayed away.

Those—such as Carter—who decry the bloodshed in Iran while continuing to support the tyrant responsible for it are playing a despicable game.

Nor has this point been lost on the Iranian people. As one banner in the Tehran protest declared: "The American president should understand from this demonstration that he is the most hated of all."

## Gains of mass movement

Despite the unmistakable will of the Iranian masses, the shah is still trying to hang on to his throne.

With the passage of the Ashura holiday, the shah hopes to clamp down once again. Troops who were pulled out of much of Tehran to avoid the protesters on December 10 and 11 are reoccupying the city, and the 9 p.m. curfew has been reimposed. In Isfahan a number of demonstrators were killed in a clash with troops after the main protest on December 11.

But the shah faces a mass movement that has repeatedly forced him to retreat. Six months ago the shah and his imperialist backers never dreamed that the year would end with millions marching through Iran's major cities demanding an end to the monarchy.

The fact that the shah was forced to let the December 10 and 11 marches go undisturbed was a telling sign of the

relationship of forces in Iran today. In addition to giving the Iranian people their first taste of freedom in twenty-five years, the mass movement against the shah has also won other victories.

- It has forced the shah to release hundreds of political prisoners;
- It has driven thousands of the foreign advisers who represent imperialist interests out of the country;
- It has inspired millions throughout the Middle East, showing that it is possible to stand up against even the most repressive dictatorship;
- And it has weakened the imperialist grip on the entire region and called into question the future of other U.S.-supported dictatorships in the Middle East. As one administration official commented: "It gives me the willies just thinking about Saudi Arabia."

## Constitutional monarchy?

Both the shah and his American backers are desperately searching for some formula that would enable the regime to gain time, and perhaps split the mass movement. But prospects for a political compromise that would preserve the monarchy are not good.

The Iranian masses, who have braved death repeatedly to demand their rights, are in no mood to give up any of their just demands. Their hatred of the shah runs so deep that the bourgeois opposition leaders who would like to reach a deal with the shah have not been able to come out openly and call for one.

Meanwhile, the shah, just by trying to hold on, continually arouses new opposition. For example, a December 11 report issued by Amnesty International charged that the shah's regime is still using systematic torture against political prisoners, despite the shah's repeated claim that this tactic has been stopped.

At the same time, new victims fall to the shah's gunmen each day, and the country's economy remains paralyzed by political strikes. Unless the regime is able to stem the tide of protest quickly, its own apparatus will begin to lose confidence and disintegrate.

In this situation, the liberal opposition is caught between the masses and the monarchy. As Randal put it in his December 12 article:

"One middle class professional seemed to sum up the problem posed by the tremendous public participation in the marches against the shah when he said: 'We would settle for the 1906 constitution' which would reduce the shah to the role of constitutional monarch."

"But they," he said, indicating the crowd, "want the end of the monarchy and as you can see they are far more numerous."



Released political prisoner being greeted. Hundreds have been freed because of mass movement, but torture continues in shah's jails.

# Meetings demand 'U.S. out of Iran'

## Washington

By Jane Lerohl

WASHINGTON—More than 100 people gathered at All Souls Church November 29 to hear speakers protest U.S. intervention in Iran and call for the release of political prisoners in the shah's jails.

Speakers included Dr. Reza Baraheni, honorary chairperson of the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI); Kateh Vafadari, national secretary of CAIFI; and Maura Rodriguez of the Socialist Workers Party. Robert Taylor, general manager of WHUR, Howard University's radio station, chaired the meeting.

Greetings were sent from former Attorney General Ramsey Clark and Sae Kon Koh, committee chairman of the Korean Human Rights Struggle Committee.

Vafadari spoke about the current situation in Iran and the role the capitalist press is playing in distorting the facts about the upsurge there. Contrary to claims that the shah is trying to modernize Iran, Vafadari stated, "The only thing modern about the shah is his torture equipment and his army."

A representative of the Iranian Student Association asked to take the floor. But when she spoke, reading from a prepared text, she denounced Baraheni as an agent of SAVAK, the shah's secret police.

Baraheni was the next scheduled speaker. When he rose to speak, the meeting was temporarily disrupted. About twenty members of the ISA began shouting accusations in an attempt to prevent him from speaking.

Rev. David Eaton, senior minister of All Souls Church, stepped in and tried to restore order to the meeting. "I'm in favor of the same democratic processes in Iran that you are talking about," Eaton stated. "But if we are in favor of the democratic process, let us not be dictatorial and undemocratic if that's what we want."

After the disrupters quieted down, Maura Rodriguez spoke. In her opening comments she stressed the impor-

ance of unity. "I know that people here have widely varying opinions . . . but everything else aside, we are here tonight because there's a revolution going on in Iran, and we have a very important task to perform in the United States. . . . That is, the United States has got to get out of Iran."

Following Rodriguez, Baraheni again tried to speak. This time, the disrupters walked out, and Baraheni

was able to complete his talk.

Reflecting on the current situation in Iran, Baraheni commented, "Will the strikes go on? Yes, they will. Because the shah's government has reached its death agony. All the revolutionary forces of Iran are united now to get the shah out."

"In the forefront of the struggle to reach such a goal are the workers, the peasantry, the oppressed nationalities,

women, students, the radicalized intellectuals."

## Seattle

By Kate Daher

SEATTLE—A meeting sponsored by the Iranian Student Association at the University of Washington to demand that the U.S. get out of Iran drew 125

*Continued on page 20*

## 350 rally against government spying

NEW YORK CITY—Three-hundred fifty people attended a solidarity rally against government spying at New York University December 9.

The Saturday night event was sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF). PRDF is the group organizing support for the landmark Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) lawsuit against the FBI and

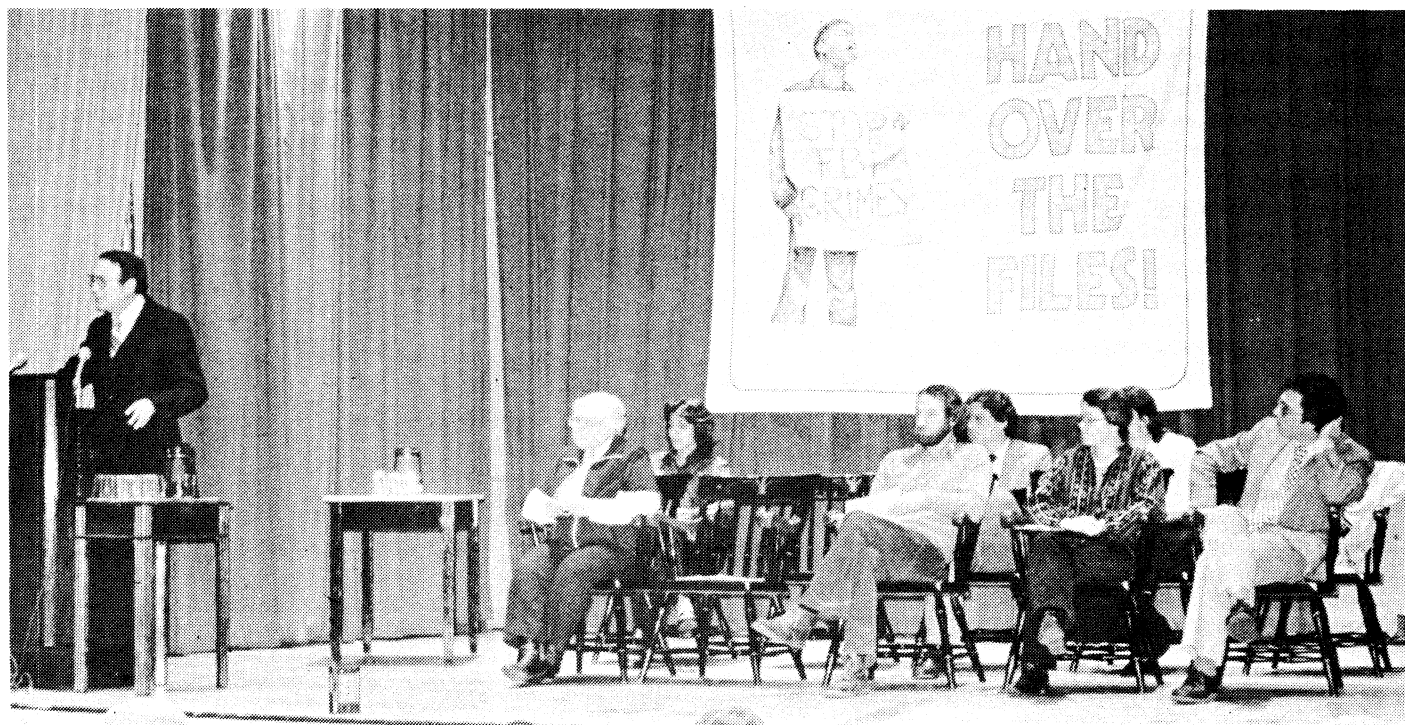
other secret-police agencies.

The meeting was chaired by Annette Rubinstein, longtime political activist and literary critic. Among the speakers were: David Dellinger, editor of *Seven Days*; Henry Foner, president of the Fur, Leather & Machine Workers Joint Board, New York City; Barbara Miner, *Guardian* news editor; and Larry Seigle, SWP national committee member.

Other speakers included: Kateh

Vafadari, national secretary of the Committee for Artistic & Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI); Héctor Marroquín, who is fighting for political asylum in the U.S.; Margaret Winter, one of the attorneys for the SWP suit; Jim Haughton, Harlem Fightback; and Michael Meeropol, son of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg.

A future issue of the *Militant* will have expanded coverage and excerpts from speeches and greetings.



*Militant/Arnold Weissberg*

## 'New York Times' slanders Wilmington Ten

By Cliff Conner

Anyone who knows the facts of the Wilmington Ten case knows that it is one of the most blatant frame-ups of recent history.

But the majority of Americans do not know all the facts in the case. It is these people that the *New York Times Magazine* hoped to confuse with an article entitled "The Case Against the Wilmington Ten" in its December 3 issue.

Although the article is unable to do what its title promises—prove the ten are guilty—it is obviously designed to sow doubts among poten-

### AS I SEE IT

tial supporters of the defendants. And it throws a lot of mud at the related Charlotte Three defense case at the same time.

This article is no ordinary space filler. It appears just as a federal judge is about to rule on the latest appeal by the ten, and in the context of growing solidarity with the defendants. Billed as the result of "a three-month investigation by The New York Times Magazine," it can only be interpreted as an editorial statement.

The *Times* uses violence-baiting to slander the ten. The article gives this account of how the principal defendant, Rev. Ben Chavis, arrived in Wilmington, North Carolina:

"On February 1, 1971, Mr. Chavis . . . came to Wilmington at the request of a local minister and

took charge of the boycott [of schools by Blacks]. The situation was going from bad to worse. In the next week, two cranes at work on a downtown building were dynamited, three businesses were firebombed and four other arsons attempted, and two youths were wounded by gunfire after a basketball game."

By running all of this into one paragraph, the *Times* gives the unwary reader the impression that there must be some connection between Chavis's arrival and the alleged violent acts. There is no connection, of course, but the seed of doubt is planted. An old trick.

Another device is malicious gossip attributed to unnamed sources. Most of the "case" the article tries to build is nothing more than a rehash of the original courtroom testimony, which was long ago exposed as (1) bought and paid for by the prosecution, and (2) the fanciful product of pathological liars. However, the diligent *Times* investigators, in the course of their three-month quest, claim to have unearthed one new "witness."

They don't identify the man, but that doesn't deter them from building up what he has to say into the climax of the article. And that is that Ben Chavis liked "to run after women." That "drunken partying was going on inside" the church where Chavis was. That Chavis "was not dedicated."

This mystery man goes on to accuse Chavis of engaging in criminal activities. But, interestingly enough, even the authors of the article have to admit that what he says directly contra-

dicts the testimony "that sent Mr. Chavis to jail."

So what kind of a "case against the Wilmington Ten" have they made? What fruit did their "three-month investigation" bear? Here is the sum total of their conclusions—the very worst that they could come up with:

- . . . the innocence of the Wilmington Ten is far from clear-cut."

- . . . the results of this inquiry, though not conclusive, cast doubt on the claims of the Ten's supporters."

- . . . Mr. Chavis's innocence has certainly not been proved."

That's it? *That's it!* Well, then, the defendants should obviously be cleared of all charged immediately. Every schoolchild is taught that American justice rests on the principle of innocence until proven guilty. This article, stripped of its irrelevant, prejudicial elements, actually reaffirms that the Wilmington Ten and the Charlotte Three have not been proven guilty of anything.

Why was this smear job commissioned in the first place? The authors give the game away when they complain that "the case of the Wilmington Ten and the clamor of their supporters seriously threaten the credibility of President Carter's entire human-rights policy."

If the shoe fits, wear it.

"The Wilmington Ten," they say, "have become an American embarrassment and a *cause célèbre* abroad, creating a diplomatic migraine at the State Department and a dull ache at Justice."

That's good news. Let's keep the pressure on.



# Democrat conference OKs austerity drive

By Andy Rose

President Carter's wage-cutting, job-slashing, "anti-inflation" program got a 60-40 vote of approval at the Democratic Party midterm conference in Memphis this month.

Not that it made any difference.

"Regardless of what the convention says, our course is charted," explained top White House aide Hamilton Jordan.

Nevertheless, a big fight had been promised by Democratic liberals, including such top union officials as United Auto Workers President Douglas Fraser. The Memphis conference was to mark the beginning of their crusade to transform the Democratic Party into—in Fraser's words—"a genuinely progressive people's party. . . struggling against the reactionary capitalist money power of the Republicans."

The conference outcome, however, provided further evidence that reform of the Democratic Party is a dead end for anyone who seeks to defend working-class interests.

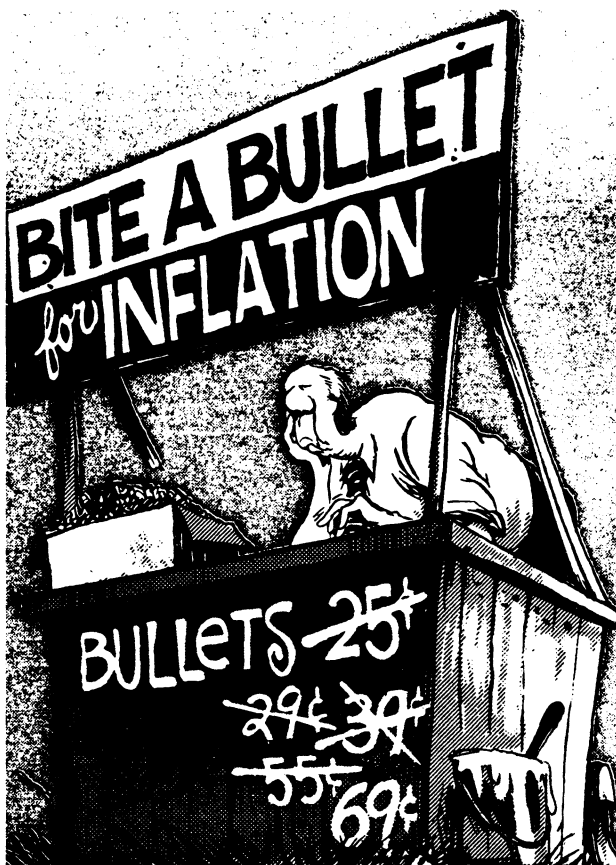
Just two years ago the same union officials and liberal politicians were all promising that Carter's election would signal the dawn of a new, humane, prolabor administration after eight dismal years of Nixon and Ford.

Instead, Carter quickly junked his preelection promises and drove ahead with the same austerity campaign begun by his Republican predecessors. In fact, the AFL-CIO now charges that Carter's wage-price guidelines are even more biased against working people than Nixon's wage controls were.

In recent weeks attention has focused on the federal budget for fiscal year 1980. The White House has leaked word of its plans to cut billions of dollars from social services—including jobs programs, Medicare, Medicaid, welfare, and housing—while raising military spending.

Other aspects of the "anti-inflation" program bode no better for working people:

- Carter is "considering" asking Congress to roll back scheduled increases in the minimum wage and allow employers to pay even less to teenagers.
- The White House wants to weaken "inflationary" antipollution standards, strip-mining controls, and limits on worker exposure to cancer-causing chemicals.
- Early next year the administration will propose removal of price controls from gasoline, and it has



also pledged to decontrol crude oil prices. Transportation Secretary Brock Adams predicts dollar-a-gallon gasoline in about two years.

What does that last item have to do with fighting inflation? Nothing—but neither does any of the rest of Carter's program. It all has one purpose only: to squeeze workers' living standards in order to protect corporate profits.

For a large—and growing—number of Americans, Carter's actions confirm their suspicions that there is no basic difference between the Democratic and Republican parties, that both are controlled by big business.

Those suspicions are 100 percent correct.

For the ruling rich, this disillusionment poses the danger that workers will more and more rely on their own independent power to fight back—for example, through strikes and mass demonstrations.

Such actions would be a step toward a mass break from the two-party system and formation of a labor party based on militant and democratic unions.

To avoid such an unleashing of working-class political power, the capitalists need to refurbish the illusion that the Democratic Party offers an alternative. From this standpoint, the Memphis conference served a useful purpose.

Attending the conference were lower- to middle-level officeholders and Democratic Party "activists"—those who actually go out and hustle votes for candidates. They are especially sensitive to the unpopularity of Carter's antilabor course.

A California delegate asked, "How can we justify to our people spending \$30 to \$50 billion on a massive, new and, I think, unnecessary weapons program when we are reducing or we may have to reduce jobs, health services and community development funds?"

Victor Bussie, head of the Louisiana AFL-CIO, appealed for "drastic changes" in Carter's priorities.

Detroit Mayor Coleman Young said it was "unconscionable" to raise military spending and "place the burden on the backs of poor people."

But such complaints and appeals, no matter how bitterly voiced, remain the *opposite* of a fight against the government's antilabor policies.

In Memphis there was no word of support to the oil workers, Teamsters, and other unionists who may be forced to strike against Carter's guidelines. No proposals to organize demonstrations for the Equal Rights Amendment or against the budget cuts or for a shorter workweek to create jobs. Nothing to suggest that working people should *do* anything except vote for one politician over another.

The most "radical" proposal was to replace Carter with another Democrat in 1980. Machinists President William Winpisinger said his union would be "doing everything we can to dump the son of a bitch." In the liberals' eyes the indicated alternative is Sen. Edward Kennedy, who has stepped up criticism of Carter's policies.

Kennedy's punch-line in Memphis was: "The party that tore itself apart over Vietnam in the 1960s can't afford to tear itself apart today over budget cuts in basic social programs."

There's the priority: "The party . . . can't afford to tear itself apart." Above all, keep the Democratic Party flock together.

The Vietnam parallel is instructive, because Kennedy consistently voted for Vietnam war appropriations and opposed mass antiwar demonstrations. And if Kennedy or some other liberal challenges Carter in 1980, their aim will be to *make sure* there are no effective strikes to break through the wage controls, no more marches on Washington for the ERA, no mass protests against cutbacks.

In short, a Kennedy campaign against Carter would be designed to contain and channel discontent into the two-party system where workers are guaranteed to lose. Just like workers lost in the Carter versus Ford campaign.

The movement that did finally force Nixon to bring the troops home from Vietnam was built on a different strategy—mass action in the streets, independent of the two capitalist parties.

Putting the power of the labor movement behind that kind of strategy is how working people can defeat the bipartisan antilabor offensive that was endorsed in Memphis.

## YSA leader hits 'subminimum' wage

On December 7 Carter administration officials announced they were considering asking Congress to postpone the January 1980 increase in the minimum wage and to set a lower minimum for teenagers.

Cathy Sedwick, national chairperson of the Young Socialist Alliance, called Carter's proposals "a cruel blow to young workers and the Black and Hispanic communities."

Sedwick said White House officials are using inflation and unemployment as excuses. "They



claim that if the minimum wage is not raised there will be less inflation. And they say if employers pay less than minimum wages to teenagers they will hire more teenagers.

"Well if that were true," Sedwick said, "there would be plenty of jobs for young Blacks since our wages have always been lower than the average. And now Carter wants to make that inequality worse."

Sedwick pointed out that "lower wages simply result in higher profits. To produce more jobs we need to cut the workweek with no cut in weekly pay, and we need public works programs to greatly expand social services. We can easily pay for it with the \$126 billion a year presently wasted on the Pentagon."

## Baltimore steelworkers: Carter plan 'stinks'

Do steelworkers think Carter's "voluntary" wage and price guidelines will work?

*The Educator*, newspaper of the United Steelworkers Local 2610 at Bethlehem Steel's huge Sparrows Point plant near Baltimore, sampled opinions and published the results in its November issue. Here are some of the comments:

Glen Myers, twenty years' service: "It won't work. . . It stinks. . . It will hold the wages down but it won't hold the prices down. Prices will continue to increase and we as

the labor will continue to take a beating. . .

"I don't think this wage freeze will work on a voluntary basis. . . or if it were mandatory. . . Big business would raise their prices prior to the freeze and we would be held at our wages because we would have to wait for our contract deadline. . . I personally have no solution. . . I just hope someone can work something out."

P.R. Samuels, ten years' service: "It won't work because where you have one company that will abide,

there will be three others that won't. . . If one person wants a raise everybody wants one. However, it's got to stop somewhere. It's got to be done as a law it will never work on a voluntary basis. . . Everyone is for themselves. . ."

Lonnie Rose, twenty-six years' service: "They want everyone else to hold and control their wages, yet big business wants to raise the prices on everything. All they want is for the working man to suffer in order to try and cut inflation. . . I am against any wage freeze, voluntary or man-

datory. This is a free country and no one should make us freeze our wages."

Joe Kleidon, six months' service: "I don't think working people should take it on themselves, to tighten their belt, as if they were the ones who have to make the sacrifice. The big corporations main objective is to make as much money as they can make. . . That's what they always have done and will always continue to do, and I think working people have the right to catch up with the cost of living."

# Golda Meir: No friend of peace or Palestinian rights



September 9, 1969: Victims of Meir's "war of attrition" against Egypt lie dead on Egyptian road.

By Fred Feldman

The death of Golda Meir on December 8 called forth an ocean of eulogies from imperialist heads of state and newspaper obituary writers. The most frequent refrain was Meir's supposed longing for peace in the Middle East.

President Carter expressed hope that the "second great dream of Golda Meir's life . . . will soon be realized: a just and lasting peace in the Middle East."

Such statements apply a heavy coat of whitewash to Meir's real role. She was an architect—and hardly the least bloody-handed—of the Zionist conquest of Palestine and other Arab territories.

A Zionist leader since the 1930s, Meir raised \$50 million in the United States in 1948 to help finance the war to establish an exclusive Jewish state

in Palestine. She was one of the twenty-five signers of Israel's "declaration of independence"—actually the official declaration of war on the Arab population of Palestine.

Later she got even more directly involved in the anti-Arab action.

The December 9 *New York Times* reported, "She, Moshe Dayan, and Shimon Peres flew in secret to France in 1956 to lay plans for collaborating in the attack on Egypt, which had nationalized the [formerly British-owned] Suez Canal and closed the Strait of Tiran."

The invasion illustrated Israel's role as military guardian of imperialist holdings in the Middle East. Although Israel captured the Gaza Strip and Sinai Peninsula at this time, worldwide protest and warnings from the USSR forced the invaders to withdraw. Meir was secretary general of the then-

ruling Israeli Labor Party when these and other Arab territories were seized in the six-day war of 1967.

Meir became Israeli prime minister in 1969. She was responsible for the "war of attrition" against Egypt. This consisted of air and commando raids against Egyptian towns and villages, costing hundreds of lives.

On September 11, 1969, the *New York Times* summed up one such assault: "The Israeli advance was apparently concluded only after every structure, vehicle and installation had been destroyed or put out of action and every moving figure cut down in a hail of machine-gun bullets." The report added that the death toll "may have been considerably higher than the 100 to 150 first estimated."

On April 8, 1970, Israeli jets bombed a school in the Egyptian village of Bahr el-Bakr, killing nineteen children. Meir's government insisted the town was a military target, even though reporters found nothing but agricultural equipment.

With such "military victories" to her credit, it is hardly surprising that the Israeli rulers were taken off guard when the Egyptians and Syrians were able to launch an effective attack on Israeli-held territory in October 1973. Meir stepped down as prime minister some months later.

In the face of intensifying struggles by Palestinians inside and outside of Israeli-occupied lands, Meir put forward the standard racist justification for the Zionist expulsion of the Palestinians: "There was no such thing as Palestinians," she told an interviewer. "It was not as though there was a Palestinian people in Palestine considering itself as a Palestinian people and we came and threw them out and took their country away from them. They did not exist."

And she added, "I do not know why the Arab refugees are a particular problem in the world."

The postmortem praise for Meir as a peacemaker sheds light on the kind of agreement the U.S. and Israeli rulers are today trying to impose on the Arab peoples. They want a "peace" that will guarantee Israel's role as imperialism's cop on the Middle East beat. The "peace" they seek would be the peace of the grave for Palestinian and Arab liberation fighters.

# Quebec students fight austerity

MONTREAL—More than six thousand students from throughout the towns of Québec marched through the snow on the provincial parliament in Québec City December 5.

The demonstration, called by the National Association of Students of Québec (ANEQ) marks the climax of a month of actions by students in CEGEPs (junior colleges) and universities demanding free education and decent living conditions.

The movement began on November 7 with a strike in Rimousti and swelled to a total of thirty-three institutions and 100,000 students on strike.

Demonstrators on December 5 carried placards reading, "United, organized, we'll win," and "Students, workers, unemployed, united for free education." But the most persistent chant was "Parti Québécois—parti bourgeois."

The Parti Québécois is the bourgeois nationalist party that rode to power on the tide of Québécois nationalist aspirations in 1976.

Far from keeping its campaign promise of free education, the PQ-administered system has dumped the cost of education on each individual family.

Students' cost of living is calculated on the assumption that they live with their parents if their home is within thirty miles of school. Married women are eligible for only half the grant given to married men. Government statistics also assume that each student is able to find a full-time summer job, less and less a realistic prospect.

In fact, in a time of double-digit inflation, the average student grant has decreased since 1977 from \$1,457 to \$1,250, a drop of 14 percent.

Six months after completing their studies, students are stuck with interest payments whether or not they have found a job. The unemployment level in Québec hit an official figure of 10.4 percent in 1977, with higher rates for youth and women.

The PQ's answer to unemployment is to slash back public budgets, including health and education, while giving open-handed subsidies to corporations, such as Cadbury's and General Motors, to encourage them to stay or expand in Québec.

A student from Chitoutimi, Gagnon, insisted, "Morin [minister of education] thinks that because we get ninety-eight dollars more each month than the unemployed, we have nothing to complain about."

Unfortunately, the students were more than ready to fight for equal access to education and better living conditions, but the leadership of the three central trade unions was unwilling to back them with more than verbal support. The PQ, seeing no opposition with muscle, maintained a hard line.

Meanwhile, the capitalist media referred to the students as "the new bourgeoisie" and reactionaries. This attempt to isolate the struggle was reinforced by Maoist students, who expelled journalists from the main student meeting.

On the eve of the demonstration, large groups of students at the University of Québec at Montreal—faced with desperate competition for jobs and a lack of organized support from the labor movement—began to demobilize. Following the demonstration, CEGEP students began to return to classes.

The struggle, however, has raised an important discussion among students over how to build links with the working class and the need for a democratic leadership in the student movement.

# Louisville officials hit rightist terror

By Dennis Carman

LOUISVILLE—Protests continue to grow here against a gas-grenade attack last month on a Socialist Workers Party election campaign rally.

In a letter issued November 30, Harvey Sloane, former mayor of Louisville and now a contender in the 1979 Democratic gubernatorial primary wrote:

"I would like to express my firm conviction that violence and threats of violence have no place in our political process. Our democratic form of government is best served by a free and open expression of differing points of view. Acts of violence or intimidation have no place in this process and should be deplored by every citizen."

Sloane continued, "It is important that law enforcement agencies and responsible public officials place a high priority on investigating such incidents and aggressively prosecuting those who are responsible."

Louisville's current Mayor William Stansbury has also sent a letter expressing opposition to the attack on the SWP headquarters. Earlier the city board of alderman passed a motion condemning the violence as "a threat to the freedom of all citizens of Louisville."

Others who have recently spoken out against the attack include: Aubrey

Williams, president, Louisville NAACP; William Summers III, a member of the Jefferson County School Board; and Abdeen Jabara of the Palestine Human Rights Campaign.

More than fifty organizations and individuals have so far joined the protests.



JIM BURFEIND: Socialist has been victim of right-wing attacks.

Important information about the case reached a large viewing audience on Sunday, December 3, when two SWP spokespeople appeared on a half-hour midday talk show, "Newsmakers." The program is broadcast on Channel 32, the local ABC affiliate.

Jim Burfeind and Mary Gutekanst, both SWP members employed at the large General Electric appliance plant here, were questioned about the attack and about the ideas socialists were presenting in their election campaign.

Burfeind, who was SWP candidate for U.S. Congress this fall, has also been subjected to right-wing harassment and attacks on the job. His union local, International Association of Machinists Lodge 2409, has voted to condemn the violence and urge the police to arrest those responsible.

Meanwhile, Louisville cops are stalling on the investigation. They have complained to the socialists that the grenade attack was merely a misdemeanor, and that they have already spent too much time on what they consider a minor incident.

The device thrown into the SWP meeting hall was a CS gas grenade. Had Burfeind not been able to throw it onto the street before the gas escaped, it could have caused serious injury to those in attendance.



# YSA to discuss new mood among students

By Diane Wang

Is the country moving to the right? Are students today another "lost generation"?

The Young Socialist Alliance answers both questions, "No." That's the conclusion of the political resolution that will be discussed at the YSA convention in Pittsburgh December 28-January 1.

The resolution was drafted by the YSA's National Executive Committee. YSA chapters around the country are discussing it and electing delegates to the convention. These delegates will discuss and vote on the YSA's political perspectives and activities for the coming year.

The YSA resolution points to the reawakened militancy among U.S. workers and its impact on the student movement.

"The working class is moving to center stage in political struggles the world over," the resolution explains. Although the capitalists persist in their drive against the living standards and rights of working people, "the international relationship of class forces continues to shift to the side of the working class."

The resolution points to the social explosions in Iran, Peru, Nicaragua, and southern Africa. It describes how the U.S. mine workers' strike last winter "set an example for every movement for social change."

That example of militancy was repeated in the July 9 national march for the Equal Rights Amendment and the successful drive to extend the deadline for ratifying the ERA.

The growing mood of fightback among working people is affecting the campuses and high schools, presenting new opportunities for involving students in struggle and winning them to the socialist perspective.

"The YSA's approach is to raise the broad issues of the class struggle—imperialist war, racism, sexism, unemployment—on the campuses, educating students and building support on the campuses for the struggles of workers and all the oppressed," explains the resolution. "At the same time, we link the issues of special

concern to students to the issues facing the working class as a whole. We seek to use the campuses as organizing centers to take struggles beyond school boundaries."

At the center of the YSA's work is the campaign of solidarity with the South African freedom struggle.

YSA members have been active in the campaign to force universities to get rid of stock in corporations doing business with South Africa. The socialists see these divestment struggles as an important part of building a movement to end all U.S. support to the apartheid regime.

"Strong campus committees and coalitions are essential to initiating and building an action campaign around southern Africa," says the resolution. Students can play a major role in involving the labor movement, Black organizations, and others in the anti-apartheid movement.

The YSA has also campaigned in defense of Cuba's support to African freedom fighters. "It is the responsibility of revolutionaries the world over to defend Cuba against the capitalist propaganda offensive and against growing threats to the Cuban Revolution itself," the resolution says.

The resolution also urges the YSA to help build support for the growing movement against nuclear power and nuclear weapons.

In addition to solidarity with the African revolution, work in the anti-nuke movement, and campaigning for women's rights, YSA members are defending affirmative action, protesting education cutbacks and unemployment, and fighting racist frame-ups and police brutality.

"For the first time in decades, more conscious student activists are beginning to look to the labor movement as a potential ally in their struggles," concludes the resolution. "A new generation of young militant leaders is in the making in this country. . . ."

"We can be confident that we will win new members to our organization and hasten the day that capitalism will be replaced by a system based on meeting human needs, socialism."



## Come to a socialist convention

The 18th national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance will take place at the William Penn Hotel in Pittsburgh, December 28 through January 1.

### Convention schedule

#### Thursday, December 28

9:00 a.m. Registration begins  
1:00 p.m. Welcoming Session  
1:30 p.m. World Political Situation Report  
4:00 p.m. Greetings from a representative of Payam Daneshjoo, the Iranian socialist magazine

#### Friday, December 29

9:00 a.m. The U.S. Political Situation and the Tasks of the YSA  
4:00 p.m. The YSA and the South Africa Solidarity Movement  
8:00 p.m. An Eyewitness Report from Africa

#### Saturday, December 30

10:30 a.m. Socialists and the Fight Against Nuclear Power and Weapons  
8:00 p.m. Héctor Marroquín Defense Rally

#### Sunday, December 31

9:00 a.m. Building the YSA  
7:30 p.m. 20th Anniversary of the Cuban Revolution Rally  
9:30 p.m. New Year's Eve Party

During the convention, classes will be held on Africa, women's liberation, China, and the Cuban revolution.

☐ I want to attend the Young Socialist Alliance National Convention

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City/State/Zip \_\_\_\_\_

For more information clip and mail to: Young Socialist Alliance, Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003. Or call (212) 989-7570.

# Mexican daily features Marroquin case

As the *Militant* goes to press, the Immigration and Naturalization Service is still threatening to rule on Héctor Marroquín's request for political asylum in this country, although the FBI and other government agencies are still withholding evidence vital to Marroquín's case.

Denial of asylum would lead quickly to deportation proceedings, threatening to deliver Marroquín into the hands of the Mexican government's frame-up artists, torturers, and killer cops.

Letters protesting the INS plan to deny Marroquín a full and fair hearing should be sent to:

Leonel Castillo, Director, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington, D.C. 20536.

Copies, along with much needed financial contributions, should be sent to: Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee, Box 843 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

The November 22 issue of 'Excelsior,' Mexico's leading daily newspaper, carried a front-page

article by Fausto Fernández Ponte on U.S. spying in Mexico, and the case of Héctor Marroquín. Excerpts from the article—headlined "U.S. Spies on Mexican Universities and Political Groups"—are printed below.

WASHINGTON, D.C., November 21—The U.S. government maintains intensive undercover police surveillance, using agents with diplomatic immunity and informers, in Mexican universities, in the Mexican Communist Party (MCP), and in student political groups. . . .

The documents are nineteen pages of censored memorandums and reports to the [FBI] director. . . . Some of the reports were prepared by the legal attaché of the U.S. Embassy in Mexico and sent directly to the FBI.

The nineteen pages were obtained by a group of American intellectuals and political and social activists who are urging the U.S. government to grant political asylum to the Mexican Héctor Marroquín Manríquez.

The group—the Héctor Marroquín

Defense Committee—obtained the documents by invoking the Freedom of Information Act passed in 1974.

Marroquín, twenty-five years old, has asked for political asylum in this country, arguing that in Mexico he was persecuted for his political activities as a student. . . .

Margaret Winter, lawyer for the Marroquín Defense Committee, said that the FBI documents show that her client "was being closely watched by the U.S. government from the time he

was fifteen years old, or from when he began to participate in political activities in high school," in Matamoros, Tamaulipas. . . .

The FBI shared its information on Marroquín with the Mexican government, according to a note in one of the documents, a memorandum dated in March 1974, in which one of the recipients is identified: the unit for liaison with the Mexican authorities, one of the legal attachés of the American embassy in the capital of our country.

## 'Mundo Diario' on asylum plea

By Roger Rudenstein

*Mundo Diario*, a Spanish-language weekly supplement to the Communist Party's *Daily World*, ran an article on the case of Héctor Marroquín in its November 22 issue.

Headlined, "Mexican refugee demands U.S. asylum," the article reviewed the facts in the case and reported U.S. Rep. Ronald Dellums's (D-Calif.) support for Marroquín's asylum request.

"The government, especially the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), instead of considering [Marroquín's] application, tried to deport him to Mexico," *Mundo Diario* reported.

"Fortunately, Marroquín's case can count on growing support from the American people, a fact that is forcing the INS to pay more attention to it."

# Koka tour a big success

## Unionists support South African leader

By Omari Musa

The recent U.S. tour of South African trade-union leader Drake Koka illustrates the potential for organizing a powerful movement against U.S. support to the apartheid regime.

Koka is the secretary-general of the Black Allied Workers Union in South Africa and was a cofounder of the Black People's Convention, an umbrella political organization outlawed by the government in October 1977.

Koka spoke in this country on the South African freedom struggle and the role played by the U.S. government, banks, and corporations in proping up apartheid.

Two months before the tour began the South African government named Koka and other exiled leaders of the June 1976 Soweto rebellion as "co-conspirators" in the frame-up trial of eleven Soweto student leaders.

His meetings here were organized by the Drake Koka Tour Committee, which included many trade unionists, Black activists, student groups, and civil rights organizations.

Traveling with Koka was tour committee staff person Osborne Hart. Hart has been active in the African solidarity movement since 1973 when he was a student at Morehouse College in Atlanta.

Upon his return the *Militant* asked Hart what he thought the tour had accomplished.

"The purpose of the tour," he began, "was to help educate the American people about the real situation in South Africa and the U.S. role in maintaining white rule."

"The Carter administration is filling the airwaves and newsprint with lies and distortions, hoping to convince the American people that the government and big business are somehow on the side of the Black majority," Hart said.

"We saw the tour of a well-known Black freedom fighter and trade-union leader as an important step in combating these lies."

### Trade union support

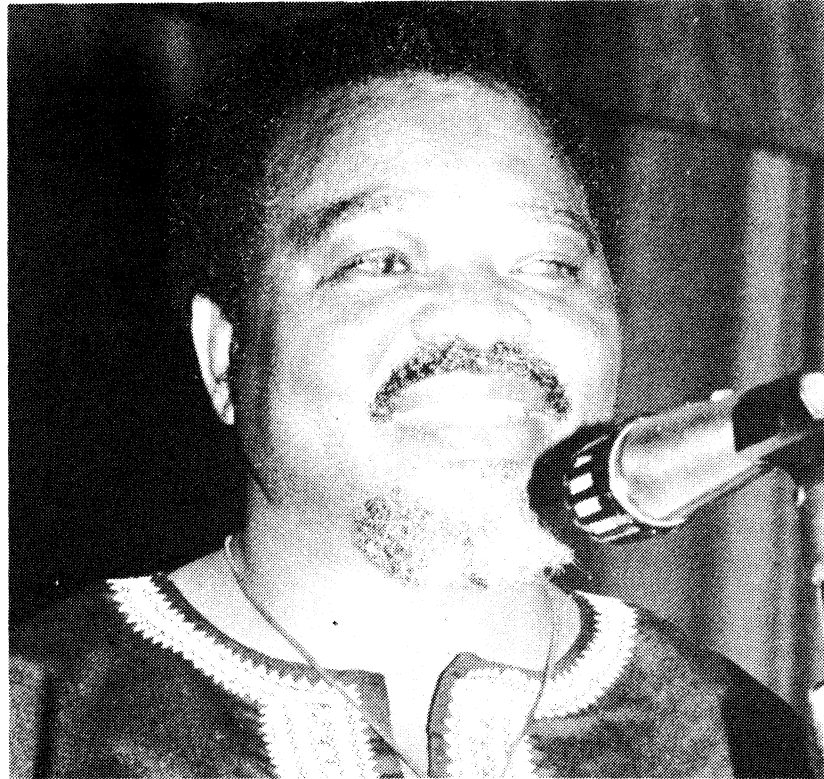
Hart pointed out that a particularly important aspect of the tour was the involvement of the American trade-union movement.

"In the San Francisco Bay Area," he explained, "the San Francisco Central Labor Council played a major role in organizing and publicizing the tour."

"The council's secretary-treasurer, John Crowley, sent letters to all its affiliates, the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, Teamsters, and local community organizations, inviting them to participate in the tour."

"It put out thousands of leaflets and posters publicizing Koka's meetings and provided office space to organize the tour."

"When Koka arrived in San Francisco," Hart continued, "Crowley and California AFL-CIO Secretary-



Militant/Lou Howort



Militant/Nancy Cole

Drake Koka (left), secretary general of Black Allied Workers Union, and Osborne Hart, who accompanied him on his tour here.

treasurer John Henning introduced Koka to the city at a news conference.

"The Alameda County Labor Council also provided office space for tour activists and sent letters to its affiliates urging them to attend the regular council meeting where Koka was to speak."

### Council supports students

"One of the most important things that happened at this meeting was the solidarity the council expressed with University of California Berkeley students facing expulsion for their participation in divestment protests on the campus," Hart explained.

"The council called a news conference in support of the students and then invited them to speak with Koka."

"Altogether Koka spoke to nearly 1,000 people in the Bay Area in three days," Hart concluded.

The United Auto Workers and Amalgamated Meat Cutters were also instrumental in making the tour a success. The UAW has withdrawn its funds from banks making loans to South Africa and regularly features articles in its newspaper, *Solidarity*, on the suppression of trade-union rights of Black workers.

The November 1-15 issue of *Solidarity* carries a story on Koka's visit to Detroit. It reports that the "UAW is working with the International Metalworkers Federation to help black auto and metal workers in organizing and union education."

"When we were in Chicago, Hart said, 'the UAW Region 4 Fair Practices Council hosted a luncheon for Koka. The local presidents and FPC members gave Koka a standing ovation. Then James Wright, the region's

assistant director, reported on the recent Midwest conference on South Africa. He introduced a resolution that the Region 4 FPC endorse the conference's call for anti-apartheid protests March 18-24."

"The resolution passed unanimously."

"The next day," Hart continued, "Region 4 and the Amalgamated Meat Cutters union cosponsored a meeting for Koka attended by more than 200 people—mostly Black auto workers."

A week before the Chicago meeting, Charles Hayes, an international vice-president of the Meat Cutters, spoke with Koka at a gathering of 150 people in Washington, D.C. The D.C. Central Labor Council and Washington Teachers Union sponsored the meeting.

"Koka also spoke at a meeting of United Steelworkers Local 1010 in East Chicago, Indiana," Hart said. "Three different steel locals participated in meetings in Los Angeles, and locals 2609 and 2610 at Sparrows Point outside Baltimore endorsed the tour."

Hart showed the *Militant* a statement read by Local 2610 President Joseph Kotelchuck at a meeting for Koka held at Morgan State University. Kotelchuck ended his statement by saying, "We offer our support to you in your efforts to organize trade unions and gain freedom and justice for Black workers in South Africa."

Hart said these were only a few examples of support received during the tour. "In Detroit and Toledo, auto workers leafleted the plants and brought quite a few co-workers to Koka's meetings."

"One of the most frequent questions they asked was what they could do to aid the struggle against apartheid in South Africa," Hart explained.

"Koka would suggest refusing to handle South African goods, organizing committees in their unions to help educate other unionists, and demanding the companies they work for withdraw from South Africa."

"He would tell them to join with the students and the Black community to organize a mass movement like the one that got the United States out of Vietnam. This always got a positive response."

### Aided divestment fight

Hart said Koka's message to organize a mass movement against apartheid also struck a responsive chord on campuses.

"Many of Koka's campus meetings were organized by divestment and

African solidarity groups.

"The tour came during a wave of campus protests demanding universities get rid of the stock they hold in corporations operating in South Africa," Hart explained.

"Since he directed his fire at the support these companies, banks and the government give the white minority regime, Koka's talks always helped encourage further student protests."

"One of the highlights of the tour," Hart continued, "was the enthusiastic welcome Koka received at two student conferences held this fall to map out strategy for the divestment and African solidarity movement."

"The first conference, held at Northwestern University in Chicago October 20-22, was organized by the Divestiture Working Group. It attracted more than 400 participants."

"The second occurred at New York University November 17-19 and was hosted by the North East Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa. Fourteen hundred people participated in the discussions there."

"The conferences targeted March 18-24 and April 4-11 for protest and educational activities focused on the need to oppose all U.S. aid to the apartheid regime."

"Koka was very pleased that various political groups and individuals who had different ideas were able to unite in a campaign against all U.S. support to South Africa."

### Black support

Hart also singled out the participation and solidarity of Blacks in guaranteeing the success of the tour.

"Black students, workers, and community activists helped organize and publicize the tour," he explained.

"For example, in Cleveland the Black Labor Leadership Caucus of the Cleveland Federation of Labor hosted a meeting for Koka. Local chapters of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists cosponsored the tour in some cities."

In Chicago and Detroit, Black workers were the majority of the audience.

"Black students also pitched in to help build the tour," Hart continued.

"On most of the campuses where Koka spoke, Black student organizations endorsed and publicized the tour."

"Koka appealed directly to Black nationalist sentiment. He would trace parallels in the development of the Black movement here and in South Africa and always come to the same

Continued on page 20

## IAM local: 'U.S. get out'

The message below was delivered to a community meeting for Drake Koka held November 10 at the hall of USWA Local 1845 in Los Angeles.

The International Association of Machinists, Local 685 in San Diego, sends its greetings and message of support to this meeting tonight and especially to Brother Trade Unionist Drake Koka.

Our union stands one hundred percent behind the fight to end the brutal and racist apartheid regime

in South Africa. We demand that the U.S. stop supporting the minority regime and take a position in support of Black Majority rule now.

It is time that the labor movement in the United States get involved in supporting our brothers and sisters in South Africa in their fight for unions and against racial oppression. Our unions must play a role in helping to educate Americans about the freedom struggle in South Africa and we must gather the support of our memberships to demand U.S. Out of Africa Now.



## Subscription sales boost last weeks of drive

By Andrea Baron

In the next to the last week of our fall sales drive we sold 4,891 copies of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*. This takes us over our 100,000 fall goal by 16,310.

In addition to single copies of the *Militant* and *PM*, sales of subscriptions have also been counted towards the 100,000 goal. So far, more than 2,000 subs have been sold. Several cities have planned special efforts to sell subs in the last two weeks of the drive to reach their cumulative goals.

In Oakland, socialists sold 30 subs last week. They organized door-to-door teams on Saturday, selling 10 subscriptions, and sold another 20 at other sales locations during the week. These subs will take them well over their cumulative goal of 2,500 for the drive.

Cathy Perkus, sales director in Boston, reports some of the "best sales ever" this week. In addition to having one of their most successful weeks of single copy sales, the socialists sold

twenty-five subscriptions. Eight were sold to co-workers.

Kathleen Fitzgerald reports that the article on the tragedy in Jonestown spurred sales at plant gates in Cleveland. "I sold seven *Militants* at the Ford plant here in a short time. A few cars actually came screeching to a halt when they saw the headline. Some people stopped who had seen the paper before because they wanted to see what socialists had to say about Jonestown. We also had a good response from workers in other auto plants."

Salespeople in St. Louis also found a lot of interest in this issue at plant gates. Twenty-six people bought *Militants* in one day at the Chrysler plant in Fenton.

Sales teams from Phoenix attended a demonstration to protest the construction of a nuclear plant at Palo Verde, Arizona. There were 350 people at the demonstration, and 105 of them bought copies of the *Militant* or the *Young Socialist*.

## Weekly sales goals

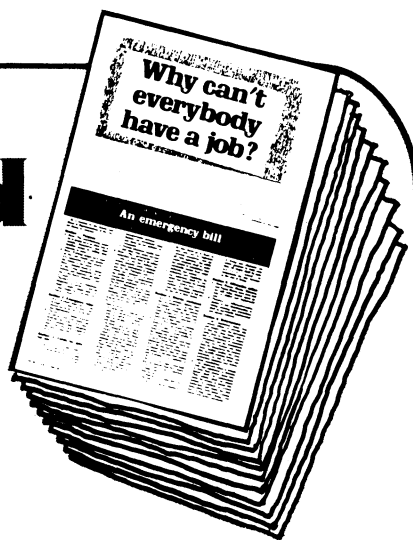
CITY	MILITANT		PM		TOTAL		
	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Percent
Portland	100	116			100	116	116.0
San Francisco	250	279	25	23	275	302	109.8
Salt Lake City	125	141	10	4	135	145	107.4
Morgantown	125	134			125	134	107.2
Seattle	145	157	5	3	150	160	106.7
Dallas	125	130	20	20	145	150	103.4
Pittsburgh	145	152	5		150	152	101.3
Cleveland	115	117	5	3	120	120	100.0
Boston	225	216	25	18	250	234	93.6
Milwaukee	120	115	5		125	115	92.0
Phoenix	110	106	15	3	125	109	87.2
Albuquerque	115	100	20	15	135	115	85.2
San Diego	105	98	20	8	125	106	84.8
Oakland	160	125	15	19	175	144	82.3
San Antonio	75	72	25	5	100	77	77.0
Newark	140	115	10		150	115	76.7
Washington, D.C.	270	211	30	16	300	227	75.7
Tacoma	125	94			125	94	75.2
Albany	100	78	5		105	78	74.3
Philadelphia	235	169	25	18	260	187	71.9
Toledo	110	81	5	1	115	82	71.3
Baltimore	120	88	5		125	88	70.4
Denver	120	93	20	2	140	95	67.9
San Jose	110	69	20	19	130	88	67.7
New York	650	437	100	60	750	497	66.3
Los Angeles	400	245	100	70	500	315	63.0
Detroit	200	115		1	200	116	58.0
Kansas City, Mo.	100	59	8	3	108	62	57.4
Minneapolis	135	76			135	76	56.3
St. Louis	140	83	10		150	83	55.3
Miami	110	63	40	8	150	71	47.3
St. Paul	95	39	5	8	100	47	47.0
Atlanta	200	93			200	93	46.5
Tucson	30	13			30	13	43.3
New Orleans	115	37	5		120	37	30.8
Indianapolis	115	30			115	30	26.1
Houston	300	89	50	2	350	91	26.0
Louisville	100	25			100	25	25.0
Chicago	385	92	65	10	450	102	22.7
TOTALS	6,445	4,552	690	339	7,143	4,891	68.5

Berkeley, Cincinnati, Iron Range, Mn., and Raleigh are not reporting. Gary, In. is not reporting due to non-delivery of bundle.

These figures report sales for issue no. 46 of the *'Militant'* and the second week of sales of issues no. 22 of *'Perspectiva Mundial'*.

## Help get it around

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



## 'We need action now'

# Chicago: unionists, feminists speak out for ERA

By Jo Della-Guistina

CHICAGO—Labor support for the Equal Rights Amendment—and for public actions to win its ratification—is growing here in Illinois.

A speak-out sponsored by the Committee for the ERA was held here November 18. Leaders of the United Auto Workers, United Steelworkers, National Organization for Women, Mujeres Latinas en Acción, and Gray Panthers participated in a panel discussion of what strategy is needed to ratify the ERA in Illinois.

Naomi Ross, Illinois NOW president, and Karen Boehning, Vice-president for Action of Chicago NOW, urged speak-out participants to send thousands of public-opinion messages, make phone calls, and pay personal visits to Illinois legislators.

If the ERA is not won in this session, Boehning added, "we've got to try to duplicate another massive demonstration like we did in Washington, D.C., and in Springfield [Illinois]. The 100,000 people who converged in Washington, D.C., as well as the 100,000 public-opinion messages all played a major role in winning extension [of the ERA deadline]."

James Balanoff, director of United Steelworkers District 31, explained, "Women have always helped the labor movement. There are women working in the blast furnaces and boiler rooms. It wasn't easy; they've gone up a long, hard path."

"Women want to be treated like human beings," Balanoff added.

"They want no more, no less than male workers."

"We must educate our membership as to what equal rights is all about and why the ERA should be passed."

"Our union sent thousands of people to Washington on July 9," he added. "We have an active women's caucus in District 31 that is raising equal rights for women and the fight to ratify the ERA in Illinois. We intend to mobilize both women and men workers to ratify the ERA. Your fight is our fight."

"Working women have a direct stake in winning the ERA," Carolyn Jasin of USWA Local 1033 Women's Committee told the meeting. "The wage gap between women and men is widening. Affirmative action is being whittled away. We have to continue to build the coalition of women, labor, and civil rights groups that began July 9. We need more visible action to show the legislature that the eyes of the nation are upon them."

"For the women and men in the plants we need a focus of action that is planned one or two months in advance, so we have time to reach every woman and man on every shift. So we can get endorsements, funds, and leaflets distributed from our unions."

Marge Jindrich, co-chairperson of the UAW Region 4 Women's Committee, echoed this sentiment: "We need action now—not just words. Let's go to Springfield as soon as possible and get the ERA ratified so that we can go to the other two states." Three more states must ratify the amendment by 1982.

Diane Avila from Mujeres Latinas en Acción underscored the stake *Latinas* have in the ERA struggle.

"*Latino* women and men have been exploited as a cheap source of labor in order to divide and circumvent the efforts of poor and working-class people in this country," she said.

"Sexism has long been a tool in this oppression. Yet the Constitution of this country offers us no protection. The ERA can give us that protection. That's why it is important that we

push for ratification now.

Closing the panel presentation was Njoki Kamu, a student from Kenya, who read a poem that paid tribute to the international character of the battle for women's equality.

"You are fighting an international war and the international arena is your battleground," she said. "However, be encouraged to know that the women of the world are behind you. Besides, history is there to prove you right."



United Auto Workers contingent in Chicago's April 29 march for the Equal Rights Amendment.

## High court to hear case

# Top steel union official hits Weber ruling

The U.S. Supreme Court agreed December 11 to rule on the 'Weber' case, the challenge to affirmative action in employment brought by a white, male worker in Louisiana. The high court's decision will have an even greater impact than its 'Bakke' decision last summer. See editorial, page 2.

By Andrew Pulley

CHICAGO—"The real issue is not 'reverse discrimination,'" declared Leon Lynch, United Steelworkers vice-president for human affairs.

"The real issue is whether a union and employer can voluntarily agree on an affirmative-action program without first being found legally guilty of discrimination."

Andrew Pulley is a member of United Steelworkers Local 1066 at U.S. Steel-Gary Works.

Lynch was speaking about the Weber case to more than 300 delegates at the USWA District 31 Civil and Human Rights Conference, held here December 5.

The conference urged stepped-up efforts to overturn the Weber decision and to defend equal job rights for Blacks, *latinos*, and women.

Brian Weber is a white employee of Kaiser Aluminum in Gramercy, Louisiana, who filed suit against the affirmative-action provisions of the Steelworkers' contract with Kaiser. Like Allan Bakke's challenge to affir-

mative action in medical school admissions, Weber's suit charges "reverse discrimination."

Two lower courts have ruled in Weber's favor, issuing sweeping prohibitions against affirmative action *except* where a court has found a particular employer guilty of discrimination.

Without the ability to negotiate voluntary agreements, Lynch explained, unions will be severely handicapped in dealing with widespread job bias against minorities and women.

Lynch told the District 31 delegates that a forthcoming issue of *Steel Labor*, the union newspaper, would carry an article explaining the issues in the Weber case.

Richard Hatcher, mayor of Gary, Indiana, also addressed the conference. He too attacked the notion of "reverse discrimination," pointing out that Blacks have yet to be compensated for hundreds of years of unpaid

forced labor under slavery.

"The issue is not 'reverse discrimination.' The issue is reparation," Hatcher said.

The District 31 conference approved three resolutions—submitted by USWA locals 1010 (Inland Steel), 1033 (Republic Steel), and 1014 (U.S. Steel-Gary Works)—that called for union action to inform members of the dangers *Weber* poses to civil rights and the labor movement.

The resolution from Local 1010 called for uniting Blacks, civil rights groups, *latinos*, and women to build an educational rally in the Chicago-Gary area to protest *Weber*.

At a panel discussion that afternoon, conference delegates made it clear they wanted a definite commitment to action on the proposal. District 31 Director Jim Balanoff agreed that the proposed meeting would be held within ninety days.

## Strike support grows for Sudbury miners

The following article is excerpted from the December 11 issue of 'Socialist Voice,' a revolutionary socialist newspaper published in Toronto.

By Ken Theobald

Efforts have been intensified in recent weeks to gain financial and moral support for the 11,000 Sudbury miners, members of the United Steelworkers, who are on strike against the giant Inco corporation.

Local 6500 president Dave Patterson has been travelling to a number of centers across Ontario urging workers to set up local support funds for the strikers.

During one weekend alone a busload of Sudbury strikers collected nearly \$10,000 in plant gate donations in the Oshawa area.

Support from a number of unions has started to come in. The faculty association at Laurentian University is donating \$750 monthly for the duration of the strike, and the Ontario Public Service Employees Union has contributed \$1,000. The contributions are added to earlier pledges by Hamilton steelworkers (\$60,000) and the Ontario Hydro CUPE local (\$12,000).

Just a few weeks ago, the United Fishermen and Allied Workers Union in B.C. announced it would donate 40 tons of herring to the strikers.

While the total list of donations is impressive, it is still not nearly enough to meet the needs of the miners.

An immediate goal of the Sudbury workers is to raise \$100,000 for a

special Children's Christmas Fund.

Christmas for the nearly 12,000 strikers and their families will come right after the 100-day point of their strike. The longest strike ever against Inco in 1969 lasted 128 days.

Within Sudbury there are few who have not taken sides in this strike, and the vast majority are behind the union. Local 6500 has built within its membership and its families, and within the community, a level of solidarity which has become its biggest asset.

This is partly due to its organization of the strike, through committees within the local and community to mobilize support. And it is also due to the arrogance of a company which is not satisfied with exploiting the labor and resources of Sudbury, but wants to undermine the only collective protection the workers have—the effectiveness and power of their union.

In September, when Inco made its last "offer," the local bargaining committee's response was clear: "This union was built by the members, and Inco is not going to destroy us."

Local 6500 has made their fight the fight of all the working people in the Sudbury area. It should now become the fight of the entire working class.

*Socialist Voice* urges all its readers to take motions of support into their union locals or other organizations and to make financial contributions to the Sudbury strike. Contributions should be sent to: Citizens' Strike Support Committee, c/o Steelworkers' Union Center, 92 Frood Road, Sudbury, Ontario.

## Steel notes...



German steelworkers, on strike for a shorter workweek to create jobs, march in Bochum. Signs proclaim: 'Krupp employees ready to fight,' 'The DGB [the national union federation] demands creation of new jobs,' and 'Those who lock out should be locked up' (37,000 steelworkers are on strike—the employers have locked out another 43,000).

**VA. SHIPYARD WORKERS VOTE TO STRIKE:** United Steelworkers Local 8888 voted overwhelmingly December 10 for a strike against the Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company in Hampton, Virginia. The USWA won a representation election at the shipyard last January, beating out a company union. But the company has refused to negotiate, using all the stalling tactics provided by the National Labor Relations Board. The shipyard is a subsidiary of Tenneco, the giant oil refining conglomerate. A walkout by the 19,000-member local can now be called at any time with the approval of USWA President Lloyd McBride.

**LET US PREY?:** The First Annual International Labor-Management Prayer Breakfast drew 1,300 high-level sinners to Pittsburgh December 3. Co-hosts were George Stinson, chairman of National Steel, and Lloyd McBride, president of the United Steelworkers. Some U.S. senators, the governor-elect of Pennsylvania, and assorted other politicians also bowed their heads and ate breakfast. President Carter sent a personal message.

The assembly prayed for higher productivity as the answer to today's "perilous economic crisis." If anyone prayed for shorter hours of work so that those who labor might enjoy some of the benefits of higher productivity it must have been a silent prayer since it wasn't reported in the newspapers.

Steel baron Stinson allowed as how workers and bosses have more in common than most realize. "We work shoulder to shoulder seven days a week," he opined, displaying keen familiarity with shift schedules in the mills.

On a sterner note, Stinson exhorted: "It's high time we recognize this country does have serious problems, and that we get on with the job of solving them. . . . Let labor and management go hand in hand."

Lloyd McBride's comment was, "I feel very comfortable about what we're doing."

**LOCAL TO PRINT SPANISH NEWSPAPER:** At its November 19 meeting, attended by more than 100 members, USWA Local 15271 voted unanimously to publish the union newspaper, *The Voice*, in Spanish as well as English. Local 15271 represents some 1,500 workers at the Danly Machine Company in Cicero, Illinois. Roughly 20 percent are *latinos*. A Chicano worker presented the motion (bilingually), explaining that it would make for a better informed membership and a stronger union. A special committee was set up to translate and distribute the paper.

—Andy Rose



Families of strikers demonstrate in support of Inco miners

Local 6500/Ken Mersel



# Fifty years in the fight for socialism

A six-page feature

## A new rise in American class struggle

The *Militant* marks its fiftieth anniversary at a decisive moment in U.S. and world history. A new process of labor radicalization has begun and major working-class battles are in the offing.

Our optimistic perspective stems from a considered Marxist analysis of the situation of U.S. imperialism and a careful examination of recent class battles, beginning with last winter's 110-day coal miners' strike.

Our conclusions go directly counter to the widely promoted view that the

### An anniversary editorial

American working class is moving to the right and that a mood of conservatism is enveloping the country.

In international terms, U.S. imperialism is in a steadily worsening position. A watershed came with the defeat of its genocidal aggression in Vietnam.

The rising liberation struggle today in southern Africa poses a deadly threat to U.S. imperialist interests. Yet American antiwar sentiment has prevented Washington from intervening militarily. Instead, President Carter is constrained to fret and fume over the bold initiative of Cuba in sending troops to aid the African freedom fighters.

And in the face of the massive revolt of the Iranian people, the U.S. imperialists are again showing that their counterrevolutionary options are increasingly limited.

They have no intention of throwing in the towel, of course. But their troubles are growing.

And at home their difficulties are increasing apace. Responding to these problems, the capitalists and their twin political parties have certainly shifted further to the right.

But the working class has not.

The employers have escalated their efforts to make workers pay for the deepening economic crisis the capitalist system has created. And these efforts will intensify. But the bosses are learning that it's not all that easy to get away with.

Workers are already resisting. Their resistance will grow. And, in the process, they will become more politically conscious.

The assault on the miners was a test of the capacity of the capitalists to wage war on the industrial workers. The miners dealt that attack a stunning setback. The reverberations were felt throughout labor and beyond.

With the complicity of the Carter administration, the coal barons fully intended to break the back of the union. If they had succeeded, the attack would have been systematically extended to other unions.

But it didn't work. Defying the operators, the government, and their own officialdom, the miners fought back heroically.

The effect was immediate. During the strike, support activity was orga-



nized in cities across the country. There was a growing, vitally needed spirit of labor solidarity.

But it went beyond that. Other unionists began following the miners' example.

Postal workers waged a major battle against government efforts to ram a lousy contract down their throats.

The Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks shut down rail lines in a fight to defend job security.

At the new Volkswagen plant in Stanton, Pennsylvania, a rebellious young work force shocked both the bosses and union officials with a strike for a better contract.

In each of these strike situations, the theme was echoed: We're fighting back like the miners!

The impact has also spread beyond the ranks of organized labor.

This past July 9, in the climate of greater militancy inspired by the miners, the National Organization for Women called a Washington, D.C., march for the Equal Rights Amendment. Some 100,000 people turned out, including the greatest number of unionists on a march for women's rights so far.

Congress got the message. It retreated on its plan to let the ERA die and extended the deadline for ratification.

Another sign of the political shifts in this country is the growing solidarity with the South African freedom struggle. Increasing numbers of Blacks, students, and unionists are joining the fight against U.S. support to apartheid.

And the antinuclear movement, relatively new to U.S. politics, is gaining support from working people.

Another measure of rising class consciousness was the great labor victory in Missouri, where voters decisively defeated a "right to work" proposition.

Further confirmation was offered with the defeat of the antigay Briggs referendum in California, where unprecedented labor support was won.

Today, working people are becoming increasingly aware of the enormous social problems spawned by this bankrupt capitalist system. Most do not yet know all the answers. But they are now more and more convinced that things are going to get worse, not better.

They rightly fear that inflation and widespread unemployment are both here to stay. Racism and sexism continue unabated. The environment is being destroyed. Funds for education, health, housing, and other social needs are being slashed in favor of weapons of destruction.

Working people want to do something about these problems and, for that reason, are more and more open to socialist ideas. That's why we're confident that the prospects for building the socialist movement have never been better.

As we celebrate fifty years of publication many supporters have wished us well for "the next fifty years."

In terms of the developing class struggle, we're looking forward with excitement and anticipation to the next fifty weeks.





## By Harry Ring

One of the most exciting chapters in the *Militant's* history was our coverage of the first years of the Cuban revolution.

The revolution was an inspiring event that left a profound imprint. Countless people around the world were radicalized and won to socialism by it.

From the very outset, the American imperialists worked overtime to strangle the revolution—a fact that posed special responsibilities for socialists in this country.

The revolution also posed many political and theoretical questions in a new way for the Marxist movement.

All this was reflected in the pages of the *Militant*. The *Militant* became must reading, week in and week out, for those who wanted to keep up with Cuban developments.

Throughout that period, Joseph Hansen was on the editorial staff of the *Militant*. In a recent interview, he discussed how U.S. socialists responded to the key stages of the Cuban revolution.

Currently the editor of *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*, Hansen is a longtime leader of the Socialist Workers Party. He was secretary to Leon Trotsky and is the author of a voluminous body of Marxist writings. Among these is the recently published *Dynamics of the Cuban Revolution*, an invaluable compilation of his writings on Cuba.

### July 26 Movement

In the interview, Hansen discussed the changing attitude of the *Militant* toward Fidel Castro's July 26 Movement as that movement evolved.

## Cubans hailed Militant, SWP

The new Cuban government and press took note of the unique role of the *Militant* and the Socialist Workers Party in championing the revolutionary events on the island and mobilizing opposition to U.S. threats.

Following Premier Fidel Castro's 1960 visit to New York to speak before the United Nations, he reported back to a giant rally in Havana. Castro explained that while most Cubans had only heard about the two big-business candidates in the U.S. presidential election that year, there was a third candidate that they hadn't heard about, because the monopolists barred him from the press and air waves.

Castro was referring to Farrell Dobbs, the SWP candidate. An article on the U.S. elections appeared in the November 15, 1960, issue of the Cuban weekly magazine *Bohemia*.

After reviewing the positions of Democrat John F. Kennedy and Republican Richard Nixon, the article explained:

"Both candidates were the same. They had nothing new to offer. And the people were well aware of the fact."

But there was an alternative, *Bohemia* said. "Standing up against the well-heeled hack and the Catholic millionaire, the socialist Dobbs presented a really new program. During his three coast-to-coast tours, he made it clear that he was fighting for peace—a welcome word to all people—for economic security and equal rights. And he was speaking for a real revolution, for the socialization of North America.

"The result of the voting by a people numbed by tons of propaganda," *Bohemia* concluded, "will obviously be decided between Nixon and Kennedy.

"But the large percentage of North Americans who don't bother to vote because of indecision, added to the energetic campaigning of the Socialist Workers party, serves as a clear sign that the leading circles in the United States will soon face a people turning against them."

Several months later, at the time of the unsuccessful CIA-organized invasion of Cuba at the Bay of Pigs, the *Militant* responded with the banner headline, "Stop the crime against Cuba!" Although the paper was much smaller than today, it hammered away week after week on the danger of new imperialist plots against the Cuban revolution.

Rounding up U.S. press reaction to the Bay of Pigs, *Bohemia* wrote:

"What the U.S. *News & World Report* was proclaiming as an heroic deed, *The Militant* was indicting as a crime. This is a modest socialist tabloid edited in New York. Since it doesn't represent the interests of the monopolies, it lacks advertising and its circulation is limited. . . . Its truth remains compressed in four pages."

From the very beginning, of course, socialists wholeheartedly supported any struggles against the U.S.-backed Batista dictatorship.

"We took our stand against Batista and against U.S. domination of Cuba," Hansen said. "But we didn't politically support the July 26 Movement."

The reason, he explained, was that the initial program of Castro's movement specifically excluded expropriations of capitalist holdings. It pledged that the democratic reforms it was committed to would be carried out within the framework of capitalism.

"We knew this was a totally utopian idea," Hansen commented. "None of the basic problems of Cuba could be solved on a capitalist basis, so we couldn't support Castro's political program."

At the same time, he added, the *Militant* was very much aware of the potential of the struggle then developing in Cuba. A staff writer was assigned to follow these events.

With the fall of Batista on January 1, 1959, our coverage greatly expanded.

"We were particularly concerned," Hansen said, "to get all the material we could that indicated the direction in which the movement was going.

"It should be remembered that in the first days after it came to power, the July 26 Movement did not carry out expropriations. It reiterated its intention not to."

### Socialist direction

Why did the revolution, over its first two years, take a socialist direction?

There were several reasons.

To begin with, Hansen said, the Cuban leadership began to learn fairly quickly that it couldn't carry out an effective land redistribution and other social programs within the framework of capitalist property relations.

And U.S. interests, which dominated the island's sugar economy, were determined to thwart the new government's program to place control of the land in the hands of those who worked it.

To that end, the Eisenhower administration directed an intensifying barrage of economic and political blows against Cuba. But the new government responded not with retreats or compromises but by moving more resolutely to realize its goals.

This quickly led it to expropriate capitalist interests in the countryside and city.

"It was inevitable that Washington would direct heavy blows against Cuba," Hansen commented.

"But it wasn't inevitable that the Cuban leaders would respond the way they did. Like many other reform governments, they could have knuckled under.

"But they didn't. They responded by deepening the revolution, by taking it in an anticapitalist direction.

"They started out as middle-class reformers—they described themselves that way, you know. But in the heat of the struggle, they became socialist revolutionists. They deserve a lot of credit for that."

### On the scene

In April 1960, Hansen got a chance to see the process first-hand. He went to Cuba with Farrell Dobbs, the SWP's presidential candidate that year.

This was at a time when Washington and the capitalist media were whipping up a menacing anti-Cuban slander campaign.

Defense of the Cuban revolution became a central axis of the SWP campaign. Dobbs went to Cuba to get the facts that would help combat the lies. He and Hansen spent nearly a month visiting various parts of the island, talking with workers, farmers, and government officials.

"We saw the gains of the agrarian reform program," Hansen said. "How they took over the big sugar plantations—and the sugar mills—and turned them into state farms. We saw how they broke up other holdings and turned over these smaller plots to the peasants.

"They eliminated unemployment in a country where previously most people didn't work nine months of the year," Hansen emphasized.

"They made it possible for children to go to school. They slashed rents, cut food prices, provided medical care, opened a drive against illiteracy.

"And there was a real liberating atmosphere in the country," he added, "not the totalitarianism the State Department kept talking about."

On their return, Dobbs effectively used that first-hand knowledge on TV and radio and at public meetings. As the Cuban press noted, he was the only presidential candidate to stand up for Cuba.

Hansen wrote a series of articles for the *Militant*, later published as a pamphlet, *The Truth About Cuba*.

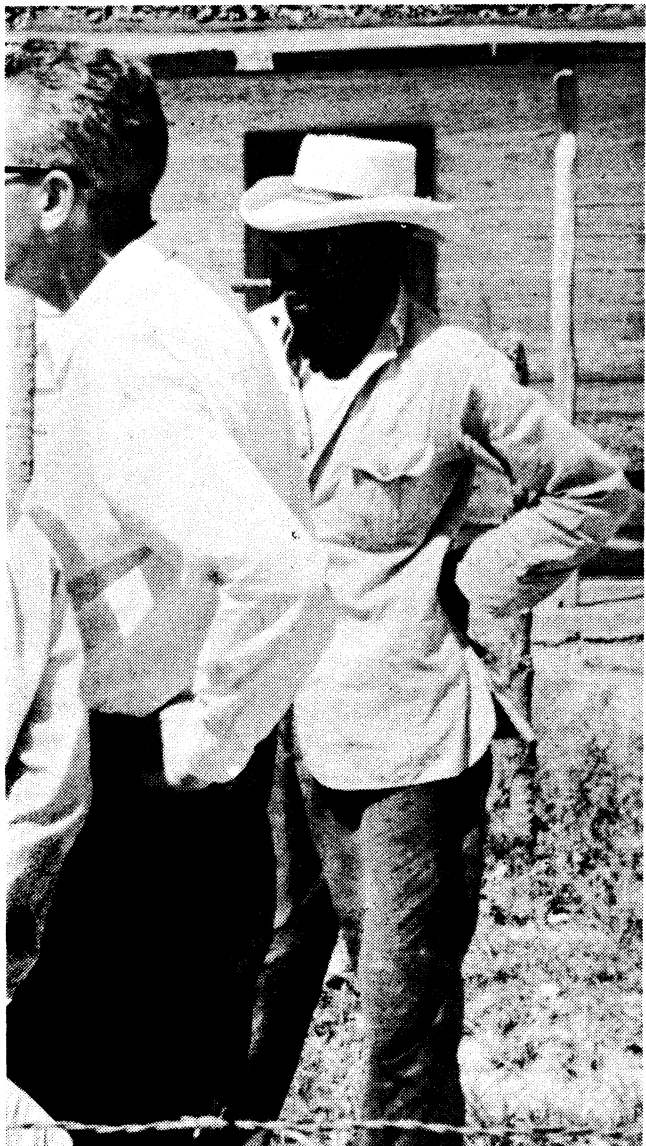
At the same time, Hansen recalled, members of the SWP were actively involved in building the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, which worked to counter the anti-Cuba campaign. It published literature, held meetings, provided speakers, and—before the



Joseph Hansen took this photograph of Farrell Dobbs. Dobbs visits a rural area of the island. The new government's program to place control of the land in the hands of those who worked it was the expense of wealthy Cuban and U.S. imperialist landowners.

# The M and the revol An interview with





second from right) during their 1960 tour of Cuba. Here  
nt brought about a revolutionary land redistribution at the

# Militant Cuban ution a Joseph Hansen

United States instituted a travel ban—organized tours to Cuba so people could see the revolution for themselves.

## Impact in U.S.

The Cuban revolution, Hansen recalled, coincided with the victory of the Algerian revolution over French colonialism.

"These were popular causes," Hansen said. "Not in the sense that they swept the country. But they found considerable backing among people who were beginning to radicalize because of the situation they found themselves in here.

"The revolution came at the same time as the whole movement for Black freedom in this country," he continued. "You had the marches and sit-ins in the South, the new awakening of the student movement."

And, he added, there were a lot of poor people who simply didn't accept as "gospel" what they were being told about Cuba.

This was demonstrated in the most dramatic way, Hansen recalled, when Castro headed a 1960 delegation to the United Nations. Rudely treated at their original hotel they packed their bags and moved up to the Theresa, then a well-known Harlem hotel.

Every night during the week the Cuban delegation was there, thousands of people gathered in the streets outside, cheering and demonstrating. The outpouring of the people of Harlem, Hansen said, was a stunning rebuke to Washington's hate-Cuba campaign.

For those following the Cuban development closely, the *Militant* performed a unique service. Despite its very small size at the time—as few as four pages in 1961—the *Militant* became a paper of record for the Cuban revolution.

It printed more speeches by Castro and Che Guevara than any other English-language publication. The texts of major Cuban documents appeared in the *Militant* as well.

Other radical publications were sympathetic to Cuba, but they apparently did not see the importance of publishing what the Cubans themselves were actually saying.

And some radical groups were only lukewarm in their support, Hansen noted.

## Record of CPUSA

For example, "the U.S. Communist Party gave 'all hail' to the revolution, verbally," Hansen said. "But they dragged their feet about doing what was needed to defend it."

This was because they had a big political problem, Hansen explained. The Cuban Popular Socialist [Communist] Party had bitterly opposed the July 26 Movement until it was on the road to power. The PSP had previously denounced the July 26 Movement as "adventurist" and, several times during Batista's reign, had given open support to the dictator.

Not surprisingly, the July 26 Movement had bypassed the PSP in making the revolution.

That victory, Hansen said, exploded the carefully nurtured illusion that only Communist parties could lead revolutions. This, he said, dealt a heavy blow to Stalinism.

For authentic Marxists, the process by which the Cuban revolution succeeded was, in many respects, unanticipated. After coming to power, the evolution of the July 26 Movement from radical reform to the enactment of deepgoing socialist measures was something entirely new in world history and had to be assessed in the light of prior Marxist experience and theory.

The SWP carefully followed its evolution in an open-minded, objective way.

"We went by the Marxist criteria that what's decisive are the actions that are taken," Hansen explained.

"You can lay down a blueprint that lists the main steps that should be taken and say that's where you stand.

"But you also have to be prepared for a development that doesn't fit the blueprint but nevertheless points in the same general direction. You have to take that into consideration. That was the basis of our judgment."

The SWP and *Militant* demonstrated our respect for the Cuban leaders by frankly stating our opinions—critical as well as positive—on the basic political issues facing the revolutionary government.

"For instance, we welcomed the desire of the Cuban leadership to extend the revolution into Latin America," Hansen said. "But we disagreed with them on how that could be done.

"While they placed reliance on the organization of guerrilla movements, we argued for building mass-based, revolutionary working-class parties. It was a mistake, we insisted, to believe the Cuban experience could be mechanically duplicated in other countries in Latin America."



JOSEPH HANSEN

Militant/Walter Lippmann

Hansen continued, "Another issue on which we argued for our particular point of view was how best to develop and expand the new climate of freedom that followed the triumph over Batista.

"What was necessary, we said, was the development of structured workers democracy; that is, the creation of institutions, under the control of the working people, whereby they could actively participate in Cuba's decision-making process. Such forms of democracy, we said, would strengthen the revolution."

## Decisive transformation

In the late summer of 1960 the expropriation of major U.S. and Cuban holdings reached the point where the power of capitalism was broken. The significance of this historic development received major treatment by the *Militant*.

And, when the ill-fated U.S.-organized invasion of Cuba occurred in 1961, the SWP and *Militant* stood in the forefront of those denouncing and opposing it.

"STOP THE CRIME AGAINST CUBA," was the headline emblazoned in block type across the front page of the *Militant*. It featured a statement by the SWP Political Committee assailing the imperialist aggression.

There were other major developments in Cuba

Continued on page 18

READ  
**Dynamics  
of the  
Cuban  
Revolution**  
A Trotskyist View  
By Joseph Hansen

The articles and documents collected here cover the development of the Cuban revolution from the 1950s into the 1970s. Joseph Hansen explains how the revolution triumphed, why imperialism has waged an unremitting campaign of violence and slander against it, and the lessons of the Cuban experience for revolutionists around the world. An assessment of both the foreign and domestic policies of the Cuban government are also raised.  
393 pages, \$5.45.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Please include \$.50 for postage.

# 'Fifty years to speak

## Rallies hail Militant past and future

By Arnold Weissberg

Celebrating the *Militant's* fiftieth anniversary, friends of the socialist newspaper have held twenty rallies across the country this month and last. Fourteen others are scheduled for the December 8-10 weekend or for January.

These are not only celebrations of past accomplishments. Even more so, these gatherings are dedicated to the present—and the future.

As Jack Barnes, SWP national secretary, put it in a speech to the New York-Northern New Jersey rally held in Newark:

"No matter how glorious the past fifty years of the *Militant's* history is—and it is a glorious fifty years—the real test is not yesterday's glories, but how the absorption of the lessons of that history has prepared the *Militant* for what's happening today.

"How the *Militant* reports, analyzes, and organizes today."

Pointing to the political impact on this country of the historic 110-day strike by coal miners last winter, Barnes said:

"What's happening in the United States right now is the real cause for celebration. Not so much what the *Militant* says about the Black struggle, the women's struggle, the Chicano struggle, the labor movement. But what these movements are doing, the growing numbers of their activists who want to read the *Militant*, and especially the growing numbers of industrial workers who are interested in and want to read about the very struggles, socialist ideas, and political issues the *Militant* talks about every week."

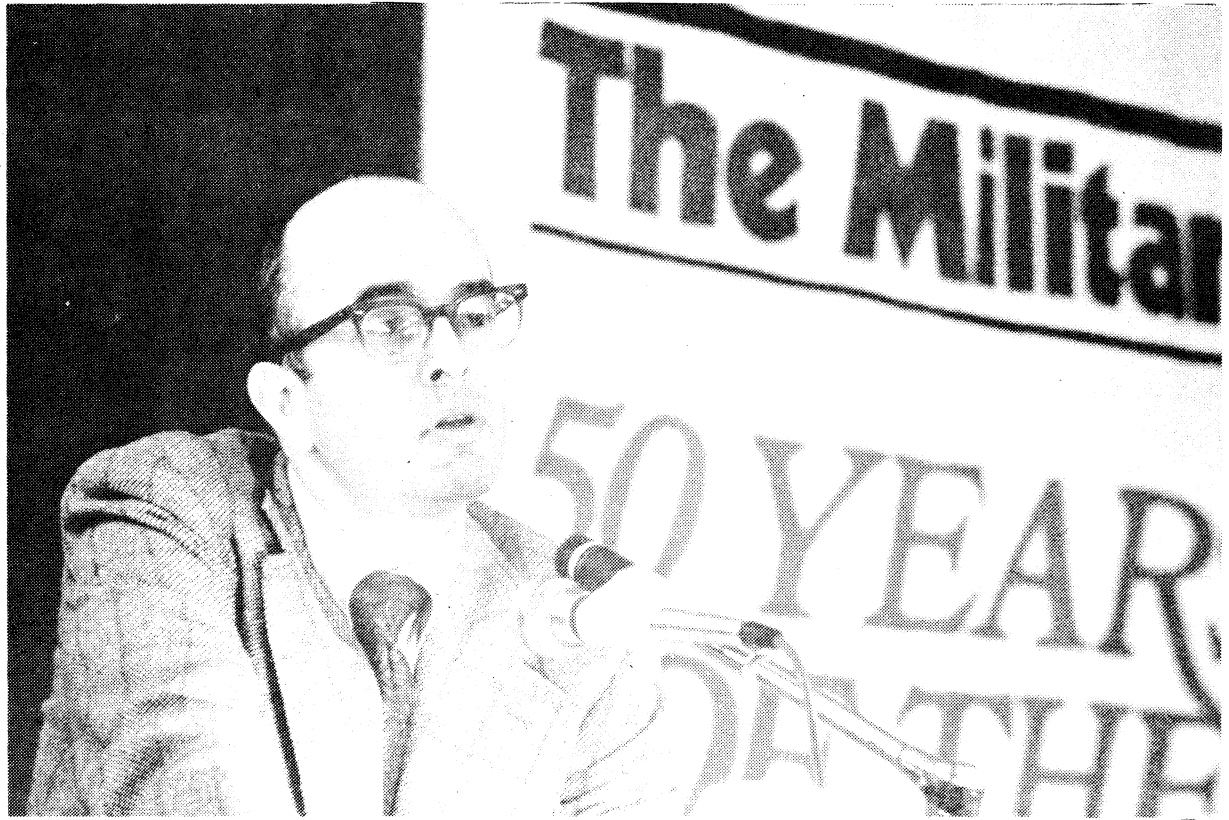
Many of the people who attended the rallies came from the plants, mines, and rail yards where Socialist Workers Party members work.

Campus activists working in the South Africa divestment movement alongside members of the Young Socialist Alliance also attended.

Many participants in other movements for social change came too—feminists, Black and Chicano activists, fighters for gay rights, and antinuclear activists.

Leaders of these movements spoke at the rallies, hailing the role the *Militant* has played in the fight for social justice.

Speaking at a rally in San Antonio was Jorge



Militant/Harry Ring

**JACK BARNES:** 'What's happening in the United States today is the real cause for celebration'

Zaragoza, a leader of the Texas Farm Workers union.

Atlanta heard Manning Marable, Black newspaper columnist and professor.

Mark Baustian, a leader of the anti-nuclear power Armadillo Coalition, spoke to the Dallas *Militant* rally.

Louisville heard from Pat Van Houten, a member of the steering committee of the Lexington, Kentucky, National Organization for Women.

Reza Baraheni, the prominent Iranian opponent of the shah and celebrated poet and essayist, spoke at the Baltimore rally.

A member of the Puerto Rican Internationalist Workers League, a sister organization of the SWP, spoke at the New York-Northern New Jersey gathering.

In addition, greetings from many other prominent political figures were read to the rallies. Excerpts from some of the speeches and greetings accompany this article, and more will appear in future issues.

All the rallies heard keynote speeches from leaders of the Socialist Workers Party.

One important purpose of the *Militant* fiftieth anniversary celebrations was to raise money to enable the paper to keep up with rising costs. *Militant* supporters pledged \$16,600 at the twenty rallies.

The twenty rallies were in Louisville, Chicago-Gary, Albany, Philadelphia, Atlanta, Baltimore, Cleveland, Dallas, Minneapolis, New Orleans, San Antonio, New York-Newark, Kansas City, Phoenix, Seattle, Houston, Indianapolis, Milwaukee, Takoma, and Salt Lake City.

Below are some of the fiftieth anniversary greetings presented by speakers at 'Militant' rallies across the country, read at those rallies, or sent to our editorial office in New York. Some have been excerpted for reasons of space.

### Miriam Schneir Walter Schneir

Authors of 'Invitation to an Inquiry.'

The *Militant* is one of the left publications in America that we read regularly. Reflecting the international politics of our times, these left publications have different perspectives on many issues. But despite their very real and important differences, the best of them have one common bond: they play an essential role in keeping alive the goal of racial equality, feminism, and a classless society. They report and are part of the struggles against racism, sexism, imperialism, and oppression. In this proud tradition of American left journalism, the *Militant* has earned a noteworthy place, for which we offer our thanks and congratulations.

### Héctor Marroquín

Mexican socialist seeking political asylum in the United States.

I have always admired the

*Militant* for its honest and correct information and political analysis on the movement of the working people and the oppressed in this country and around the world.

I also admire it because of the role that it has played in the defense of civil, human, and democratic rights.

It has always stood in the forefront in the struggle for any victim of political repression—from the Rosenbergs and Jimmy Kutcher, to the Wilmington Ten and Skyhorse and Mohawk.

In my particular case, the support of the *Militant* to my fight for political asylum in the United States has been vital to me.

It was the first newspaper in the world to publicize the illegal and inhuman attempts of the Immigration and Naturalization Service to deport me back to Mexico, where my life and freedom would be seriously threatened just because of my political opposition to an undemocratic, corrupt, and discredited regime.

I am very grateful for your unconditional solidarity with

my rights and the rights of every other refugee from every part of the world.

On your fiftieth anniversary I want to wish you the best in your work publicizing the struggles of the working people, the oppressed, and every victim of political persecution.

### David Thorstad

Spokesperson, Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights; writer.

I can't imagine the struggle for social justice and socialism without the *Militant*. Few, if any, other left-wing papers have demonstrated consistently their unflinching support for all those of us who are struggling for freedom from the mediocrity, narrow-mindedness, oppression, and exploitation of capitalist society. Reaching your fiftieth year is a remarkable achievement. But the greatest achievement—the overthrow of the entire rotten system by the workers and the oppressed—remains to be accomplished. It's reassuring to know that the *Militant* is there helping in this task.

### Robert Meeropol Michael Meeropol

Sons of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg; affiliated with the Fund for Open Information and Accountability.

We salute the *Militant* on the fiftieth anniversary of its publication. The *Militant* has consistently supported our now five-year-long effort to reopen our parents' case. You made it clear to your readership the connections we see between the repression of the early 1950s and the gathering storm of the present. Your reportage has been accurate and thorough and at the same time hooked up with a broader political analysis that puts what we have been trying to do in perspective. We have appreciated how you have repeatedly demonstrated the many parallels between our Freedom of Information Act lawsuit and the suit of the Political Rights Defense Fund. At a time when the media establishment for all its words has remained virtually silent on this and other issues, your readers have been given facts most Americans unfortunately have been denied. There can be no greater service done by a paper for its readers than to print the truth as you have done in this case. Thank you.

### Jim Grant

Defendant, Charlotte Three.

As one who has been involved in the struggle for meaningful and substantial social change for the past eighteen years, I know that the movement press plays a key role. The *Militant* certainly has been instrumental in helping to build these struggles during its fifty years of existence. Though I have differences with some of the politics expressed therein, I rely on it as a source of information about struggles that the establishment press ignores. May it have another fifty years of life!

### Barbara Lombardo

President, Cleveland chapter National Organization for Women.

I've never read a whole *Militant* cover to cover, but I've read parts of every copy I've gotten my hands on. I've always read all the articles relating to women's issues. Every copy I've seen has had at least one, and often two or three.

I've noticed a good representation on the staff writing for the *Militant*. It gives me the feeling that women are encouraged to participate, and I like that.



# truth for justice' — Kate Millett

## Ossie Davis

Actor, Black activist.

The *Militant* was and is an important landmark in the ideological environment, recording and participating in the life and death struggles of our times. I still have copies of your excellent coverage of the days of Malcolm X. Over the years we have often been in disagreement over many things, but never over the necessity of continuous struggle as the prime ingredient in any and all progress.

## William Kunstler

Attorney.

The *Militant* has been an important source of information for me for more years than I care to remember. As one who used to depend on the conventional news media for what I then considered to be accurate data on what was happening both here and abroad, it came as a real shock to my middle-class outlook to find that these agencies were prone to color and distort reality so as to reflect their own corporate requirements and interests.

Since my rude awakening, the *Militant* and other movement journals have gradually become the keystones of my media sources. Not that it (or they) are perfect or unbiased in approach, but stories that the establishment press never covers or, if it does, presents in a sketchy or highly prejudiced manner, regularly appear in the *Militant* and usually with more perceptive analysis than is available elsewhere. Moreover, it is possible, through this paper, to stay in contact with friends and associates across the country and to reach potential supporters of the cases in which I am involved, something that is impossible in other than movement publications.

Accordingly, on its fiftieth anniversary, I want to wish the *Militant* well and to thank it for its many years of meaningful journalism. It is only ten years younger than I am and that we both have survived a somewhat hostile world is a source of some hope to me.

## Kate Millett

Feminist and author of 'Sexual Politics.'

Happy anniversary. How far along the road have fifty years brought us? How much more truckin'? Never mind—it's the best work around. And how lovely that you have been there all these fifty years to speak truth for justice.

## Parvin Najafi

Staff writer for 'Payam Danesh-joo,' Iranian revolutionary socialist weekly.

From what the American big media say, it's hard to make heads or tails out of the events in Iran. All of a sudden, they say, 34 million people have lost their senses, they are manipulated by a few religious fanatics who tell them to go in front of the bullets, and they just do it.

But you know better. That is not the truth. The reason they are in front of the bullets is that they would rather die than live in this hell created by U.S. imperialism in collaboration with the shah—a hell of poverty, misery, degradation, and oppression.

There has been one newspaper that has told the truth about the revolutionary upsurge in Iran—told the truth and nothing but the truth. That has been the *Militant*. Revolutionary greetings to the *Militant*!

## Rev. Isidore Booker

President, Jefferson Parish, Louisiana, NAACP; chair of the civil rights committee, United Steelworkers Local 13000.

One of the things I find in the *Militant* is that it gives me a broad spectrum and insight on the current happenings of our time—things that are meaningful and dear to me and to many of our fellow beings. And it makes it concise—so many different items that are instilled within this paper, that bring into a few pages, at one glance, all of the various subjects that I should, and you should, and everyone should, be abreast of.

If I want to find out something about Africa, I find it in the *Militant*. If I want to find out something about various union activities throughout this country, I look in the pages of the *Militant*, and I find it there.

## Paul Skyhorse

Native American activist, acquitted of frame-up murder charges, recently indicted on other charges in Chicago.

I'd like to thank all of you very much. And I thank you from the bottom of my heart. And I thank you all not only on my own behalf, I thank you on behalf of my people. And I thank you on behalf of my people for the coverage, and the work, and the sensitivity, and the awareness that the people from the *Militant* and the people associated and affiliated with the *Militant* demonstrated during the course of the three-and-a-half-year ordeal that I underwent.

I for one compliment the people from the *Militant*—compliment and congratulate you—on carrying out your responsibility to get out the word to the people about what's really going on in today's society. In the real world—not the commercialized, advertisement world of the *Sun-Times* and the *Tribune*.

The real word to get out is the word that the *Militant* gets out. And I thank you for that.

You're 50 years old—50 winters old in the ways of our people. Well, the American government is only 200 years old. And I say, as a Native person, I can see that the *Militant* is going to go forward. It's going to progress to the point when there really does exist freedom in this country, it still will be an oracle.

And the 200 year-old American government does not have 200 winters more.

There will be no freedom in this country until Native American people are free.

## Clyde Bellecourt

Leader of American Indian Movement.

We want to thank the *Militant*, the *Militant* Forums that have sponsored forums throughout the country in relation to Leonard Crow Dog, one of our spiritual leaders who was convicted of charges stemming from the occupation of Wounded Knee.

It was the *Militant* Forums that exposed what was happening to Leonard Crow Dog in federal institutions across this country. Leonard was transferred to fourteen different federal institutions in the eighteen months he was held in continuous solitary confinement.

He is out. He is out because people like the *Militant* Forum and the Socialist Workers Party have put forth tremendous efforts to expose these conditions for us. We're ever grateful for that.

## José Angel Gutiérrez

Founding leader, Texas Raza Unida Party; Zavala County judge.

The *Militant* has a different point of view which we normally do not hear. You can open the *Militant* and read about Hugo Blanco. You can read in there about Raza Unida. About the upsurge in Iran. And many of the things you find in the *Militant*, you don't find anywhere else.

## Jerry Gordon

Former national coordinator, National Peace Action Coalition.

An outstanding landmark in the *Militant's* long and distinguished service on behalf of the working class and all oppressed people was the paper's role during the war in Southeast Asia. Week in and week out, the *Militant* exposed the unjust and brutal character of the war. It unceasingly called upon workers, students, and all progressive forces to unite in massive actions—independent of the two-party politicians—to stop the slaughter and get the U.S. out of Southeast Asia. From beginning to end, the *Militant* was for the antiwar movement a leading educator, organizer, and mobilizer.



TOP ROW: José Angel Gutiérrez, Kate Millett;  
SECOND ROW: Ossie Davis, Paul Skyhorse;  
THIRD ROW: Parvin Najafi, Rev. Isidore Booker;  
BOTTOM: William Kunstler.

It is not enough to acclaim the *Militant* for its unwavering support of the antiwar movement. The fact is the *Militant* was a key part of the antiwar movement.

## Gustavo Gutiérrez

Farm workers organizer, member of Maricopa County (Arizona) Organizing Project.

I'm here because I'm glad to be able to participate in the fiftieth anniversary of the *Militant*.

We find ourselves in a lot of situations where we want to see that this newspaper gets spread around. For four years I was assistant business agent for Local 383 of the construction labor union. I remember one of the tasks I took upon myself was to see that the *Militant* got distributed among the workers, to sell them introductory subscriptions.

I remember the business agent taking me into one of the conference rooms and telling me:

"You know, I wish you wouldn't be selling that socialist paper around. If you have sold it to any of the members I wish you would tell them to give it back to you."

I didn't say anything, because I had learned that sometimes it's better to keep your mouth shut and keep on doing what you have to do.

I continued to sell the *Militant* on the sly—not so much in the open.

I want to thank all of you for this opportunity. I especially want to thank the staff of the *Militant* for giving us the news that they give us.

The more we can spread the paper around, the more we can get people to understand what socialism is all about.

Continued on next page

## International greetings

Although barred by reactionary U.S. legislation from membership in the Fourth International, the Socialist Workers Party collaborates and is in political solidarity with this world party of socialist revolutionists.

The *Militant* has received fiftieth anniversary messages from a number of parties affiliated with the Fourth International around the world, as well as from individual leaders and from the United Secretariat of the Fourth International. Messages received included those from Chinese, French, New Zealand, Peruvian, Canadian, and Australian socialists.

These messages will appear in a forthcoming issue of the *Militant*.

# ...50 years

Continued from preceding page  
**Bill Hampton**

**Brother of Fred Hampton, Black Panther leader killed by Chicago cops in 1969.**

My greetings to the fiftieth anniversary of the *Militant* newspaper. I think that it's very apparent for me to say thank you to the *Militant*. As our long case has gone on, eighteen months in court, and for the nine years since the incident happened, and for all the cases down through history—a lot of racist papers have tried to hide things that the *Militant* does not try to hide.

If it wasn't for papers like the *Militant*, we would not be

hearing of a lot of things that happen to us in this society.

Our organization, the December 4 Committee, myself, my family, and everybody, would like to thank the *Militant* 100 percent. And we stand behind you 100 percent and will continue to give you news about our case and other cases to tell the truth to the world.

Carter's not going to tell you how the people are enslaved. The *SunTimes* is not going to indicate to you how the people are enslaved.

**Emile de Antonio**

**Filmmaker ('Millhouse', 'Point of Order').**

I support you in your strug-

gle against racism, imperialism, and sexism. The *Militant* has been and is involved in the struggle for social justice. No paper has served it so long.

**Vernon Bellecourt**

**Leader of American Indian Movement.**

Obviously, right now, because of the lies and distortions of the establishment press, the only facts and truth we are getting is through the *Militant*. This is particularly true around the coverage of the struggles in Iran and Nicaragua. In addition, we are appreciative of the *Militant's* coverage of the Indian movement. Thank you.

**Dave McReynolds**

**Antiwar activist, member of War Resisters League and Socialist Party.**

The combination of this season and the very special fact that this is the fiftieth anniversary of the *Militant* is time to give thanks that we have a radical press in the United States. Whatever disagreements I have with the *Militant*, I have no problem at all recognizing it to be part of that radical press. It deserves our thanks for being right—which is to say left—more often than it is wrong and for being part of the broad struggle against racism, against capitalism, and against militarism. May

all your readers live to celebrate your 100th anniversary as one of many daily papers in a socialist America.

**Rulx Jean-Bart**

**Director, Haitian Refugee Center, Miami.**

Greetings to the *Militant*. Keep up the good work. Your news coverage on undocumented workers and the fight for political asylum has been helpful in informing us about struggles similar to ours. We take this opportunity to thank the *Militant* for its coverage of the Haitian struggle in Miami. We hope the *Militant* has many more fruitful years.

## ...Cuba

Continued from page 15

that we followed closely, Hansen said. "But it would take a book to deal with them all. So, if I can be permitted a plug, I would suggest people check out *Dynamics of the Cuban Revolution*. A lot of it is material that first appeared in the *Militant*."

In 1967, Hansen returned to Cuba to cover the conference of the Organization of Latin American Solidarity convened by the Cubans to discuss how to advance the Latin American revolution.

There was a sharp dispute there, Hansen said, between Castro forces and representatives of various Latin American Communist parties.

The Castroists flayed the CPs for their refusal to support armed struggle in Latin America and their false, class-collaborationist line of a "peaceful transition" to socialism. This was coupled by the CPs with the reactionary notion of alliances with "progressive" sectors of the bourgeoisie.

But at the same time, the Cubans did not go beyond the perspective of guerrilla warfare, Hansen observed. This led to costly defeats, the most tragic being the death of Che Guevara, who was killed in Bolivia that same year trying to build a guerrilla force there.

### Aid to African freedom fight

Discussing current developments, Hansen offered some observations about the Cuban role in Africa and about Washington's threats in response to this.

"One of the big aims today of the White House and State Department," Hansen said, "is to get the Cuban troops out of Angola. Of course, they don't say a word about their own forces all over the world."

How does the Cuban policy in Africa compare with Moscow's?

"It's certainly more daring, more courageous," he responded. "Their troops played a decisive role in Angola in defending the country against the South African imperialist invasion."

He continued, "I think they saw an opening where they could advance the Cuban revolution by defending the Angolan revolution against imperialism."

"Whether Moscow would do that," he added, "is dubious. You don't see any East German or Soviet troops wandering around Africa."

Does he discount Carter's claim that the Cubans are acting for Moscow in Africa?

"Yes," Hansen replied, "I reject that. What the Cubans are doing coincides with their own interests, their revolutionary interests. They've gained from it in terms of holding off the U.S. threat."

That's why Washington is so enraged, Hansen added.

"There's a revolutionary element in the Cuban line of action that the imperialists are afraid of. Suppose things explode in Rhodesia or South Africa and there's an appeal for help from a new Black government there? They're sure going to get it from the Cubans. And is the United States strong enough to counteract that? If the United States sends some boys from Iowa there, is that going to sit well with the American people?"

"It's obvious," he continued, "that with the defeat in Vietnam, the Pentagon has been seriously weakened on a world scale. The relationship of forces has changed against it."

"So it has to pay for the defeat abroad. The Cubans took the opportunity to make it pay."

We returned to the early years of the Cuban revolution and the role of the *Militant*.

How did Hansen feel about our record?

"I think that what we did was in the line of duty," he responded. "There was no other way Marxist-Leninists—Trotskyists—could act. We take no special praise for it."

"What we did in the pages of the *Militant*," he added, "had an impact. Particularly since it was in conjunction with the SWP's utilization of the elections to defend Cuba, and the building of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee."



Cuban troops in Angola pose enormous obstacle to imperialist and white supremacist plans for southern Africa.

## Down the home stretch

By Harry Ring

This is written as we come down the home stretch in our drive to celebrate our fiftieth anniversary by raising a fund of \$75,000. The fund's purpose is to cope with the spiraling costs of publication.

As the scoreboard shows, we have now raised \$52,000, or 69 percent of our goal. Our target date for completing the drive is December 31, New Year's Eve.

This fund drive is our biggest yet, and the response of our readers and supporters has been gratifying. It demonstrates a serious commitment to what the *Militant* stands for and is working to accomplish.

Contributions from readers continue to come in daily. If, however, you're one of those who intended to send a contribution but hasn't yet—it's not too late. Just clip the coupon below and put it in the mail today.

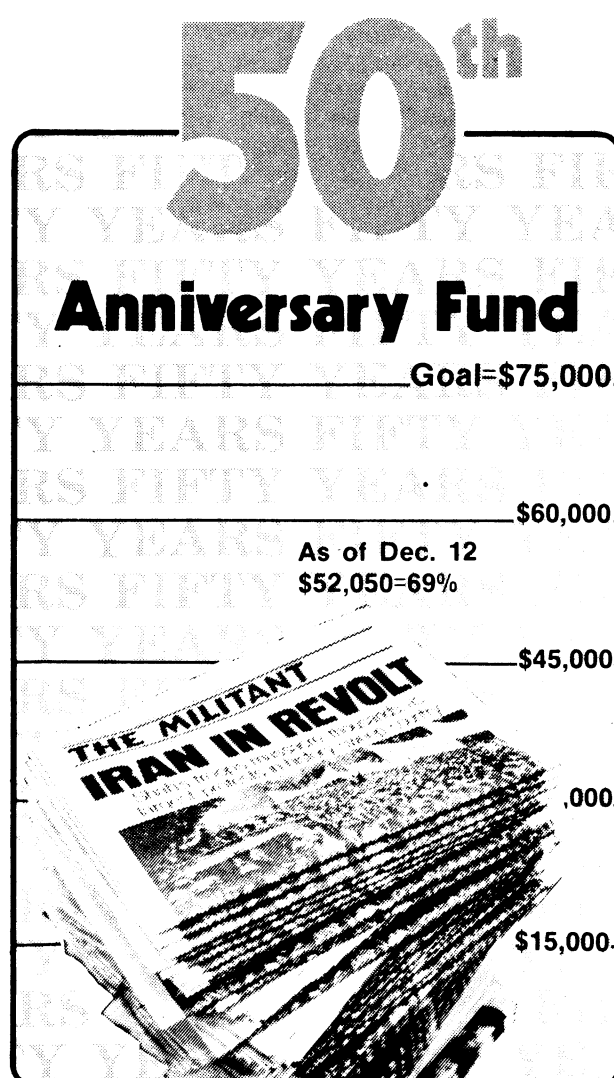
After our annual two-week winter break, we will report how we did in the final days of the drive. Meanwhile, on behalf of the entire *Militant* staff, revolutionary greetings for the new year.

### COUNT ME IN

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

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Street \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

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





# Rosenberg sons press fight for FBI files

By Roger Rudenstein

The FBI refuses to release key files to Michael and Robert Meeropol, sons of witch-hunt victims Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. The Meeropols have been suing the FBI to get information on the frame-up of their parents, who were brutally executed in the electric chair in 1953.

More than 180,000 pages have been released under the Freedom of Information Act as a result of the Meeropols' suit. But the FBI says that it will not release any more documents.

The Rosenbergs were falsely convicted of giving the "secret" of the atom bomb to the Soviet Union. Their case provoked an international outcry against the murderous anticommunist crusade of the U.S. government.

"We are still missing the main files on the Rosenberg case," Bonnie Brower, one of the Meeropols' attorneys, told the *Militant*. "The FBI is stalling and trying to hide these files from us. They're trying to cover up massive evidence of double-dealing, burglaries, wiretapping, spying, and harassment."

FBI files already in the Meeropols' possession show that:

- The FBI helped the prosecutors develop false

trial testimony, manufacture evidence, and coach and coerce witnesses.

- The presiding judge, Irving Kaufman, repeatedly violated the rights of the defendants. He held secret meetings with the prosecution, decided on a sentence before the jury returned a verdict, and tried to influence higher courts reviewing the case.

- The government used massive bugging, mail opening, physical surveillance, and burglaries. For example, Emmanuel Bloch, one of the Rosenbergs' attorneys, was harassed unmercifully. The FBI tried to have him disbarred. The day Bloch died, the FBI broke into his home and stole personal papers. The G-men then spied on Bloch's funeral, making copies of notes sent with floral wreaths and recording memorial speeches.

In 1975, when the Meeropols first asked for documents, the FBI refused to turn any over. The Meeropols had to go to court to force some of the documents out. Then they learned that the government was destroying files. They obtained a court order to block this.

Recently the government had to pay almost \$196,000 to the Meeropols and their attorney for obstructing the effort to get the files. (Under the Freedom of Information Act the government must reimburse legal expenses if it is proved that the government blocked disclosure of documents.)

However, another \$66,000 that the government promised to pay is being withheld. The government claims it is bowing to public pressure—that the American people are appalled at giving money to the sons of the Rosenbergs.

"Their so-called public pressure," said Robert Meeropol, "is a sham. What really happened is that a bunch of virulently anti-Semitic, anticommunist letters were received by the Justice Department after news of the reimbursement hit the press. We were told about this by some of the government lawyers who were personally shocked by these letters."

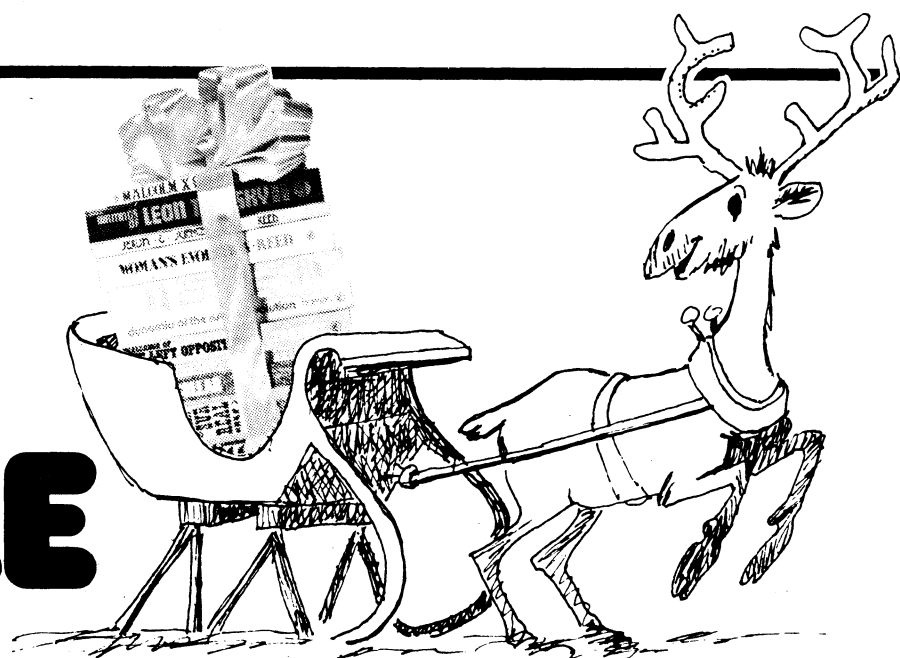
Although winning the large reimbursement is a victory, Meeropol explained, the money will go to cover the substantial expenses already incurred in the case.

The Meeropols are requesting that protest messages be sent to the Justice Department, demanding an end to the government's delaying tactics and the immediate release of the files.

Messages can be sent to: U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. 20530. Copies should be sent to the organization that is handling the suit: Fund for Open Information and Accountability Inc., 36 West Forty-fourth Street, Room 312, New York, New York 10036.

15% off!

## PATHFINDER HOLIDAY BOOK SALE



1. **Blue Collar: An Internal Examination of the Work place** by Charles Spencer, \$4.20
2. **Dynamics of the Cuban Revolution** by Joseph Hansen, \$4.60
3. **First Ten Years of American Communism** by James P. Cannon, \$4.60
4. **Great Labor Uprising of 1877** by Philip S. Foner, \$3.35
5. **History of the American Labor Movement, vols 1-4** by Philip S. Foner, \$3.35 each, specify volume.
6. **History of American Trotskyism** by James P. Cannon, \$3.75
7. **Humanism and Socialism** by George Novack, \$2.50
8. **Israel: A Colonial-Settler State?** by Maxime Rodinson, \$2.05
9. **Labor's Giant Step** by Art Preis, \$5.90
10. **Land or Death** by Hugo Blanco, \$2.90
11. **Late Capitalism** by Ernest Mandel, \$8.45
12. **Leon Trotsky on Black Nationalism and Self-Determination** by Leon Trotsky, \$1.65
13. **Malcolm X on Afro-American History** by Malcolm X, \$1.65
14. **Malcolm X Speaks** by Malcolm X, \$1.65
15. **Marx for Beginners** by RIUS, \$1.65
16. **My Life** by Leon Trotsky, \$4.20
17. **Out Now!** by Fred Halstead, \$7.60
18. **Polemics in Marxist Philosophy** by George Novack, \$4.20
19. **Portraits, Political and Personal** by Leon Trotsky, \$3.75
20. **Prospects for Socialism in America** by Jack Barnes, others, \$2.50
21. **Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Spain** by Felix Morrow, \$3.75
22. **Revolution Betrayed** by Leon Trotsky, \$4.20
23. **Rosa Luxemburg Speaks** by Rosa Luxemburg, \$5.05
24. **Sexism and Science** by Evelyn Reed, \$2.90
25. **Socialism on Trial** by James P. Cannon, \$1.90
26. **Teamster Bureaucracy** by Farrell Dobbs, \$3.75
27. **Teamster Politics** by Farrell Dobbs, \$3.75
28. **Teamster Power** by Farrell Dobbs, \$3.75
29. **Teamster Rebellion** by Farrell Dobbs, \$3.35
30. **Towards a History of the Fourth International** A collection of Education for Socialists Bulletins, \$12.75
31. **What Is Surrealism?** by Andre Breton, \$7.60
32. **Woman's Evolution** by Evelyn Reed, \$5.05
33. **Writings of Leon Trotsky 1929-1940** by Leon Trotsky. Any volume for \$4.60. Specify volume.

### SPANISH- LANGUAGE

34. **Democracia y Revolución** by George Novack, \$2.95
35. **Introducción a la Teoría Económica Marxista** by Ernest Mandel, \$1.20
36. **Marxismo y Feminismo** by Mary-Alice Waters, \$2.50
37. **El Programa de Transición** by Leon Trotsky, \$1.70
38. **Tierra o Muerte** by Hugo Blanco, \$2.30
44. **Malcolm X—The Man and His Ideas** by George Breitman, 1965. \$6
45. **Lenin on the National Question** by Tony Thomas, 1973. \$10
46. **Afro-American History** by George Weissman, 1967. \$12
47. **Feminism and Women's Biology** by Evelyn Reed, 1975. \$6
48. **History of the Family and Marriage** by Evelyn Reed, 1965. \$6
49. **Role of Women's Liberation in the Socialist Revolution** by Mary-Alice Waters, 1976. \$6

### TAPES

Super Savings on these Tapes

39. **History of the Socialist Workers Party, 1940-1965** by Harry Ring, \$25
40. **Minneapolis Strikes and the Revolutionary Party** Four talks by Farrell Dobbs, \$15
41. **Trade Unions and the Revolutionary Party** by Tom Leonard, 1978. \$10
42. **What Socialist America Will Look Like** by James P. Cannon, 1949. \$6
43. **The Trend of the 20th Century** by James P. Cannon, 1949. \$6

Receive any talk listed below free with tape purchases of \$18 or more.

50. **Maoism and the Chinese Revolution, 1949-1978** by Les Evans, 1978. \$10
51. **Marxism and Existentialism** by George Novack, 1970. \$6
52. **Theory of Permanent Revolution** by Joe Hansen, 1961. \$10
53. **Fourth International After World War II** by Les Evans, 1978. \$6
54. **Founding of the Young Socialist Alliance** by Pedro Camejo, 1973. \$6

Mail to:  
Pathfinder Press,  
410 West Street,  
New York, New York 10014.

Fill in the number of each purchase:

Bonus tape choice: \_\_\_\_\_  
Enclosed is my check or money order for: \$\_\_\_\_\_. (Include \$.50 postage for one; \$.25 for each additional book.)

Charge to: \_\_\_\_\_ Visa \_\_\_\_\_ Master Charge

Number \_\_\_\_\_

Master Charge InterBank No. \_\_\_\_\_

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City/State/Zip \_\_\_\_\_

\*We will send books or tapes to a friend with a Pathfinder holiday greeting card. Enclose the name and address and indicate items to be sent on a separate piece of paper.

# ...Iran

Continued from page 6  
people on November 28.

Among the speakers at the forum was Ali Shokri, a defector from the Iranian Air Force seeking political asylum in the United States. Shokri explained that his reason for defecting from the military six years ago was because he knew that some day in Iran "the military would stand against its people."

He said, "I was trained to go back to Iran to be a part of the military that is crushing the demonstrations and killing people."

Also speaking was Cookie Hunt, of the National Organization for Women, who denounced the UN proposal to hold the International Women's Decade Conference in Iran in 1980.

"Women in the United States must speak out now about what's going on in Iran," she said.

"To have Iran be held up to the world as the forefront fighter for women's rights would be a slap in the face of the Iranian women who have fought and died for what they believe in."

Bahram Atai, a member of the editorial board of the Iranian socialist weekly *Payam Daneshjoo*, and National Field Secretary of the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI), described the repressive conditions in Iran.

Atai said that the U.S. government and big-business media support the

shah because of Iran's oil, and its strategic location. "The American government considers these to be the most precious things in Iran," he said. "But the most precious thing in Iran are these millions of people and their battle for democracy."

The Iranian Student Association-United States and the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade, labeling the speakers as "fascists" and "tools of the shah," attempted to disrupt the meeting by blocking the doorway so that interested people could not attend.

Roberto Maestas, a speaker at the meeting and Director of El Centro de la Raza, a Chicano community organization, noted that "maybe ten or fifty more people would be here tonight to hear the truth about Iran if it wasn't for the disrupters."

Reverend Bill Cate, president-director of the Church Council of Greater Seattle said, "American people do not feel comfortable supporting a dictator." Lambasting what he called the U.S. government's "outmoded foreign policy," he added, "It seems to me now that the only course of action left for the American government in Iran is to get out and get out now." Endorsers of the meeting included: U. of W. Black Student Union; ASUW Women's Commission; Dick Moork and Del Castle, president and secretary-treasurer respectively of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local 19; Concilio for the Spanish Speaking; Young Socialist Alliance; and U.W. Organization of Arab Students.

# National picket line

## Safeway strike over

The 128-day California Teamster strike ended November 23 when eight striking union locals voted 1,328-340 to return to work.

The long strike against the Bay Area's market chains began when Safeway's warehouse workers walked off their jobs to protest company speedup. The Safeway-led Food Employers Council turned the strike into an all-out effort to cripple the union's strength.

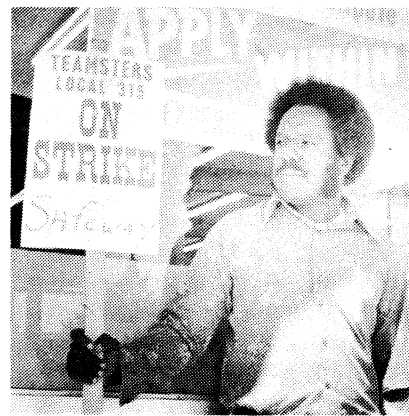
Despite the tremendous militancy and unity displayed by the strikers, they were forced back to work without any resolution of their main demands. Top Teamster officials—who failed to come to the strikers' aid—negotiated a contract that sends the most hotly disputed issues to arbitration.

Safeway's despised speedup plan will be reviewed by a "Union-management committee." If they fail to reach an agreement, the arbitrator takes over. In the meantime, Safeway has already extended its speedup system from grocery into produce warehouses.

Also slated for arbitration is the question of strikers' amnesty. The markets intend to fire sixty-nine workers and suspend eight for their strike activities.

Teamsters were promised that this issue would be settled twenty-four hours after they returned to work. Now it seems the arbitrator has twenty-four hours to decide *after the case is presented*. Until then—which may be months away—the victimized strikers are without work.

Of the union's main economic demands, only wage increases were settled—seventy-five cents, sixty cents, and fifty-five cents per hour in each year of the three-year contract. Other key demands including cost-of-living increases, nighttime premium pay, and job security, are also left to arbitration.



## N.J. chemical workers reject wage guidelines

New Jersey chemical workers at American Cyanamid Company, one of the nation's largest chemical manufacturers, are hitting Carter's 7 percent wage guidelines where it hurts—on the picket lines.

Some 1,300 members of International Chemical Workers Local 111 walked out December 4 after unanimously rejecting the company's forty-four-cent—7 percent—wage offer. The union is demanding at least a 12 percent pay increase as well as improvements in benefits.

A second major strike issue is health and safety. Cyanamid workers are constantly exposed to harmful dust, noise, and fumes.

At least nine workers believe they contracted bladder cancer on the job, and 48 percent of those who have worked at Cyanamid for more than twenty years have lung "abnormalities."

Charging the company has covered up these health hazards, the ICW is demanding that Cyanamid open its books to reveal job risks and their effects on workers. "All we're asking is that if you're working with something that can harm you twenty years from now, we want to know about it," said local president Donald Lore.

Cyanamid denies any relation between the medical "abnormalities" and employment in the chemical complex. The federal Occupational Safety and Health Administration has fined Cyanamid about \$6,000 this year for violations.

But when it comes to complying with Carter's wage guidelines, Cyanamid is with the government all the way. "It has always been a policy of the company to cooperate with the President on matters of national policy," says a company release.

Cyanamid plans to keep production going with supervisory and scab labor. In response to mass union picketing, the company has won a court injunction limiting pickets to sixteen per gate.

## Right to vote in rail

The October 13 *Militant* reported that members of the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees—track and maintenance workers on the railroads—won the right to ratify national contracts at their July convention.

A few years ago the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks introduced a limited version of the right to vote. BRAC members who don't vote on their contract are counted as casting "yes" votes.

Members of the third major rail union—the United Transportation Union—are still denied any vote on their contracts.

*Militant* reader Doug Hord, a Chicago rail worker, wrote us asking whether BMW members had won the "full" right to ratify or a restricted BRAC-like version.

"This information would be useful to militants in the rail industry," he says. "With the UTU leadership signing away thousands of jobs left and right this year, we can expect an avalanche of resolutions for the right to vote at the 1979 convention. If the BMW has a 'fuller' ratification procedure, then it would be something militants could point to."

Well, UTU militants *can* point to the BMW victory. Here's what the new section of the BMW constitution says:

"Effective January 1, 1979, upon acceptance of any new national agreement applicable to railroads in the United States and Canada under this section and prior to the execution thereof, the Grand Lodge President or his designated representative shall submit a summary of the proposed new agreement to all active members of the Brotherhood directly affected by such agreement *for its ratification or rejection by a majority of those voting*" (emphasis added).

—Shelley Kramer

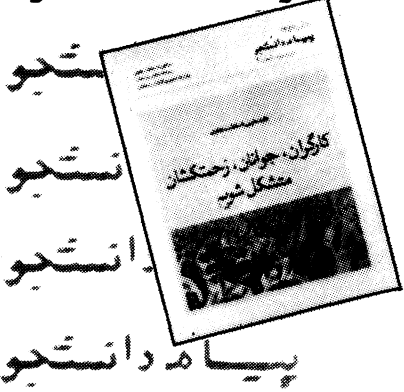
## Payam Daneshjoo

Weekly publication of Iranian revolutionary socialists

\$24/year

\$12/six months

پیام دانشجو



## پیام دانشجو را آبنه شوید

پیام دانشجو، هر هفته آخرین اخبار وقایع ایران و جهان را در اختیار خوانندگان خود می‌گذارد. برای کسب آخرین اخبار و تحلیل درباره طغیان انقلابی مردم ایران برای برانداختن بساط سلطنت پهلوی، پیام دانشجوی هفتگی را آبنه شوید.

برای قبول اشتراک به آدرس زیر با ما تماس بگیرید:

6 ماهه پست هوایی ۱۲ دلار  
یکساله پست هوایی ۲۴ دلار

Payam Daneshjoo G.P.O. BOX 1266 BROOKLYN, N.Y. 11201 USA

# ...Koka

Continued from page 10

conclusion—that Blacks in South Africa and Blacks in the United States have the same enemy. We should link up in struggle against this common enemy."

Hart said local chapters of the NAACP, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and Operation PUSH endorsed the tour and sent representatives to some of Koka's engagements.

"People like Julian Bond and Rev. Ralph Abernathy were among the first supporters of the tour," he said.

Hart added that many of Koka's meetings were attended by international students.

"The majority of the international students were Africans, especially South Africans. But there were also many Iranian, Palestinian, and Latin American students.

"This points to the international solidarity with the fight of Blacks in South Africa felt by others struggling for national liberation."

One of the most prominent South Africans who participated in Koka's tour was Ms. Walter Gcabashe, the daughter of former African National Congress President Albert Luthuli.

Speaking at Atlanta University, Gcabashe discussed the South African

freedom struggle, the African National Congress, Pan Africanist Congress, and Black Consciousness Movement. She said the Black Allied Workers Union was important because "workers have always brought the ultimate liberating forces into the struggle for freedom everywhere."

Hart concluded by explaining that many people who were confused by the Carter administration's rhetoric began to understand the real role of the U.S. government in South Africa as a result of the tour.

"The tour has made it clear to me that there is real potential for organizing a mass movement of students, Black activists, and trade unionists that can put a lot of political pressure on the U.S. government, banks, and corporations to get out of South Africa.

"Such a movement," he said, "will be a powerful ally for those fighting for Black majority rule. The two together can indeed force the United States out.

"The message of the tour is that what we in the United States must do is to continue organizing on campuses, in the Black community, and in our unions.

"We have already made a good beginning. The spring protest activities next March and April give us an excellent opportunity to involve new and powerful forces in the fight to get the United States out of South Africa."



## Open doors of China's political prisons

By Will Reissner

Teng Ching-shan, a member of a rural production brigade, was arrested in 1970. The charge: slandering Mao between 1967 and 1969. The sentence: fifteen years imprisonment followed by three years deprivation of civil rights.

Lin Hsi-ling was a law student and a member of the Communist Party during the "Hundred Flowers Bloom" period in China in 1957. For a brief time citizens were allowed to criticize official procedures. Taking Mao at his word, she criticized the lack of democracy in society. As a result she was labeled a "rightist," arrested, sentenced to twenty years in prison, and deprived of civil rights for life. When last heard of in the mid-1970s she was still under detention.

These are two of the cases of political repression in China contained in an Amnesty International report made public November 27. The study outlines deficiencies in the Chinese judicial system and provides insight into the penal system. It was submitted to representatives of the Peoples Republic of China for comments and corrections before publication, but AI received no reply.

The report merits attention because of the accuracy of AI's studies of political prisoners in capitalist countries.

Some of the facts have recently been confirmed by statements made by the current Peking leadership regarding injustices they attribute to the so-called Gang of Four, the current all-purpose culprits.

Provoking "dissension among the various nationalities, democratic classes, democratic parties and groups, people's organizations or between the people and the government," creating "counterrevolutionary propaganda and agitation," and spreading rumors are among the crimes punishable by from three years to life imprisonment or even death when the "circumstances of their cases are major."

These crimes are so vague they could include any criticism of any government or party policy or official. In the aftermath of the "Hundred Flowers" period alone, more than one million

people were persecuted for such crimes. In June, 1978, twenty-one years later, 110,000 people were released from prison who had been held since the "Hundred Flowers."

During the Cultural Revolution the Central Committee of the CP provided police with guidelines for determining what were political crimes. These included sending counterrevolutionary anonymous letters; posting or distributing secretly or openly counterrevolutionary handbills; writing or shouting reactionary slogans; and attacking or vilifying Chairman Mao and Vice-Chairman Lin Biao. Note that each refers solely to the expression of political ideas, which need only be secretly counterrevolutionary to be criminal.

Vilifying Lin Biao was then a crime. But Lin himself became the subject of a gigantic campaign or political vilification by the regime before disappearing in 1971 after the failure of an alleged coup.

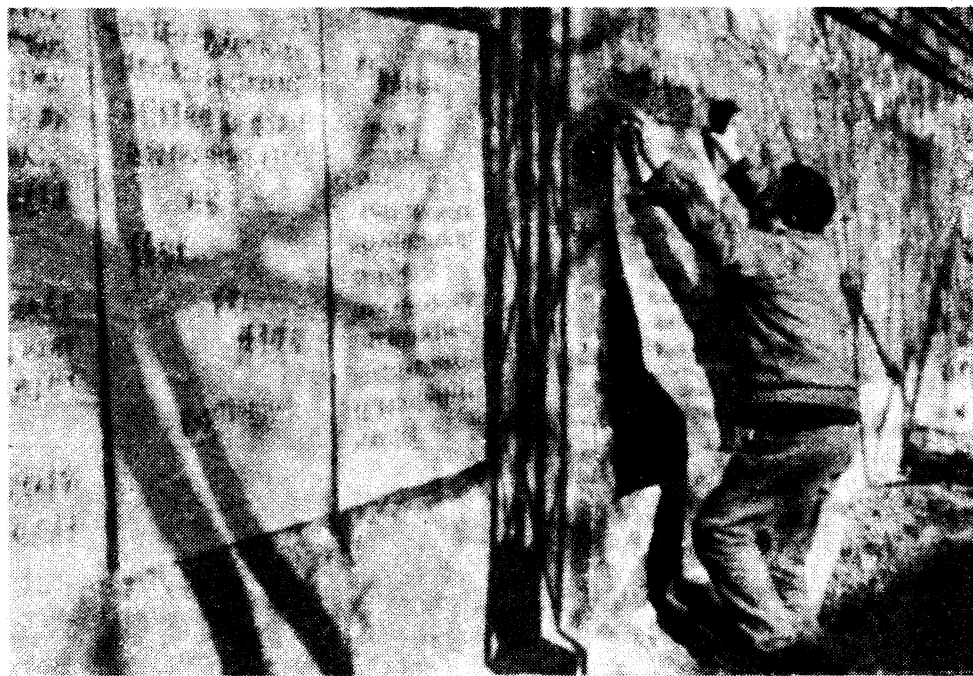
Assume you were arrested for being prematurely anti-Lin Biao. You could be held under an "arrest warrant" indefinitely. Then after being detained months, perhaps years, you are brought to trial.

The function of defense lawyers, which existed in the mid-1950s, has been abolished. Even the formal right of the accused to defense was eliminated from the constitution between 1975 and 1978. Instead, the prosecutor, the judge, and party officials discuss your case and decide on the verdict and sentence. Then the trial is held.

First the judge summarizes the case against you, pronounces the verdict, and asks if you have anything to say before sentence is pronounced.

If you deny the charges, the sentence can be increased. Amnesty International points out that "Chinese officials have often stated that the main principles of the 'Party's policy' in judicial work is that 'leniency is given to those who confess their crimes and severe punishment is given to those who refuse to do so.'"

The defendant can make one appeal against the sentence. But this is seen in the same light as refusal to confess and can lead to a stiffer sentence.



Putting up a wall poster in Peking. Recent events in China have renewed issue of workers democracy.

Once sentenced to a term of "rehabilitation through labor," you are shipped off to a labor camp. Maoist authorities, and their starry-eyed followers around the world, point to the "reform and rehabilitation" aspect of the Chinese penal system as a humanitarian feature. But when your crime is expression of the "wrong" political views, reform can only mean repudiation of your ideas. And rehabilitation, which can result in a shortened sentence, is proven by enthusiastically carrying out the forced labor assigned you and participation in "political education" sessions.

Sometimes shifting political winds result in wholesale review of sentences, as happened this year to the more than one million victims of the "Hundred Flowers" period and to the over 10,000 "victims of the gang of four" that the Chinese press reports have been rehabilitated since 1976 in Shanghai. Unfortunately some were rehabilitated "posthumously," having already been executed for their "counterrevolutionary" ideas.

Recent demonstrations in Peking calling for democracy and freedom of

expression show the widespread opposition in China to criminal penalties for political opinions. China has paid a heavy price for the inability of people to object to policies without risking jail or even execution. It has meant that few would risk questioning policies that were going awry. The "Great Leap Forward" and the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution," campaigns that plunged the economy into chaos, were carried out to the bitter end because to point out early signs of problems meant risking imprisonment for spreading "counterrevolutionary rumors."

The cause of socialism in China would be greatly strengthened by release of all political prisoners and the establishment of workers democracy, with specific guarantees of the right to political expression without fear of reprisals.

A step in this direction would be an accounting by the Chinese regime of all the political prisoners now being held. Among these we should be especially concerned about the fate of the hundreds of Chinese Trotskyists.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

## Free the Chinese Trotskyists!

From December 1952 to January 1953, the Chinese government conducted a sweeping series of raids in which all known Trotskyists were arrested and held for "investigation." Since then, a number have been held without trial. Among them are:

**Chen Chao-lin.** Founding member of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Trotskyist movement. Served seven years in the Kuomintang's jails after the defeat of 1925-27 revolution. He is now about seventy-eight.

**Chiang Tseng-tung.** Played a leading role in the Shanghai labor movement and took an important part in the uprising in that city during the 1925-27 revolution. Continued his revolutionary activities under the Kuomintang dictatorship. If alive, he is now about sixty-eight.

**Ho Chi-sen.** A student leader in Peking in the early 1920s, he joined the CCP shortly after its formation. Worked with Mao Tsetung and others in Wuhan and Hunan Province. If alive, he is now about eighty-one years old; but there is reason to fear

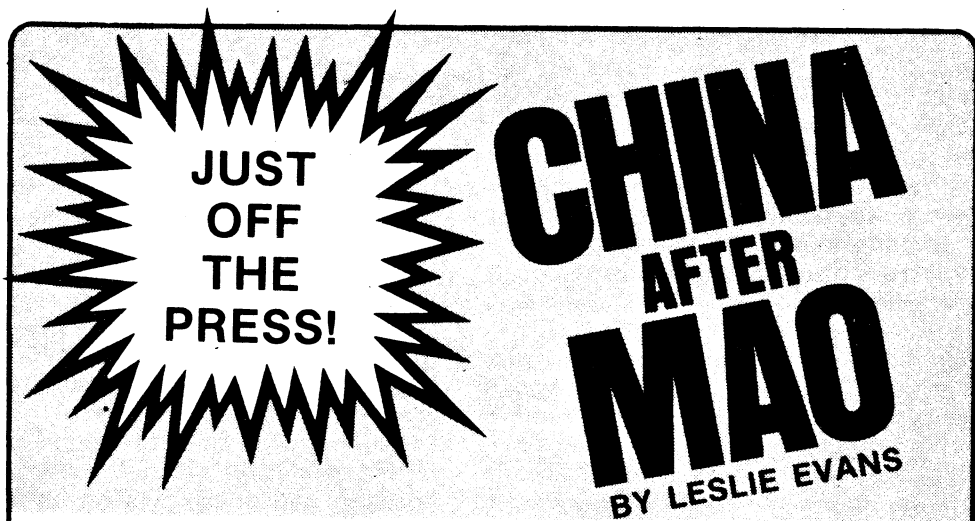
he may have died in a forced-labor camp.

**Ying Kwan.** Was with Chou En-lai as a student in France in 1920. Took part in the work of the Chinese revolutionary organizations in Europe. In 1925-27 was a leading activist in the revolutionary struggle in Anhwei Province. If alive, he is about seventy-eight.

In a 1972 statement, the United Secretariat of the Fourth International declared:

"The secretiveness surrounding [the prisoners'] incarceration does not speak well for the way in which the constitution is observed in China. On the contrary, it indicates that they were imprisoned in flagrant violation of a constitution that 'guarantees' the right of free speech. . . .

"Demand that the Mao government respect rights guaranteed in the constitution! Demand the observance of proletarian democracy in China! Demand the release of the Chinese Trotskyists!"



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—

• What were the real aims of the Cultural Revolution? • Why did China's present rulers arrest Mao's closest associates after his death? • Why have they repudiated the central campaigns of Maoism? • What is the real state of human rights in China? • What are the roots of today's "democracy movement"?

In answering these questions the author traces the factional conflicts within the Chinese Communist Party since the Cultural Revolution. He also examines the failure of the Maoist strategy of economic development and documents the beginnings of an opposition movement in defense of democratic rights. 194 pages, \$3.95

Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Include \$.50 for postage.

## West Germany Thousands attend meeting for Bahro

Thousands of people gathered in West Berlin November 16-19 for the International Congress For and About Rudolf Bahro.

George Saunders, correspondent for *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*, reports from West Berlin that "the largest attendance [at a conference session] was estimated at more than 3,500. Besides the Audi Max, which seats 2,000, another hall seating 1,000 had to be opened and the discussion piped in.

"Who is Rudolf Bahro?" Saunders's report continues. "A previously unknown Communist oppositionist who worked in East German industry as a technical specialist, Bahro made an inner break with the system after the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968. He began work on a critical study from a Marxist viewpoint of the 'socialism' that actually exists in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. The result was his book *The Alternative*, which he arranged to have printed in August 1977 by Europäische Verlagsanstalt, the publishing house of the West German trade-union federation."

Bahro was arrested by East German authorities, held incommunicado for nearly a year, and finally sentenced to eight years in prison.

Bahro has made it clear he supports

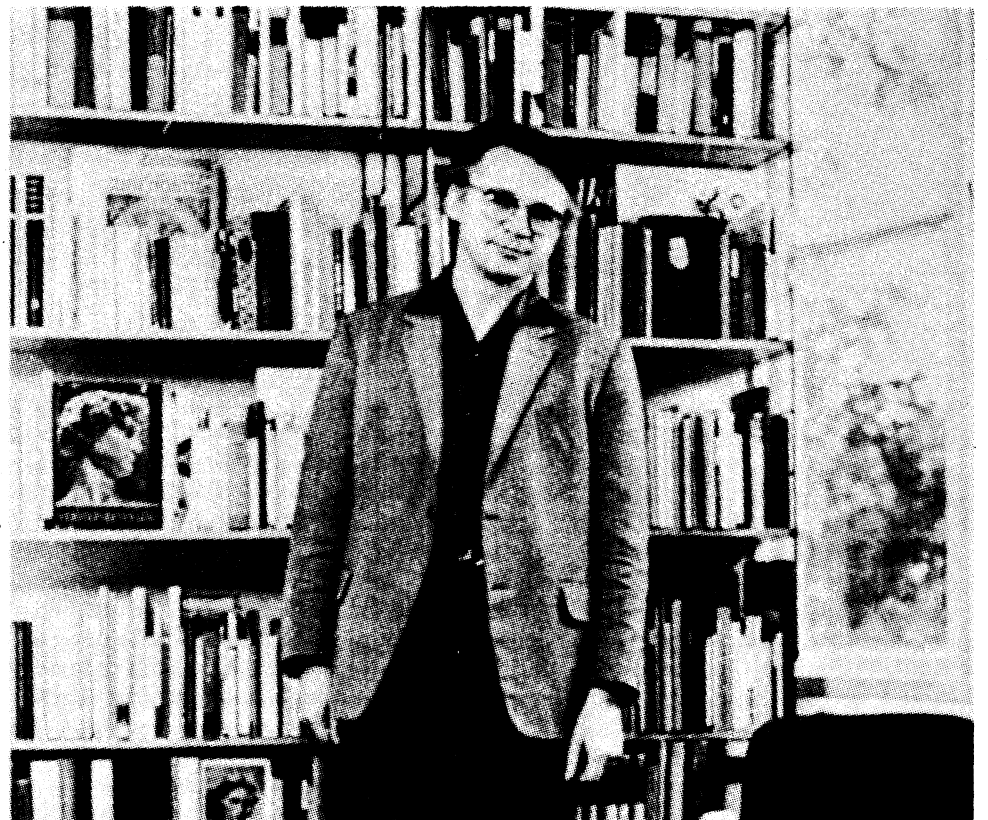
the noncapitalist economic foundations of East Germany and calls for a radical change in the political superstructure of the state. He has indicated sympathy with the Eurocommunist current.

In February 1978 the Committee to Defend Rudolf Bahro was formed in West Berlin. "It is a united front," Saunders reports, "made up of unaffiliated socialists and members of several socialist organizations, including the Gruppe Internationale Marxisten (GIM—International Marxist Group), German section of the Fourth International. Plans for the Bahro congress began shortly after the founding of the committee."

The congress was called both to demand freedom for Bahro and to discuss his ideas.

The organizers of the committee made clear from the outset that it had no anti-Communist, anti-Soviet or anti-socialist aims. "A theme constantly stressed at the congress and in its final resolution was the link between the struggles against antidemocratic measures in the West and for democratization in the East," writes Saunders.

A number of Soviet and East European dissidents participated in the congress, including Jiri Pelikan, Ludek



RUDOLF BAHRO

Kavin, and Zdenek Hejzlar from Czechoslovakia; Mihaly Vajda from Hungary; and Boris Weil from the Soviet Union.

Although European Communist parties were invited to send representatives to the congress, most of them declined to do so. The Italian CP, however, was officially represented and signed the final resolution of the congress, along with other parties (see box).

Trade unionists were also present at the congress. Werner Vitt of the West German chemical workers union addressed the opening session. According to Saunders, "Auto workers at the Volkswagen plant in Wolfsburg, West Germany, have formed a study circle to discuss Bahro's book."

"Ernest Mandel, speaking for the Fourth International at the congress, called the defense of Bahro one of the central tasks of the international workers movement. Solidarity with Bahro, he said, means solidarity with all the victims of repression in the countries under Stalinist rule. He reminded the audience of the revolutionary political prisoners in China and the victims of Stalin's purges in the 1930s, calling for their rehabilitation.

"Besides the major panel discussions," adds Saunders, "there were nine different workshops in the afternoons. Some 1,800 persons attended these."

### On Socialist Democracy

Available now!

#### Detente & Socialist Democracy

A discussion

with Roy Medvedev

165 pp., cloth \$9, paper \$2.95

#### Samizdat

Voices of  
the Soviet Opposition

Edited by George Saunders

464 pp., cloth \$20, paper \$5.45

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

## Hands off Rudolf Bahro!

The following is the text of the resolution adopted unanimously by the Congress For and About Rudolf Bahro. The translation from the German is by George Saunders.

The participants in the International Congress For and About Rudolf Bahro in West Berlin, November 16-19, express their opposition once again to the sentencing of Rudolf Bahro by the GDR judiciary in a secret trial in which he had no effective legal defense. We demand his immediate release.

Bahro has attempted to apply Marxist methods and categories to the study of the societies in Eastern Europe and to point the way toward a socialist transformation.

Regardless of whether one agrees with Bahro's theses and particular statements, his book is a significant political and scientific contribution by a critical Marxist and Communist. With his work *The Alternative* he has also made an essential contribution toward presenting socialism

as a realistic perspective and has tried to work out practical steps toward change. Therefore he embodies, as does Robert Havemann, the hopes of many in both East and West.

We demonstrate for and discuss Rudolf Bahro because we are for socialism. Socialism and democracy are inseparable.

Solidarity with Rudolf Bahro to us means solidarity with all political prisoners and people persecuted for their political or religious convictions in the countries of Eastern Europe. However, as is shown by the many cases of *Berufsverbot* and other restrictions on democratic rights in West Germany and West Berlin, people who think like Bahro in these places have difficulty in disseminating and explaining without interference their ideas and proposals for alternative social development. Therefore it is natural that we also fight against all forms of political repression, for the realization of social and civil rights, and for a general amnesty of political prison-

ers throughout the world.

The participants in this international congress—trade unionists, Communists, independent socialists, Socialists, and Social Democrats from different countries of Eastern and Western Europe—have debated over Bahro's work for the past three days in an open dialogue. Regardless of differences in day-to-day political work, we have tried to set an example with this congress.

We affirm our intention to continue this discussion in our various countries by further exchanging our experiences, and to strengthen the work of solidarity. Rudolf Bahro hopes for a critical reception and discussion of his book. We can only inform others of this hope and appeal to the political and moral sense of responsibility of all left organizations.

We call on democratic public opinion throughout the world, and especially the various political, religious, and trade-union organizations in the labor movement, as well as youth and student organizations, to do

everything in their power to increase the pressure on the GDR authorities to free Rudolf Bahro. This will be possible only if further international initiatives follow this congress. In this regard the international trade-union movement has a special role to play.

Endorsed by:

The present individual sponsors of this congress, the Committee to Free Rudolf Bahro (Berlin), Committee to Free Rudolf Bahro (Paris), Biermann Committee (Paris), Editors of *Listy* (Frankfurt), United Socialist Party (PSU, France), Party of Proletarian Unity (PdUP, Italy), *Il Manifesto* (Italy).

Also, the representatives of the Socialist Party of Italy (PSI), Socialist Workers Party of Spain (PSOE), Communist Party of Italy (PCI), United Secretariat of the Fourth International.

Also, in behalf of numerous French socialists, Gilles Martinet, member of the presidium of the Socialist Party of France (PSF).



# Stalinists continue to harass Dzhemilev

By Marilyn Vogt

Crimean Tatar leader Mustafa Dzhemilev, who in December 1977 was released from a fourth term of imprisonment, is continuing his activities in defense of Crimean Tatar rights. According to the May 14, 1978, issue of the *Chronicle of Current Events*, an underground publication circulated in the Soviet Union, Dzhemilev is again being threatened with criminal charges.

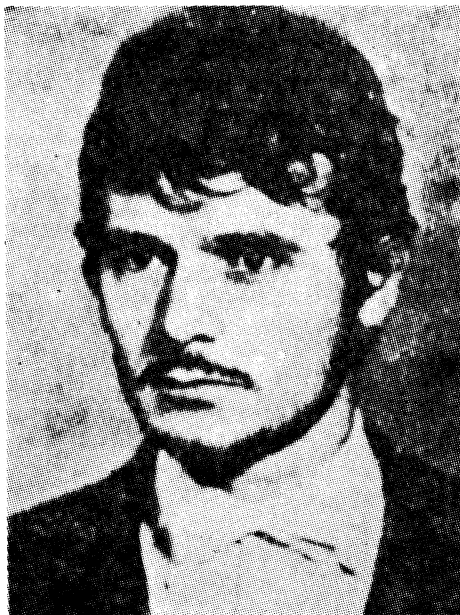
More than two hundred thousand Crimean Tatars were deported by Stalin from Crimea to settlements in Central Asia in May 1944.

Dzhemilev was sentenced in April 1976 to three and a half years imprisonment on charges of anti-Soviet agitation, because of his activities and statements in defense of the Crimean Tatars.

According to *Chronicle* number 48, upon his release from prison December 22, 1977, Dzhemilev was assigned to live with his brother Asan in Tashkent in the Uzbek Republic. Prior to his release, however, in October 1977, Dzhemilev had requested to be allowed to reside in Crimea with his parents.

Dzhemilev's family was among the hundreds of families who moved to Crimea in 1977 when authorities claimed all Crimean Tatars who wanted to return to their homeland would be issued residence permits. In July 1977 his mother and father moved into a home they had purchased in the Belogorsk district not far from where his sisters had moved with their families. All have been denied residence permits, and their purchase of homes has been declared invalid.

Dzhemilev was denied permission to live with his parents, the Crimean authorities stated, because "they are



MUSTAFA DZHEMILEV

living in the Belogorsk region of the Crimean province in gravest violation of the passport system and as special settlers their registration in the Crimea is restricted. Under these conditions, it is pointless to send M. Dzhemilev to Crimea because he will be refused registration." (In the Soviet Union, passports are required to move from one part of the country to another.)

Dzhemilev protested that he should be free to choose his own place of residence since his term was over. In response, the authorities put him under constant surveillance in Tashkent. As many as fifteen people were assigned to tail him at one time, and he was ordered to report to the police three times a month.

Dzhemilev's health is very poor. For two weeks in January 1978, he had to

be hospitalized because of bronchitis and serious intestinal infections.

Throughout January and February, he demanded authorities explain why his parents, as Crimean Tatars, are termed "special settlers" in Crimea, and therefore "restricted." He demanded that all unpublished laws restricting the rights of Crimean Tatars be revoked and the convening of a commission, including Crimean Tatar representatives, to examine why Crimean Tatars are subjected to massive injustices in Crimea.

On February 1, 1978, Dzhemilev issued a statement addressed to the attorney general of the USSR saying:

"A representative of the administrative authorities in the Crimean Province officially confirmed the existence of legal restrictions against Crimean Tatars on the basis of their nationality, i.e., a fact that if pointed out by me

and other participants of our national movement, is called anti-Soviet slander."

He reported that Tashkent police officials admitted they are dealing with him in an extraordinary way, not according to any law but on orders from the KGB, the Soviet secret police.

Dzhemilev has refused to accept a residence permit in Tashkent, pointing out that for the authorities to force him to live there is tantamount to a term of exile. He is, therefore, technically violating the ruling bureaucrats' passport regulations.

In April 1978, the militia threatened to raise charges against him for passport violations and for insulting the police. It is clear that the rulers are seeking to provoke Dzhemilev into violating the law so as to have a pretext for arresting him for a fifth time.

## Soviet activists arrested

Soviet dissident Avtandil Imnadze has received a term of five years' forced labor and four years' Siberian exile "for producing and distributing anti-Government material," according to the December 8 *New York Times*. Imnadze, a cameraman, was arrested April 15 in Tbilisi, capital of the Georgian Republic, for filming April 14 street demonstrations. The actions protested official efforts to remove from the republic's constitution the clause guaranteeing Georgian as the republic's official language.

Two Armenians have been sentenced for their activities in the Armenian Helsinki group. Shagen Aru-

tyunyen, a factory worker, was sentenced January 18, 1978, to three years in a labor camp, according to a recent issue of *A Chronicle of Current Events*.

Robert Nazaryan, a physicist, received a term of five years in a labor camp and two years' Siberian exile according to the December 6 issue of *Le Monde*.

Both had been arrested December 22, 1978. Arutyunyen was charged with "malicious hooliganism" for resisting plainclothes cops who tried to drag him into a car. Nazaryan was charged with "anti-Soviet activity."

# Slave labor in the Dominican Republic

By Susan Wald

Imagine working at a job where the maximum pay is thirty-four cents an hour, where unpaid overtime is common, where seniority is nonexistent and you can be fired at any time with no reasons given. If you are thrown out of work, or disabled by an injury, you are left to fend for yourself. And if you try to organize a union, you're likely to lose your job, at best—or, at worst, suffer arrest, jailing, and torture.

Sound like slave labor? These are the conditions faced by the 5,000 workers employed by U.S. corporations in La Romana, one of four "industrial free zones" in the Dominican Republic.

An inside look at how U.S. multinationals are squeezing unheard-of profits out of the superexploitation of Dominican workers—with the generous backing of the government in Santo Domingo—was provided by *Chicago Sun-Times* correspondent Michael Flannery in the May issue of *American Federationist*, the monthly magazine of the AFL-CIO trade-union federation.

## 'Free zones'

The industrial free zones were created by former President Joaquín Balaguer to draw American companies to the Dominican Republic. The advantages to the imperialists are obvious and substantial. Companies operating in the free zones receive a twenty-year exemption from all taxes, as well as freedom from customs duties and currency restrictions. And in a country with a chronic unemployment rate of

24 percent, workers desperate for any kind of job can be made to work for as little as forty-five centavos (US\$.34) an hour, under degrading and dehumanizing conditions, and can be speedily fired if they show any inclinations toward militancy—there are always plenty of others to take their place.

The La Romana free zone is owned by Gulf & Western Industries, Inc., a multinational conglomerate with widely diversified holdings, whose projected worldwide income—\$4 billion—nearly equals the Dominican gross national product.

Of the 5,000 workers employed in the free zone, some 2,000 work directly for G&W or its subsidiaries. The rest work for the eighteen other companies that lease space in the zone from G&W.

G&W is one of the largest employers in the country. In addition to the free zone, it runs the world's largest sugar mill, cattle ranches, two plush resorts, and grows sugar cane, citrus, vegetables, and tobacco on the 264,000 acres it owns in the Dominican Republic.

But the country's inhabitants do not share in this fabulous wealth. Per capita income is about \$700 a year. In 1972, it was estimated that only 11 percent of the 5 million Dominicans drink milk, 4 percent eat meat, and 2 percent eat eggs.

## 'Slave-labor camp'

The industrial free zone system is designed to keep things this way.

La Romana has the appearance of a

"modern slave-labor camp," according to the labor federation monthly. Government customs agents armed with shotguns and National Police are stationed at the entrances to the free zone, which is surrounded by a high chain-link fence topped with barbed wire.

The National Confederation of Dominican Workers (CNTD) and the Free Union of Romana Sugar Mill Workers have both attempted to carry out organizing drives in the zone. But the U.S. capitalists were determined to keep unions out of what has been called "one of the most perfect company towns in the western hemisphere." The Balaguer dictatorship was an ideal instrument for carrying out this policy.

In December 1976, a CNTD organizing committee was formed in La Romana, and a public rally was scheduled. Five days before the rally was to take place, six union supporters were fired from their jobs. Four were jailed immediately and charged with being outside Communist "agitators."

The meeting was postponed for several days, then went ahead as planned. But when 1,000 workers showed up, they were met by troops of the National Police in full combat gear who dispersed them at the point of automatic weapons.

Several union leaders were arrested and taken to National Police headquarters, where they were "interrogated" by agents of the secret police and accused of being Communists. Police later "escorted" the union leadership out of the province, passing through a series of checkpoints that had been set up on roads leading into La Romana to keep out "undesirables."

Since taking office on August 16,

President Antonio Guzmán Fernández has given no indication that he intends to run things in the free zones any differently than his predecessor. He recently told a meeting of the country's main trade-union leaders that "enemies of the workers" were trying to use them to obstruct the country's economic development. "Foreign investors are helping to create jobs for all Dominicans," Guzmán said.

The AFL-CIO leadership correctly sees the labor practices of U.S. corporations in neocolonial countries like the Dominican Republic as a reflection of their stepped-up drive for profits in the face of increased international competition. And they correctly see it as part of a worldwide trend aimed at forcing a rollback of wages and working conditions in the advanced industrialized countries as well.

But the labor bureaucrats are silent about the role of the U.S. government in supporting and maintaining this exploitation. They neglect to mention that U.S. dollars are going to pay the salaries of the National Police who stand guard outside the factories in the free industrial zones.

Nor can slave-labor conditions be eliminated, as the AFL-CIO leadership suggests, by abolishing tax advantages for U.S. multinationals that move their operations overseas, or by setting quotas on imports from low-wage countries.

Only the Dominican workers, supported by the labor movement internationally, can force an improvement in their living and working conditions. To do this, they must have the right to organize without the threat of dismissal, arrest, and torture hanging over their heads.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

## Quote unquote

"It seems to me like we're always trying to answer questions from a bunch of weirdo environmentalists."

—A Department of Energy official on nuclear safety critics.

## SWP VOTE TOTALS

Figures for the Socialist Workers Party vote in Pennsylvania, reported in the December 1 *Militant*, were incorrect. More recent figures from the state put the total vote for Mark Zola and Naomi Berman, candidates for governor and lieutenant governor, at 20,028 (0.5 percent). The Consumer Party got 17,362 votes.

In other races, Mary White, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress in Tacoma, got 1,422 votes (1.8 percent).

In St. Louis, Mary Pritchard, U.S. Congress, received 1,353 votes (1.4 percent); Renita Alexander, state senate, 195 (0.9 percent); Glen White, state representative, 56 (1.2 percent).

In Washington, D.C., Glova Scott, mayor, received 659 votes (0.6 percent); and Tony Grillo, city council, 211 (2 percent).

## FLORIDA FARM WORKERS' STRIKE

More than 3,000 Chicano and *mexicano* tomato pickers walked off their jobs in south Florida December 7 after growers cut their pay from forty-five cents a bucket to thirty cents. The strike is being organized by the United Migrants Association of Florida, which has led several successful strikes over the past year.

Daily strike caravans, seeking to convince other workers to join the strike, have been successful.

On December 8, after leading a roving picket of more than 1,200 strikers through the area, UMA leader Benito López and three other members of the strike steering committee were arrested for violating Florida's antilabor "right to work" law. Cops claimed they were "intimidating" scabs, despite the fact that they were nonviolent and

## 500 at UN demand justice for Wilmington Ten, Arthur Miller



Militant/Rich Robohm

Five hundred people, most of them Black, rallied at the United Nations December 11 to demand justice for the Wilmington Ten and for Arthur Miller, the Black community leader killed by cops last summer in Brooklyn. The district attorney has refused to press charges against the cops.

Rev. Herbert Daughtry, a leader of the Black United Front, tied the fight against police brutality to the fight for Black majority rule in Africa. "We have to link our struggles beyond the narrow confines of the United States," Reverend Daughtry said. "We have to march until victory is ours."

Other speakers included Charlene Mitchell of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression; Lennox Hinds of the National Council of Black Lawyers; Assemblyman Albert Vann; and others.

The rally was punctuated by songs from the civil rights movement and by red, black, and green flags.

Earlier in the day, the National Alliance, the Commission for Racial Justice of the United Church of Christ, and the National Lawyers Guild turned over 750 pages to the United Nations documenting violations of human rights in the United States.

on public property. The four were released on \$1,400 bond.

On December 9, armed Ku Klux Klan members burned a cross near two of the biggest migrant housing camps.

Despite these attacks, the strike remains strong. On December 11, Dolores Huerta, vice-president of the United Farm Workers union, flew to Florida and pledged "substantial financial assistance" to the strikers. The Miami Catholic archdiocese is also backing the strike.

The growers made an offer of forty cents a bucket, and the strikers rejected it December 12.

## Victory for gay rights

Two gay men were unfairly dismissed from military service, a federal appeals court ruled December 6. In separate cases, Leonard Matlovich, an air force sergeant, and Vernon Berg, a navy ensign, had been summarily discharged without a trial after openly avowing their homosexuality.

The appeals court ruled that the military could not

automatically dismiss homosexuals without "some reasoned explanation," and overturned lower-court decisions upholding the dismissals.

"It's been a long, hard battle," said Matlovich, who has been an outspoken gay rights activist. "Another domino of oppression has been knocked down."

librarians, and more.

The cuts will mean the elimination of such services as special elementary school tutoring and other classroom assistance, after-school activities, and all special elective courses below the seventh grade.

Teachers fortunate enough to hold on to their jobs will be subjected to severe speedup.

School Board President Carl Sharif laid the blame on the teachers. "We have permitted conditions to grow where employees think they work for their union and not the board," he said.

"This was only the first step," Sharif declared. "There is much more coming."

The teachers union said it would challenge the layoffs in court.

## 100 PROTEST PALEY TRIAL

A hundred people, many of them prominent intellectuals, demonstrated at the federal courthouse in New York City December 11 against the trial of writer Grace Paley and ten others arrested during a nuclear weapons and nuclear power protest at the White House last September. The eleven are on trial in Washington, D.C., and could face six months in prison if convicted.

"The brave people on trial in Washington," said writer and critic Susan Sontag, "are reminding us of how insane our government's thinking about nuclear weapons is."

Both the September demonstration and the December 11 protest were sponsored by the War Resisters League.

## UTILITY TURNED DOWN ON NUKE FINANCING

Customers of the Central Vermont Public Service Corporation won't have to pay for the company's share of five nuclear power plants before they are built, thanks to a ruling by the state's Public Service Board December 8.

The board refused to allow the utility to boost its rates in

order to raise funds for constructing the plants. Many utilities around the country have adopted this practice, called "Construction Work in Progress" (CWIP). CWIP forces electricity users to pay for construction work that has yet to be performed.

CWIP was instituted so the utilities could avoid paying interest on the billions of dollars they must borrow to pay for their nuclear plants.

Public Service Company of New Hampshire has indicated it may have to cancel its Seabrook project if the state bars CWIP.

## BLACK PRESS ON LEO HARRIS CASE

The December 2 *Carolina Times*, a Black weekly, reported the victory of Leo Harris, a Black activist and socialist who successfully beat frame-up charges in Miami. Harris, a member of the Socialist Workers Party, had been charged with criminal mischief after a police car ran him down last August.

## COVER-UP AT DEPARTMENT OF ENERGY

U.S. Department of Energy officials ignored an oil company price fraud that cost consumers \$1 million a day, a congressional committee reported earlier this month.

"[T]here appears to be sufficient circumstantial evidence that top DOE officials... were guilty of criminal malfeasance or at the very least misfeasance," declares a summary of a staff report from the House Energy and Power Subcommittee.

The charges stem from the mislabeling of "old" oil as "new" oil. "New" oil, from more recent finds, can be sold at a higher price than "old" oil.

Government officials stood "paralyzed," the report charges, as the fraud went on.

The report charges "bureaucratic bungling" and "deliberate cover-ups" by energy officials.

## New Mexico, Arizona rallies hit nuclear power

Five hundred people gathered in downtown Albuquerque December 2 to commemorate the death of Karen Silkwood and to protest a planned federal nuclear waste dump.

Three hundred demonstrators marched two miles to the rally site at the City Hall Plaza. Marchers chanted "No nukes, no waste" and "Dump it on the Pentagon."

Silkwood, an atomic worker and member of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union, died in a mysterious auto crash four years ago on her way to document safety violations at her plant. This year, more than 100 memorial actions were held.

Speakers at the rally included Elaine Baca, editor of *La Lucha Nuclear*, an anti-nuclear newsletter widely circulated among New Mexico activists; Vernon Bellecourt, a leader of the American Indian Movement; Lisa Chávez of the National Indian Youth Council; a representative of the Albuquerque NAACP; and others.

The same day, 400 people rallied against the construction of the giant Palo Verde

nuclear plant forty-five miles west of Phoenix. The protest was sponsored by the Arizona Mobilization for Survival.

Featured speaker at the rally was Winona LaDuke of the National Indian Youth Council. LaDuke called for an alliance between the an-

tinuclear movement and the Indian movement against nuclear power and for self-determination for Indian people.

In a separate action the next day, nine protesters crossed the barbed-wire fence onto company property and were arrested.



Albuquerque, December 2

Militant/Lysle Gordon

# What's Going On

## CALIFORNIA LOS ANGELES: S.E.

**SHATTERING THE MAO MYTH.** Speaker: Theodore Edwards, Marxist scholar. Sun., Jan. 7, 7 p.m. 2554 Saturn Ave., Huntington Pk. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 582-1975.

## OHIO CLEVELAND

**UPSURGE IN IRAN.** Speaker: Shirley Pasholk, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Dec. 17, 4 p.m. 13002 Kinsman. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 991-5030.



## Chicano gets five years in aftermath of cop riot

John Lucio has been sentenced to five years in prison as a result of a cop attack on Moody Park in Houston's Chicano community last May. The cops attacked a peaceful Cinco de Mayo celebration. Outraged at the latest in a series of brutal police actions, including the murder of several Chicanos, the community rebelled. More than forty people were arrested and even more injured by the 300-cop occupation army that rushed in.

Lucio and two others were convicted of aggravated assault on a police officer.

Four other Chicanos have

also been tried on charges stemming from the rebellion. One was acquitted, and the jury failed to reach a verdict in three other cases. All seven were tried before all-white juries. The convictions will be appealed.

Three members of People United to Fight Police Brutality—Travis Morales, Mara Youngdahl, and Thomas Hirschi—have been singled out by the cops and media as "instigators" of the rebellion. All three face felony riot charges when their trial begins in January.

## AIRLINE VIOLATED RHODESIA TRADE BAN

United Airlines—"the largest in the free world," according to their advertising—was fined \$50,000 December 8 for violating a U.S. ban on trade with the white racist regime of Rhodesia. United trained pilots for a subsidiary of Air Rhodesia.

## WOMEN IN CONSTRUCTION

The U.S. Labor Department must push an affirmative-action program that will put women in 6.9 percent of construction industry jobs by 1981, a federal judge ruled December 7. Currently women hold 1.2 percent of construction jobs.

The Labor Department agreed to put into effect the very regulations it issued last May.

In 1976, women's rights supporters sued the Labor Department because it had failed to implement a presidential order barring sex discrimination in construction trades.

## PHONE CO. WANTS QUARTER-BILLION MORE

The New York Telephone Company applied December 11 for new rate increases totaling \$240 million. Saying this was the maximum allowed under President Carter's inflation guidelines, the company also asked for permission to automatically raise rates because of increases and taxes.

New York Telephone announced last month it had increased its third-quarter income by 36 percent over last year and increased its profits for the first nine months of 1978 by \$380 million.

Despite its good fortune, however, the phone company claims it's not getting its allowed 9.24 percent profit on its investment.

New York Telephone has been granted more than \$1 billion in rate hikes since 1970.

## JUST A LITTLE PLACE IN THE COUNTRY

Worried about surviving a nuclear war? Well, you and your loved ones may not make it, but rest assured that the top government and military officials will come out OK.

Several thousand officials will be sheltered at Mount Weather, a vast hollowed-out mountain near Washington. Mount Weather, built at a cost of \$1 billion, has room for the entire House and Senate, the Supreme Court, the president and his entourage, Cabinet

heads, and lots more—but no wives (or, presumably, husbands) or children. This is serious business.

Access to Mount Weather is by helicopter. Important officials will have to take to the air to avoid the masses of Washingtonians trying to feel the city on the ground.

But not everyone is convinced Mount Weather will work. "This guy who runs Mt. Weather was concerned about the ventilation system working after an attack," a Carter aide told *Newsday*. "I told him not to worry because the ventilation system will probably be in Ohio after an attack."

## SEN. TALMADGE, MEET MR. BELL

Georgia Sen. Herman Talmadge, the target of a Justice Department investigation, had a 6 a.m. meeting with Attorney General Griffin Bell in an Atlanta coffee shop December 5. Bell has pledged never to meet privately with individuals under investigation.

The two men claimed the meeting was to discuss federal judgeships and not a pending grand jury investigation of Talmadge's finances.

Bell is also in trouble. A federal judge held him in contempt of court earlier this year when he refused to turn over eighteen informer files to Socialist Workers Party attorneys as part of the SWP's \$40 million lawsuit against illegal government spying and harassment.

"I haven't got to the position where I have to prove everything I do" is right, Bell complained to reporters after the Atlanta meeting.



GRIFFIN BELL

# The Great Society

## Harry Ring



**Tis the season to be liberal**—Migrant workers who make it up to Washington will be pleased to learn the city of Yakima has an affirmative-action program that, officials say, has been "generally praised." It consists of displaying six brown Xmas angels along with six white, plus three brown St. Nicks and five white. Hope Bakke doesn't sue.

**End of fifteen-cent stamp?**—The Post Office is proposing to establish a new "express" service. Same-day delivery—or overnight if after 5 p.m.—in local areas. Under sixteen ounces, nine dollars.

**No muckin' around**—The army has ordered a crackdown on the mounting threat of "sex fraternization" between male and female soldiers of differing ranks. A study panel reported that "sex fraternization is seen as a clear distraction and threat to expedient mission accomplishment."

**Merciful Alabama**—The Alabama prison system currently has a file of 800 fugitives who escaped and remain unapprehended. Cards are removed from the file when records indicate the escapee has reached age eighty. "If they can keep

clean until then," a spokesperson said, "then they're home free."

**Gift item**—It might seem ostentatious for Xmas, but perhaps for Whitsuntide, a computerized "bed of the future," including refrigerator, beverage server, TV and radio, stereo, dictating machine, international clocks, electric shaver and, we presume, a good mattress. \$160,000.

**Heart of gold**—Those who scoff at Neiman-Marcus's nondiscount prices are probably unaware of the store's generosity. For instance, when California's plush Malibu area was hit by a forest fire, N-M sent letters to its customers there advising that if they were late in paying their bills because of property damage, the usual service charge would not be added.

**Dig this**—a Gloucester, Massachusetts, beachfront home was up for sale, \$195,000. The ad said it's "storm proof and bomb proof."

**Not-so-favorite son**—A sign on Interstate 75 in Georgia reads: "The farmers of Georgia apologize to the farmers of this nation for electing Jimmy Carter President."

## Union Talk

## Labor party: 'time is now'

This week's column is by Walter Lippmann, a member of the state executive board of Social Services Union Local 535.

LOS ANGELES—In the aftermath of the passage of Proposition 13, and after watching California's liberal Democrats rush to join the Prop 13 bandwagon, the state executive board of Social Services Union Local 535 went on record favoring the formation of an independent labor political party.

The resolution on independent labor political action was passed by an overwhelming majority at the board's October 1 meeting.

Local 535, affiliated with the Service Employees International Union, represents 10,000 welfare, nursing, and other human services workers in California.

In his column in the union newspaper, Local 535 Executive Director David Crippen answered those who say that for the local to call for a labor party is "unrealistic":

"In response I remind them that it used to be the conventional wisdom that public employees would never have collective bargaining rights, until Local 535 had a 22-day strike against Los Angeles County [in 1966]. Now there are nearly a half million public employees in California, from sanitation workers to university professors, who are covered by collective bargaining laws. The little pebble loosened by Local 535 became a landslide. It will happen again and now is the time to begin."

In line with the resolution, the local did not endorse any of the statewide Democratic or Republican Party candidates. It also attempted to persuade other locals to join it in not endorsing the incumbent Democratic slate.

The following is the text of the resolution:

Whereas The California state legislature

and administration, in the wake of the passage of Proposition 13 have taken a series of actions extremely adverse to the interests of working and poor people in this state, and

Whereas Among the most important of these steps have been the imposition of a wage freeze on public employees throughout the state, the denial of a cost-of-living increase to welfare recipients, the denial of the right of poor women to have abortions if they want them under the Medi-Cal program, and their failure to split the tax roll, and

Whereas At the federal level, the congress has failed to enact labor law reform, thus allowing many employers, such as J.P. Stevens to flagrantly and repeatedly violate orders that they bargain with their employees, and further

Whereas The Congress has failed to enact genuine tax reform, so that the present tax structure, which forces those least able to pay to shoulder the highest proportion of the tax burden, continues essentially unchanged, and

Whereas The state and national administrations are made up exclusively of members of the Democratic and Republican Parties, we therefore

Conclude That the Democratic and Republican Parties have shown by their performance that they do not represent the interests of working and poor people, therefore be it

Resolved That we favor the formation of an independent labor political party to represent our interests as the Democrats and Republicans have demonstrated their inability to do, and be it finally

Resolved That copies of this resolution be sent to the SEIU State Council, the SEIU International Executive Board, the California State Federation of Labor, local labor councils, and other local unions.

# Our Revolutionary Heritage

Celebrating 50 years of the Militant, 1928-1978

## Flint sit-downs

Forty-two years ago this month, auto workers in Flint, Michigan, offered a mighty challenge to the industry, inspiring a wave of sit-down strikes during 1937.

"Flint, Michigan, became the 'Gettysburg' of the CIO," wrote former *Militant* reporter and labor editor Art Preis in his book, *Labor's Giant Step* (available from Pathfinder Press, 538 pages, \$6.95 paper).

"The United Automobile Workers, which joined the CIO formally in July 1936, was the closest to a rank-and-file controlled organization in the new CIO," explained Preis.

The confrontation with General Motors began December 28, 1936, when 7,000 workers at Cleveland Fisher Body stopped work in protest of GM's refusal to negotiate a new contract. Preis described the momentum of the job action:

"More than a thousand strikers occupied the plant. Two days later, on the morning after they had presented management with a contract demand, workers in Fisher Body Plant No. 2 in Flint saw inspectors who supported the union being transferred. They sat down.

"At Plant No. 1 that evening the night shift saw important dies being loaded onto trucks and boxcars for Grand Rapids and Pontiac. They, too, sat down. The production of bodies for all GM cars came to a halt. . . .

"Victory or defeat for the GM workers depended on a simple strategy: keeping their buttocks firmly planked on \$50 million worth of GM property until they got a signed contract. GM's strategy was to get the workers out of the plants by hook or crook so that the police, deputies and National Guard could disperse them by force and violence."

It wasn't until a week after the first sit-down that UAW delegates met in Flint to authorize a formal corporation-wide strike and serve GM with a set of demands. Once the strike was irreversibly underway, CIO head John L. Lewis publicly voiced CIO approval.

The sheriff who tried to read a strike-breaking injunction to the sit-downers was laughed out of the plant. Then the company tried to freeze out the workers at Fisher Body Plant No. 2, and the police announced there would be no more food allowed to enter the plant.

Pickets stormed the entrance, carrying in bread and coffee to the sit-downers. Later the police attacked the pickets with clubs, tear gas, and volleys of buckshot.

"The strikers fought back with everything from hurled nuts and bolts to soda pop bottles. A three-hour battle ensued. During the course of the struggle the strikers captured the sheriff's car and

three police cruisers. When the police reformed ranks at midnight to make a new attack, the strikers brought into play their 'secret weapon'—a plant fire hose that soaked the police with freezing water and finally drove them back to the other side of a bridge leading to the plant gates."

Lewis sought support from Roosevelt, but received only presidential pleas to get the strikers out of the occupied plants.

Fifteen hundred members of the National Guard and a new court injunction faced the strikers on February 1 when they moved to occupy a still more strategic plant, Chevrolet No. 4.

The strikers organized a diversion—a march by several thousand to Chevrolet Plant No. 9.

"The workers inside began yelling 'sit-down!' and a forty-minute battle was waged inside the plant. The Women's Emergency Brigade . . . fought heroically on the outside, smashing the windows to permit the tear gas to escape from the plant.

"During this diversion, a group of Chevrolet No. 4 men, with some squads from Chevrolet No. 6, marched boldly into the No. 4 plant, shut down operations, barricaded doors and gates and set up patrols."

The next day the court order was issued, but the strikers held meetings and voted to hold the plants at all costs. "Early the next day, all the roads into Flint were jammed with cars loaded with unionists from Detroit, Lansing, Pontiac and Toledo."

The sheriff refused to try to enforce the court order and Gov. Frank Murphy could do nothing but plead with Lewis, who answered—truthfully—that he didn't have any part of the sit-down strike. Murphy threatened troops, and Lewis pledged that "mine will be the first breast that those bullets will strike."

The sit-downers had won. On February 11, 1937, GM signed a six-month agreement, including no reprisals against strikers, recognition of only the UAW in the closed plants, and immediate negotiations on contract issues.

"It wasn't much of a deal by present standards. But it was an inspiring victory to all American labor in 1937. The floodgates of class struggle were opened. The cry 'sit-down!' echoed from one corner of the land to the other. One month after the end of the GM strike, some 193,000 workers engaged in 247 sit-downs; nearly a half million took up this weapon before 1937 ended. The number of all strikes rose from 2,172 in 1936 to 4,740 in 1937, with 1,861,000 workers involved. That is the way the CIO was built and consolidated."

—Nancy Cole

# Letters

## Supports Wilmington 10

Your aggressive, progressive, radical *Militant* news just started arriving recently. Thank you for adding me on your mailing list.

As a concerned prisoner I totally support the Wilmington Ten and Brother Ben Chavis. They are prime examples of the continued injustices of this wretched nation. Until the Wilmington Ten are totally exonerated from the entire fictitious charges and conspired trial, complete with clean and clear records, they have not won the full battle.

Knowing the oppressive forces never rest, neither can we. The prisons are overcrowded with more and more Blacks and Third World people. We are the ones who are feeling the blows of economic pressures of enslavement, under the

disguise of so-called inflation. So we are threats.

The struggle continues!  
A prisoner  
New York

## Pledges support

I received your letter concerning the *Militant* fiftieth anniversary rally. I would like very much to attend, but I am afraid I cannot make it as I am currently incarcerated.

I would like to pledge some money, but I cannot do that either as I'm broke. So, please know that I am with you in mind and spirit and that I hope all turns out well and you receive more than the \$75,000 goal.

I am a devout socialist and receive a little bit of abuse from the guards and a few inmates. I am producing a few converts though.

A prisoner  
Washington

## Prisoner subscription appeal

Over the past year the *Militant* has reached many readers behind bars through our special prisoner subscription fund.

This fund provides free or reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners. It is made possible through contributions from our readers.

With the holiday season

approaching, we are making a special appeal for contributions to help get the *Militant* into the hands of prisoners who cannot otherwise afford to subscribe.

Please send your donation to: Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014

## 'Evil government plots'

Thank you very much for keeping us, the inmate population here, informed of national and international events.

I have learned a great deal about the U.S. government and the evil plots and schemes it has been, and still is, indulging in to keep or rather to attempt to keep the masses from uniting in the name of freedom, justice, and equality.

The July 7, 21, and 28 issues of the *Militant* carried an interesting series entitled "Battle over FBI informers." The articles dealt with nothing but the undisputed truth. They revealed how the U.S. government uses all types of surveillance, such as spies, stool pigeons, FBI and CIA agents to infiltrate freedom movements.

I have always been suspicious of things like this happening within this crooked and wicked government. But no matter how hard this imperialistic system tries, we shall not be stopped. The flames of liberation struggles will continue to burn until victory is won.  
A prisoner  
Virginia

## 'None can compete'

I would like to extend my sincere congratulations to the *Militant* on its fiftieth anniversary. This summer also marks my fifth year as an avid subscriber. During this period I have sampled the entire spectrum of publications on the left, some of which lay claim to revolutionary socialism while others have been content just to stay "progressive." Therefore I am in a tenable position to say that none can

begin to compete with this paper in style, clarity, consistency of political vision, and shrewd analysis of the dominant issues and trends within the working class and the communities of the oppressed minorities.

My long association with the *Militant* has convinced me that it will continue to be one of the most effective vehicles in the fulfillment of Trotsky's prophesy of an American socialism more robust and unfaltering than any movement in history.

The old watchword has certainly withstood the test of time: without a workers' paper there can be no workers' party; without a workers' party there can be no prospect for socialism.

G.W.  
New York, New York

## Irrational violence

The killing of Harvey Milk and George Moscone [San Francisco supervisor and mayor] appears to be a senseless act committed by a sick man, Dan White. He appears to have been primarily motivated by despair over losing his job with the city government. But, also, White was known for his consistent stand against gay rights. This led to clashes with Milk, an open homosexual and gay rights advocate, popular in the community.

After murdering Moscone, White went down the hall to murder Milk. Only a psychologist could explain his precise motivations, but it appears anti-homosexual prejudice was part of his sickness.

This tragedy highlights homophobia as an illness.

## Our party is your party

**THE MILITANT is the voice of the Socialist Workers Party.**

**IF YOU AGREE with what you've read, you should join us in fighting for a world without war, racism, or exploitation—a socialist world.**

**JOIN THE SWP. Fill out this coupon and mail it today.**

- ☐ I want to join the SWP.  
☐ Send me \_\_\_\_\_ copies of *Prospects for Socialism in America* at \$2.95 each. Enclosed \$\_\_\_\_\_  
☐ Please send me more information.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Telephone \_\_\_\_\_

SWP, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

# JOIN THE SWP



# Learning About Socialism

## Prospects for socialism in the U.S.

Antigay attacks, violent and otherwise, occur every day. It is prejudice, not homosexuality, that is sick.

While antigay hatred is part and parcel of a society based on violence, war, and oppression, the gay rights movement is part of the fight for a new world, with an end to irrational violence, with freedom for all people.

Steve Beren

Jackson Heights, New York

### Cuba, arms race

When I first read the *Militant* I agreed with the general content of the paper, and still do. However, let me point out something.

The *Militant* places its full support behind Cuba. Fidel Castro was right in overthrowing Batista, and the Cuban people have come a long way since 1959. But nothing can justify the imprisonment of people for their beliefs. It is a fact that Cuba has many political prisoners.

Another thing, how can anyone interested in human rights and freedom support any government that takes part in the international game of death? I'm talking about the arms race. The arms race kills people now by robbing them of the basic necessities they need to exist.

The U.S. is guilty, true, but I condemn all who pump billions of dollars of weapons into the hands of anybody. Nobody wants war, because everybody would lose.

Supporting the arms race—no matter where—means playing the game of merchants of death, corporations, and bureaucrats. It is a game that causes worldwide oppression and hostilities.

The *Militant* states its antiwar position. Excellent. But what about opposing everything that leads to war?

Jay West

Charlotte, North Carolina

### FBI vs. unions

In the November 17 edition of the *Militant* there was an article headed "FBI raids striking California Teamster local." I found the idea of government investigative forces being used in such a manner to be most disturbing. As a result, I have written a letter to my representatives in Congress and to the president of the United States.

It's a shame that such actions by agencies of the federal government are not more widely publicized. The *Militant* provides an essential service to the public by exposing such matters.

Keep up the good work.

D.B.

Maynard, Massachusetts

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.

Many radicals—and virtually the entire big-business-owned media—holds that the American political spectrum is drifting to the right.

Noticeably absent from this chorus of doomsayers is the Socialist Workers Party.

The SWP believes, as the *Militant* explains week after week, that conditions have never before been so favorable for building a mass revolutionary socialist party in this country. This perspective is confirmed by what SWP members are learning about the changing attitudes of their co-workers, as more and more socialists get jobs in America's big steel mills, auto plants, mines, and other industrial workplaces.

An excellent presentation of the political strategy and analysis that underlies this confidence in American working people is found in *Prospects for Socialism in America*. (Available for \$2.95 from the bookstores listed on page 27 or by writing: Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Please include \$.50 for shipping costs.)

The most important items in this book are two resolutions adopted by the 1975 SWP convention: the main political resolution passed at that convention, from which the book takes its title; and "The Fight for Black Liberation: The Current Stage and Its Tasks."

A third important article in the volume is, "The Radicalization of the American Working Class." This is the political report given by SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes to a meeting of the SWP National Committee several months before the convention.

"Prospects for Socialism in America" argues that the 1974-75 world capitalist depression was a qualitative turning point for U.S. imperialism.

The resolution explained that the depression signaled the beginning of a long period of economic difficulty and decline for capitalism. The rulers would be forced by this to try to preserve their profits by making workers pay for the crisis.

Through the Democratic and Republican parties, the capitalists have imposed cuts in jobs, real wages, working conditions, and public services. At the same time, they have tried to roll back the gains toward equal rights made by women, oppressed nationalities, and gays.

But this rightward shift by the capitalists and their political servants is not the whole picture—not by a long shot.

The other side is the response of those under attack—the workers and their allies, such as women, Blacks, working farmers, and students.

The resolution concludes: "The United States is not heading back to the prolonged prosperity, reaction, and quiescence of the 1950s and early 1960s. The road ahead is

one of increasing class consciousness, class struggle, and class polarization, leading from radicalization toward a revolutionary situation. . . ."

Central to building a revolutionary party is an understanding of the combined character of the fight for socialism in the United States. This is explained by both major resolutions in *Prospects for Socialism in America*.

The American socialist revolution will be both a struggle by the working class to abolish capitalist exploitation, and a fight against racism and for the right of self-determination by the oppressed Black and Chicano nationalities.

Since the overwhelming majority of Blacks and Chicanos are working people, concentrated in the most important U.S. cities and strategic industries, their struggle for equality and political power gives a tremendous impulse to the class struggle as a whole. It creates big obstacles to the ruling-class offensive.

The struggles of women—who comprise more than 40 percent of the U.S. work force—has a comparable impact.

The fate of the unions, women, and the oppressed nationalities are intertwined and interdependent. The unions can't fight back against the employers' depredations without also putting their muscle behind the demands of the most oppressed.

And the movements of women and the oppressed nationalities need the power of organized labor behind them to win.

The coal miners' strike last winter was a dramatic confirmation of what this book has to say about the capitalist crisis and the resistance of American working people to its effects. There have been many others since then: the rail strike and the current fight by independent truckers; the massive July 9 march on Washington for the Equal Rights Amendment; and the growing opposition, especially on campus, to U.S. support to apartheid.

Both the crisis and the response are creating the preconditions for a socialist revolution in this country.

But victory can only be assured through building a revolutionary party rooted in the working class and capable of leading it in a politically clear, organizationally competent, and democratic way—the Socialist Workers Party.

*Prospects for Socialism in America* is indispensable for understanding the perspectives of revolutionary socialists in the United States. That's why the SWP's National Education Department included it in a list of five books that should be read by people beginning to examine socialist ideas.

Others—reviewed in earlier columns—are *The Communist Manifesto* by Marx and Engels; *The History of American Trotskyism* and *Socialism on Trial* by James P. Cannon; and Lenin's *State and Revolution*. —Fred Feldman

## If You Like This Paper, Look Us Up

Where to find the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and socialist books and pamphlets

**ARIZONA:** Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 314 E. Taylor. Zip: 85004. Tel: (602) 255-0450. Tucson: YSA, SUPO 20965. Zip: 85720. Tel: (602) 795-2053.

**CALIFORNIA:** Berkeley: SWP, YSA, 3264 Adeline St. Zip: 94703. Tel: (415) 653-7156. East Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 1237 S. Atlantic Blvd. Zip: 90022. Tel: (213) 265-1347. Los Angeles, Crenshaw District: SWP, YSA, 2167 W. Washington Blvd. Zip: 90018. Tel: (213) 732-8196. Los Angeles: City-wide SWP, YSA, 1250 Wilshire Blvd., Room 404. Zip: 90017. Tel: (213) 482-1820. Los Angeles, Southeast: SWP, YSA, 2554 Saturn Ave., Huntington Park, 90255. Tel: (213) 582-1975. Oakland: SWP, YSA, 1467 Fruitvale Ave. Zip: 94601. Tel: (415) 261-1210. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 942 E. Santa Clara St. Zip: 95112. Tel: (408) 295-8342.

**COLORADO:** Denver: SWP, YSA, 126 W. 12th Ave. Zip: 80204. Tel: (303) 534-8954.

**DELAWARE:** Newark: YSA, c/o Stephen Krevjisky, 638 Lehigh Rd. M4. Zip: 19711. Tel: (302) 368-1394.

**FLORIDA:** Miami: SWP, YSA, 7623 NE 2nd Ave. Zip: 33138. Tel: (305) 756-8358.

**GEORGIA:** Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 509 Peachtree St. NE. Zip: 30308. Tel: (404) 872-7229.

**ILLINOIS:** Champaign-Urbana: YSA, 284 Illini Union, Urbana. Zip: 61801. Chicago: City-wide SWP, YSA, 407 S. Dearborn #1145. Zip: 60605. Tel: SWP—(312) 939-0737; YSA—(312) 427-0280. Chicago, South Side: SWP, YSA, 2251 E. 71st St. Zip: 60649. Tel: (312) 643-5520. Chicago, West Side: SWP, 3942 W. Chicago. Zip: 60651. Tel: (312) 384-0606.

**INDIANA:** Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University. Zip: 47401. Indianapolis: SWP, 4163 College Ave. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 925-2616. Gary: SWP, P.O. Box M218. Zip: 46401.

**KENTUCKY:** Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952 University Station. Zip: 40506. Tel: (606) 269-6262. Louisville: SWP, 1505 W. Broadway, P.O. Box 3593. Zip: 40201. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

**LOUISIANA:** New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3319 S. Carrollton Ave. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.

**MARYLAND:** Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2117 N. Charles St. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 547-0668. College Park: YSA, c/o Student Union, University of Maryland. Zip: 20742. Tel: (301) 454-4758.

**MASSACHUSETTS:** Amherst: YSA, c/o Rees, 4 Adams St., Easthampton 01027. Boston: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

**MICHIGAN:** Ann Arbor: YSA, Room 4321, Michigan Union, U of M. Zip: 48109. Detroit: SWP, YSA, 1310 Broadway. Zip: 48226. Tel: (313) 961-5675. Mt. Pleasant: YSA, Box 51 Warriner Hall, Central Mich. Univ. Zip: 48859.

**MINNESOTA:** Mesabi Iron Range: SWP, P.O. Box 343, Eveleth, Minn. Zip: 55734. Tel: (218) 741-4968. Minneapolis: SWP, YSA, 23 E. Lake St. Zip: 55408. Tel: (612) 825-6663. St. Paul: SWP, 373 University Ave. Zip: 55103. Tel: (612) 222-8929.

**MISSOURI:** Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. St. Louis: SWP, YSA, 6223 Delmar Blvd. Zip: 63130. Tel: (314) 725-1570.

**NEBRASKA:** Omaha: YSA, c/o Hugh Wilcox, 521 4th St., Council Bluffs, Iowa. 51501.

**NEW JERSEY:** Newark: SWP, 11-A Central Ave. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

**NEW MEXICO:** Albuquerque: SWP, 108 Morning-side Dr. NE. Zip: 87108. Tel: (505) 255-6869.

**NEW YORK:** Binghamton: YSA, c/o Larry Paradis, Box 7261, SUNY-Binghamton. Zip: 13901. Capital District (Albany): SWP, YSA, 103 Central Ave. Zip: 12206. Tel: (518) 463-0072. Ithaca: YSA, Willard Straight Hall, Rm. 41A, Cornell University. Zip: 14853. New York, Bronx: SWP, 2271 Morris Ave. Zip: 10453. Tel: (212) 365-6652. New York, Brooklyn: SWP, 841 Classon Ave. Zip: 11238. Tel: (212) 783-2135. New York, Lower Manhattan: SWP, YSA, 7 Clinton St. Zip: 10002. Tel: (212) 260-6400. New York, Queens: SWP, YSA, 90-43 149 St. Zip: 11435. Tel: (212) 658-7718. New York, Upper West Side: SWP, YSA, 786 Amsterdam. Zip: 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000. New York: City-wide SWP, YSA, 853 Broadway, Room 412. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 982-8214.

**NORTH CAROLINA:** Raleigh: SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 5714 State Univ. Station. Zip: 27607.

**OHIO:** Athens: YSA, c/o Balar Center, Ohio University. Zip: 45701. Tel: (614) 594-7497. Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 970 E. McMillan. Zip: 45206. Tel: (513) 751-2636. Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 13002 Kinsman Rd. Zip: 44120. Tel: (216) 991-5030. Columbus: YSA, Box 106 Ohio Union, Rm. 308, Ohio State Univ., 1739 N. High St. Zip: 43210. Tel: (614) 291-8985. Kent: YSA, Student Center Box 41, Kent State University. Zip: 44242. Tel: (216) 678-5974. Toledo: SWP, 2507 Collingwood Blvd. Zip: 43610. Tel: (419) 242-9743.

**OREGON:** Portland: SWP, YSA, 711 NW Everett. Zip: 97209. Tel: (503) 222-7225.

**PENNSYLVANIA:** Bethlehem: SWP, Box 1096. Zip: 18016. Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16412. Philadelphia, SWP, YSA, 218 S. 45th St. Zip: 19104. Tel: (215) 387-2451. Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, 5504 Penn Ave. Zip: 15206. Tel: (412) 441-1419. State College: YSA, c/o Jack Craypo, 132 Keller St. Zip: 16801.

**RHODE ISLAND:** Kingston: YSA, P.O. Box 400. Zip: 02881. Tel: (401) 783-8864.

**TEXAS:** Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Dallas: SWP, YSA, 5442 E. Grand. Zip: 75223. Tel: (214) 826-4711. Houston: SWP, YSA, 6412-C N. Main St. Zip: 77009. Tel: (713) 861-9960. San Antonio: SWP, YSA, 112 Fredericksburg Rd. Zip: 78201. Tel: (512) 735-3141.

**UTAH:** Logan: YSA, P.O. Box 1233, Utah State University. Zip: 84322. Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. P.O. Box 461. Zip: 84110. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

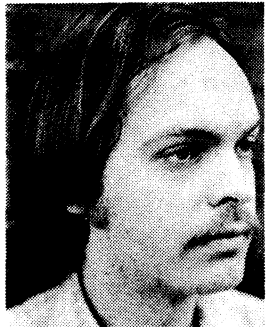
**WASHINGTON, D.C.:** SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699.

**WASHINGTON:** Seattle: SWP, YSA, 4868 Rainier Ave., South Seattle. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330. Spokane: SWP, P.O. Box 672. Zip: 99210. Tel: (509) 535-6244. Tacoma: SWP, 1022 S. J St. Zip: 98405. Tel: (206) 627-0432.

**WEST VIRGINIA:** Morgantown: SWP, 957 S. University Ave. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

**WISCONSIN:** Madison: YSA, P.O. Box 1442. Zip: 53701. Tel: (608) 255-4733. Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 3901 N. 27th St. Zip: 53216. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

## South African students denounce frame-up trial



Ernest Harsch, a staff writer for 'Intercontinental Press/Inprecor,' filed the story below while in Johannesburg, South Africa, where he gathered firsthand material on the struggle against apartheid.

Harsch is the author of 'The Ethiopian Revolution.'

### By Ernest Harsch

JOHANNESBURG—As the "sedition" trial of eleven young Black Soweto youths nears the end of its second month, the frame-up character of the apartheid regime's case against them is becoming increasingly obvious.

While there are a number of political trials now under way in various parts of the country, the trial of the Soweto youths is the most significant. The regime has moved against them not only because of their individual roles in the massive Black rebellions of 1976 and 1977, but also because of what they represent—a militant new generation of freedom fighters set on bringing down white supremacy and on establishing Black majority rule. The regime is seeking to use the case to strike a blow against the entire freedom struggle.

All eleven defendants were leaders or activists of the Soweto Students Representative Council (SSRC), which had spearheaded the big mobilizations in Soweto and had set an example for Black youths throughout the country. The SSRC was outlawed in October 1977, along with seventeen other Black and anti-apartheid organizations.

Most of them were arrested during a police swoop in June 1977, just days before scheduled protest actions to mark the first anniversary of the initial June 16, 1976, student demonstrations in Soweto. The most prominent of the accused, twenty-three-year-old Daniel Sechaba Montsitsi, was president of the SSRC at the time.

The ten other defendants are Wilson Twala (18), Susan Sibongile Mthembu

(22), Seth Sandile Mazibuko (19), Mafison Morobe (22), Jefferson Khotso Lengane (21), Thabo Ndabeni (21), Kennedy Mogami (19), Reginald Teboho Mngomezulu (21), Michael Khiba (20), and George Nkosinati Twala (23).

The eleven were detained without charge from the time of their arrests until July 28 this year, when they were brought before the Randburg Magistrates Court. They were indicted on main charges under the Sedition Act and on alternate charges under the Terrorism Act.

### Prosecution's charges

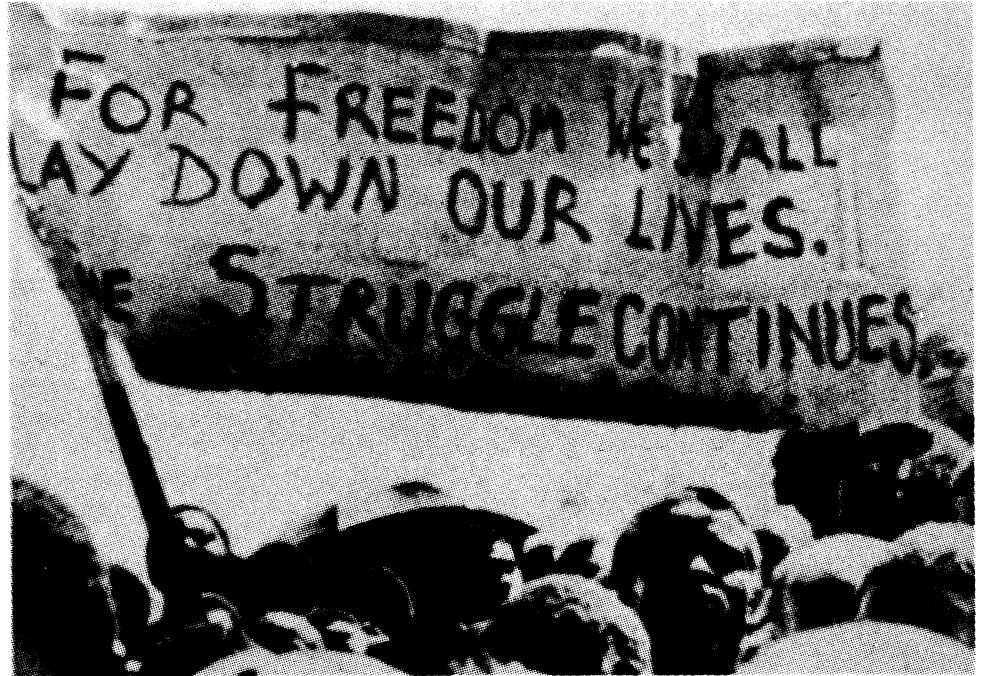
Specifically, they are accused of calling for the distribution of petrol bombs, advocating the burning down of Soweto's Bantu Education Department building, intimidating Black police living in Soweto, "forcing" Black workers to stay away from their jobs in protest strikes, marching on John Vorster Square (the main police headquarters here) to demand the release of political detainees, establishing contact with other student organizations in the country, and compelling members of the regime's Urban Bantu Council in Soweto to resign their posts. The indictment claims that R7 million (US\$8.05 million) in damages was inflicted as a result of these activities on property belonging to the West Rand Administration Board, which oversees the running of Soweto and other Black townships in this area.

Besides the eleven defendants, a number of "co-conspirators" have been named in the indictment, including Mashinini, Khotso Seatlholo, and Tofomo Sono (all former SSRC presidents), as well as Drake Koka, the secretary general of the Black Allied Workers Union and a founder of the Black People's Convention. All are now living outside the country.

Although the prosecution has so far tried to focus attention on such acts as the burning of buildings and stoning of police during the Soweto rebellions, the indictment does spell out the real reasons that the eleven are now on trial. It charged that the defendants and their compatriots strove "to create political, social and/or cultural awareness and solidarity amongst Black schoolgoers" and that they "adopted as policy the total rejection of the [segregated] system of education for Blacks at schools and specifically, the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction."

### Defiance of apartheid

Despite their months of incarceration, the eleven activists have continued to express their militant defiance of the apartheid system. During their



July 28 court appearance, they gave clenched-fist salutes and shouted "Amandla" (power). Their relatives and friends, who had packed the courtroom, responded with "Ngawethu" (to us).

This spirit of resistance was backed up by solidarity actions in Soweto itself. On September 18, the original date for the start of the trial (it actually began on September 29), several hundred students attended a four-hour service at Soweto's Holy Cross Church, where they sang freedom songs and chanted slogans.

In an effort to avoid protest actions outside the courtroom, the trial was moved to the circuit court in Kempton Park, a small town seven miles northwest of here.

When the trial finally opened September 29, all eleven defendants pleaded not guilty to the charges against them.

From the very first day, the prosecution has sought to paint a picture of a small group of conspirators who were engaged in violence and intimidation, not only against the authorities, but against other Blacks as well. For instance, Major Daniel van Wyk testified for the prosecution that Black workers had been intimidated into staying away from work during the August 4, 1976 strike. They were subjected to "intimidation by pamphleteering," he said.

### Contradictory testimony

Despite the regime's intentions, some of the state witnesses have given testimony that tends to contradict the conspiracy allegations. Major Gerrit Viljoen noted the spontaneity and breadth of the uprisings, stating, "There was total chaos that day [June 17, 1976]. The mood was so hostile that even children of two and three years old were waving fists in the black power salute."

Sarah Makape, a political detainee who was called to testify by the prosecution, stated that she had participated in two demonstrations on June 16, in which the students flashed V-signs to the police to show that they

were marching peacefully. The peaceful aims of the demonstrators, however, did not prevent the police from firing into them, killing many.

The defense, when it is called to present its case, will attempt to show the popular character of the Soweto events, thereby exposing the prosecution's lying claims that it was all the result of a conspiracy. Susan Mthembu, one of the defendants, declared their hope that the "true feelings of blacks can come out, otherwise it will all be buried and forgotten." Another remarked, "It must be shown that the unrest was not caused by a bunch of rowdy children, but by legitimate grievances and complaints of the people."

As in many other recent cases here, some of the state witnesses have revealed in court that their written statements had been extracted under extreme pressure.

The first such exposure came on November 6, when a state witness (whose name cannot be publicly revealed) declared in court, "On two occasions I was beaten by Captain Arthur Cronwright, from John Vorster Square, who told me he was Hitler's nephew and if I did not cooperate he would get rid of me in the same way Hitler got rid of his victims—that means death." At one point, when he was taken for interrogation, he heard Montsitsi crying out nearby. "A Lieutenant Kriel told me to listen well," he testified, "as such things could happen to me at any time."

Whatever the regime may have wished, the trial has not had the effect of intimidating the defendants or their supporters into giving up their struggle for a free and just South Africa under Black majority rule.

This determination was expressed by Susan Mthembu, who attempted to smuggle a letter out of prison. In it she affirmed that her convictions would not be weakened by detention. And reflecting the prevalent optimism among Blacks here about the certain victory of the freedom struggle, she declared, referring to the white supremacists, "I don't give the bastards more than five years."

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

### IP/I banned

Earlier this year, the South African Publications Control Board examined two copies of *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*, dated May 1 and May 8, 1978.

The two issues included articles on "Freedom Fighters Sentenced in South Africa," "Political Consequences of the Israeli Blitzkrieg," "4,000 Rally in Jerusalem for 'Peace Now,'" and on the South African role in the Angolan war.

The censorship officials promptly declared the two issues—as well as all future issues—"undesirable."

The banning order was announced in the June 16, 1978, issue of the *Government Gazette*.

IP/I is now prohibited "on possession." Someone found with a banned issue can face a fine of 500 rands (\$575) or a possible jail term if the fine cannot be paid.