

# THE MILITANT

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



## HUGO BLANCO

Workers deputies  
fight for  
general amnesty  
in Peru

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## Witch-hunt In New Orleans

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## TAXES

Who pays?  
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Special feature

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# POSTAL WORKERS PROTEST CONTRACT

Scores fired as New York  
union sets strike vote



Militant/Rich Robohm

NEW YORK, July 24—Postal workers demand their union call strike to win decent contract. See page 5.

## Support the postal workers!

The following statement was released July 26 by Dianne Feeley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of New York, and Tony Austin, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress from New Jersey's Twelfth District (Newark).

Postal workers across the nation have reacted angrily to a contract proposal that would leave their wages far behind inflation.

Their demands for decent pay and a secure job have been met with government threats and intimidation. More than 100 postal workers were fired for exercising their right to strike and picket.

President Carter aims to make the postal workers involuntary draftees in his phony, wage-cutting "war on inflation." If he can get away with shoving this pact down their throats, employers everywhere will gain.

And workers—all workers—will lose.

Carter and big business recently set out to make an example of another group of workers—the coal miners. But the miners stood tough, and the labor movement got behind them.

That same kind of united effort is needed in support of the postal workers today—by unions, students, women's groups, and Black organizations.

Rehire all those fired! No to government strikebreaking! Support the postal workers!

## Solidarity with Peruvian masses!

Trotskyist leader Hugo Blanco took his oath in Peru's Constituent Assembly July 18. His voice boomed out a message that will inspire the masses of Peruvian workers and peasants—and strike terror into the hearts of those who oppress them:

*"For the working class, for the world socialist revolution. . . . yes, I swear."*

Blanco quickly showed that he will use the assembly as a tribunal from which to champion the struggle for land reform, democratic rights, freedom from imperialist exploitation, and socialism in Peru (see story page 6).

Only two months ago, Blanco and other opposition leaders had been exiled by the Peruvian military government. The deportations were part of a crackdown on mass protests against steep increases in the prices of milk, flour, cooking oil, and other basic necessities. The price hikes tipped the balance for many already on the brink of starvation.

U.S. bankers had ordered the Morales Bermúdez regime to impose these harsh austerity measures as a precondition for renegotiating some \$4 billion in loans.

But the arrogant imperialist financiers miscalculated. Their attempt to tighten the screws on the Peruvian masses backfired—culminating in a wave of strikes, protests, and the large vote for Blanco and his class-struggle slate for the Constituent Assembly.

But the bankers and their Pentagon guardians are far from ready to give up in Peru. History has shown time and again that Washington will stop at nothing—not even the most brutal solutions—where it believes imperialist interests are threatened.

This was the case in Guatemala in 1954, Cuba in 1961, Brazil in 1964, Santo Domingo in 1965, and Chile in 1973—to cite just a few examples. In all these cases, Washington intervened either directly by sending in marines or indirectly by backing bloody right-wing coups or mercenary invasions.

The American people must be ready to move into action if Washington attempts to repeat

these dirty tricks in Peru. After all, the heroic struggle by the Peruvian masses for economic and social justice pits them against the same corporate profiteers who are the enemies of working people here in the United States and throughout the world.

## The Letelier case

In September 1976 a bomb demolished the car carrying Orlando Letelier, a former official in the government of Chilean President Salvador Allende. Letelier and his co-worker Ronni Moffitt were killed.

Because Letelier was among the most prominent exiled opponents of the junta that overthrew Allende, suspicion immediately focused on the regime of Gen. Augusto Pinochet.

Confirmation of the junta's role came with the arrest of two men, one a captain in the Chilean secret police (DINA), and another who was on the DINA payroll. Both had entered the United States in August 1976 under false names, using passports and visas obtained for them by the Chilean foreign ministry. One of the two, Michael Vernon Townley, has admitted putting the bomb in Letelier's car.

Chilean officials have tried to pass off the affair as involving, at most, a few low-level agents. But now, Paraguay's chief of military intelligence has given sworn evidence implicating Gen. Manuel Contreras Sepúlveda, the former head of DINA.

The evidence includes a coded telegram from Contreras requesting that Paraguayan passports be issued to the two DINA agents under the aliases they eventually used in their murder of Letelier.

From the earliest days of the coup in Chile, DINA has taken its orders directly from Pinochet himself.

But Pinochet's coup would never have happened without aid and encouragement from Washington, and without systematic U.S. efforts to "destabilize" the Chilean economy and Allende regime. Congressional investigations have shown close links between the CIA and the Chilean military.

There is only one way that the full truth about the Letelier murder will ever come out. That is by opening all the secret files on Washington's cooperation with the murderous junta it helped install.

## The right to know

The government has opened another front in its war against freedom of the press.

On July 24 a New Jersey judge ruled Myron Farber, a *New York Times* reporter, in contempt for refusing to turn over notes to the court. The *Times* was fined heavily, and Farber himself was fined \$1,000 a day and ordered the jail until he produces the subpoenaed evidence.

This comes after the U.S. Supreme Court's ruling in May giving cops the go-ahead to raid news media offices unannounced. It comes after a reporter for the Communist Party's West Coast weekly, the *People's World*, was subpoenaed to turn over notes on a strike.

These attacks aim to turn news reporters into snoopers for the police. The courts want to frighten political activists, working people on strike, or "whistle blowers" who seek to expose government abuse from talking to reporters.

Compare how swiftly the sword of "justice" came down on Farber to the delicate treatment of U.S. Attorney General Bell when a judge ruled him in contempt last month in the Socialist Workers Party lawsuit against government harassment.

Farber was immediately slapped in jail, until he won a three-day delay to appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court. By the time you read this editorial, Farber may well be back behind bars.

But when Bell withheld informers' files that a federal court had ordered him to turn over to the SWP's attorneys, he went about his business and was given an indefinite stay until all appeals are heard.

What a mockery!

Farber is protecting the right of the press to gather information. Bell, on the other hand, is protecting a gang of criminals who disrupt legal political activity, burglarize, and—like Gary Rowe, the FBI's man in the KKK—beat up and murder people. Farber is defending the public's right to know, while Bell is brazenly defying it.

Clearly the courts have thrown the wrong man in jail.

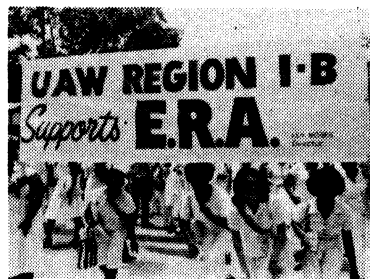
*The last issue of the 'Militant before our summer break will be dated August 11. We will resume our regular weekly publication schedule with the issue dated September 1.*

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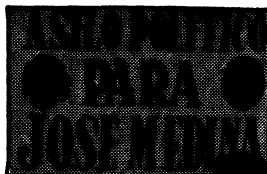
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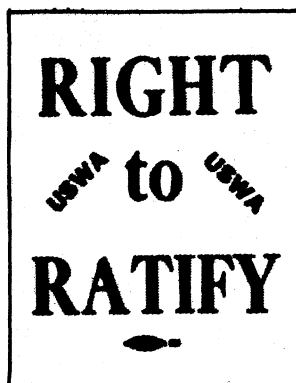


**Union power & women's rights**  
The size and breadth of labor participation in the July 9 march for the Equal Rights Amendment gives a glimpse of the future. **Page 9.**

**Steelworkers demand union democracy**  
Mesabi Iron Range workers back right to ratify campaign as USWA tops attack Local 1010. **Page 4.**



**Rally exposes repression in Mexico**  
Supporters of two prominent refugees from political persecution in Mexico—Héctor Marroquín and José Medina—held a united rally in the East Los Angeles barrio. **Page 12.**



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# 'One-sided class war'

## UAW's Fraser raps antilabor assault by big business, Democrats, Republicans

By Andy Rose

In a move that made front-page headlines across the country, United Auto Workers President Douglas Fraser resigned July 19 from the "Labor-Management Group."

The group, orchestrated by former Labor Secretary John Dunlop, had brought together eight corporate executives and eight top union officials to seek "cooperative approaches" to inflation, unemployment, and other issues.

Fraser's parting statement denounced "leaders of the business community" for waging "a one-sided class war today in this country—a war against working people, the unemployed, the poor, the minorities, the very young and the very old, and even many in the middle class of our society."

He pointed to "business domination" of both the Democratic and Republican parties and said there are "no visible, clear-cut ideological differences between them."

These statements are a damning indictment of the fundamental policies that Fraser and the rest of the union bureaucracy have followed for decades—seeking "cooperation" with the corporate wage-cutters and union busters and subordinating the unions to the antilabor Democratic and Republican parties.

"There's no point in *pretending any longer* that we [labor and business] have anything in common on the issues of the day," Fraser reportedly said (emphasis added).

In the past, Fraser asserted, "when

things got bad enough for a segment of society, the business elite 'gave' a little bit"—although "only after sustained struggle."

"But today," he said, "I am convinced there has been a shift on the part of the business community toward confrontation, rather than cooperation."

"Where industry once yearned for subservient unions, it now wants no unions at all."

He cited the "vicious, unfair" campaign against the labor law reform bill, as well as business opposition to national health insurance, minimum-wage improvements, full employment, and progressive tax reform.

Fraser singled out General Motors, which he said "has received responsi-

bility, productivity, and cooperation from the UAW and its members. In return, GM has given us a southern strategy designed to set up a nonunion network that threatens the hard-fought gains won by the UAW. We have given stability and have been rewarded with hostility."

Fraser made a point of connecting GM's antiunion policies at home to its heavy investments in South Africa and its refusal to recognize Black unions there.

Fraser's criticism of the Carter administration and the Democratic Party was more indirect. But the results of the UAW's support to Carter have plainly been disastrous.

Carter has left a trail of broken promises to labor—no full employment, no labor law reform, no national health plan. He sabotaged efforts for a higher minimum wage, invoked the slave-labor Taft-Hartley Act in an attempt to break the coal strike and is now openly demanding that workers settle for wage increases far below the rate of price increases.

This miserable return on the unions' investment of millions of dollars and countless hours of effort to elect Democratic "friends of labor" has not gone unnoticed by the ranks. Fraser reportedly said that many in the union were talking "for the first time in years" about establishing a labor party.

"I'm not there yet," he added. Fraser suggested only that the union might support a few Republicans to show its "independence."

That Fraser deems it useful to take his distance from the Democrats and warn them that more concessions are needed is testimony to the deep-going dissatisfaction among union members with the present political course of the unions. Union militants can use Fraser's statements to deepen discussions about what new policies are needed.

Fraser also said that to combat big-business attacks, the UAW would seek "new alliances" with "those who believe in struggle." He specifically mentioned the civil rights and women's movements, saying the UAW would host a meeting in September with leaders of these movements.

While the exact character of this meeting has not been announced, Fraser's call gives union activists an opening to propose the kind of "new alliances" that can win real gains. That is, alliances to mobilize the power of the union ranks together with women, Blacks, and Chicanos in defense of working-class interests.

## Mace: 'Time for labor party is now'

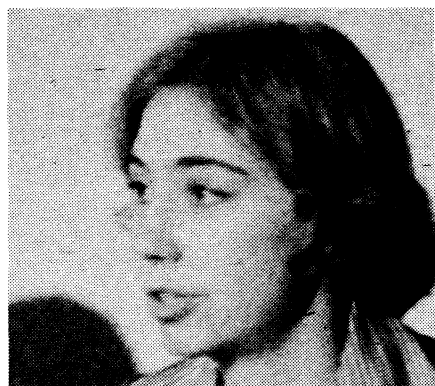
The following statement by Robin Mace, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Michigan, is being distributed in Detroit-area auto plants. Mace is a member of United Auto Workers Local 900.

When UAW President Douglas Fraser resigned from the White House "Labor-Management Group" a few days ago, he made some remarks that should start an important discussion among union members.

Fraser was 100 percent correct when he said that big business has "chosen to wage a one-sided class war today in this country—a war against working people, the unemployed, the poor, the minorities, the very old. . . ." The question is, what can we do?

Fraser called for forging a new alliance of the unions, Blacks, women, and other victims of the corporations' class war. He said the UAW will call a conference in September to bring together such a coalition.

This should not be a closed-door meeting of top leaders only. We need a discussion throughout the union—in every unit, local, and district. We need a conference of delegates elected from all the locals as well as from other unions, from women's organizations, Black groups, and our other allies.



Militant/Mac Warren  
Robin Mace, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor and member of UAW Local 900.

Such a broad, democratic conference could be a big step toward an alliance *in action*. A good example of what we need was the huge July 9 March on Washington for the Equal Rights Amendment. I joined that demonstration along with hundreds of other UAW members. We need more demonstrations like that—with the full power of the UAW and other unions behind them—to win the ERA and to defend affirmative action, school desegregation, and abortion rights.

Mobilizing our numbers in the streets together with the unemployed and the poor is also the most effective means we have to voice our demands for:

- a shorter workweek with no pay

cut to provide jobs,

- free medical care for all, and
- tax reform that benefits workers, not the rich.

One of the biggest questions facing a conference of labor and its allies is political action. Fraser was right when he said Carter and Congress have been a "failure" and "ineffective" so far as working people are concerned.

He acknowledged that "the Republican Party remains controlled by, and the Democratic Party heavily influenced by, business interests." There are "no visible, clear-cut ideological differences between them," he said. The fact is that both the Democratic and Republican parties are big-business parties—they are instruments of the corporations in their class war.

Fraser said there is renewed discussion in the UAW about forming a labor party, but he is "not there yet." Why not? The workers who feel the brunt of the bosses' offensive have nothing to gain from giving the Democrats "one more chance," or one more vote, or one more dollar.

The only reason the corporations have gotten away with their "one-sided class war" so long is because our unions keep supporting the very same politicians who stab us in the back.

The time for a labor party is *now*—and that's what the September conference ought to discuss.

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# National picket line

## San Antonio fires 150 sanitation workers

San Antonio's union-busting city manager, Tom Huebner, fired 150 striking sanitation workers July 24, nearly half of the work force. "These capricious job actions have gone too far, and any patience with this kind of action only encourages more of it," declared Huebner, whose action is backed by city council, the big-business news media, and—most treacherously—much of the city's union officialdom.

The workers, most of whom are organized into the San Antonio Refuse Collectors Association (SARCA), struck July 22 for a 9.3 percent wage increase, shorter pick-up routes, and improved job safety. San Antonio sanitation workers make on the average less than \$500 a month, but city council had offered them only a 6 percent pay raise.

About 10 percent of the city's sanitation workers are organized by the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. AFSCME officials are openly stating their intent to break the strike, ordering their members to cross the picket lines, and serving as virtual mouthpieces for the antiunion city government.

City officials have in turn announced their willingness to recognize AFSCME as the sole bargaining agent, thus dispensing with the independent SARCA.

The sanitation strike will provide the precedent for transit talks when that contract expires July 31. Yet transit union leaders have declined to aid the fired sanitation workers.

Socialist Workers Party candidates Andrea Doorack for lieutenant governor and Agnes Chapa for attorney general are campaigning in support of the sanitation strikers. "The sanitation workers are being victimized because they had enough courage to stand up and fight," declare the socialists.

## Calif. Teamsters: 'It's like a prison'

Twelve hundred workers at Safeway's distribution plant in Richmond, California, walked off the job July 18, one week after their contract expired. The members of Teamsters Local 315 are fighting a speed-up drive, which aims to double production at the center. Workers have been ordered to load as much as 10,000 pounds in less than an hour. Twelve have been fired and sixty suspended for not meeting production standards. The brutal speedup has forced more than eighty workers out on disability during the past three months. "It's like an armed camp down there," says Local 315 Secretary-treasurer Loren Thompson. "It's like a prison."

The strike is sanctioned by Joint Council 7 of the Teamsters, but the international office has withheld official approval because it is trying to force Local 315 to agree to a West-Coast-wide grocery contract.

Safeway has hired hundreds of scabs, guarded by off-duty cops, to try to break the strike. In four days six strikers were arrested and seven wounded by scabs. Local 315 is calling on workers at distribution centers in Fremont and Sacramento to join the strike. Picketing has spread to retail outlets through the Bay Area. Unionists in the area are urged to join the picketing. Don't shop Safeway!

## New Orleans sanitation workers win demands

Sanitation workers in New Orleans returned to work July 21 after the city agreed to supply additional, *working* garbage trucks. City officials also met the workers' demand that a fired strike leader be reinstated.

The three-day wildcat strike began when workers in East New Orleans reported to their job site and found only 6 of 28 trucks in working condition. If no trucks are available, the sanitation workers go home with no pay. The walkout spread quickly to other parts of the city where only 53 of 119 trucks were operating.

Officials of the union—Teamsters Local 270—did not back the strike, but the picket lines were honored by more than two-thirds of the city's sanitation workers.

## D.C. bus drivers wildcat for COLA

For five days last month, there was no public transportation moving in the nation's capital. Bus drivers and subway workers in Washington were off the job, protesting the city's refusal to grant them their automatic cost-of-living adjustment. The contract for 4,500 transit workers expired at the end of April, but its provisions—including the COLA clause—were to continue "undisturbed" during arbitration.

By July 25, subway workers were forced back on the job, but most drivers were still defying a back-to-work court order. They were also demanding the reinstatement of up to 200 strikers reportedly fired or suspended.

The wildcat strikers are members of Local 689 of the Amalgamated Transit Union. The walkout was not sanctioned by union officials.

## Philadelphia city workers end 8-day walkout

Philadelphia city workers voted July 21 to end their eight-day walkout. The 19,500 strikers—members of District Councils 33 and 47 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees—had demanded a 9 percent increase and no layoffs. The city had offered 13.5 percent over two years and insisted that more than 4,000 city employees be laid off.

The contract agreed to includes 7 percent raise for the first year plus a cost-of-living increase during the second. Six hundred jobs are to be eliminated almost immediately.

—Nancy Cole

# Iron range workers back right to ratify

By Andy Rose

Support for the right to vote on contracts is "unanimous" among local union presidents on the Mesabi Iron Range, says Joe Samargia, president of United Steelworkers Local 1938.

He believes all the range locals have passed or will pass resolutions for the September USWA convention calling for a constitutional provision to guarantee steelworkers the right to ratify their contracts.

Local 1938 has begun to circulate petitions for the right to ratify inside U.S. Steel's giant Minntac plant in Mountain Iron, Minnesota. With well over 3,000 members, Local 1938 is the largest local on the iron range.

"A contract is what a guy works under for three years," says Samargia. "It's his living. And he should have the right to decide what is in the contract."

The 16,000 iron ore workers in Minnesota and northern Michigan are covered by the USWA's basic steel contract, which is not ratified by the

membership. Neither are the USWA's contracts in the aluminum, container, and nonferrous metal industries.

Samargia thinks the current setup, where only local presidents vote on contracts, is "not really a fair way to do it. It's not a one-man, one-vote situation. A president from a local with 10,000 members has one vote, and a president in a 100-member local has one vote."

The iron ore workers set an inspiring example last year when they took on the steel companies in a 138-day strike over local issues (not covered by the basic steel pact). Samargia explains that democratic decision-making *strengthened* the locals in that battle.

"The iron ore miners decided what the issues were going to be. They voted to go on strike. And they voted when to go back." The companies found out it wasn't enough to sell a deal to the union negotiators. They had to come up with terms acceptable to the members.

No sooner had the iron ore miners returned to work than the coal miners were forced out on their long national strike. The coal miners too would have gotten "a hell of a lot less" if they hadn't had the right to vote, Samargia points out.

"The first contract they [the coal bosses] tried to push through was defeated. The second one was defeated. And the miners finally took the third one. It shows it should be the membership deciding."

Samargia was one of twenty USWA local presidents who signed a statement in June kicking off the right-to-ratify campaign. Asked what he thinks it will take to win this democratic right, he replies, "A lot of hard work, a lot of organization."



JOE SAMARGIA

## McBride threatens 1010

United Steelworkers President Lloyd McBride is already seeking to quash the right-to-ratify movement.

Overriding the democratic vote of the local membership, McBride has ordered USWA Local 1010 in East Chicago, Indiana, not to send a mailing to other locals urging resolutions and petitioning to support the right to ratify.

A recent meeting of Local 1010 had decided to begin the petition drive and to send out the mailing. McBride claims certain unnamed local members protested to him that this constituted "improper" use of union funds and "fraudulent" use of a mailing list.

The international president has sent two of his "official family" loyalists—District 19 Director Jim Coyne and District 34 Director Buddy Davis—to "investigate" the charges. Behind the "investigation" lies the implicit threat to put Local 1010 under receivership if it doesn't toe the line.

The charge of improper use of funds evidently means that locals are not allowed to spend their own dues money on purposes McBride does not approve of.

The mailing list charge is even murkier. McBride is apparently claiming that the local planned to use a mailing list the international was required to make available to Ed Sadowski, McBride's opponent in the 1977 union election. McBride says this list was for election purposes only and any other use of it is illegal.

The response by Local 1010 President Bill Andrews—who has served as spokesperson for the right-to-ratify campaign—was reported in the South Chicago *Daily Calumet* July 26.

Andrews said the investigation was a "delaying tactic" by "people who don't want the union membership to find out about" the petition drive.

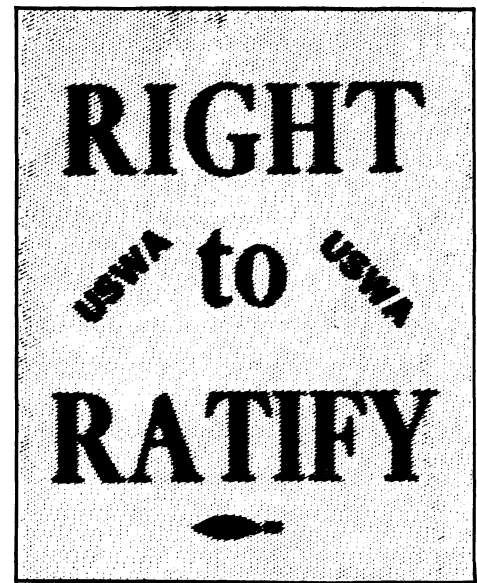
"Nothing has been sent out because we don't have and never did have any mailing list. The fact of the matter is we were going to put the material together and then send it to the international for them to mail out."

"This whole business about an 'illegal mailing list' is just so much nonsense," Andrews is quoted as saying. "The real issue is the petition drive and the right to ratify."

The charges against Local 1010 are a measure of how much the USWA bureaucracy fears a membership campaign for the right to vote on contracts. McBride aims to block the nationwide spread of the movement and to intimidate other locals from joining in.

Andrews has emphasized that while the mailing is delayed, Local 1010 will still send information and petitions to steelworkers who ask for them. Write to: USWA Local 1010, 3703 Euclid Avenue, East Chicago, Indiana 46312.

—A.R.



Stickers like this are appearing in District 31 steel mills.



## Contract sparks protests

# New York postal union sets strike vote

By Michael Lux

NEW YORK, July 26—The nation's postal workers are looking to this metropolitan area for the next step in their fight for a decent contract.

Despite a stop-the-clock settlement on July 20 between national postal union officials and the U.S. Postal Service, discontent mushroomed—and some strikes broke out—as the contract terms filtered down to the ranks.

Then on July 24, the executive council of the New York Metro Local of the American Postal Workers Union voted to authorize a strike vote among its 26,000 members. That vote is scheduled for July 31.

"I am recommending that my membership vote 'yes' to strike," declared Metro APWU President Moe Biller. "If New York votes to strike, the rest of the country will follow."

Officials of Branch 36 of the National Association of Letter Carriers, representing 7,000 carriers in Manhattan and the Bronx, pledged to support a strike call.

Local union officials have been pressured in large part by a militant wildcat strike at the bulk and foreign mail center in Jersey City. For five days, as many as 80 percent of the 4,000 workers there stayed off the job.

After a federal judge outlawed all picketing at the site—and the cops quickly showed up to enforce his order—the strikers decided July 25 to return to work and organize for a solid strike vote July 31.

Another strike in Richmond, California, took out half the workers at that bulk mail center.

Up to 125 strikers in California and New Jersey have been fired by the postal service. This has added to the pressure and sentiment for a strike call.

At the metro council meeting here July 24, 100 postal workers picketed outside calling for an area-wide strike. Most were from the Jersey City strike.

After a short rally, the pickets marched one block to the General Post Office and circled the huge facility, chanting, "Bad contract, no work."



Pickets march in New York July 24, calling for strike to reject contract, defend fired workers. Militant/Rich Robohn

GPO workers greeted the demonstrators with clenched fists and "V" signs.

### Contract terms

The proposed contract, which APWU President Emmet Andrews proclaimed "the best we could do," is still being kept secret from the union ranks. It reportedly *does not* meet demands for equalization of seniority and other improvements in working conditions. Its provisions, as reported, *do* include:

- 10 percent wage increase—2 percent this year, 3 percent the next, and 5 percent the third year;
- a \$1,500 cap on the cost-of-living adjustment over the three years;
- retention of the no-layoff clause, although there is a dispute over whether it has been modified to cover only high-seniority workers.

The postal settlement is the first

national contract negotiated since the coal strike last winter. The miners' wage increase—touted as 37 percent but in actuality 30 percent over three years—is supposed to be the "exception," according to the so-called inflation fighters in the Carter administration.

The *real* example they hope to set for upcoming contract talks, particularly the Teamsters and Auto Workers, is the miserly pact offered the postal workers. From the start, the government mustered heavy pressure against the postal unions.

Days before the contract deadline, a letter from the postmaster general went out to all 550,000 postal workers warning them that strikers would lose their jobs, as well as their health and life insurance.

Carter readied troops to break a national strike.

"It was a lousy package accepted under duress of machine guns and bayonets," an unnamed New York local union leader told the *New York Times*.

Yet James LaPenta, a leader of the Mailhandlers Division of the Laborers' International Union, hailed the settlement as an "historic document."

National union officials have dismissed the anticontract sentiments of the wildcat strikers as not representative of the rank and file. They have made no protest of the firings.

### 'Strikable issues'

When the New York union leadership came out in favor of a strike, LaPenta told reporters, "Somebody needs to expose those guys up there." He continued, "We settled the strikable issues. Now the move is to vote the contract up or down by the rules of the referendum."

What LaPenta and Andrews fail to explain to their memberships—along with a lot of other things about the settlement—is: What happens if the contract, after a time-consuming mail ballot, is rejected? Would the unions return to the bargaining table for more talks? Would a strike be called to win improvements in the contract?

The 1970 postal reorganization act requires that if a contract is rejected, a fact-finding panel is set up. That panel has the power to *impose* a settlement on postal workers!

In 1970, the postal unions' national leadership also opposed any kind of strike action. But postal unionists took to the picket lines anyway, sparked by New York workers.

Because of that powerful strike, postal workers have won important gains. Starting wages went from a pitiful \$6,176 in 1970 to today's \$15,877.

The postal workers can demonstrate that power again. They deserve the all-out support of working people everywhere because—like the coal miners' recent struggle—the outcome of their battle sets the stage for many yet to come.

## Jersey City pickets: 'We've got to stick together'

By Joe Soares

JERSEY CITY, July 24—Early this morning cops herded 100 pickets away from the bulk and foreign mail center here, threatening them with arrest.

It was the fourth day of their walkout protesting the proposed postal settlement. Nearly 80 percent of the facility's 4,000 workers had thus far honored the picket line.

The strikers regrouped in the parking lot of nearby Stella's Bar to ponder their next step.

Sixty of the workers here have been sent termination orders. Twenty-three were visited in the middle of last night by postal inspectors, who served them with dismissal notices and court summonses for a hearing this afternoon.

One worker described how the inspectors beat on his door and shouted obscenities at 2:30 a.m. "They want the whole neighborhood to think you're a criminal," he grumbled.

Although the strikers haven't seen the proposed contract—as have none of the unions' ranks nationwide—they talked of what they had heard. The reported 10 percent pay raise is a sore point. "You can't keep up with

inflation with that," said Bradley Scharenguire.

He had also heard that the no-layoff clause was modified to cover only those with ten or more years' seniority. "The post office can lay me off just as they please," he explained.

"We've got to stick together and fight," urged Dave Cline. "We demand no reprisals. We went into this fight together, and we will end it the same way."

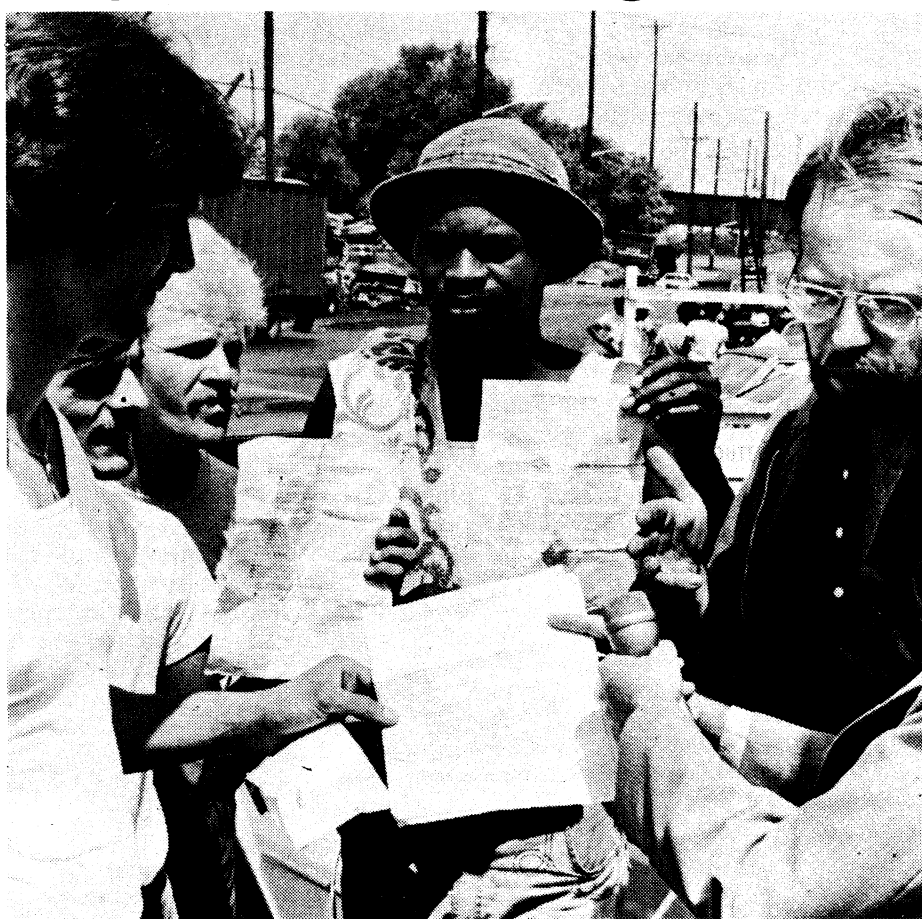
In Newark federal court a few hours later, Judge Frederick Lacey—who had previously issued a back-to-work order—claimed the strikers represented a "substantial threat to the welfare of the nation."

"Participation in this strike is a crime," he decreed.

He set another hearing for July 31 to decide penalties for any who dare defy his strikebreaking order.

Fifty postal workers sat in the courtroom, silent witnesses to the government's "justice."

They then made their way over to Manhattan to noisily join a picket line of other postal workers outside the Statler Hilton. Inside, union officials decided to call for a strike vote.



Strikers display their dismissal notices

Militant/Joe Soares

By Fred Murphy

LIMA, July 18—Trotskyist leader Hugo Blanco was sworn in as a Constituent Assembly deputy today. The bourgeois deputies took their oaths solemnly, hands uplifted in reverence for the sanctity of the capitalist institutions they seek to defend. But Blanco swore in with his fist in the air and his voice booming: "For the working class, for the world socialist revolution"—and, in reference to the brutal repression unleashed against striking teachers earlier today—"for the blood that was shed this morning; yes, I swear."

In this way Blanco expressed from inside the Legislative Palace the mood of those in the streets outside. For just as the deputies were arriving for the first preparatory session of the assembly, thousands of striking public high-school teachers were marching toward the palace on the Avenida Abancay. They stood in the plaza outside the palace chanting, "SUTEP, SUTEP!"<sup>1</sup> and "No more maneuvers, we want a solution!"

The teachers filled the plaza; their chants drowned out the shouts and songs coming from a crowd of supporters of the bourgeois Peruvian Aprista Party.<sup>2</sup> The Civil Guard moved in with clubs and tear gas to disperse the demonstration. As the Constituent Assembly recessed at 12:30, the main hall of the Legislative Palace became filled with the pungent odor of the gas. Soon crying and choking deputies, reporters, and on-lookers were scurrying for the rear exits of the palace.

### Solidarity with teachers

Later the teachers and their supporters regrouped and marched back down the Avenida Abancay toward University Park. Government workers threw confetti and tickertape from the windows of the ministry buildings on the avenue and shouted their support.

In front of the Economics and Finance Ministry, the Civil Guard again launched attacks on the demonstrators. Oscar Buse Thorne, a bystander, was struck in the head and critically injured by a tear-gas grenade fired at close range. Numerous other teachers and demonstrators were injured.

The vast majority of Peru's 140,000 public high-school teachers have been on strike since May 8, demanding a 100 percent wage hike, better working conditions, and recognition of their national union, the SUTEP. Thus far, the military government has responded only with repression and maneuvers aimed at dividing the teachers. The regime has refused to negotiate with the SUTEP. But the strike remains 90 percent effective and enjoys growing mass support. It has become a key test of strength between the workers movement and the military government.

### Not typical

Peru's new Constituent Assembly so far has not taken on the "decorum" and "dignity" typical of bourgeois parliaments. During today's preparatory session, chants, clapping, and singing rang out continually from the spectators' galleries, which were mostly filled with raucous Apristas waving white handkerchiefs—the party's traditional symbol—and supporters of the other main bourgeois party, the PPC (Christian People's Party). But the workers were represented too, and from time to time chants of "SUTEP, SUTEP" and "The left united will never be defeated" could be heard above the din of whistles and Aprista anthems.

1. Sindicato Unico de Trabajadores de la Educación del Perú (United Federation of Educational Workers of Peru).

2. "Aprista" refers to the American People's Revolutionary Alliance (APRA), the more commonly used name for the Peruvian Aprista Party. The APRA was a revolutionary-nationalist formation in the 1920s and 1930s, but later entered into collaboration with the parties of the oligarchy. It has the most seats in the Constituent Assembly.

# Blanco sworn in to Constituent Assembly

## Eyewitness report from Peru

The upsurge of the oppressed and exploited Peruvian masses continues . . . Under intense popular pressure, the military government announces that all exiles will be allowed to return and political prisoners freed . . . As the newly elected Constituent Assembly convenes, revolutionary socialist Hugo Blanco and other workers deputies turn it into a tribune for the people's demands. Fred Murphy is in the streets of Lima covering these events for the 'Militant' and 'Intercontinental Press/Inprecor.' More of his reports will appear in future issues.



Militant/Fred Murphy

Revolutionist Hugo Blanco raises fist in greeting thousands who poured out for his triumphant return to Peru July 16.

If the bourgeois parties managed to carry the day in the galleries, the workers won the first small but substantive point in the session itself. Earlier, deputies from the workers parties had insisted that assembly President Victor Raul Haya de la Torre (the "supreme head" of the Apristas) approve the use of assembly funds to pay the travel expenses for the return to Peru of the political and trade-union deportees still outside the country. During the morning session, Haya announced that this would be done for the exiles who had been elected as deputies.

Hugo Blanco immediately rose in his place, demanding that all the exiles—elected or not—be provided with travel funds. Not wishing to confront Blanco head-on over this point, and as the chant "Deportees to Peru!" broke out in the halls, Haya answered, "And for Señores Letts, Damonte, . . ." listing all the deportees except Ricardo Napurí, like Blanco a deputy from the Workers, Peasants, Students and People's Front (FOCEP). Blanco quickly responded, "Napurí, also!" to which Haya said, "Yes, Señor Napurí, also."

Napurí, Blanco, ten other leftists, and one right-wing journalist were deported to Argentina on May 25. Three more of these deportees—Genaro Ledesma of the FOCEP and Javier Díez Canseco and Ricardo Díaz Chávez of the Democratic People's Union—were also elected to the assembly. Díaz Chávez arrived from Mexico today. Napurí, Ledesma, Díez Canseco, and Ricardo Letts are to arrive from Paris on July 23, and the workers parties are planning a welcoming rally for them at the airport. Several other union leaders and leftist political figures are still abroad, but with the funds provided by the assembly they should be returning soon. The government's emergency decree under which the activists had been deported was withdrawn July 14.

The assembly adjourned at 5:30 today. Hugo Blanco and several other workers deputies left the Legislative Palace together. Almost immediately

they were surrounded by several hundred persons and hurried off down a side street to Lima's central market. Blanco addressed the impromptu rally briefly, calling on everyone to attend the big rally tomorrow night in the Plaza Dos de Mayo. Peru's main trade-union federation, the CGTP<sup>3</sup> has called the rally to celebrate the first anniversary of the July 19, 1977, general strike. That national work stoppage was the opening round in the upsurge of the Peruvian masses against the military regime's austerity policies—an upsurge that is by no means over.

3. Confederación General de Trabajadores del Perú (General Confederation of Peruvian Workers).

## 30,000 in Lima demand labor amnesty

LIMA, July 19—Thirty thousand persons gathered in the Plaza Dos de Mayo tonight, spilling over into the Avenida Nicolas de Pierola and other side streets. Across the front of the CGTP's headquarters on the plaza was a huge banner reading "Labor Amnesty."

This demand focuses on the fight for reinstatement of more than 5,000 union militants fired after the general strike that took place one year ago today. Winning it will be the next step in the struggle for democratic rights, which has secured two important victo-

ries in the last few days. On Sunday, July 16, came the announcement that all the exiles will be allowed to return and this morning, on the front page of the government-controlled dailies, the decree that all political and trade-union prisoners are being freed. If fully carried out, this will mean the release of dozens of persons, some of whom have been incarcerated for more than seven years.

### Radical mood

The crowd on the plaza tonight was broader than the CGTP's own ranks, and in a considerably more radical mood than the Stalinist bureaucrats on the balcony above.

The CGTP is dominated by the Communist Party (Unity). Thus far, the leadership of the CGTP has failed to come out clearly in support of the teachers union, SUTEP, in its fight for recognition by the government (the SUTEP is under Maoist leadership and does not belong to the CGTP).

Hundreds of SUTEP teachers were in the crowd, however, and the immense support for their struggle was expressed in chants of "Let the SUTEP speak" that at times drowned out the CGTP's loudspeakers.

At last, Arturo Sánchez Vicente, the president of the SUTELM (the Metropolitan Lima unit of the SUTEP) mounted the platform. He called on the CGTP leaders to set the date for a national general strike in support of the teachers' demands. As the evening wore on, the CGTP bureaucrats themselves were leading chants of "general strike," although they were careful to say nothing concrete as to when such a work stoppage might be called.

In allowing Sánchez Vicente—along with other leaders of independent unions such as Victor Cuadros of the miners and Avelino Mar of the National Agrarian Federation—to speak the CGTP departed from their usual policy of monopolizing the platform at the federation's rallies. The evening thus reflected the pressure for unity in face of the attacks of the government and the capitalists.



As for the crowd's militancy, it was evident in the loud applause that greeted Avelino Mar's declaration that the problems of the Peruvian peasants can only be solved when the working class is in power and similar calls for an end to capitalism from other speakers.

### Other strikes

Support for other strikes now under way in Peru was also expressed in the banners and speeches at the rally. Thirty-five thousand health and hospital workers went on strike across the country July 14. In Chimbote, an important industrial center on the northern coast, the workers at PICA shipyards have been out for more than 120 days against mass layoffs. An indefinite general strike is to begin in Chimbote tomorrow in support of the PICA struggle.

Hugo Blanco and other workers deputies in the Constituent Assembly sent messages of support to the rally. Blanco was unable to attend because of a television engagement. When the government director of the station canceled Blanco's appearance at the last minute, the moderator of the interview show protested and refused to proceed with his other guests. Viewers were thus presented with a blank screen for half an hour.

The CGTP rally ended peacefully at about 10:30. Nevertheless, a unit of Civil Guards felt obliged to fire several tear-gas bombs in the Avenida Nicolas de Pierola to disperse stragglers.

## Workers deputies back Centromin miners

LIMA, July 21—Yesterday's Constituent Assembly session did not last more than forty minutes. But before it was over, the workers deputies again turned the assembly into a tribune for the struggles of the Peruvian masses.

After some procedural announcements and the swearing-in of UDP Deputy Ricardo Díaz Chávez and other deputies who had been absent from yesterday's session, FOCEP Deputy Juan Cornejo Gómez tried to get the floor. "The Centromin miners are dying of hunger," Cornejo said in a loud voice, waving a sheet of paper. Cornejo is a copper miner from the department (province) of Pasco.

### Reinstate fired workers!

As jeers broke out from the Apristas in the galleries, assembly President Haya de la Torre declared, "There is nothing up for debate," and quickly adjourned the session. New chants arose, this time from the leftists in the galleries: "Reinstate the fired workers!"

Cornejo Gómez was attempting to read a message to the assembly sent from fifteen miners from the Centromin copper complex in Pasco who have been on hunger strike for more than three months. They are demanding reinstatement for themselves and for seventy-one other miners fired by the Centromin management last year. In this struggle, the fifteen represent more than 5,000 other union activists whom the government ordered dismissed after the July 1977 general strike.

The hunger strikers are being held prisoner in the Police Hospital in Lima. They were taken there after being violently removed from San Martín University where they began the hunger strike in late April. Several are under intensive care, having begun refusing liquids, as well as solid foods, fifteen days ago. "If we wait until July 28"—the day substantive sessions of the Constituent Assembly are to begin—"my brother miners may already be dead," Cornejo Gómez said after yesterday's assembly session.

While Cornejo failed to get action on the miners' demands from the assembly itself, his efforts did force Haya de la Torre to send a delegation of deputies to the Police Hospital today to visit the hunger strikers.

FOCEP deputies Hugo Blanco, Victor Iano Lozano, and Cornejo were part of the delegation, which also included several Apristas and even a PPC deputy.

### Weakened health

The miners' physical health has been considerably weakened by their ordeal. But their will to struggle remains strong. One of them, Miguel Linares Espinoza, was a FOCEP candidate for the Constituent Assembly. He told me, "We intend to stay right here. Our slogan is: 'Either back to our jobs or else to our graves.'"

The delegation of deputies returned to the Legislative Palace, where Haya de la Torre announced that he would meet with the prime minister and the ministers of health and labor to discuss the hunger strike.

Winning the miners' demand for a full "labor amnesty"—reinstatement of all 5,000 fired militants—will not be an easy task. The bosses are now trying to carry out even more massive layoffs to cut costs and deal with their huge foreign debt. Another hunger strike in March forced the military regime to order the rehiring of seventy-eight workers, but thus far only nine have actually gotten their jobs back.

The struggle will intensify in the coming weeks. A July 8 congress of the FNTMMP,<sup>4</sup> Peru's main miners union, called a countrywide strike for August 2 to demand the rehiring of all its members who have been fired. And FNTMMP President Victor Cuadros and other workers deputies will be able to continue using the Constituent Assembly to give further impetus to this struggle.

4. Federación Nacional de Trabajadores Mineros y Metalúrgicos del Perú (National Federation of Miners and Metalworkers of Peru).



Striking teachers gather outside Constituent Assembly July 18

Militant/Fred Murphy

# Bolivia: behind the coup

By Gerry Foley

Almost exactly seven years after he seized power in a military coup in August 1971, Bolivian dictator Hugo Banzer Suárez was toppled July 21 by his heir apparent, General Juan Pereda Asbún.

Banzer and Pereda were extremely closely linked. Pereda was not only the ousted dictator's handpicked candidate for president in the elections held July 9, but was also Banzer's former minister of the interior.

The elections were called in an attempt to shore up the government's sagging political authority. Although Banzer succeeded in establishing one of the most stable and durable regimes in the country's history (in which there has been an average of more than one coup per year), and although there was a relatively high economic growth rate during his years in office, the dictatorship did nothing to improve the living standards of the masses.

The average per capita income was about US\$390, the lowest in Latin America except for Haiti. In 1974, the effects of the world economic crisis, in particular the increasing price of imported food products and cooking oil, touched off a major rebellion among the peasants.

Economic development was predominantly in nonproductive sectors. This had the effect of exacerbating the bitterness of the impoverished masses, as skyscrapers sprang up alongside wretched slums and shantytowns. At the same time, top figures in the government and their associates became implicated in scandals over massive rake-offs from public-works projects.

Banzer had promised that the first step toward elections and a return to civilian government would be a political amnesty. This pledge inspired a broad campaign by the Standing Assembly for Human Rights, supported by all the opposition parties, the underground workers movement, and the Catholic church's Council of Bishops, to assure that the amnesty would be general and without conditions.

At the beginning of this year, Banzer released thirty-three political prisoners and granted amnesty to 284 exiles. At the same time, the government made public a list of 348 citizens who would not be allowed to return to the country. It included a former president, Siles Zuazo, who later became a major opposition candidate in the elections, a rightist leader, as well as a number of children and persons who represented even less of a credible threat to the "public order," since they were dead.

In the atmosphere of general indignation provoked by the military's dubious concession, a group of four wives of miners began a hunger strike. This touched off a wave of active protests. Groups of workers, students, peasants, priests, and others occupied churches

## 100 arrested

Opposition sources report that at least 100 labor and student leaders have been arrested since Pereda's coup, according to a July 24 dispatch in the *New York Times*.

Delegates at the headquarters of the miners union in La Paz reported "that the security forces had arrested six union members in Oruro, about 25 people in Tarija and a woman delegate for a human rights organization in Uyuni," the *Times* reports. "The security forces appeared to be taking into custody people who might lead labor or student strikes."

and schools and even the UN office in La Paz.

Then the underground miners union issued a call in mid-January for a one-day general strike, which was massively observed. This action showed that the dictatorship had failed, despite severe repression, to smash the workers movement. A second strike was called, and this time, the workers in La Paz forced their factories to shut down. Students demonstrated in several cities, and the strike got obviously overwhelming public support.

When Banzer tried to crack down on the protesters, the top church leaders were forced to denounce the regime, precipitating the sharpest crisis it had yet suffered.

When the elections were held, they failed completely to achieve the objectives the junta had set for them. Even with massive vote rigging, Pereda was unable to get a clear majority of votes required for election. Moreover, the fraud was so obvious that the military rulers gained no authority from the vote.

Pereda himself was forced to call on the courts to throw out the results and schedule a new vote.

Apparently, Pereda and his backers decided finally that they had no alternative but to drop the attempt to get an appearance of a popular mandate and invoke the "ultimate responsibility" of the armed forces for safeguarding the "nation" and "order." According to a July 21 Associated Press report, the putschists claimed that the coup was necessary to block a threat from "Communism."

Fundamentally, the Pereda coup represents an acknowledgement by the Bolivian bourgeoisie of a grave political defeat. It will not halt the deterioration in the position of the military regime. The ultimate effect can only be to aggravate an already explosive situation and prepare the way for a head-on confrontation between a rising mass movement and a regime without credibility or perspectives.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

## dynamics of the cuban revolution

the trotskyist view  
by joseph hansen

In the face of escalating threats by Washington against Cuba for its role in Africa, basic questions about the Cuban revolution take on new importance.

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

- Has the Cuban revolution degenerated to such a degree that a Stalinist bureaucracy has seized power?

The documents and articles from 1959 to 1970 collected in this book provide the solid background of facts and historical analysis needed to answer these questions.

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## Socialist tells mayor : 'Quash indictments!'

# New Orleans cops threaten to prosecute SWP

By Karen Newton

NEW ORLEANS—Cops here are threatening to put members of the Socialist Workers Party on trial for their political beliefs.

The socialists have been suing the New Orleans police and city government since 1977 demanding secret police files on them. In sworn testimony in the suit, Clarence Herkender, a member of the city's "red squad," said the cops won't turn over the files because they are preparing indictments against SWP members "in the not too distant future."

In a statement denouncing this threat, Joel Aber, SWP candidate for New Orleans Parish School Board, demanded that Mayor Ernest Morial publicly order the police to quash any and all indictments immediately and turn over the files. Aber urged trade unionists, Black activists, feminists, and all supporters of civil liberties to back this demand.

Aber asked that protest messages be sent to Mayor Ernest Morial, City Hall, 1300 Perdido, New Orleans, Louisiana 70112.

"We have committed no crimes," said Aber. "Events this summer have shown once again that the real criminals are in the government and its police agencies."

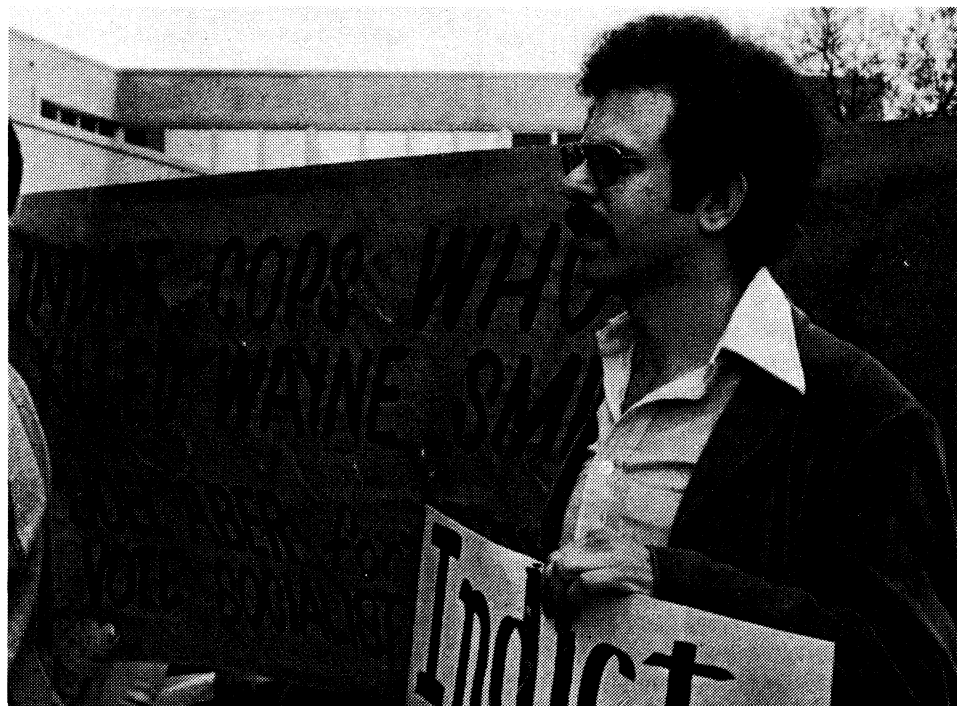
"Attorney General Griffin Bell was recently placed in contempt of court because he defied an order to turn over eighteen informer files to the SWP's attorneys," Aber pointed out. "These informers committed many illegal acts, including burglaries."

"And Gary Thomas Rowe, one of the FBI's informers in Birmingham, has admitted murdering a Black man and is implicated in the murder of four Black children, a civil rights activist, and who knows who else."

"Here in New Orleans," Aber continued, "the cops are engaged in constant harassment and surveillance because they do not like our ideas."

Although the cops may be using the talk of indictments as an excuse for not turning over files demanded by the SWP, such threats cannot be taken lightly.

For example, in 1963 three members of the Young Socialist Alliance at Indiana University in Bloomington were indicted under a state "sedition" law. The charges, which carried a sentence of one to three years in jail, were brought by Tom Hoadley, an



Top: Red squad cops took pictures of socialists when KKK picketed opening of SWP bookstore in 1976. Bottom: Joel Aber at 1977 protest. Aber is now calling for response to latest police threats.

ambitious, right-wing prosecutor.

Hoadley charged that the YSA members advocated "the violent overthrow of the government of the U.S. and the state of Indiana."

Although the charges were absurd and untrue, it took a major nationwide defense effort to force the Indiana government to drop all charges

against the "Bloomington Three" in 1967.

Herkender's charges are ridiculous too, but they could have serious ramifications if an outcry does not demand that they be stopped.

The SWP, says Herkender, "advocates the eventual violent revolutionary overthrow of the United States

government. . . ." He claims that the SWP is connected with the Palestine Liberation Organization, the Irish Republican Army, and the Symbionese Liberation Army.

To buttress his lies, Herkender relies on information from U.S. Rep. Larry McDonald (D-Ga.), a John Bircher and notorious mouthpiece for the FBI. Herkender also quotes a discredited, red-baiting smear sheet put out by a subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee in 1976.

Herkender conveniently ignores the conclusions of both the Senate and House select committees on intelligence, however.

"The FBI has admitted that the Socialist Workers Party has committed no criminal acts," said the Senate report. "Yet the bureau has investigated the Socialist Workers Party for more than three decades on the basis of its revolutionary rhetoric—which the FBI concedes falls short of incitement to violence—and its claimed international links."

The House report called the SWP "a legitimate American political party."

The only violence the cops could point to in their affidavit were attacks and threats by right-wing thugs against the SWP. For example, when the SWP opened its bookstore two years ago, the Ku Klux Klan staged a demonstration outside, hoping to intimidate people.

The red squad showed up too, saying it was there to protect the socialists. "What they really did was to photograph everyone attending the opening celebration," Aber said. "And the Rowe revelations show how the cops and Klan are partners in crime."

The red-squad cops also say they were just trying to "protect the rights" of political activists when they spied on a demonstration last summer for the Equal Rights Amendment. The protest was sponsored by the National Organization for Women and many other groups.

"No one is safe from persecution here in New Orleans," says Aber, "as long as the cops have the right to keep spy files on and threaten to indict activists for their political views."

The lawsuit demanding release of the police files on the SWP is being handled by Mark Moreau, an attorney for the American Civil Liberties Union.

## Fugitive from Justice

# Australian socialists picket U.S. Att'y General

By John Garcia

SYDNEY, Australia—A hostile reception at Sydney's international airport on July 12 apparently induced U.S. Attorney General Griffin Bell to postpone his visit to this city and proceed on to Adelaide.

Three official cars were waiting to take Bell and his party into the city, but after seeing a picket line organized by the Australian Socialist Workers Party and facing reporters' questions about his role in concealing files of FBI informers in defiance of federal court orders, the attorney general boarded the next plane for Adelaide.

The picket was organized in solidarity with the U.S. Trotskyist organizations, the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

The SWP and YSA are suing U.S. government agencies for \$40 million over illegal spying and harassment.

Bell has been ordered by a federal court to turn over files to the socialists' attorneys on eighteen FBI informers. Bell has refused and has been cited for

contempt, which could lead to a prison sentence. An appeals court has stayed the contempt citation while Bell's lawyers appeal it.

The pickets carried placards with the slogans, "Release the fink files," "Stop FBI spying on socialists," "Release police informer files," "Bell—lawmaker . . . or lawbreaker?"

The American SWP's case is quite relevant to Australian socialists, who have been harassed by the FBI's Australian counterpart, ASIO.

The Australian Socialist Workers Party has unearthed three such informers in recent years.

In New South Wales, the SWP is now trying to obtain files held on it by the State Special Branch, following the accidental disclosure that such files exist.

Bell's undemocratic and antilabor actions will also be protested against elsewhere in Australia. Pickets have been planned for a number of his speaking engagements.



The Socialist Workers Party in this banner is that of Australia. Bell could not escape demand for FBI files, even halfway around the world.

# Unions: power for women's rights

## Support for July 9 offers glimpse of future

By Diane Wang

(First of two articles)

Women's rights demonstrations aren't what they used to be. They're even better and bigger. A few years ago, for example, most people would never have expected to see union banners in a women's march.

But there were big union contingents in Washington for the July 9 march for the Equal Rights Amendment. Not only that, many unions pitched in with money and help before the march.

July 9 was a glimpse of the future, a glimpse of the support women can expect—and work to get—from organized labor.

Women—including women unionists—approached unions all around the country for ERA support this spring. And they got it:

- AFL-CIO councils voted to endorse July 9 in New Jersey, Maryland, Minnesota, Cleveland, and other cities and states. The county labor council in Milwaukee endorsed and voted to send a representative to the march. In Cincinnati the labor council donated \$100.

- Donations came from many union locals—from Denver communication workers, Ohio steelworkers, and California Teamsters—to name just a few. In Philadelphia the Teachers union donated 15,000 leaflets. In New York the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees gave 20,000 leaflets in English, Spanish, and Chinese.

- Unions chartered buses to the march. Many paid some or all of their members' fare. In Chicago the Auto Workers union even chartered a plane.

- Union officials signed appeals for support together with the National Organization for Women, which sponsored the march.

- In Boston, Baltimore, Cleveland, Louisville, and other cities, union representatives spoke at press conferences for the ERA.

- Unions used their own apparatuses to get out word of the march. The front-page article about the ERA in the *Toledo Union Journal*, for example, went to 100,000 working people. The Auto Workers, Meat Cutters, and other unions sent out letters to locals and members.

All of this, of course, helps debunk the lie trumpeted by Phyllis Schlafly that women's rights are the exotic demands of a handful. Or the falsifications of liberal commentators that the movement for the ERA is "middle class," divorced from working women and eyed suspiciously by them.

After all, 46.4 million women were employed some time during the past year. The latest government figures recorded a new high: the majority of working-age women in this country—56 percent—held a job last year. To



July 9 national march for the Equal Rights Amendment

Militant photos by Charles Ostrofsky and Lou Howort

these women, equal treatment translates into better wages, decent working conditions, new job and promotional openings. As NOW has often said, the ERA is a bread-and-butter issue.

That's one reason why women have a right to see more union banners at future actions. You only had to listen to what women unionists were saying July 9 to know they will be back:

"They put women on jobs we're not trained for to discourage us."

"There aren't enough women mechanics in my plant."

"Women got fed up; the coal operators wouldn't hire them."

"The foremen are harder on women."

It wasn't only women who were concerned. The places that won't let women work are the ones that resist letting in Blacks, one auto worker (a man) explained on the march.

### Expect more from unions

More and more, women are pressing their unions to fight for them. All sorts of complaints go to the unions: about sexist slurs in company training programs, private locker rooms, pregnancy disability benefits—and the ERA.

Women already had committees in some unions to talk about these concerns. More were set up as a result of the work done for July 9.

Women know they have a right to expect help from their unions. Even though only about one-fifth of all women workers are union members, that's still 4.5 million women unionists. The unions are the largest "women's organizations" in the country.

Women workers are not only joining

women's committees in the unions. By reaching out to the unions, NOW has attracted many of these women. Plenty of unionists read NOW leaflets or talked to NOW members on the way to Washington. They could not help but like what they saw July 9. Many will join.

These new women will bring along fresh enthusiasm. They'll have contacts from their own and other unions, as well as community groups. They'll have experiences and ideas about how to win.

### Helps the unions

Another reason unions can be called on for more help is that actions on behalf of women's rights help the labor movement as a whole. They unite men and women unionists, helping to break down old prejudices and suspicions among working people that keep organized labor divided and weak.

As unions begin to champion women's rights, as they put themselves on the side of the oppressed against discrimination, and as gains are won, the labor movement as a whole will become stronger.

### Powerful potential

The union endorsements and donations for July 9 give just a glimpse of the potential power that can be tapped for women's rights. And it is much more than the effect of having unions respect the NOW-initiated boycott of states that haven't ratified the ERA or having union lobbyists back the ERA, as significant as that can be.

With millions of members, with organizations that reach into every major industry, with newspapers, with

substantial treasuries, with committees for community and political action—the unions have the power to educate and mobilize huge numbers of people in support of women's rights.

Labor's real muscle-power is rarely flexed, even on behalf of the immediate economic demands of union members. But there was one example last winter—the 110-day coal strike—that women should remember when thinking about what it will take to win women's rights.

The Stop ERA mouthpieces, reactionary politicians, and big-business newspaper editorials all try to tell women it would be "illegal" to extend the deadline to ratify the ERA. They tell us the fate of women's equality rests on what a handful of politicians decide is acceptable.

The Carter administration told the coal miners their strike was "illegal," too. The government used injunctions, fines, state troopers, and a scare campaign about mass layoffs to try to break the coal strike.

But the miners knew where the real power was. And large sections of the labor movement backed them up with food caravans, donations, and rallies. When the labor movement went into action, the court injunctions and fines, and even the slave-labor Taft-Hartley law, were quickly dealt with.

When the labor movement is stirred to action, it can sweep away all obstacles. That is just as true for women's rights as it was for the coal miners' strike.

But what will it take to get labor to put that potential power into the fight for women? Next week's article will discuss that question.

## Steel women fight discrimination, win rehiring

The following excerpts are from an article in the June 'Bulletin' of the United Steelworkers of America District 31 Women's Caucus. It was written by Carolyn Jasin, a member of USWA Local 1033.

The same issue carried an ad urging the women's caucus members to go to the July 9 march on Washington for the Equal Rights Amendment.

Republic Steel Company has agreed to re-hire nine women who were fired while on probation.

The women, most of whom are black, had filed complaints with the

Equal Employment Opportunity Commission charging sexual discrimination by Republic at its South Chicago plant.

The women charged Republic has been using the 520-hour probationary period to harass and discharge female workers. Republic and other basic steelmakers are required to hire set percentages of women under the Consent Decree, an affirmative action agreement which is part of the Basic Steel Agreement.

The discharged women said, however, the company has been negating the intent of the Decree by making it difficult for women to keep their jobs once hired.

This "revolving door policy" was made clear when one foreman, who had fired a new woman worker, was overheard to say, "Well, that's three down and two more to go."

One fired woman charged foremen use the probationary period, which used to be only 160 hours, to take advantage of new women workers. She said she had only 16 hours of probation remaining when a foreman fired her for rejecting his sexual advances.

The women who are returning to work were affected by new EEOC procedures. Chicago has been targeted along with Baltimore and Dallas for a special revamped program,

which seeks to speed up settlement of complaints involving discrimination in hiring and promotion. According to the EEOC, there are 55 complaints against Republic involving discrimination.

During the past year at Republic, the victimized women, the Local's Women's Committee and many other concerned women mounted a campaign of support for the fired women.

Union officers are currently cooperating with the EEOC.

Nonetheless, many women at Republic maintain a vigilant watch to make sure those re-hired are kept working.



# NEA discusses 'state of siege' on teachers

By Rick Berman

DALLAS—More than 12,000 delegates and observers gathered here July 1-6 for the annual National Education Association convention.

Teachers, like other public employees, have been under serious economic assault for the past three years. Sharp cuts in school funding have led to thousands of layoffs, poor working conditions, and a decline in the quality of public education.

In some cities school boards have forced teachers out on bitter strikes, and—working with local governments and the courts—have tried to break teacher unions.

In his address to the convention, NEA President John Ryor summarized the situation as "a virtual state of siege."

On the eve of the convention, this siege intensified with two new blows to public education: the U.S. Supreme Court's decision upholding the *Bakke* ruling and the passage of California's Proposition 13.

NEA is on record in favor of quotas to enforce affirmative action. It was one of the many organizations to file a friend-of-the-court brief urging the Supreme Court to reject Allan Bakke's challenge to quotas.

Many teachers came to the NEA convention confused about the high court's ruling. Unfortunately, the NEA national leadership did little to clarify the real threat the *Bakke* ruling poses to affirmative action.

Ryor expressed disappointment that the court struck down the school admissions program involved in the *Bakke* case. But he added, "We are pleased that the majority decision affirms the constitutionality of

affirmative-action programs, taking race into account."

The most widely discussed issue at the gathering here was Proposition 13, the California "tax relief" measure.

NEA and its California affiliate, the California Teachers Association, actively campaigned against the ballot referendum.

"If the burden of Proposition 13 is distributed equally across all public employment in California," said Ryor, "it could mean a 40 percent reduction of all the education jobs in that state."

Delegates submitted seven resolutions urging NEA to increase lobbying efforts against Proposition 13-type legislation and to join in coalitions with other groups to oppose such tax-cut initiatives. Most of these proposals were passed with little discussion.

The key problem the convention did not come to grips with is how funding for education can be increased while shifting the tax burden off the backs of working people.

"A major provision of tax reform," said NEA Executive Director Terry Herndon, "must assure equitable use of the property, income, and sales taxes. . . . NEA urges a system in which the broad-based, progressive federal income tax provides a full one-third of the costs of public education."

However, the burden of all these taxes falls on working people. Teachers should be pressing the government to tax the rich to pay for education.

More federal funds should be used for education, but they should not be taken from other needed social services. The \$126 billion war budget could be used for education, instead of prepa-

ration for new military adventures in Africa or the Middle East.

One of the NEA officials' first reaction to passage of Proposition 13 was to turn to President Carter for help. "We are looking to you for the progressive leadership to steer us through this hazardous moment in history," Herndon wrote Carter on June 19.

But the Carter administration has shown itself 100 percent behind the attacks on public education and teachers, as well as the assault against affirmative action.

The NEA would do better to press for united mass action with other public-employee unions—such as the American Federation of Teachers and Ameri-

can Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees against the cut-backs.

Several resolutions were passed at the convention supporting the Equal Rights Amendment, including one calling for extension of the ratification deadline.

A proposal putting the union on record in support of the July 9 ERA march on Washington sponsored by the National Organization for Women passed with no opposing speakers.

Other resolutions opposed the anti-gay Briggs initiative in California, tuition tax credit legislation pending in Congress, and so-called competency testing for students and teachers.

## Jackson blasts Bakke ruling

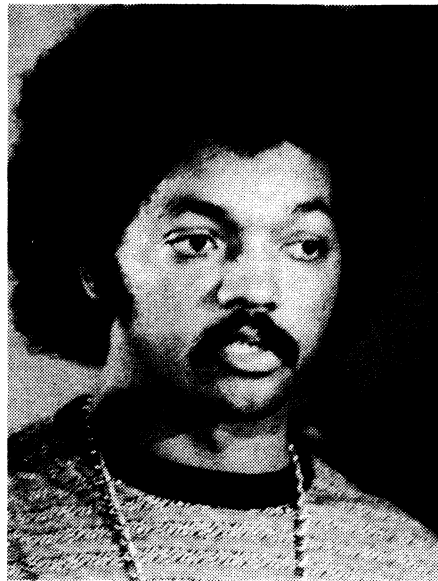
DALLAS—Rev. Jesse Jackson, national director of Operation PUSH, blasted the "devastating" *Bakke* ruling at a news conference here during the National Education Association convention.

"Race was an *absolute* factor in slavery and discrimination. It is a *necessary* factor as a *remedy* for slavery and discrimination," he said.

Jackson called on the allies of Blacks "like the NEA and others to see *Bakke* for what it really is and oppose it."

He urged Black students who return to school in the fall and find affirmative-action programs scuttled to "be ready for direct action to fight for our slots. And we have to be at the plant gates to fight for our share of jobs."

—R.B.



Militant/Terry Quilico

JESSE JACKSON

# LULAC warns of threat to affirmative action

By Bruce Kimball

SAN ANTONIO—A recent statewide meeting of Texas LULAC (League of United Latin American Citizens) here focused its attention on the *Bakke* decision and police brutality.

Meeting July 21, about 150 delegates and guests of LULAC's Texas state executive board heard speakers and panel discussions on the impact of the *Bakke* decision.

Rudy Ortiz, a San Antonio council member, described the U.S. Supreme Court's ruling as "a good solid victory for Allan Bakke and for institutionalized racism. If we deceive ourselves that affirmative action is not in jeopardy, then we are making a great mistake," he said.

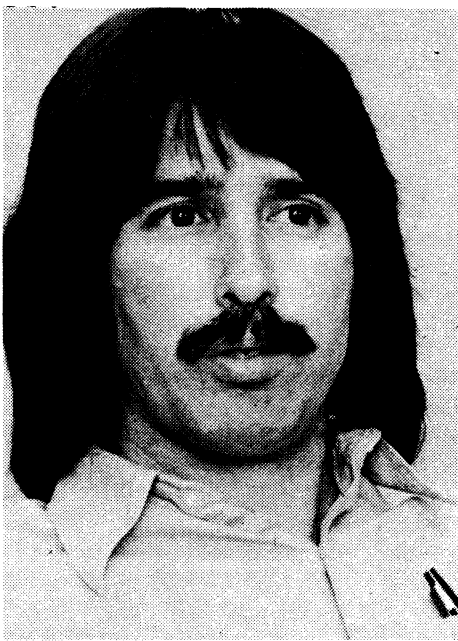
Armando Gutiérrez, a leader of the Texas Raza Unida Party and professor at the University of Texas in Austin, pointed to pervasive discrimination against Chicanos in education and

employment. "The *Bakke* decision leaves us to the good will of university administrators and employers," he observed. "Very few advances will be made."

Later in the day, Mario Compeán, RUP candidate for governor of Texas, pledged continued "efforts to ensure that practices of administrators will not discriminate."

At a news conference before the meeting, Rubén Bonilla, Texas state director of LULAC, said, "I personally am very tired of hearing the term 'reverse discrimination.' What we have is blatant discrimination against Blacks and Chicanos."

Bonilla also protested police killings of Texas Chicanos. He specifically condemned the Carter administration's refusal to reopen the case of Santos Rodríguez, a twelve-year-old Chicano murdered by Dallas police while handcuffed in a police car.



Militant/Harry Ring

ARMANDO GUTIERREZ

"The Department of Justice has failed miserably in its own human rights campaign," Bonilla said. (See news story on page 13.)

Also addressing the delegates was Agnes Chapa, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Texas attorney general. She condemned the *Bakke* decision and police brutality.

"The Supreme Court's ruling to uphold the *Bakke* decision sets a precedent for dismantling affirmative-action programs in education and employment across the country. The ruling is a direct attack on the rights of Chicanos and other oppressed minorities," Chapa said.

"How can we answer these attacks by the courts and by the cops? Demonstrations like the one we saw in Plainview [against police brutality] are a good beginning," she said. "We need to unite all our people to bring maximum pressure against the government."

## NAACP holds Bakke symposium

By Nan Bailey

DETROIT—Three hundred and fifty civil rights leaders, lawyers, union officials, and affirmative-action officers from government and business participated in a three-day "Bakke symposium" here July 20-22 called by the NAACP.

The gathering upheld the position of NAACP leaders that the Supreme Court's *Bakke* ruling—which struck down affirmative-action quotas as illegal—was "both a victory and a defeat."

Nathaniel Jones, NAACP general counsel, insisted that the *Bakke* decision was not a legal defeat for affirmative action. But, Jones added, "unless we seize the initiative, there will be an orchestration of public opinion that

will misread the *Bakke* opinion, that will perpetuate the notion that somehow the court has struck down . . . these programs. And therefore, there will be a move made on the Congress to neutralize everything it has done in this field."

At the close of the conference, NAACP Executive Director Benjamin Hooks issued a call—the "Detroit Manifesto"—on behalf of those participating. "We are declaring war on all attempts to weaken or destroy affirmative action and civil rights enforcement," he said.

Hooks singled out the Eagleton-Biden amendment and the Walker amendment, measures in Congress to prevent government agencies from enforcing busing for school desegrega-

tion and to prohibit quotas in affirmative-action plans.

Unfortunately, the Detroit Manifesto limits activity in support of affirmative action to legal briefs in the courts, lobbying Congress, and campaigning to defeat politicians who oppose affirmative-action programs.

The manifesto calls on President Carter to convene a White House conference on affirmative action.

It also calls for a "mobilization day" in Washington during which NAACP members would lobby Congress. No date has been set for the "mobilization day," which Hooks stressed would not be a march.

A plan to bring together the NAACP youth and college chapters in a conference similar to the "Bakke symposium" was also approved.





# Affirmative action at Ma Bell

## Did Bakke put it in jeopardy?

**By Chris Hildebrand**

Less than a week after the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the reactionary *Bakke* decision, it declined to review a ruling okaying the affirmative-action plan of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company.

This helped bolster the view that the high court's *Bakke* ruling wasn't a go-ahead for dismantling of affirmative-action programs in employment.

These two seemingly contradictory decisions show only that the government understands it must proceed with caution in its offensive against the rights of women and oppressed minorities.

The Supreme Court justices made no ruling on the "merit" of the challenge to the AT&T plan, and their July 3 action may only have postponed consideration of the affirmative-action program until a more politically appropriate time.

The court's ruling was nevertheless a victory for thousands of women and Black telephone workers. Because of the AT&T plan, these workers were given a chance to break out of the lowest paying, most dehumanizing jobs—the only ones Ma Bell allowed us prior to January 18, 1973.

On that date AT&T and its two dozen subsidiary companies agreed to pay \$14 million in back pay and \$23 million in raises to women and Black workers. AT&T also consented to certain goals for hiring and promoting women and oppressed minorities.

The agreement—called the *American Telephone and Telegraph Company Memorandum of Agreement and Consent Decree*—was in response to a lawsuit by the federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

By 1970, about 7 percent of the EEOC's work load came from complaints of AT&T discrimination. When AT&T applied for a rate increase that year, the federal agency filed its now historic lawsuit.

### 'Deliberate discrimination'

The suit charged that AT&T policies in regard to women workers were "morally and ethically indefensible." It also contended that the lingering effects of "deliberate racial discrimination are readily apparent in both small numbers and types of jobs blacks hold."

AT&T was found to have violated the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, the Equal Pay Act of 1963, Title VII of the 1968 Civil Rights Act, and Executive Order 11,246.

The federal judge in the case called the consent decree "the largest and most impressive civil rights settlement in the history of the nation."

The cash settlement, of course, represented only a tiny portion of what AT&T workers had coming. Some 15,000 women and 2,100 minority males received one-time settlements of between \$500 and \$1,000. The \$23 million in pay raises went to 36,000 employees. Most of the nearly 1 million Bell System employees—well over half of whom are women—never got a penny out of the settlement.

But even more important to telephone workers than the cash settlements were the goals established for promoting and hiring women and Blacks.

Prior to the consent decree, 96.6 percent of all clerical and operator jobs were held by women. Men constituted 98.6 percent of all craft workers. Even those few women who managed to transfer into craft jobs were paid less than men because company policy based a transferred worker's pay on previous wage rates.

*Chris Hildebrand is a telephone installer for New Jersey Bell and a member of Local 827 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.*

Under the agreement, by the end of six years women were to hold 19 percent of all outside craft jobs and 38-40 percent of all inside craft jobs. Ten percent of the operators and 25 percent of clerical jobs were to be filled by men.

The consent decree expires January 18, 1979. While it has definitely brought improvements for AT&T workers, the goals have not been achieved. For example, only 1.1 percent of outside craft jobs at New Jersey Bell are held by females—a far cry from the 19 percent goal. Twenty-five percent of these jobs are supposed to be held by oppressed minorities, but the reality is closer to 20 percent.

A recent AT&T statement explained the company planned to continue an affirmative-action program after the decree's expiration, but that it might "modify" the plan in light of the *Bakke* ruling.

### Challenge by union officials

The legal challenge to the AT&T plan that the Supreme Court refused to hear July 3 was brought by labor unions: Communications Workers of America (CWA), International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW), and a coalition of independent telephone unions.

The unions charged they were not adequately included in the settlement, that their bargaining rights were violated, and that the consent decree violates seniority rights of some workers, particularly white males. These charges merit serious attention.

I remember when the consent decree was first enacted. I was a telephone operator at the time and most of us were extremely excited about the chance to transfer into more interesting and higher-paying craft jobs.

I also remember that unhappy day when we learned our union had filed a suit against the consent decree. Many of the operators, especially Black women, were outraged at the position taken by our union. Some mistakenly decided to quit the union because they didn't want their dues money financing any challenge to the affirmative-action plan.

Operators with twenty years service wondered why the union had never been concerned with *their* seniority rights when the company denied them promotions to male-only jobs.

The unions were right to demand their inclusion as part of the consent decree. Unlike the United Steelworkers, which is party to the consent decree in the basic steel industry, the telephone unions were completely frozen out of the agreement made

between AT&T and the federal government. This weakened the unions and hurt the employees.

For example, it is impossible to win legitimate grievances against the transfer bureau at AT&T because the transfer and upgrade plan instituted in compliance with the consent decree is not part of the union contract.

Union representatives are denied access to any records in the transfer bureau so it is impossible to monitor the upgrades or transfers. There is no posting of job openings, and there is no real bidding system.

Employees must submit their transfer requests under very stringent restrictions, completely in the dark as to whether openings exist or will ever exist for the jobs they seek. Each worker is permitted only two transfer requests on file at any given time.

Problems such as this go on and on with no adequate way for the union to intervene on behalf of the employee.

Nevertheless, the officials of the CWA, IBEW, and other phone unions make a serious error in not supporting and championing the positive aspects of the consent decree. Their stand has caused deep distrust of the union among many women and Black workers and has kept us divided from the white male workers who could have been won to support affirmative action.

If in the first place the unions had not left it to the EEOC to challenge AT&T's abominable racist and sexist practices, the unions—and thereby the employees—could have participated in formulating the consent decree. They could have demanded it be contractual and thereby enforceable through our collective bargaining strength.

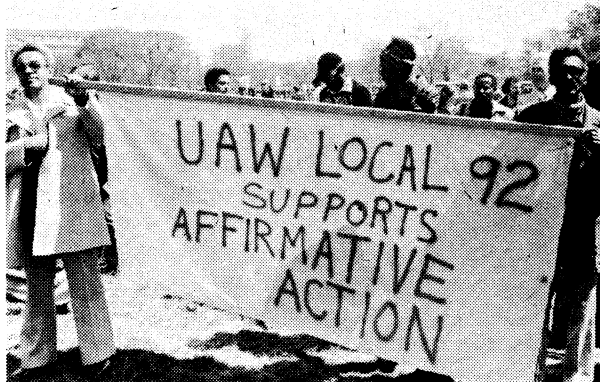
The experience would have been educational for those white male workers who have come to resent the affirmative-action program and feel victim to "reverse discrimination" even though as a minority of phone company workers they still enjoy the overwhelming majority of the better jobs.

### Another chance

The unions still have a chance to lead the fight against the widespread racism and sexism of Ma Bell. The consent decree expires in January, and it is likely that AT&T will use the *Bakke* ruling as an excuse to step back from the limited progress the plan brought.

The unions should alert the ranks to this threat to affirmative action. And then we should launch a fight to force AT&T to negotiate an even stronger plan *with the unions*, which we workers can enforce through our own organized power.

## Labor & affirmative action



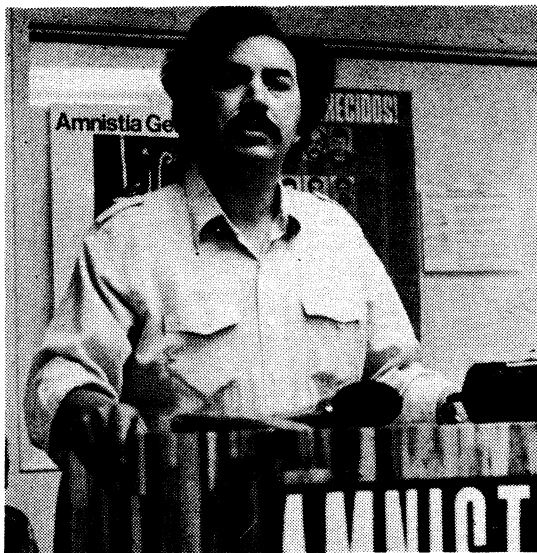
**Affirmative Action versus Seniority: Last Hired, First Fired** by Linda Jenness, Herbert Hill, Willie Mae Reid, Frank Lovell, and Sue Em Davenport. 50 cents.

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JOSE MEDINA



Héctor Marroquín speaking (at right), with translator Barry Fatland



ROSARIO IBARRA DE PIEDRA

Militant photos by Richard Frankel

# Asylum for Medina, Marroquin!

## L.A. rally exposes repression in Mexico

By Robin Maisel

LOS ANGELES—A crowd of 200 people here July 14 heard speakers cut through the myth of "progressive" Mexico and give firsthand accounts of political repression in that country.

The featured speaker was Rosario Ibarra de Piedra, a leading Mexican human rights activist. The meeting was sponsored by the Héctor Marroquín and José Medina defense committees.

The Marroquín and Medina cases are among the best-known political asylum fights in this country. The unity welded in cosponsoring the July 14 meeting marks an important step forward not only in the fight to win their right to asylum, but also in the fight for all victims of repressive regimes.

The meeting was held at the Casa Maravilla Community Center in the East Los Angeles Chicano community.

Piedra is the founder of the Committee to Defend Political Prisoners, the Politically Persecuted, "Disappeared," and Exiled. Pointing to case after case of kidnap, torture, and murder of political activists, she exposed the Mexican government's hideous record of political persecution.

Mexican federal and state police regularly kidnap activists and then claim to have no knowledge of their whereabouts. The so-called "disappeared" are often tortured to extract false confessions of "terrorism." Piedra's own son is among the "disappeared."

She explained that this could be the fate of Medina and Marroquín if the

U.S. government is successful in its attempt to deport them to Mexico.

Medina was an attorney who defended students and workers in Mexico. He was forced to flee the country in 1973 to avoid assassination at the hands of a right-wing terror squad that operates under government protection.

In the United States, Medina became active in defense of the rights of undocumented workers and joined the Los Angeles-based CASA (Center for Autonomous Social Action). He was arrested by the FBI in March 1975, and was turned over to the Immigration and Naturalization Service for deportation. He is currently free on \$5,000 bail.

Medina discussed his political activities in Mexico and the government's brutal repression of the movements of workers, students, and peasants.

"Compañero Marroquín is an example of that movement, of a compañero who entered the university to incorporate himself not in the defense of the bosses' interests, the landholder's interests . . . but rather indentifying himself with the needs and interests of the people," Medina said, speaking in Spanish.

"I would like to thank Mrs. Rosario Ibarra de Piedra for being here," he continued, "because of the task this compañera has taken on in a country where repression is the order of the day, where the repression tends to grow, to pass from the shameful to the open, like what happened here in the 1950s during McCarthyism."

"There is open repression in Mexico against people who are dissidents, and

it is going to grow because those in power don't want to let go of that power and give any democratic concessions to our people."

"And this struggle that the compañeros and compañeras are carrying out is one that needs our entire support and solidarity," Medina said, "wherever we may find ourselves."

"We are here asking for political asylum, which is a right that we have as human beings. Because we come here to take part in the peoples' movements, the movement of the undocumented workers, the movement of workers with documents who fight for a better life, and the movements of all the nationalities that exist in this society who want a better society."

"And we have joined that movement."

Marroquín was a student activist at the University of Nuevo León in Monterrey when, in 1974, he was falsely accused of murder. Knowing he could not get a fair trial and that he would be tortured until he "confessed," he fled to the United States. Here he has been active in a union organizing drive, in the antideportation struggle, and as a member of the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party.

Now the U.S. government is trying to deport him.

"I was born twenty-five years ago, nine days before the Rosenbergs were electrocuted," Marroquín told the crowd. "In order to electrocute them the U.S. government created false charges against them."

"Twenty-five years later, the same

government wants to deport me to Mexico. To deport me or José Medina to Mexico would be the same for us as the electric chair."

Also speaking was Mario Falcón, a Mexican muralist and political activist who was forced to flee Mexico several years ago. He now faces the danger of deportation from the United States.

The rally received greetings from the Solidarity Committee of El Salvador, which is made up of refugees from political repression in that country.

On July 17, Piedra, Medina, and Marroquín were joined by a group of supporters in a picket line at the Mexican consulate in Los Angeles, sponsored by the two defense committees.

The three went into the consulate as a delegation to demand information from the Mexican regime about the many "disappeared" activists in that country. Local radio and TV stations covered the picket line and delegation.

Marroquín and Piedra also met with an organizing committee of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. The ILGWU has sued the INS to halt deportations of undocumented immigrants from workplaces the union is trying to organize.

On July 16, Piedra, Marroquín, and Medina spoke at a *tardeada*—a fundraising party—for the Marroquín Defense Committee.

While she was in Los Angeles, Piedra spoke at the California State University campus under the auspices of the Latin American Studies department, which also hosted a luncheon for her.

## ...divestment

Continued from back page

after the teach-in voted to divest the entire \$680,000 worth of stock.

Soon, students from other campuses began writing for information and ideas. The interest sparked the idea of regional cooperation.

Students from thirteen schools met, decided to call a conference, and set up the North East Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa. A steering committee was set up with representatives from each school and organization in the coalition. These included the American Committee on Africa, American Friends Service Committee, Young Socialist Alliance, and Revolutionary Student Brigade.

The regional conference, held last April, drew 500 students from forty-five schools. Panels and workshops discussed the role of U.S. banks and corporations in southern Africa, the history of the liberation struggles, and how to organize opposition to U.S. complicity.

Rees and Smith had the advantage of having

been active in the anti-Vietnam War movement while in high school.

One lesson she learned, Rees said, is to seek out powerful allies, "to have active participation from the unions and the Black movement."

Several unions have already taken a stand against U.S. support to apartheid. Earlier this summer, Bay Area unionists in California held a conference against apartheid, and this spring the United Auto Workers announced it was closing accounts with all banks that make loans to South Africa.

Another sign of the growing sentiment around this issue, Smith said, was the NAACP-sponsored demonstration in Nashville this spring against the U.S.-South Africa Davis Cup tennis tournament.

"What's needed now," Rees explained, "is the broadest possible movement united around the simple idea that the United States should not support apartheid—not through the government, not through corporate investment, *not at all!*"

Democratically organized coalitions can involve new people and organizations, publicize the issue, and mobilize actions against apartheid.

Rees and Smith are excited about plans for the November 17 conference (see article on back page). "This conference will help open lines of communication between campuses. And it certainly will stir people to action."

## on Black Nationalism & Self-Determination

Do Afro-Americans have the right to self-determination?

Are Blacks exploited only as workers or doubly exploited as Blacks and workers?

In the 1930s, American socialists discussed these questions with the great Russian revolutionary Leon Trotsky. Trotsky unhesitatingly endorsed the demand for Black self-determination and explained that Blacks would be in the vanguard of the American socialist revolution.

When the Black nationalist movement assumed mass proportions in the 1960s, the Socialist Workers Party greeted it with enthusiasm and recognized Malcolm X as one of the most significant mass leaders in U.S. history.

This collection, first published as a pamphlet in 1967, is now available in a new translation, with several small additions, and in book format.

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## Bell decides to do nothing

# Rallies demand justice for Santos Rodriguez

By Merrill Cohen  
and Chris Horner

DALLAS—On July 24, 1973, Santos Rodríguez, a twelve-year-old Chicano handcuffed in the back of a police car, was shot and killed. Dallas cops had been putting him through a Russian-Roulette-style interrogation.

Five years later, on July 16, 1978, 500 people marched to the site of the murder with a commemorative wreath, chanting, "Viva Santos!"

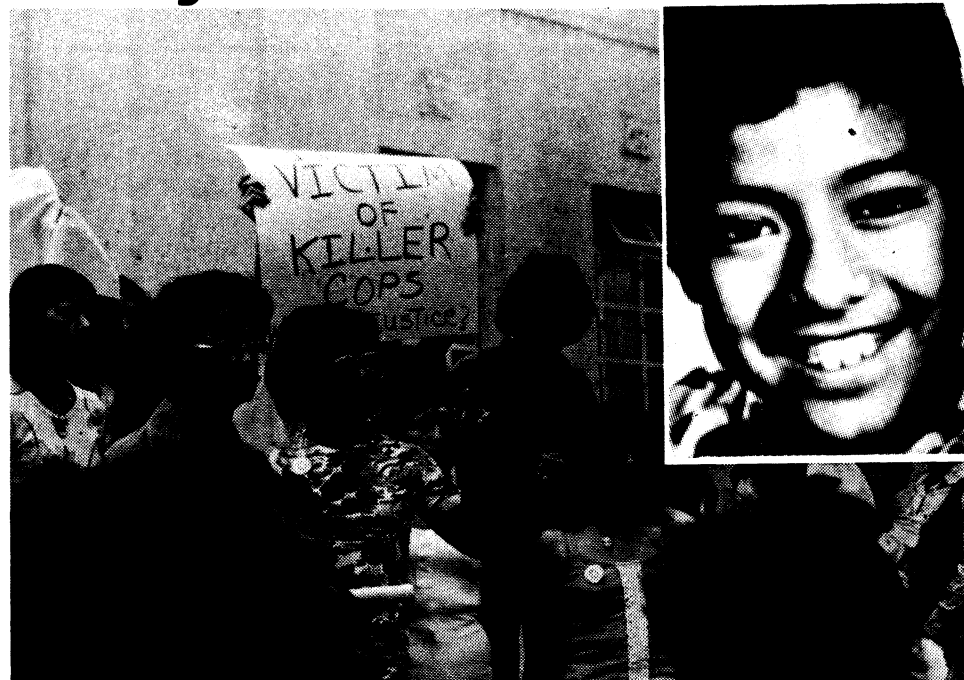
The march, called by the local Committee for Justice, protested U.S. Attorney General Griffin Bell's decision not to prosecute ex-police officer Darrell Cain for violation of Rodríguez's civil rights.

Cain was convicted of murder with malice for killing Rodríguez but received only a five-year prison term. Appalled by such an outrageously light sentence, Chicanos sought justice through a second, federal indictment.

Only two weeks before Bell's decision, President Carter had assured a meeting of Chicano leaders in Houston that he was deeply concerned about the murder. He said he had ordered the attorney general to look into the case personally.

On the day Bell's decision was announced, Bessie Rodríguez, mother of the murdered child, charged that Carter had "flat lied for political reasons, just to make them think there was hope. I thought I could depend on him. If you can't depend on him, the big man, then who can you depend on? What am I expected to think about him?"

Carlos Muñoz, Santos Rodríguez's grandfather, was not surprised by Carter's duplicity. "I'm eighty-three years old," he said. "I've seen a lot in my



Texas rallies, such as this one in 1977, have repeatedly demanded justice for victims of killer cops. Inset: Santos Rodríguez.

time. Besides, I know how they are. They write the laws, enforce the laws, and do whatever they want with the law. So what could anyone possibly expect? It wasn't the first time it happened, and I suppose it won't be the last."

Rubén Bonilla, state director of the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), called Bell's decision "indefensible, unjustifiable, and one of the most irresponsible actions yet taken by the Carter administration."

"When the president next utters a word about human rights, these words will have to reek with hypocrisy," Bonilla said, "because they have failed to implement the human rights cam-

paign here in Texas for the family of Santos Rodríguez."

The local media had tried to discourage participation in the July 16 march by predicting violence. But as Jim White, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress in the Fifth District, pointed out when he spoke to the rally, it is the *cops' violence* that the 500 peaceful demonstrators were protesting.

Juan Pérez of the Brown Berets said, "The march has significance far beyond the Santos Rodríguez case. . . . This rally proves we can work together."

Adolf Canales, a member of the Mexican-American Assembly for Civic Involvement, told the crowd, "The

Chicano community is not going to sit back anymore!"

Evidence of that was another demonstration held July 22. About 350 marched to city hall in 105-degree heat. "We want justice!" they shouted.

Speakers at that rally included representatives of GI Forum, the Brown Berets, and the Oliver Lee Defense Committee; Maria Elena Martínez of the Raza Unida Party; and Christine Jarosz of the National Organization for Women.

One sign carried in the march asked Carter, "Shcharansky sí! Rodríguez no?"

The anger in Texas has become so strong that Carter attempted an elaborate but unsuccessful charade of putting distance between himself and Bell.

State Rep. Ben Reyes (D-Houston) said that Carter had told him in a phone conversation that "he felt very sorry about the decision and was doing everything within his power to see that the case is taken care of."

But Carter denied this at his July 20 televised news conference, saying he had no "inclination to direct the Justice Department to reverse their decision."

But the Chicano community in Texas *does* have an "inclination" to demand that Carter's Justice Department take action. At a July 21 press conference, Rubén Bonilla said, "On the issue of the administration of justice there is an unprecedented unity among Mexican-American organizations."

Bonilla said his organization was discussing the idea of a statewide demonstration this fall against the police murders.

## Carter: doubletalk on human rights

The following is a statement by Miguel Pendás, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from Texas:

President Carter's news conference on July 20 was a study in doublespeak.

The President piously lectured on human rights in the Soviet Union. But he quickly changed his tune when asked about Andrew Young's statement that there are thousands of political prisoners in this country.

Carter called Young's admission "unfortunate" and "embarrassing."

For the rest of the news conference, in response to one question after the other, Carter showed just how little he really cares about human rights.

What about the Justice Department's decision not to seek federal prosecution of the Dallas cop who killed twelve-year-old Santos Rodríguez? "I have no authority nor inclination to direct the Justice Department to reverse their decision," Carter said.

What about the Wilmington Ten? For more than a year the Justice Department has refused to do anything about the frame-up of these civil rights activists or help release them. Listen to Carter's abstract doublespeak: he said he saw "the position of the presidency itself having no responsibility" in that case either.

Or what about this country's version of the Shcharansky case? Anatoly Shcharansky is a political dissident framed in the Soviet Union and sentenced to thirteen years for passing information to a journalist.

David Truong too is a political dissident. He and Ronald Humphrey were sentenced to fifteen years for passing on nonessential information to the government of Vietnam. In that case Carter personally insisted on a fierce prosecution. "National security" was his battle cry then, not human rights.

When asked to define political prisoners, Carter hedged. "Well," he said, "it's hard for me to



This was Carter's idea of campaigning among Chicanos. But when it came to justice for Santos Rodríguez, Carter had no 'inclination' to demand action.

define." Then he went on to suggest that political prisoners in U.S. jails are really violent criminals.

Well, I certainly don't find it so difficult to define political prisoners. They are political activists, such as the Wilmington Ten, who have been framed up to silence their ideas.

They are the many Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, and Native American prisoners—the poor who are prisoners *because* they are poor.

Words in the mouth of Carter, in the mouths of any of these Democratic or Republican politicians, are tricky and deliberately vague.

For example, a Dallas police officer's gun "discharged," while being held on Santos Rodríguez. That is the careful way of saying the cop shot that child in the head.

Or in Brooklyn's Crown Heights, Arthur Miller, a Black community leader, died of "con-

tinuing pressure" on his throat. That means the cops strangled him to death.

Carter says politely that he has no "inclination" to have the Justice Department do something about the Santos murder. In plain language, he could care less.

The Socialist Workers Party, on the other hand, like most people in this country, has simple demands that can be said in a simple word:

*Justice.* It is a word understood by Chicanos and Blacks, by Soviet dissidents, by everyone who fights for their rights and a decent life.

*Justice* for Santos Rodríguez and Arthur Miller. Prosecute the killer cops to the full extent of the law!

*Justice* for the Wilmington Ten, for David Truong and Ronald Humphrey. Free all political prisoners in this country!



By Peter Seidman

The passage of Proposition 13 in California highlights the anger over high taxes that is simmering throughout the United States today.

Carried by a two-to-one margin, Prop 13 promised relief to homeowners hard-pressed by soaring real estate taxes.

But Prop 13 delivered something else. Layoffs of thousands of state and local public employees and cutbacks in vitally needed social services have already begun—with more to come.

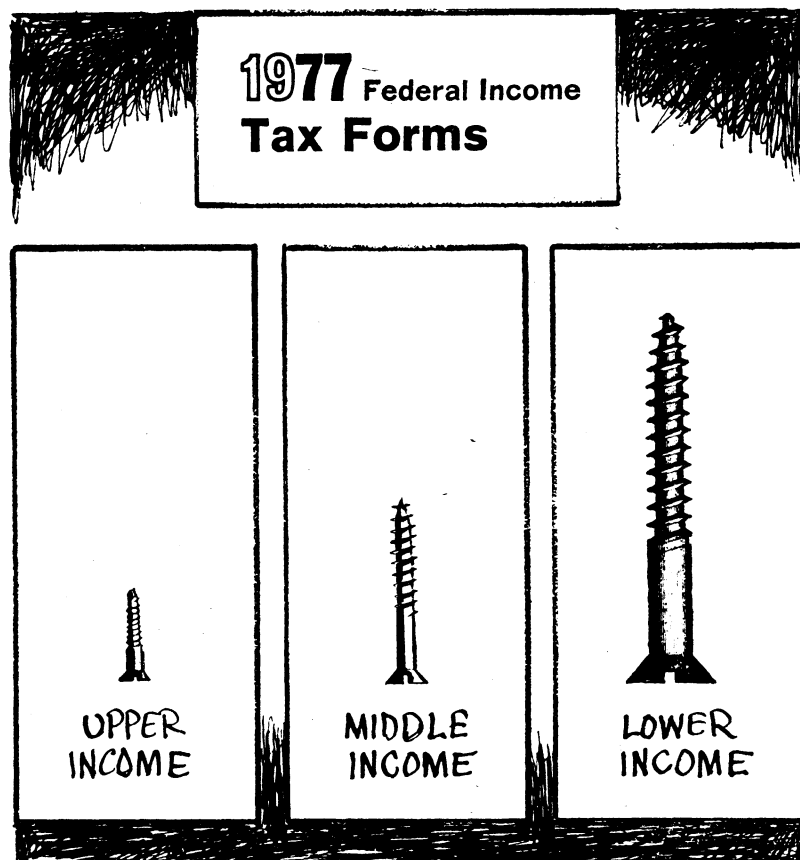
As many in the labor movement point out, Prop 13 is a swindle.

The measure offers a multi-billion-dollar "tax break for corporations and other commercial interests," California AFL-CIO Secretary-treasurer John Henning complains. Jerry Wurf, president of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, blasted it as a "notorious example of irresponsible tax slashing . . . supported by the New Right" whose real targets "are public employees and the services they perform."

But as crooked as it is, Prop 13 is only one small chapter in the Great American Tax Swindle. On the state and local level there are sales taxes in addition to property taxes. On the federal level there are also taxes on individual and corporate incomes.

Altogether this tax system is a giant welfare bonanza for the owners of the corporations, banks, and agribusiness. The wealthy get off virtually scot-free, while more and more of the tax burden is shifted onto the backs of working people.

# How taxes swindle working people



Interlandi/Los Angeles Times

## The poor pay more

The most burdensome taxes are sales taxes and property taxes. These are called regressive taxes. Unlike so-called progressive taxes that are supposed to go up as income increases, sales and property taxes are based on a flat rate. So they hit hardest at those with lowest incomes.

Take the sales tax as an example. Let's say a worker earns \$10,000 a year and spends \$3,000 on sales-taxable items like clothing, auto parts, restaurant meals, etc. If the state and city sales tax was 5 percent, this worker would pay a sales tax of \$150—or 1.5 percent of his or her income.

But a bank president in the same city who earns \$100,000 a year and who might spend, say, \$9,000 on sales taxable items, would pay a sales tax totaling \$450—only 0.045 percent of his income.

So with the sales tax, the effective rate goes down as income goes up.

The sales tax is also a boon to the businesses that collect it. In New York City, for example, businesses have to turn in the sales tax they collect only every three months. That's an interest-free loan even to those companies that obey the law.

But many do not. One source cited by Jack Newfield and Paul Du Brul in their book *The Abuse of Power, The Permanent Government and the Fall of New York*, says the city is losing \$200 million a year in sales taxes collected by merchants but never paid to the city. The state of New York is cheated out of another \$300 million a year this way.

### Property tax

The property tax is another regressive tax that is full of loopholes for the wealthy.

Like sales taxes, property taxes are based on a flat rate assessed against the market value of a house, skyscraper, or other piece of commercial property.

As inflation has driven up the price of housing (the cost of the average new home jumped 14 percent in the past year to \$60,000), property taxes have soared.

What alternative should the labor movement put forward to replace the rip-off tax system of today?

To find out, we need to see where the government gets its money now—and how it spends it.

The result? According to the National Association of State Budget Officers, the nationwide average of property taxes has gone up 44.1 percent during the past five years.

This average national increase is actually higher than the five-year increase of 42.2 percent in California that fueled passage of Prop 13.

These soaring property tax increases are forcing some working class families out of their homes.

Prop 13 is supposed to offer them some relief by rolling back assessed valuation to 1975 levels and limiting increases to 2 percent a year.

The biggest winners are big businesses and wealthy landlords, who will receive two-thirds of the \$7 billion tax savings resulting from Prop 13.

In the long run, tax "relief" under this measure will shift even more toward the wealthy.

The Prop 13 rollback will last only until a house is sold. Then the house will be reassessed at much higher current market values.

Since private homes are sold more frequently than telephone companies and other holdings of large corporations, as time goes on the big corporate property holders will benefit most from the new law.

### Deadbeat landlords

There are other ways that big landlords and corporations avoid the property tax squeeze that is crushing the small homeowner.

In New York City, for example, property owners owed \$570.8 million in back realty taxes as of June 30, 1976, according to Newfield and Du Brul. Forty-three percent of this debt was owed on commercial properties.

New York tenants can be evicted from their apartments if they fall more than three months behind in their rent. But landlords are legally allowed to fall as much as three years behind in realty taxes without any penalty.

At the end of three years, landlords must pay interest on their arrears. But the rate has always been far lower than the rate they would be charged by commercial lenders. New York realty

taxes are "the cheapest loan in town," one deadbeat landlord boasted.

Take the case of Sol Goldman, New York City's largest private landlord. In 1976, Goldman owned more than 400 buildings assessed at \$445 million. While the city was tearing up the contracts of municipal employees saying it had no money, Goldman owed \$18.8 million in unpaid real estate taxes!

The property of St. Louis landlords is confiscated by the city if they fall three years behind in realty taxes. The city then puts the property up for auction.

The winning bid on such property, according to a report by Doug Matthews in *Working Papers for a New Society* (March-April 1978), is typically one-third to one-half the amount of tax arrears owed. St. Louis landlords often beat the tax collector by buying back these holdings through dummy corporations or "straw parties."

### Abatements

Big business also avoids paying real estate taxes more directly. Some twenty-three states (up from fourteen a decade ago), as well as many cities, now offer some form of tax abatement. Supposedly the purpose is to lure industry and commercial development to their areas.

Cleveland faces the possibility of a school shutdown later this year because of budget deficits. But in 1977, the city council approved tax abatements estimated to cost the school district as much as \$20 million over twenty years. By 1986, tax incentives could cost the state of Michigan about \$50 million a year and local communities there about \$30 million.

And according to Matthews, 47 percent of the total assessed value of St. Louis real estate today is tax exempt or 100 percent tax abated.

Alexander Cockburn and James Ridgeway report two other kinds of breaks for owners of real estate (*Village Voice*, June 19, 1978).

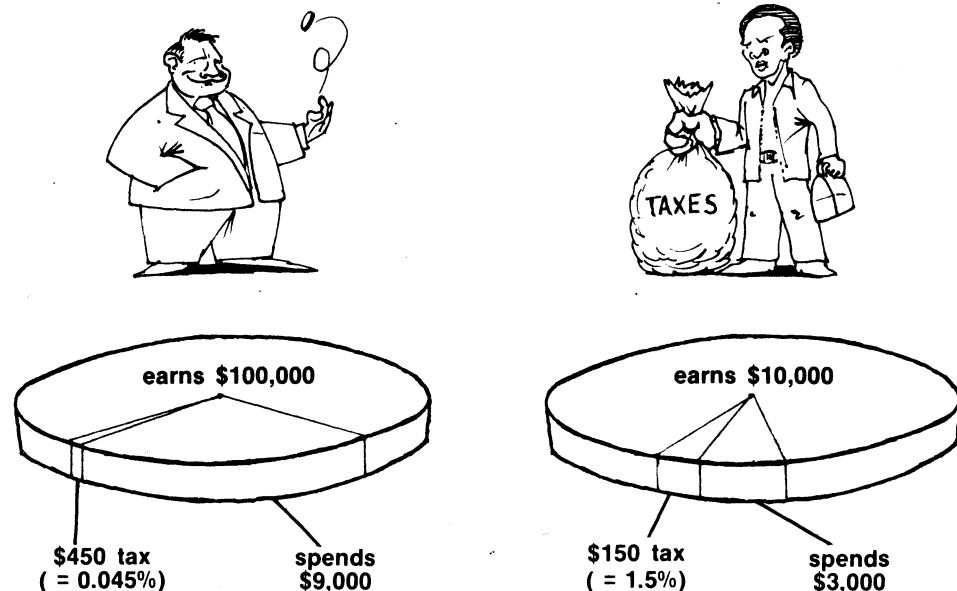
"At least one-third of all real estate is exempt from property taxes," they point out. "Of this exempt real estate, government (federal, state, and local) owns \$455 billion worth, or 75 percent. Much of this property is leased to private business by government, with the government operating as a tax-exempt front."

"Another large block of exempt property," they estimate, "is owned by religious organizations. The Catholics own \$54 billion, followed by Protestants with \$41 billion, trailed by Jewish religious organizations, with \$8 billion."

The ruling rich also use these variations in taxes from city to city and state to state to blackmail working people into approving even more giveaways.

Corporations claim that tax breaks offered them in other areas might make it more profitable for them to move, thereby throwing their employees out of work. Under the guise of "saving jobs," they demand—and usually get—tax breaks that will make it worth their while to stay put.

In all these ways the real property tax burden is made to fall increasingly on poor and working-class homeowners who cannot afford to move out to the city's suburbs and who don't qualify for special tax breaks.



Sales taxes hit working people hardest

Militant graphics by Ivan Licho

# Welfare for the wealthy

Regressive state and local taxes represent a growing percentage of total taxes in the United States. They were 29.9 percent of the total in 1950. In 1975 they were 42.7 percent.

This shift means the overall burden of taxation in this country is hitting harder and harder at those on the lowest rungs of the economic ladder.

But the biggest share of tax dollars is still collected by Washington through individual and corporate income taxes.

With nominal tax rates ranging from 14 percent for the lowest bracket to 70 percent for the highest and a maximum corporate rate of 48 percent, these federal taxes are supposed to be progressive. That is, they supposedly make those who can most afford it pick up most of the tab for government.

Despite this progressive facade, the federal tax system is becoming more and more regressive. Government figures on the individuals who pay income tax—and how much they pay—offer an amazing glimpse at the gulf between the capitalists and the millions of workers they exploit.

## Ruling rich

According to the Internal Revenue Service's *Preliminary Statistics of Income 1975* (the most recent figures

the tax law on paper and the real taxes paid. On paper, the ratio of top tax rate to lowest is five to one. But in reality, the top 1.2 percent of families—with average income eight times greater than the lower group—pays at a rate only twice as high as everyone else.

This top 1.2 percent includes all the wealthy owners of all the big banks, corporations, and agribusinesses as well as these capitalists' highest-paid advisers and managers.

One indication of their economic power is the income they receive from dividends on stocks and bonds.

Some 673,000 families out of those with incomes greater than \$50,000 reported dividend earnings of \$9,735,708,000 in 1975. The average was \$761,970 per family. This was 44.3 percent of all dividend payments that year, and it went to far less than 1 percent of all taxpayers.

## Social Security

The tax burden on lower-income families is going to get heavier next year as a result of the Carter administration's new increases in the Social Security tax. The basic rate will go up from 5.8 percent in 1977 to 7.15 percent in 1987.

The Social Security tax is doubly

## Big league tax dodgers

CORPORATION	PRE-TAX PROFITS	TAX BILL
United States Steel	\$518,000,000	0
Bethlehem Steel	182,000,000	0
LTV	20,359,000	0
Armco Steel	100,490,000	0
National Steel	63,091,000	0
General Dynamics	161,846,000	0
Republic Steel	30,394,000	0
Singer	107,300,000	0
Phelps Dodge	45,073,000	0
Texas Gulf	97,164,000	0
American Airlines	78,133,000	0
Eastern Airlines	46,239,000	0
Pan Am World Airlines	100,311,000	0
Southern Co.	385,147,000	0
Pacific Gas & Electric	291,776,000	0
Phil. Electric Co.	222,713,000	0
Chase Manhattan Corp.	144,024,000	0

1976 (latest available) figures, Annual Corporate Tax Study, U.S. Rep. Charles Vanik, *Congressional Record*, January 26, 1978, page E169.

available), there were only 967,643 families that reported incomes greater than \$50,000 in 1975. They are 1.2 percent of the total. That year, 80,579,193 families reported incomes under \$50,000.

The average income of those earning less than \$50,000 was \$10,789. The average income of those earning more than \$50,000 was \$87,191.

Of the over-\$50,000 group, 5,466 families paid no taxes at all. Those who did pay were taxed at an effective rate of 30.8 percent.

Of the 1,149 individuals and families who reported incomes of more than \$1 million, 13 paid no taxes at all. With an average annual income of \$2,094,727 this top 0.00139 percent of taxpayers paid taxes at a rate of 48.1 percent—a far cry from the nominal rate of 70 percent.

The under-\$50,000-a-year majority—made up of working people, small-business owners, and small farmers—paid taxes at an effective rate of 15.1 percent.

This shows the giant gap between

regressive. It is levied only on wages—not on dividends, capital gains, or other sources of unearned income. All income over \$17,700 (rising to \$29,700 in 1981) is exempt. A millionaire pays exactly the same amount as a worker earning \$17,700.

The average working person pays more to the federal government in the regressive Social Security tax than in the “progressive” income tax. Hardest hit are, of course, the lowest paid. In 1971 some 20 million workers too poor to pay income tax at all paid \$1.5 billion in Social Security taxes (July 15, 1972, *Business Week*).

Employers pay into the Social Security fund an amount equal to the amount paid by their workers. Sounds fair? But since the employer doesn't care whether this amount is paid as a payroll tax or as a wage (either way it is a “labor cost”), this portion of the Social Security tax really comes out of wages, just as the worker's “share” does.

As an added twist of the knife, the employer's payment is tax deductible.

These are just a few of the \$62.1 billion in special tax breaks that wealthy individuals and corporations will enjoy in 1979 . . . and how many billions of dollars the government estimates these will cost the rest of us:

Special treatment for capital gains	\$19,285,000,000
Investment tax credit	15,045,000,000
Exemption of interest on tax-free state and local bonds	6,815,000,000
Corporate surtax exemption	3,540,000,000
Extra depreciation deductions	2,890,000,000
Special treatment for corporations in world trade	2,015,000,000
Research and development deductions	1,520,000,000
Excess energy depletion allowance	1,210,000,000

SOURCE: U.S. Treasury, Joint Committee on Taxation, as reported in U.S. News & World Report, July 10, 1978.

The wage earner not only gets no deduction—he or she has to pay income tax on that part of income that goes for Social Security.

## Corporate taxes

Corporations pay nothing near the nominal 48 percent rate in the tax law. Just like wealthy individuals, they escape through the revenue collector's mysterious net—which snares the little fish but lets the big ones swim right through.

One result of this is that business pays a shrinking portion of total federal tax revenue—another way of saying that working people pay more.

U.S. Rep. Charles Vanik recently pointed out that in 1967, corporate income taxes were 22.7 percent of federal revenue. By 1976—less than a decade later—the corporate share had fallen to 13.8 percent.

Vanik reported that 17 large corporations out of 168 in an annual survey made by his staff paid *no federal income taxes at all in 1976* (see box).

“Where sufficient data made computation possible,” Vanik observed, “the average effective U.S. tax rate on worldwide income of the corporations was approximately 13.04 percent, down significantly from the 21.3 percent rate in tax year 1975.”

“In order to qualify for a tax rate this low,” Vanik went on, “an average family of four could only have earned \$20,500. The companies listed in this study had a pretax income of more than \$38.7 billion.”

Corporations and wealthy individuals are able to pay at these low rates because there are an almost endless number of legal loopholes for them that are not available to working people. As Vanik puts it in his report, “one must get richer and richer in order to enjoy the dozens of tax avoidance schemes that have come to be part of the U.S. tax code.”

## Loopholes

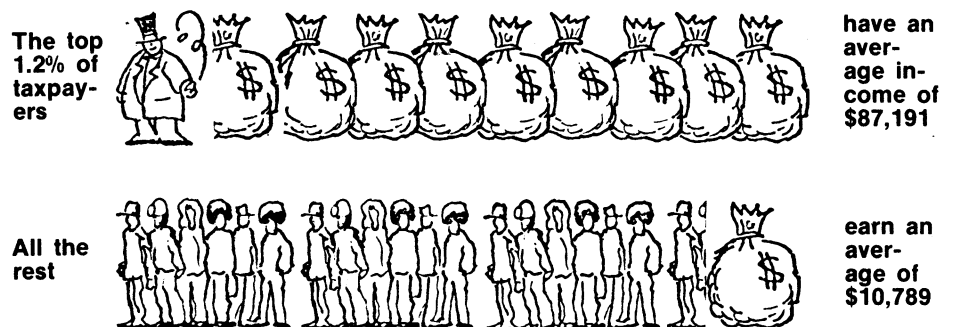
An accompanying box lists some of these breaks for the wealthy—and how much they cost the rest of us.

If none of these breaks apply, wealthy individuals and corporations can often get Congress to pass individual tax benefit bills.

And as a last resort, Uncle Sam almost always gives a juicy reduction to those who can afford high-priced specialized lawyers to appeal IRS judgements in government tax courts.

These loopholes show how the government puts itself at the service of the wealthy few. A treasury department analysis reported in the February 13, 1978, *New York Times* revealed that almost one-third of the \$84 billion in benefits allowed under special-treatment provisions of the tax code went to the handful of people with incomes greater than \$50,000. Another \$28 billion in tax breaks went to corporations. These figures are soaring—the government estimates that by 1983 revenue losses because of tax preferences for individuals and corporations will hit \$187.5 billion.

## Government figures offer an amazing glimpse at the gulf between the capitalists . . .



. . . and the millions of workers they exploit

## Where the money goes

War spending is by far the largest single expenditure by the federal government (excluding the payroll-tax-financed Social Security system).

The 1978 *Economic Report of the President* estimates that the government will spend \$117.8 billion on “national defense” in fiscal year 1979.

But the \$19.3 billion for veterans' benefits must be added to this figure. So should the \$5.1 billion the government will spend on “general science,

space, and technology”—since most of this finds its way into military research. The \$7.7 billion Washington shells out on “international affairs” is also largely military aid to dictatorships around the world.

This war budget totals \$149.9 billion. But even this doesn't tell the whole story.

A substantial part of the \$49 billion  
*Continued on next page*



# ...American tax swindle

Continued from preceding page

the treasury will pay in interest on the national debt—the lion's share of which was built up as a result of federal war spending—should also be included.

When Democratic and Republican politicians tell working people there is "no money" to pay for jobs programs and social services, they are never talking about this stupendous, inflation-fueling fortune spent on maintaining the global apparatus of U.S. military terror.

Similarly, right-wing "tax relief" swindles such as Prop 13 never take aim at the federal tax burden imposed by the war budget. This points to a significant division of labor (or rather, division of the spoils) between the federal and state/local tax systems.

## Social services

The overwhelming majority of the funds spent on public education—

nearly 90 percent—come from state and local governments (*Statistical Abstract*, 1977 edition). More than half the public money spent on health and medical programs comes from state and local governments.

In fact, these governments shoulder two-thirds of the cost for all public social welfare expenditures in the United States (excluding Social Security benefits that workers pay for entirely out of payroll taxes on their own wages, and excluding the veterans' benefits that are a consequence of the war machine).

The money to pay for these social services comes from the most regressive taxes. For example, in 1976 state and local governments collect 100 percent of the country's real-estate taxes and 70.3 percent of all sales and gross-receipt taxes. Property and sales taxes accounted for twice as much state and local revenue as money from Washington.

By organizing the tax system this way, the ruling rich put workers between a rock and a hard place. The false idea is deliberately fostered that social services are the cause of these onerous taxes—and that workers must choose between higher taxes or cuts in services.

For example, tax increases to pay for education are often put on the ballot. If workers vote down the tax increase, it is touted as "proof" that school cutbacks have popular support.

But workers are never given a chance to vote for or against the war budget.

Workers are never given a chance to vote for or against the tax loopholes and giveaways to the rich.

## 'Welfare bums'

The Democrats and Republicans try to turn the anger of hard-pressed taxpayers against public employees and the needy who depend on the pittance doled out by welfare. But the real "welfare bums" living high off our tax dollars are the profiteering war corporations.

The Pentagon forked out \$50.4 billion in prime defense contracts in the 1977 fiscal year, according to National Action/Research on the Military Industrial Complex (NARMIC), a Philadelphia affiliate of the American Friends Service Committee.

Of this amount, \$34.1 billion went to the top 100 contractors; \$15.3 billion went to the top ten alone.

Compare this largesse for giant corporations such as McDonnell Douglas, Lockheed Aircraft, United Technologies, and Boeing (the top four contractors) with the paltry "welfare" benefits that go to needy individuals.

Here are some of the major federal social-insurance and public-assistance programs and the average amount they pay out *per person per month*:

Old age & Survivors insurance	\$208
Medicare	68
Unemployment Insurance	122
Disability Insurance	197
Medicaid	63
Dependent Children	73
Aged, blind and disabled	120
Food stamps	24

## Tax the rich!

It is still a widely believed myth that in America there are "no classes" or we are all "middle class." The tax system offers striking proof that the opposite is true. It dramatically illustrates the basic class division in society.

On the one hand are those who must work for a living—the overwhelming majority of the population. On the other hand is the small minority that owns and controls the biggest banks, factories, mines, and mills.

This minority—scientifically known as the capitalist class—commands the wealth of society. It runs the government to serve its minority interests. Both the Democratic and Republican parties are political instruments of this capitalist class, despite their election-time rhetoric about representing "all the people."

## Government for the rich

The entire tax structure is designed to make working people shoulder the exorbitant costs for a government of the rich, by the rich, and for the rich. Above all, the tax structure makes workers pay for the gargantuan military apparatus that guards the invest-

ments and profits of U.S. corporations around the globe. Compared to this the meager social services grudgingly provided by the government are peanuts.

Faced with insoluble economic problems on a world scale, the capitalists have set out to bolster profits by reducing their own share of taxes—and raising the share paid by workers. As we've seen, they have had considerable success.

At the same time, they would like to reduce the government's inflationary budget deficits—if this can be done entirely by cutting social services. The capitalists try to whip up support for these antilabor moves by accusing those who are the hardest hit by cuts of being responsible for higher taxes.

The Socialist Workers Party stands for replacing today's minority government with a democratic government of the majority—a workers government. Such a government would put the vast wealth of our society at the service of human needs, not private profit.

All across the country, candidates of the Socialist Workers Party are explaining the truth about the great tax swindle and putting forward a program for complete reversal of the pres-

ent system. *Taxes should be paid by the rich, not by workers.* The SWP candidates say:

- Abolish all income taxes and social security taxes on incomes below \$30,000. Put teeth in the graduated income tax, increasing the rate to 100 percent on all income above \$50,000.

- Eliminate property taxes and other taxes that hurt individual homeowners, small businesses, and small farmers.

- Tax the big corporations. As a step towards closing the loopholes through which they escape paying taxes, we must force them to open their books for review by union inspection committees.

- Abolish all sales taxes.

- Abolish the war budget.

- Stop the \$6.8 billion given away through nontaxation of interest paid to the wealthy holders of state and city bonds.

- Place a 100 percent tax on the profits of polluting corporations, the war profiteers, and the profit-gouging energy trust.

## Program for labor

This is the kind of tax program the labor movement needs to counter the Democrats' and Republicans' lies that there is "no money." It points to the common interests between working-class taxpayers, the workers and poor who rely on social services, small

property owners, and working farmers.

Maneuvering within the limits of the "trade offs" offered by the Democrats and Republicans—tax relief versus social services—is futile and self-defeating. What the two big-business parties really have to offer is *both* higher taxes *and* service cutbacks.

What working people need instead is a campaign of massive, united actions by the unions, Black groups, women's organizations, the poor and unemployed *against* cutbacks and layoffs, *against* the war budget, *for* jobs and a decent living standard for all, and *for* putting the tax burden where it belongs, on the rich.

One of the biggest obstacles to such a defense of working-class interests is the subservience of the union officialdom to the two-party system. To fight back effectively, working people need a party of our own: a party that serves *our* interests, a labor party based on the power of a democratized and militant union movement.

A labor party that put forward this kind of tax program could win over a majority of the small business owners, small farmers, and workers who were duped into backing Prop 13.

After all, at bottom these exploited layers have no common interests with the corporate tax-gougers, war- and pollution-profiters, right-wing demagogues, and cutback artists who are bamboozling them today in the great American tax swindle.

## How to feed a fat cat: fur flies over capital gains

### To the wealthiest 1.2 percent of American taxpayers:

*You'll be glad to know that I've almost convinced Congress to put an extra \$2.2 billion in your federal tax-break stocking next year.*

*My proposal calls for lowering even further the capital gains taxes you pay when you profit from the sales of stocks, bonds, and other valuable holdings.*

*The special tax breaks you already get on these profits will save you about \$13.1 billion in 1979. But this is a lot less than you might have gotten if not for some minor reforms written into the law in 1969.*

*It seems to me the time is ripe to scuttle those reforms. So what if workers earning \$15,000 a year pay a higher tax rate than millionaires who take in hundreds of thousands in capital gains?*

*I'll tell the suckers that if you had more money you would invest it in factories and hire more workers. Maybe you would. Then again, maybe you wouldn't—since that's*

*not what you've been doing with increased profits so far.*

*But heck, who cares? It's your business, after all. No matter what, Congress should drop those nasty reforms and change the tax laws so you get even more money.*

*That's the message U.S. Rep. William Steiger (R-Wis.) is sending with his current bill to reduce the maximum tax on capital gains from 49 to 25 percent.*

*Another representative, James Jones (D-Okla.), is offering an alternative measure that would fork over "only" \$1.2 billion or so in extra capital gains tax breaks to the rich.*

*President Carter has made a big public show of opposing both proposals. He points out that the Steiger bill would give 3,000 taxpayers with annual incomes exceeding \$1 million tax cuts averaging \$214,000 while taxpayers making less than \$20,000 wouldn't get any "more than 25 cents."*

*U.S. Treasury Secretary Blumenthal calls the Steiger proposal "the*

*millionaires' relief act of 1978." True enough.*

*But Carter's objections to the Steiger and Jones bills are nothing more than a family quarrel over the care and feeding of fat cats.*

*Instead of stroking the big corporations with reduced capital gains taxes, the president wants to increase the tax credits they can take on their investments. This boondoggle is already expected to save big business an estimated \$12.3 billion in 1979. Now Carter wants to increase it and make it permanent.*

*The money Carter and the Congress want to give away to big business has to come from somewhere. The Democrats and Republicans have already made it clear that they've elected the working class to foot the bill—through higher taxes and decreased social services.*

*Last January Carter promised a \$25 billion cut in corporate and individual income taxes. This has already shrunk down to \$15 billion in the president's latest proposal to*

*Congress. How much—if any—of this rhetoric will ever actually jingle in workers' pockets is dubious.*

*Whether Carter goes through with promises to decrease taxes some day or not, however, he has already signed into law new Social Security tax increases that will hit especially hard at working people.*

*The administration has also announced plans to slash federal spending on social services.*

*Carter told a nationally televised news conference July 20 that he wanted to bring the federal budget deficit down to the "30 billions of dollars" during the 1980 fiscal year. His aides say this will require cutbacks totaling \$15 billion. They are bracing for what one of them called a "bloodbath" when they draft the new budget.*

*A \$15 billion bloodbath for the poor, the sick, and the unemployed. A \$15 billion giveaway to corporations and the rich.*

*That, in a nutshell, is "tax reform" from the Democrats and Republicans.*

—P.S.



## One week after Prop 13 wage freeze

# Calif. Labor Federation endorses Gov. Brown

By Jeff Mackler

SAN FRANCISCO—The twelfth convention of the 1.7 million-member California Labor Federation, AFL-CIO, voted July 12 to endorse Democratic Gov. Jerry Brown's bid for re-election this fall.

The CLF's near-unanimous support came less than a week after Brown—using passage of the Proposition 13 tax initiative as an excuse—vetoed cost-of-living increases due 1.4 million state and local employees.

Less than half the usual number of delegates turned out for this year's CLF convention. Discussion among the 500 mostly older, white males was perfunctory. During three days, only San Francisco Plumbers union head Joe Mazola and a scattering of delegates from the American Federation of Teachers rose to challenge any committee recommendations.

Mazola and a few other construction union officials support Republican Evelle Younger.

The AFT members unsuccessfully attempted to make the Brown endorsement conditional. They want Brown to promise he will get a place on the November ballot for an initiative CLF leaders hope might reform some of the worst aspects of Prop 13. The initiative seeks to restore corporate property taxes to pre-Prop 13 levels. It would keep tax breaks for homeowners—but continue these for the wealthy owners of apartment buildings and other re-

Jeff Mackler is a member of the board of directors, Hayward Unified Teachers Association, National Education Association.



State employees boo Gov. Jerry Brown at Sacramento rally June 29. But CLF officials are unwilling to break with Democratic Party.

sidential property, as well.

Delegates gave Brown a respectful standing ovation when he got up to speak. These are some of the points Brown made:

- "As I look over the state today and look back over the last three and a half years, I see an economy that is the envy of the country. . . ."

- (Business profits are at an all-time high, but the official unemployment rate is 7.2 percent.)

- ". . . I see the creation of 1 million

new jobs. . . ."

(So far, a minimum of 22,000 workers statewide have been fired as a result of Prop 13.)

- ". . . I see strong wages prevailing throughout the state. . . ."

(Brown's cost-of-living freeze on state and local employees and on welfare recipients affected 13 percent of the California population.)

- ". . . I see a very vigorous educational system. . . ."

(Most of the state's 1,100 school

districts suffered revenue cuts this year.)

- "... A very profound commitment to our quality of life. . . ."

(Brown is pressing for the construction of two nuclear power plants.)

- "... And a demonstration that the diversity of California is not an occasion for discrimination or ignorance or polarization. . . ."

(Brown opposed busing for desegregation in Los Angeles and supported the racist *Bakke* decision.)

About the only concrete gesture Brown could boast of was his appointment of a few union officials to various posts and boards in the state government.

CLF Executive Secretary-treasurer John Hemming and other labor officials addressing the convention conveniently overlooked Brown's attacks on working people. Instead, they placed the blame for labor's setbacks solely on the state legislature.

But these same officials also wasted union resources to help elect those liberal Democratic "friends of labor" who now control the statehouse in Sacramento!

"This is the tragic dead end that today's misleaders of the labor movement have steered working people into by telling us to support the 'lesser evil' between the Democrats and Republicans," commented Fred Halstead, the 1978 candidate of the Socialist Workers Party for California governor, after the CLF convention.

"California working people looking for an alternative to Prop 13 and all that it symbolizes should vote Socialist Workers in November, not for Brown and his gang of antilabor tax swindlers."

## Clerks win round against N&W strikebreaking

By Steve Wright

CHICAGO—A federal judge here denied the Norfolk and Western Railway a strikebreaking injunction July 20. The company sought to end the work stoppage by 5,000 members of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks.

The court decision should serve to help pressure N&W to bargain with the clerks, who have been on strike since July 10. Thus far, the company, which operates in fourteen states, has claimed the strike issues are non-negotiable.

The BRAC clerks are demanding a guaranteed job and wage rate for the thousands of employees being displaced by technology changes and subcontracting.

BRAC first notified N&W of its intent to negotiate over this and other issues in 1976, as is required by the Railway Labor Act. The union has exhausted every step of the antilabor act, and can now "legally" strike.

But N&W refuses to give in. It is expected that the company will appeal the judge's ruling and file for a permanent injunction against the strike.

This is all part of an overall "southern strategy" of the railroad industry. The Southern, Louisville and Nashville, Seaboard Coastline, Florida East Coast, and Norfolk and Western lines have all maintained lower labor costs than most of the other railroads because of their hard line against the unions. The rest of the industry hopes to follow suit.

In its attempt to break the strike, N&W is continuing to operate some trains with supervisory personnel. This has endangered the lives of peo-

ple in the communities the trains pass through because these scabs lack the qualifications required by the Federal Railroad Administration.

Since the strike began, there have been numerous derailments and accidents. This included a Monroeville, Ohio, derailment of a train carrying liquid propane gas, which could have been a repeat of the Waverly, Tennessee,

disaster last February that killed twelve people.

Freights without cabooses are illegally operating in Virginia, and many other safety rules are being ignored by the company.

BRAC has dispatched international representatives to organize centralized strike headquarters in the field. Local strike newsletters are in the works.

Other rail unionists have honored

the BRAC picket lines, and some have even joined them to demonstrate support. But further acts of solidarity are needed to aid the BRAC strikers.

The issues in the strike should be reported to all rail workers. Resolutions of support should be approved by union locals. The rail industry's "southern strategy" can be defeated only by united action of rail workers.

## SWP backs BRAC strike

CHICAGO—Socialist candidate Guy Miller, who is a rail worker himself, is campaigning to rally support for the clerks' strike of the Norfolk and Western Railway.

Miller is running for Illinois attorney general on the Socialist Workers Party ticket and is a member of the United Transportation Union on the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad.

The issues of the strike by the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks "are not limited to one union or just one railroad," Miller says. "All the railroads are seeking to cut jobs and take back hard-earned gains."

"The main demands the carriers have made in the national negotiations are centered around cuts in crew size, reduced wages for new employees, employee—rather than employer-financed health care, and total company control over conditions at work."

"The outcome of the BRAC strike

at N&W will have an impact on all rail workers."

Miller points out that the real goal of N&W is made clear by the fact that the strike has already cost it "many times the amount of money necessary to keep the disputed jobs."

"They want to either weaken the union—by nibbling away at the number of people represented by BRAC—or they are willing to try to break the union."

The socialist candidate charges that the Federal Railroad Administration "has done its share for the N&W by ignoring numerous safety hazards created by the scabbing of inexperienced and overworked supervisors."

"This callous disregard for the people living in towns and cities through which the N&W runs scab trains has shown how eagerly the government wants to break the strike."

Miller urges all rail unionists to



GUY MILLER Militant/Lane Satterblom

publicize the issues of the BRAC strike and support it in any way possible.

—S.W.

## CLP leader runs as Democrat

# Why SWP isn't backing Baker in Detroit

By Florence Robinson

DETROIT—General Baker, a leader of the Communist Labor Party, is running as a Democrat in the August 8 primary here in Michigan (see box). Baker, an auto worker and well-known Black activist, is running for state representative.

Two years ago Baker also ran for the state legislature, but on the CLP ticket. At that time the Socialist Workers Party urged a vote for him as "a step toward the independent Black, Chicano, and labor political action that the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party are campaigning for." In a leaflet distributed in Detroit, the SWP urged a vote for Baker "even though we have differences with the Communist Labor Party and with Baker's election platform."

"A vote for Baker would be a vote against Democratic and Republican policies of racism and opposition to school desegregation and busing," the SWP said. "It would be a vote against

the anti-labor economic policy of these two capitalist parties."

This year, however, the SWP is not calling for a vote for Baker. "By running in the Democratic Party primary," SWP gubernatorial candidate Robin Mace explains, "Baker is helping this big-business party maintain the illusion that Blacks and other working people can advance their interests within the capitalist two-party system."

"This is simply not true," says Mace, "and it is a grave disservice to the oppressed for someone who claims to be a socialist to help perpetuate that myth."

A campaign palm card distributed by Baker identifies him as a Democrat, not as a member of the CLP. His major piece of campaign literature gives no party affiliation but quotes Clyde Cleveland, a prominent Democratic Party city council member, as saying, "In the August 8th Democratic Primary voters have a chance to elect



**Proven Fighter for Jobs, Peace, Equality and a Better Life for All Workers.**

**Elect GENERAL BAKER**

**DEMOCRAT State Representative**

- Resident of the District for more than ten years.
- Active member UAW Local 600.
- Employed at Ford Rouge Complex.
- Endorsed by Councilman Clyde Cleveland, block clubs, labor and civic organizations.
- Co-founder Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement (DRUM).

Baker handout doesn't mention CLP, urges election as Democrat

someone who will be a unique asset to all our efforts to achieve a better life." So even though the CLP spent

hundreds of hours gathering 27,000 signatures to get on the August primary ballot, its message to voters is clear: on August 8, vote Democratic, not CLP.

Fortunately, those who want to take a decisive stand against the Democratic and Republican parties can do so by voting for the SWP.

"The two big-business parties are responsible for the attacks on the living conditions and democratic rights of working people here in Michigan and throughout the country," says Mace.

"That's why the SWP is campaigning for a break with these twin capitalist parties and for the formation of an independent labor party based on the power of the trade-union movement."

## Mich. primary props up two-party monopoly

The election laws in Michigan are among the most restrictive and undemocratic of any state in the country.

In order to get on the November ballot for a general election, all "new" parties "not already on the ballot" must get 0.3 percent of the total vote in an August primary—that's an estimated 4,000 votes.

And in order to even get on the primary ballot, parties other than

the Democrats and Republicans must collect 17,500 signatures on nominating petitions.

This year the Socialist Workers Party spent six weeks collecting 23,000 signatures. At first the state board of canvassers threatened to keep the socialists off the ballot, claiming that a spot check showed that not enough signatures were valid.

After the socialists appealed the decision to the state election commission, however, the canvassers finally backed down.

The incident, however, showed once again that the entire purpose of the primary is to maintain the electoral monopoly of the Democrats and Republicans. The new law was passed in 1976, after nine parties had qualified to be on the November ballot.

## Socialists challenge Fla. vote restrictions

By Rose Ogden

MIAMI—Let's say you picked up some of Lee Smith's campaign material where you work, at a shopping center, or on your campus. You find that Smith, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress in Florida's Thirteenth Congressional District, has a program more in tune with your concerns than any other you've ever seen in south Florida.

You notice that Smith calls for jobs for all and has a program to accomplish that. He opposes the *Bakke* ruling and insists that affirmative-action quotas be strictly enforced in hiring, training, and promotions. He supports the Equal Rights Amendment and abortion rights.

He defends the right of Haitians to political asylum in this country. He demands that the United States get out of Africa. He calls for opening trade and diplomatic relations with Cuba. He proposes dismantling the \$261 billion war budget and using those funds to meet human needs.

All this makes sense to you. So come election day, you go to vote but don't find Smith's name on the ballot. The Democratic and Republican parties have passed laws that require a party to have 5 percent of the electorate as registered members to get on the ballot, or to collect the signatures of 3 percent of the electorate on petitions and then pay the state ten cents for each signature to have them verified!

Because of this, parties other than the two capitalist parties are usually forced to run write-in campaigns.

Oh well, you think, I'll write in, "Lee Smith, Socialist Workers Party," and register my choice that way. Forget it! The Florida legislature decided in 1977 that even this was too good for candidates that chose to run outside the

Democratic and Republican parties. There is no way to write in a candidate in the state of Florida.

On July 11 Lee Smith went to the Florida Supreme Court to challenge this attack on democratic rights. He also went to the voters of south Florida through the media and explained the issues at stake. Several TV and radio stations covered the news conference.

"They try everything to keep socialists from running election campaigns," Smith explained. "If the government is not conducting illegal spy operations against us, it's putting up roadblocks to prevent us from running a legitimate campaign."

The National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee is handling Smith's lawsuit. Ira Kurzban, attorney for the suit, appeared with Smith at the news conference. Kurzban explained that the suit aims to win back the right of voters to write in the candidates of their choice—a right that had existed in Florida since 1895.

"A person's right to run for office and the voters' right to choose the candidate of their choice is a fundamental right of free speech and association. The ability to exercise this right is fundamental to what the Constitution of this country is about," Kurzban said.

This lawsuit is "an important part of a giant legal battle that needs to be waged against restrictive election laws that protect the political monopoly of the Democrats and Republicans," Smith pointed out.

"The legal battle is an indispensable part of a larger campaign that must be fought to win working people's political independence from two parties totally controlled by the bosses," Smith added.

Eighty-five people have already endorsed the lawsuit.

## Campaigning for socialism

### SWP calls for vote for Socialist Party

Adrienne Kaplan and Bill Breihan, Socialist Workers Party candidates for governor and lieutenant governor of Wisconsin, have issued a call for a vote for a candidate of the Socialist Party. Joel Miller is the SP candidate for state senate in the Ninth District.

"Miller's candidacy gives a chance to reject the two-party con game of the Democrats and Republicans," the SWP candidates said. "These two parties represent the same interests—big business—and carry out virtually identical policies. The Socialist Party, on the other hand, is not controlled by big business."

"What is required is a thoroughgoing break away from the Democratic and Republican parties through the formation of a labor party by the union movement. Joel Miller's campaign is valuable both as a way of explaining the need for independent labor political action, and as a modest but important example of it."

"This is why we endorse Miller for state senate, even though we do not agree with every aspect of his program. A vote for Miller is a vote against the twin parties of big business, and for independent working class politics."

### Minnesota socialists announce slate

The Minnesota Socialist Workers Party has announced a full slate of candidates for the November elections.

Jill Lakowske, the candidate for governor, is a teacher and activist in the Minneapolis Federation of Teachers Local 59. Lakowske has headed the local's women's rights committee.

Marc Shaver, candidate for lieutenant governor, is a member of United Steelworkers Local 7263. Shaver was an active participant in the 1977 Steelworkers Fight Back campaign, which ran Ed Sadlowski for union president.

Bill Peterson, candidate for U.S. Senate, is a longtime railroad worker and member of United Transportation Union Local 911.

Christine Frank, running for the U.S. Senate seat being vacated by Muriel Humphrey, is a student and activist in the Twin Cities chapter of the National Organization for Women.

Lakowske, Shaver, and Peterson have all secured ballot status. Frank's supporters will gather signatures in August to get her name on the ballot.

—Arnold Weissberg



## New mood marks Israeli peace movement

By Michel Warshawsky

JERUSALEM—One in every four cars bears a sticker on its back window that says, "Peace is better than a great Israel." No one can deny it any longer—the peace movement, launched a little more than three months ago, has succeeded in winning a real mass following.

What do they want, these tens of thousands of Israelis who for the first time are ready to mobilize openly against the war-mongering policy of their rulers? Who are they, and what makes them tick?

A cursory glance at the participants in the teach-in outside the Knesset (parliament) that came at the end of the [April 26] demonstration in Jerusalem reveals that while all age groups are represented, the great majority are young people. But they are not just any young people—only those who are known as "kibbutznikim" in Israeli terminology [residents of collective farms], along with students and sons and daughters of well-to-do families from the residential neighborhoods of Jerusalem and the suburbs north of Tel Aviv. Only a few "oriental" Jews from immigrant communities and working-class neighborhoods can be seen.

A second observation is that veterans of demonstrations against the occupation and members of left Zionist organizations are only a tiny minority. Alongside moderate members of parliament—Meir Pail and Shulamith Aloni—activists in Shelli [a bloc of "left" Zionists], and revolutionary feminists, are thousands of persons for whom this demonstration is the first political activity of their lives.

"I met more than half a dozen classmates here whom I never thought I

would meet at a political demonstration," Assia told me. She is a student at Tel Aviv University, and an old hand at this. It's her third demonstration. Most of her high school friends are now married to doctors, lawyers, and members of other liberal professions, and fairly accurately reflect the social origins of the demonstrators. I interviewed them.

Shula: "After Sadat's peace initiative, the choice is simple—either make concessions in return for a peace treaty with Egypt, at least, or get ready for a terrible war." Deborah adds: "My husband is not about to die for Yamit" [an Israeli settlement built on Egyptian territory occupied after the 1967 war].

The hope awakened by Sadat's initiative, and fear of an imminent war, are themes that run through all the statements by the movement's leaders. While some of them are close to the Labor Party (Mapai), there are no indications that they are being manipulated by one or another political party.

Quite the contrary—most of them display well-justified suspicion toward the official organizations. Eytan, a reserve lieutenant and student at the Technion in Haifa, explains: "After the October war, I participated in the protest movement. Like many others, I voted for the Dash [Democratic Movement for Change], which promised a radical change in the whole political process. Now Dash is in the government and backs Begin's policy in order to hold on to its cabinet posts. This time they're not going to fool me. All parties are corrupt, or wind up that way. We'll win our demands in the streets."

### Demands

And what are their demands? "That Begin either prepare to make concessions or else resign." This formula has become the central slogan of demonstrations by the peace movement.

There have been many comparisons between the peace movement and the movements that appeared after the October 1973 war. What they have in common is a broad desire for change, and the fact that a fairly large group of



For first time in history of Israel, thousands of Jews have protested against another war with Arabs.

junior reserve officers played a role in organizing them.

But one element sets these two movements from two different periods apart, and makes it possible to note the evolution represented by the current movement. Unlike in 1974, the demonstrators today do not talk about shortcomings in the way the war was fought, but, on the contrary, demand something tangible—peace—even if they do not exactly know how and at what price it is to be achieved.

This choice has led them for the first time to blame their own government, not the Arab states, for the coming war. The appearance of a mass movement that openly insists—even if it is a minority—that Begin and the Israeli government will bear the responsibility for the next war is a radically new phenomenon, which Sadat can boast of having initiated.

This double feeling of the exorbitant cost of the next war and of a real chance for peace—even if it is only temporary—gives the peace movement a kind of credibility that no extraparlimentary movement in Israel has ever had before. Such credibility is a necessary prerequisite for winning over the masses who can make the government give in. But it is not enough.

### Insufficient program

"The majority of the people still fear peace at least as much as war," one of the leaders of the movement in Jerusalem cogently remarked. "The question is how to win this majority to our peace gamble."

Such a goal demands a peace plan acceptable to the leaders of the Arab

countries, or at least to Sadat. However, a quick poll of the demonstrators showed that while everyone there was willing to mobilize against the hard line of the present government, very few could agree to a political formula that included Israeli withdrawal from all of the territories occupied in June 1967, much less to the idea of an independent Palestinian state.

In fact, for most of the movement's leaders, the real target is Washington more than anything else. As one of the leaders said in a closing speech at the Tel Aviv demonstration [April 1]: "We do not want war on the American front, much less a war on two fronts."

Reestablishing smooth relations with American imperialism, and hoping that Carter will be able to force further concessions out of Sadat—that is the most coherent political line emerging at the head of the peace movement.

This is a very slight basis on which to try to fulfill the immense hope for peace that Sadat was able to kindle in the hearts of the Israeli people. And it is certainly insufficient to win the majority of the Jewish masses in Israel to a political battle against the Begin government, which looms as a long and difficult one.

But, for the first time, a breach has been opened in the "sacred alliance" that has always been the mainstay of the Jewish state. And no demagogic speeches by Begin, or crude threats from Simha Ehrlich, the minister of finance, will be able to mend it. It is up to the Palestinian movement, above all, to find a way to widen it and then jump into it.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

## Mexicans protest repression

Demonstrations were held in Mexico June 8 and 10 to demand a general amnesty and an end to government repression against workers, peasants, and political organizations.

Two demonstrations were held June 8. One, held in front of the offices of the Agrarian Reform Department, was called by the Independent Revolutionary Peasant Coordinating Committee. It highlighted attacks against the In-

dependent Peasant Front in Tuxtepec, a city in the state of Oaxaca.

The second protest, also held in Mexico City, was organized by the PRT (Spanish initials for Revolutionary Workers Party), a sister organization of the American Socialist Workers Party.

Participants included the Independent Revolutionary Peasant Coordinating Committee; the Committee to Defend Political Prisoners, the Disappeared, Persecuted and Exiled; and other organizations.

On June 10, the Committee to Defend Political Prisoners sponsored a memorial for the students massacred on that day in 1971 by police and government-sponsored right-wing goon squads.

Some 5,000 demonstrators marched to the offices of the Department of the Interior demanding a general amnesty. They also demanded that the government present to the public the so-called

disappeareds, people kidnapped by police who haven't been heard from since.

The demonstration included contingents from the PRT; Mexican Communist Party; National Organization of Students; Union for the Organization of the Student Movement; peasant groups; and other unions.

In the past few months, the government has stepped up its repression against left political parties and workers and peasants organizations. The PRT in particular has been singled out for attack.

Not a week goes by without *Bandera Socialista*, weekly paper of the PRT, denouncing a new attack against a PRT member.

For example, during the first two weeks of May, thirteen PRT members, including a member of the party's political bureau, were arrested in various parts of the country.

One of the activists, Mario Aurelio

Lechuga Contreras, was held for three days and brutally tortured. He is a PRT candidate in the state of Mexico's legislative elections.

A June 3 editorial in *Bandera Socialista* explained that the attacks of the left in Mexico aren't accidents due to "confusion," "misunderstanding," or even "excesses" by individual cops, as the government claims. What is involved is an organized campaign of harassment.

The editorial urged "all parties and political groups" to protest the attack on the PRT and other organizations and to demand an end to this repression.

The editorial also proposed an October 10 demonstration for a general amnesty at the Plaza de las Tres Culturas, Tlatelolco, in Mexico City. October 10 marks the tenth anniversary of the massacre of hundreds of students by the Mexican army at Tlatelolco Plaza.

## Mass arrest of Maori protesters

# New Zealand native people fight for land

By George Fyson

WELLINGTON—The struggle for the return of the land at Bastion Point, near the centre of Auckland, to the Ngati Whaatua tribe has developed into the most significant Maori land struggle in this century. The land in question consists of a little less than 200 acres of open space on a headland jutting into the Waitemata harbour. It is an extremely valuable piece of "real estate."

On May 25 the New Zealand government employed an intimidating army of more than 700 police, backed by military units, to round up hundreds of protesters occupying the site. More than 200 were evicted in the peaceful protest, and 222 more were arrested, making it the largest mass arrest in New Zealand's history. The majority of those arrested were Maoris.

The protesters' buildings which had been erected during the seventeen-month occupation of the land were smashed to the ground by an army bulldozer.

### Repressive government

The crushing of the Bastion Point occupation is only the latest in a series of repressive acts carried out by the reactionary government of Robert Muldoon. Since coming to power in 1975, Muldoon has mounted an offensive against the rights of working people, women, Maoris, and other Polynesian peoples.

His government has launched racist attacks on Pacific Islanders—rounding up and deporting the so-called "over-stayers," as well as violently attacking other Maori land-rights struggles.

The story of how the Maoris originally lost the land at Bastion Point is one of relentless encroachment by *pakeha* (European) society, which sought to push the Maori community right out of this area, the "gateway" to the wealthy eastern suburbs of Auckland. The means used by the authorities to gain the land were similar to those used in other parts of the country. They used every dirty trick in the book, from seizure of land for "defence" purposes, take-overs under the Public Works Act, and picking out and pressuring individual Maoris—who were, perhaps because of indebtedness, more vulnerable to pressures for sale.

On a nationwide scale, this same steady process has whittled away the amount of Maori-owned land from the entire sixty-six million acres of New Zealand when the *pakeha* arrived, to less than three million acres today, while Maoris constitute more than 10 percent of the population.

### Land stolen

The Ngati Whaatua tribe once dominated the entire area covered by Auckland. Big sections of this land were sold to the British settlers for a few hundred pounds in the 1840s and 1850s. Immediately after it had been sold by the Maoris, the buyers resold much of it for tens of thousands of pounds. Other large areas were given up by the Maoris on the understanding that 10 percent of the revenues generated would be put towards Maori education. The education never eventuated. The churches gained a lot of land in this fashion.

The 200 acres at Bastion Point were part of the final portion of land retained by the Ngati Whaatua of Tamaki towards the end of the last century. In 1869, after an application to the court by the Ngati Whaatua paramount chief, Apihai Te Kawau, an



Some 700 cops surround Maori protesters and supporters during occupation of Bastion Point

area of 700 acres had been declared by the Native Land Court to be "absolutely inalienable to any person in any manner whatsoever," and it was vested as a whole in twelve Maori trustees representing the local Maori people.

### More theft

But the government and local settler interests did not let matters lie there. In 1877 the land known as Bastion Point was taken for "defence purposes." Following this, court rulings made the Maori trustees individual owners of specific portions of the "inalienable" land, and the government began pressuring some of them to part with bits and pieces of the area. The government granted itself monopoly of purchase, and by 1907 had bought or held on long-term lease 472 of the 700 acres.

In 1928 a competition was held for a model "garden suburb" in the area, known as Orakei. The winning design was published, showing no provision for Maori housing in the area, or anywhere else. In this plan, playing fields and tennis courts were placed where the Maori village stood.

Sales continued through the 1930s and 40s, some of them forced by the legal expenses of Maoris seeking to hold off the purchases. By 1950, the government built a few state houses on the open headland next to the village, as an inducement for the Maoris to leave their homes. While younger ones did so, the older people refused to leave.

So the government invoked the Public Works Act to clear the area. In December 1951 the remaining dwellings and the meeting house were burnt to the ground in a "mysterious" fire. The impending visit of the queen of England was presented as one reason for completing the eviction. The authorities considered that the place had to be "cleaned up," because the queen was scheduled to drive past it.

### Struggle rekindled

Although all the land had now passed from Maori ownership, apart from a one-quarter acre graveyard, the struggle was by no means over.

In 1976 the Muldoon government pushed ahead with a plan for developing part of the Bastion Point headland, the 200 acres of open space remaining. The plan was for a high-cost housing subdivision, and it made only passing reference to the possibility of more

housing for the Ngati Whaatua, many of whom had been forced to move out of the area because of their expanding numbers.

The local Maoris, led by the Orakei Maori Committee Action Group, reoccupied the open space at the top of the headland in January 1977. Some of the central leaders of the occupation had been children in 1951 when they watched their old community being burned to the ground.

This action, coupled with a "green ban" imposed by the Auckland Trades Council against work taking place on the site, prevented any surveying and building beginning on the subdivision. The tent town set up on Bastion Point was visited by thousands of Aucklanders within the first few weeks of being established.

### Maori demands

The Maori occupiers demanded that the remaining open space on Bastion Point be handed over to a Ngati Whaatua trust, to be developed as the Maoris saw fit. They drew up initial plans for Maori housing, meeting houses, old people's accommodations, and educational institutions on the land.

The government was forced to drop its plan for a subdivision, but it drew up an amended version of the scheme, and began secret negotiations with

handpicked individuals from the Ngati Whaatua, offering a few concessions but insisting that part of the deal be that the occupiers be cleared off the land. It was a classic example of "divide and rule."

Nevertheless the occupiers held firm, erecting living quarters and a meeting house capable of holding hundreds of people, in which they weathered a long, wet winter. On a number of occasions, the government threatened to move in in force, but each time supporters from throughout New Zealand rallied to Bastion Point and it became obvious that the stand of the Ngati Whaatua had very strong backing. Bastion Point had become a symbol of Maori resistance to the gobbling up of traditional Maori land by the government and *pakeha*.

The government intensified its efforts against the protesters. Joe Hawke, the protest leader, was convicted on a frame-up charge of assault. A campaign of slander and red-baiting was mounted by politicians and in the press. This was directed against the involvement of the pro-Moscow Socialist Unity Party, the Maoist Communist Party, and the Trotskyist Socialist Action League, in supporting the Maoris' stand.

Continued on page 22

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# Bonn talks: capitalists peering over abyss

By Jon Britton

"The world's industrialized democracies are smiling, rather than confronting one another, as they peer over the economic abyss together."

This comment by *Christian Science Monitor* reporter Elizabeth Pond hints at the real character of the economic summit held in Bonn, West Germany, July 16-17.

The smiles were part of a charade, in which the heads of state of West Germany, Japan, the United States, and the other "big seven" imperialist powers put on a show of sweet reasonableness as they went through the motions of deliberating over the economic problems plaguing the capitalist world.

The final act was the signing of a platitude-filled communiqué, drafted beforehand, calling for faster economic growth "without rekindling inflation" and other equally impossible nostrums.

The imperialist chiefs, who are the instigators of mass terror throughout the world, also signed a declaration pledging stepped-up efforts to "combat international terrorism."

As with the three previous such summits, in as many years, the main purpose of the Bonn get-together was to prop up waning public confidence in the ability of capitalist governments to deal effectively with the developing economic crisis.

Jimmy Carter, in particular, needed shoring up. *New York Times* correspondent Flora Lewis wrote from Bonn July 16 that "the worry about American intentions and the concern about Mr. Carter's apparent weakness at home . . . have given way to a consensus that it is in the interest of all to bolster the American leader. . . ."

Thus in presummit interviews, West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, who only a few weeks before had publicly attacked U.S. world economic leadership, went out of his way to express understanding of Carter's difficulties in getting his proposals through Congress.

Another hope of the imperialist rulers is that the Bonn summit will make it politically easier to impose unpopular measures such as Carter's crude-oil tax, which will sharply increase the price of fuel oil and gasoline.

The *Wall Street Journal* of May 8 quotes Carter's special representative for economic summits, Henry Owen, as saying that "during the last year [Britain, France, and Italy] have stuck with extremely difficult, politically painful stabilization programs and brought down inflation. The officials of those governments tell us that the fact that [last year's London] summit urged this . . . was of some help to them in sticking with these policies."

As they view it, the rulers need all the help they can get. They are caught between an inexorable depreciation of paper currencies, whose restabilization calls for reduced government spending and other deflationary policies, and an increasingly militant proletariat in many countries (Peru being the most dramatic recent example).

Faced with this dilemma, the governments of Carter, Schmidt, Fukuda, and the others have been zigzagging between inflationary expansionist policies aimed at preventing all-out protectionism and a major economic collapse, and deflationary austerity measures, which slash living standards and bring chronic unemployment to millions.

The real verdict on the Bonn summit came a few days after Carter and his fellow heads of state had gone back home. Wealthy investors, banks, and corporations once again began dumping dollars in massive quantities in favor of stronger currencies and gold. From July 18 to July 21 alone, the dollar lost nearly 4% of its value relative to gold.

By their actions, the billionaires are telling Carter in no uncertain terms that his "anti-inflation program" is not enough. He must step up the offensive against American working people or risk financial catastrophe.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

## World news notes

### Save the life of Ana Maria Piffaretti, Argentine feminist and unionist!

Ana Maria Piffaretti, an Argentine trade unionist and activist in the women's movement, was abducted by uniformed police June 28 from the clinic where she works. Her whereabouts remains unknown.

Amnesty International has adopted her case, demanding to know



July 20 demonstration at the Notre-Dame cathedral in Paris demanded release of Ana Maria Piffaretti and other Argentine political prisoners.

where she is being detained and calling for her immediate release.

Piffaretti has worked in Buenos Aires as a dietician and nutritionist since 1974. She joined the staff of the Guemes Clinic only one month before her "disappearance."

A champion of the women's rights movement since her college years, Piffaretti founded several feminist groups and spoke frequently on such topics as women and the home, and working women.

The Argentine military dictatorship, seeking to channel the women's movement behind the policies of the junta, recently called for a government-sponsored women's symposium. Piffaretti wrote, spoke, and organized meetings against this attempt by the government to control the women's movement. It was shortly after this that she was "disappeared."

Letters and telegrams demanding Piffaretti's immediate release can be sent to: Argentine Embassy, 1600 New Hampshire Avenue, Washington, D.C. 20009. Send copies to USLA Justice Committee, 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, New York 10003.

### Carter OKs \$600 million arms sale to Iran

A July 15 Reuters dispatch reports President Carter's approval of a \$600 million weapons sale to Iran. The sale becomes final pending approval by Congress. Congress has already given the go-ahead for \$8.9 billion in overall arms sales for 1978, and the Pentagon estimates that the total 1978 bill will be \$13.2 billion.

The bulk of the sale to the shah of Iran's bloody dictatorship is \$370 million for thirty-one Phantom-4 fighter-bombers. According to the *New York Times*, the Carter administration claims the sale had to be made immediately "since McDonnell Douglas [a major U.S. arms supplier] was moving toward closing the Phantom production line."

### Desegregated So. African audience terrorized

The first desegregated theater performance in Pretoria, capital of South Africa, was disrupted July 18 by a tear-gas explosion in the building. The audience of 350 included 10 Blacks. While the performance was held up for the gas to clear, the theater manager discovered a glass vial dropped by a member of the audience.

The right-wing National Front of South Africa said it "had probably been responsible." Later, the racist group explained that some of its members had come from Johannesburg to Pretoria, intent on staging the group's first demonstration against multiracialism in white-ruled South Africa.

Police claimed they were "investigating" the situation. No arrests were made.

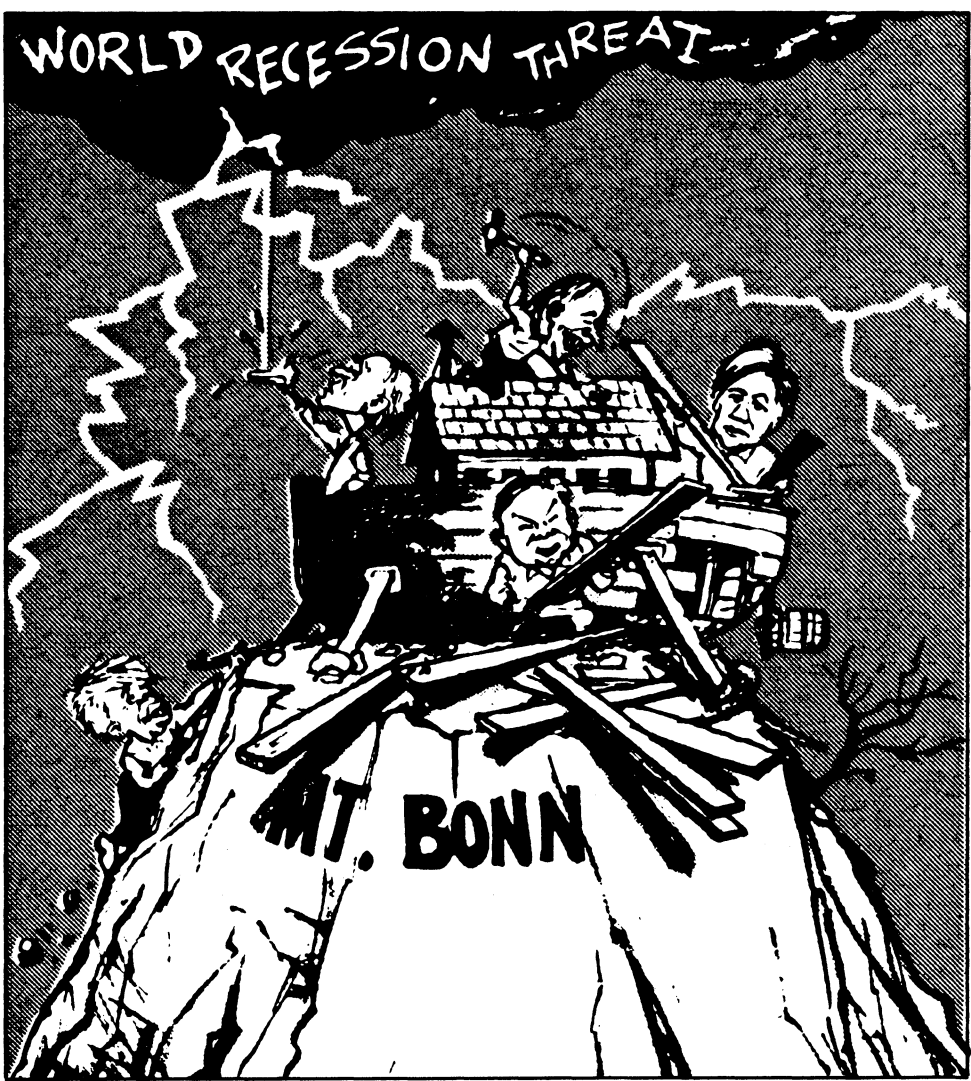
### Thousands in Japan protest nuclear ship

Some 7,000 people demonstrated in Sasebo, Japan, July 9 protesting the city council's decision to let the nuclear-powered ship Mutsu pass through their waters. Among the demonstrators were victims of the 1945 atomic bomb attack in nearby Nagasaki.

On its first voyage in 1974, the vessel—Japan's only nuclear-powered ship—developed a radiation leak. It has stood idle since then. The government now wants to take the ship south to Kyushu Island for a three-year repair job.

Despite protests, the government gave the go-ahead July 18 for the ship to be moved in October. A government official, attempting to explain away this apparent disregard for the safety of the Japanese people, remarked that the shipyard doing the repairs "is in financial difficulty and needs the contract."

—Priscilla Schenk



Werner

## Rehabilitate Bukharin!

# Moscow trials return to haunt Kremlin

[Forty years after his execution, the memory of Nikolai Bukharin is still haunting the Kremlin. Bukharin, a Bolshevik from the age of eighteen, was elected to the party's central committee in July 1917. He was part of the team of revolutionary leaders responsible for bringing the working class to power in the Russian revolution.

[Following the revolution, Bukharin became one of the best-known Bolshevik leaders. He joined forces with Stalin after Lenin's death, but in 1928, as Stalin began to move toward the forced collectivization of the peasantry, Bukharin went into opposition.

[Expelled from his leadership positions in the party and denied the right to air his ideas, Bukharin soon recanted his dissident views. Broken politically, he was executed after the third series of infamous Moscow show trials in March 1938.

[The following appeal was sent by Bukharin's son, Yuri Larin (Bukharin), to Enrico Berlinguer, general secretary of the Italian Communist Party. *L'Unità*, the Italian CP daily, published a lengthy report on the appeal in its June 16 issue.

[From the point of view of the Kremlin, this appeal is political dynamite. No reopening of the Moscow trials can avoid bringing up the case of the central defendant in all the trials—Leon Trotsky. And any admission that Stalin framed up and murdered virtually the entire generation of Bolsheviks responsible for leading the Russian revolution, can only lead to further questions. What does such an admission imply about the Stalinist regime as a whole? What does it imply about Stalin's heirs?

[Italian CP historian Paola Spriano has already called for the rehabilitation of Bolshevik leaders such as Zinoviev, Kamenev, Pyatakov, Radek, and Rykov in *L'Unità*. In a June 22 article in the Italian daily *Repubblica*, Spriano added Trotsky to his list.

[So far, the Kremlin has refused to comment publicly on the appeal to rehabilitate Bukharin. It would prefer not to be too closely associated with Stalin's "excesses," but it dares not take the road demanded by the appeal.

[A petition in support of the appeal for Bukharin is being circulated internationally by the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation. Copies of the petition are available from the Russell Foundation, Gamble Street, Nottingham NG7 4ET, England.]

Respected Comrade Berlinguer,

I am writing this letter to you on the eve of the 40th Anniversary of the tragic death of my father, Nikolai Ivanovich Bukharin. At that time I was only two years old and naturally was unable to remember my father. But my mother, who had spent many years in Stalin's prisons and camps, miraculously survived and told me the truth about my father. Later G.M. Krzhizhanovsky, one of V.I. Lenin's closest friends, and Old Bolsheviks, who had lived through the terror and who had known Nikolai Ivanovich in one circumstance or another, told me about him. In addition I read many Bolshevik books (which are banned in our country even today and have been preserved only by chance by certain Old Bolsheviks) including books by Nikolai Ivanovich himself and the works of foreign researchers. The information which I obtained in this way helped me to fully appreciate the character and the social and political activity of my father. I understood the enormity of Stalin's crimes, the extent to which he had falsified the history of the Party, the absurdity and stupidity of the accusations leveled against my father at the Plenum of the Central Committee of February/March 1937 and the trial of the so-called "Right-Trotskyist Bloc". However, on the basis of these absurd charges (espionage, treason, sabotage and murder), my father was expelled from the Central Committee and from the Party and condemned to death.

Beginning in 1961 my mother A.M. Larina and then I myself persistently raised with the highest Party-State organs of the country the question of the withdrawal of the monstrous allegations against N.I. Bukharin and his restoration to Party membership. This question was also raised with the Party leadership by the most senior of the Old Bolsheviks led by the former secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, E.D. Staseva. They died some time ago without receiving an answer and it was only last summer (1977) that we at last received some response in the form of a telephone call. An official of the Commission of Party Control of the Central Committee of the CPSU informed us by telephone that the accusations made at the trial of Bukharin had not been withdrawn as the process of examining the documents relating to the trial had not been completed; the question of the restoration of his Party member-

arrests went on, had a big impact on all who saw them that night on television. Since this action, support for the stand of the Ngati Whaatua at Bastion Point has built up, particularly within the Maori community.

One week after the eviction, a meeting was held at the Orakei marae (meeting area) to discuss the next steps in the struggle. It was attended by several hundred people, including Maoris from many parts of the country. Dick Wetere, from the Waikato Maniapoto people, told the meeting:

"When Sir George Grey [governor of New Zealand in the mid-nineteenth century—G.F.] said to Kingi Tawhiao that he had the forces to exterminate the Maori race, Kingi Tawhiao answered: 'I have many friends in the four corners of the earth, who will come to my aid in my time of need.' When the police and soldiers marched onto Bastion Point, I saw the embodiment of Kingi Tawhiao's wisdom—Maori, *pakeha*, Samoans, Niueans, Rarotongans,



Bukharin in 1931

ship could not, therefore, yet be resolved. This means that 40 years after the execution of my father we have received an answer, which, in effect, confirms the monstrous charges of Stalin. My approach to the Courts (the Supreme Court of the USSR) has been fruitless: the simple truth is they don't answer me.

In a country where the greater part of the population has been brought up on the mendacious *Short Course*\* there are many who still consider my father as a traitor and a hireling-of-Hitler although in reality the truth is that he was an outstanding fighter against fascism and in his later years he devoted all his energies to the exposure of fascism and to warnings against the growing fascist threat.

Leaving home for the last time for the Plenum of February/March 1937 (from which he never returned) my

\*Stalin's falsified history of the Soviet Communist Party.

Indians, Chinese, and I'm sure other nationalities, standing shoulder to shoulder waiting to be arrested. This is the spirit we must carry into the unknown future from this historic meeting onwards. Historic, because this could be the turning point in the fight for our lands. Because Bastion Point stands for the guts of our convictions, we, as a people, can do nothing other than support Joe Hawke and his freedom fighters of Bastion Point. You have led and showed us the way."

Six hundred people in Wellington marched on Parliament the day after the invasion. Similar marches and meetings, involving hundreds of people, have occurred throughout the country. In Dunedin and Wellington, normal studies were suspended and mass meetings were held at the universities for a full day to discuss the Bastion Point and Maori land issues.

A team of Bastion Point leaders plans to tour through all the Maori communities in New Zealand, to build

renewed and strengthened support for their cause. They are also raising funds to send a delegation to the United Nations later this year.

A general election is due in November, and Matiu Rata, the Labour Party spokesperson on Maori affairs, has promised that Labour would return Bastion Point to the Ngati Whaatua. Whether this promise bears fruit remains to be seen; in fact it was under the 1972-75 Labour government that the high-cost subdivision plan for Bastion Point was first drawn up. Nevertheless, Rata's stand is a reflection of significant public sentiment.

One thing is certain. The government thought it could get rid of the Bastion Point issue by its massive police operation. But it is having the opposite effect. As Bastion Point representative Colin Clark told a protest march in Wellington on June 9: "I'm sure Muldoon thinks he has us beat. Hell, the battle is only starting."

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

## ...Maoris

Continued from page 20

At the same time, the government took out an injunction in the Supreme Court to clear the protesters away. The protesters, although denied legal aid, put up an impressive defence, but they were not supported by the judge, who happens to live in an expensive house nearby on part of the "inalienable" 700-acre block of 1869.

The Maori protesters had gained the support of a wide range of political forces prior to the police invasion of Bastion Point. Church figures, prominent Maoris, and others had spoken out on their behalf, in addition to the Auckland Trades Council.

When the invasion came, the scenes of weeping Maori elders being led away by police, and the strains of Maori *haka*s (war dances) and songs ringing out from the camp as the



## New stage in world politics

Cutbacks.  
Austerity.  
Inflation.  
Unemployment.

From Paris to New York, from Tokyo to Rome, the working class is under attack.

Even before the international economic crisis of 1974-75, the working class in France came close to toppling the capitalist system there in May 1968. Student protests, the rise of the women's liberation movement, and the demands of oppressed nationalities had also upset the social equilibrium of the main capitalist centers.

The contradictions that gave rise to these movements have not gone away, nor have their demands been satisfied. At the same time, new movements, such as the one against nuclear power, have arisen.

But now, the rulers in even the most stable imperialist countries are facing the specter of the working class as a whole entering the fight. We have seen the revolutionary upsurge of the Portuguese working class; the deepgoing radicalization of the Italian and Spanish workers; and now, the growing indications of combativity among the American workers, as in the recent coal strike.

Other political developments over

the past four years have included the defeat of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam and the new rise in the African liberation struggle, especially in southern Africa. We have also seen a deepening crisis of the world Stalinist movement, as reflected in the phenomenon of "Eurocommunism" and the continuing struggles for democratic rights in Eastern Europe.

Revolutionists around the world have been following these developments closely and discussing their meaning. They will be analyzed in detail at the upcoming socialist educational conference in Ohio.

Next year, a world congress of the Fourth International, the world Trotskyist movement, will be held. It will discuss and adopt resolutions assessing the current stage of the class struggle and proposing tasks for revolutionary parties around the world.

Three resolutions proposed for adoption at the next world congress have already been published. These will be available to *Militant* readers at the conference. "Socialist Revolution and the Struggle for Women's Liberation" and "Socialist Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" have been out for some time.

The latest resolution, "The World Political Situation and the Tasks of the

Fourth International," will provide the framework for a presentation at the conference by Jack Barnes, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party.

"The world political situation as a whole," the resolution says, "indicates an increase in opportunities for the growth of the Fourth International centering on winning cadres in the decisive layers of the industrial working class and the labor movement."

This is true not only in the advanced capitalist countries but also in many colonial and semicolonial countries, where struggles have been centered more and more among the urban masses.

Right now, for example, the upsurge of the Peruvian masses is being spearheaded by strikes of teachers, copper miners, and other union militants. This upsurge has resulted in the election of Hugo Blanco and other Trotskyists to the Constituent Assembly and has forced the government to announce that it will release all trade-union and political prisoners in its jails.

In the workers states as well, as was shown by the massive workers' strikes in Poland in June 1976, the industrial proletariat has emerged at the center of the political stage.

As the resolution on the world situation points out at the very beginning of the section on the tasks of revolutionists: "Only a party that is proletarian in composition as well as program, and has earned growing respect by the workers for its leadership role in the class struggle, can win a majority of the toiling masses to its banner and lead them in the struggle for power."

There are now sections and sympathizing groups of the Fourth International in about sixty countries. Although specific political conditions in every country are unique, the working class around the world faces certain common problems. Thus, the world economic crisis has led to stepped-up

attacks on the living standards and democratic rights of the workers in every capitalist country.

At the same time, revolutionists around the world face certain common opportunities. The most important of these new opportunities is singled out in the draft resolution, which explains:

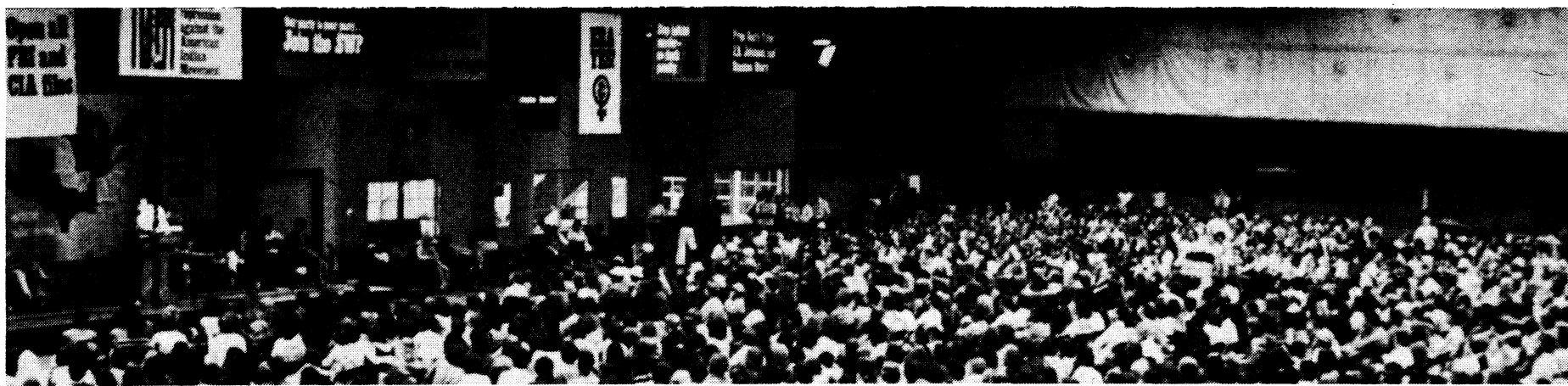
"New opportunities have now opened up for gains in the industrial proletariat. Success in utilizing these opportunities requires special efforts, including mobilization of cadres recruited in the previous period. In many countries these cadres have not yet become rooted in the industrial working class. They should be led to make a turn in this direction without further delay. Their participation in trade-union fraction work from the base of jobs in industry can perceptibly increase the rate of successes of the party's political campaigns—as Trotsky put it in discussing the Transitional Program—by showing the workers how to think socially and act politically."

Of course, this is only one aspect of the proposed resolution, which is divided into five sections. These include: the crisis of capitalism and the prospects for a socialist revolution; the continuing rise of the colonial revolution; the crisis of the bureaucratic regimes in the workers states and the prospects for political revolutions in the Soviet bloc and China; the crisis of the class-collaborationist Stalinist and Social Democratic labor bureaucracies in the imperialist countries; and the immediate tasks of the Fourth International.

This resolution represents the combined efforts and collaboration of revolutionists from all over the world. After an eight-year internal discussion, marked by deep divisions, the Fourth International has emerged stronger and more confident than ever and is in a position to take advantage of new openings in the class struggle.

—David Frankel

## The Socialist Workers Party invites you to attend a Socialist Educational Conference



Militant/Walter Lippmann

Join hundreds of socialist activists from across the United States and around the world for a week of classes, panels, workshops, and informal discussions. The theme of the conference is the deepening radicalization of American workers and the prospects for socialism.

**Welcome** to the conference will be given August 5, at 8:00 p.m., by Linda Jenness, SWP candidate for U.S. president in 1972.

This will be followed by a celebration of the **Fortieth Anniversary of the Founding of the Fourth International.**

Host: George Novack.

Featured presentation: George Breitman.

**Special Presentations** will be given throughout the week by leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. Talks will be held at 9:30 each morning.

• **Building an International Party of Workers** by Jack Barnes, SWP national secretary. Sunday, August 6.

• **Ferment in Steel: Prospects for the American Working Class.** (Speaker to be announced.) Monday, August 7.

• **The Fight for Black Liberation Today** by John Hawkins, SWP National Committee member. Tuesday, August 8.

• **Anatomy of Stalinism: the American Communist Party Today** by Mary-Alice Waters, SWP National Committee member and editor of the *Militant*. Wednesday, August 9.

• **Youth and the American Socialist Revolution** by Cathy Sedwick, YSA national chairperson. Thursday, August 10.

• **The Socialist Workers Party Today and Tomorrow** by Betsey Stone, SWP National Committee member. Friday, August 11.

**Rally** to celebrate the recent victories of the SWP's historic lawsuit against government spying, and the fiftieth anniversary of the *Militant*. **Speakers:** Héctor Marroquín, Robert Meeropol, George Novack, Olga Rodríguez, Larry Seigle, and others. Friday, August 11.

For more information write Socialist Workers Party, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014 or contact one of the headquarters listed on page 27.

## Quote unquote

"My word of advice is you have to reach out to the blue-collar worker. Let's show them that we Republicans are human beings, that we enjoy beer, playing golf or going to a ball game."

—Nassau County, New York, Republican Party chairman Joseph Margiotta explaining how to attract support from working people.

## DELAWARE SCHOOLS MUST DESEGREGATE

A federal appeals court has upheld a lower court's ruling that the Wilmington, Delaware, school system must begin a school busing program with suburban schools this fall in order to end segregation.

"Continued criticism, organized or otherwise, formal or informal, of the plan ordered by the federal courts, is an insufficient and ill-advised response to the void caused by state inaction," wrote Judge Ruggero Aldisert.

The Wilmington School Board has bitterly fought desegregation since the case entered the courts—in 1957.

## 'GREATEST THREAT'

What's the greatest threat to U.S. capitalism? According to former CIA Director William Colby, it's the "have not" nations—especially Mexico.

In an interview with the *Los Angeles Times*, Colby warned

that the population of Mexico would double in the next twenty years, driving 20 million Mexicans across the U.S. border.

"The only way to keep them out," Colby asserted, "is to develop some light industry base and agriculture in Mexico."

However, making clear he wasn't talking about creating a developed Mexican economy free of U.S. control, Colby noted that one difficulty with his proposal was that Mexico was "tense" about becoming a U.S. satellite.

## I'M NOT THAT CRAZY ABOUT YOU, EITHER

Tumult reigns in the boardroom of the Ford Motors Company. Amid federal accusations of bribery and kickbacks against Henry Ford II, Ford fired company president Lee Iacocca. Speculation is rampant that Ford moved because he was afraid Iacocca knew too much and might use some of what he knew against the boss.

According to the *New York Times*, the final dialog between the two men went like this: Iacocca asked, "What did I do wrong?" Ford answered, "I just don't like you."

Many of us might be willing to incur Ford's dislike in return for Iacocca's old salary: a cool million a year.

## CUTBACKS KILL

Numerous patients have died at two New York State mental institutions because they were too drugged to feel pain, according to a report by the

Rockland County medical examiner.

Dr. Frederick Zugibe said that some tranquilizer doses had been given illegally and that he was turning over the information to the district attorney.

"If they reduced the amount of tranquilizers, then they'd have to come up with more help to handle patients," Zugibe said. He added that the two state hospitals were grossly understaffed.

## THREATS DRIVE OUT BLACK STUDENTS

Thirty-six Black students bused from Boston to Concord, Massachusetts, have withdrawn from school because of threats from racist white students. The Blacks said white students claiming to be connected with the Ku Klux Klan threatened them if they returned to school in September.

The decision followed a racist assault on Black students on the last day of school.

## MAJORITY BACKS ERA

More confirmation that a majority of Americans support the Equal Rights Amendment: According to the latest Gallup Poll, the margin is 58 percent to 31 percent, with 62 percent of the men and 55 percent of the women in favor.

A plurality of 43 percent to 40 percent favor extension of the seven-year deadline for ratification of the ERA.

## STILL REDLINING

A study by the New York Public Interest Research Group has disclosed that seven banks

in the Bronx have invested only 11 percent of deposits from Bronx residents back into that borough.

Many areas of the Bronx have been desolated by arson and landlord neglect. Investment in good housing for the poor isn't profitable, so the banks have just written the borough off. This is known as redlining. The term derives from the practice of drawing a red line on a map around an area in which banks are unwilling to lend money for housing.

## SIT-IN ARRESTS

Six members of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee were arrested and charged with criminal trespass July 18 during a sit-in at Aeroflot Soviet Airlines in New York City. The sit-in was called to protest the frame-up trials of Soviet dissidents Anatoly Shcharansky, Alexander Ginsburg, and Ukrainian lawyer Lev Lukyanenko.

Among the six arrested were DSOC National Secretary Jack Clark and Adrian Karatnycky, secretary of the Committee for Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners.

A simultaneous sit-in at South African Airways protested the death of Black activist Lungile Tabalaza while in police custody.

## THREE OF WILMINGTON TEN PAROLED

Three members of the Wilmington Ten, North Carolina civil rights activists sentenced to long prison terms on phony arson charges in 1972, were released on parole last week. James McKoy and Willie Veen were released July 25, and Jerry Jacobs was to be released July 28. Five members of the group, including Rev. Ben Chavis, the best known, are still in prison.

## INDIANS VS. KENNEDY

Sen. Edward Kennedy probably thought he had stumbled onto a friendly audience when he drove past a Native American encampment in Washington, D.C., recently. He eagerly hopped out of his car and began to address the crowd.

But the Indians weren't fooled. American Indian Movement leader Russell Means blasted Kennedy's sponsorship of a bill that would take away

## Delbert Tibbs freed

A Florida judge has released Black poet Delbert Tibbs from the ordeal of a second trial on trumped-up charges of rape and murder.

Tibbs was convicted by an all-white jury in 1974, but a national protest campaign won him a new trial in 1976.

Circuit Judge Jack Schoonover noted in his July 21 decision that there was insufficient evidence against Tibbs to warrant a second trial. Evidence at the trial, for example, put Tibbs more than 200 miles from the crime.

The state attorney declared he would appeal.

Tibbs's supporters have



Militant

held a series of protests in Miami over the past several years, the largest of which, last June, drew more than 1,000 people.

Indian lands and weaken tribal authority.

Kennedy tried to talk his way out of the situation, but the crowd booed him.

The Indians had come to D.C. as part of the Longest Walk, a cross-country trek to dramatize the gross denial of human rights to Indians. Specifically, the Native Americans and their supporters are fighting such legislation as the cynically mislabeled Native American Equal Opportunity Act, which would take away the few remaining obligations the federal government has to Native Americans.

## WHO IS HOWARD JARVIS?

Since the voters of California overwhelmingly approved his brainchild, Proposition 13, Howard Jarvis has been a national celebrity, warmly received in state capitols around the country and in the halls of Congress.

Information uncovered by columnist Jack Anderson suggests that Jarvis may not be all he cracks himself up to be.

According to Anderson, in 1976 Jarvis set up the "Friends for Hayakawa Committee," supposedly backing S.I. Hayakawa's bid for the U.S. Senate.

The committee took in nearly \$60,000—but the candidate never got a cent.

Anderson said that Jarvis pulled a similar stunt in 1964 with a "Businessmen for Goldwater" group.

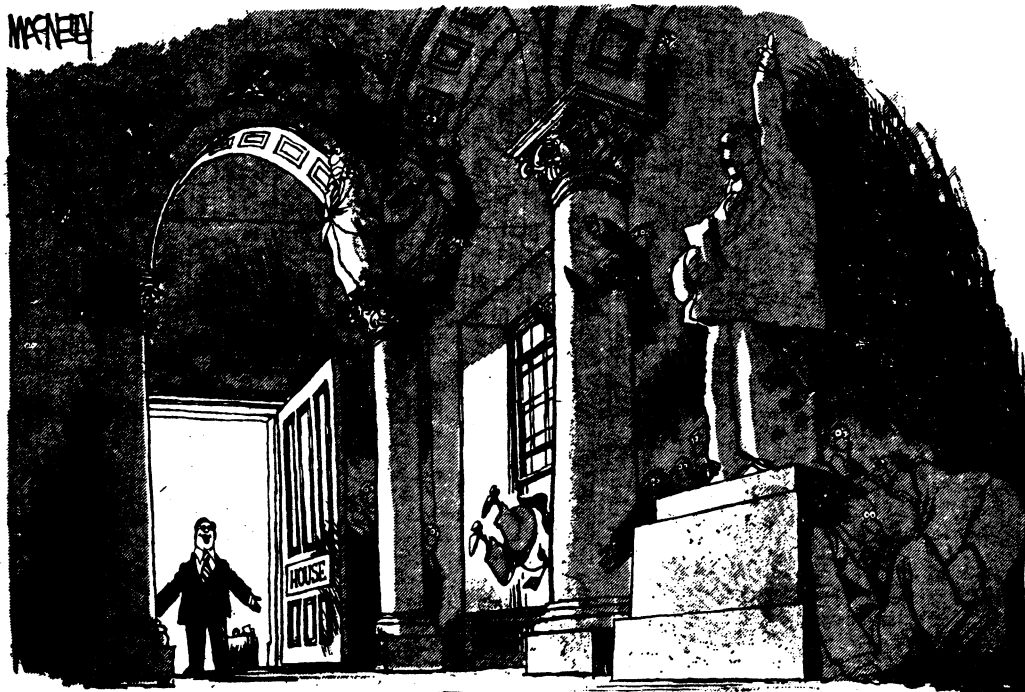
Both groups folded as soon as their legitimacy was challenged by the Republican organization.

## LOOKING BACK AT D.C. PROTESTS

Its interest sparked by the big turnout for the July 9 Equal Rights Amendment march and the recent Native American protests, *U.S. News & World Report* ran a four-page pictorial retrospective of past demonstrations in Washington, D.C.

Included were pictures from the 1913 women's suffrage demonstrations, the giant 1963 civil rights march, and several shots from anti-Vietnam War protests.

The magazine tried to play up the 1970 "Honor America Day" demonstration (remember that one?) Called in response to the wave of student strikes protesting the invasion of Cambodia by U.S. troops, "Honor America Day" drew a mere 10,000 people. *U.S. News*,



'Hi, fellas! "Good Time Tongsun" is back in town!'

## Koreagate whitewash

The House ethics committee has issued its final report on the so-called Koreagate scandal. The report is a complete whitewash of the Washington politicians who took money and favors from South Korean influence peddlers in return for friendly votes to prop up the corrupt right-wing dictatorship in that country.

For example, House majority leader Thomas "Tip" O'Neill, one of the most pow-

erful Democrats in Congress, was merely criticized for "questionable propriety." O'Neill was the guest of honor at two lavish parties given by South Korean "rice dealer" Tongsun Park.

The report cited the case of House majority whip John Brademas, who took a \$2,950 contribution from Park at the very time he was writing a law to make such contributions illegal! Brademas defended his action as

"acting within the law."

The committee took no action against Brademas.

Despite the fact that Park admitted giving out nearly \$1 million to members of Congress, not a single current member has been accused of taking an illegal contribution or a bribe.

The ethics committee report brought formal charges—not criminal charges—against only four members of the House.



# The Great Society

Harry Ring



however, reports the crowd at 400,000, "the largest crowd of all."

In fact, "Honor America Day" was dwarfed by several antiwar protests, the largest of which, on April 24, 1971, drew some 500,000 people.

## 'BAKKE' PROTEST

Two hundred people rallied in downtown Detroit July 22 against the Supreme Court's *Bakke* decision. The action was sponsored by the Ad Hoc Committee for Affirmative Action. Speakers included representatives of the National Lawyers Guild and National Conference of Black Lawyers; Pete Camarata of Teamsters for a Democratic Union; and Zoltan Ferency, who is seeking the Democratic nomination for governor.

## ANTINUKE PROTESTERS SENTENCED

Ninety antinuclear power activists in Oregon were fined \$155 each and given thirty-day

suspended jail terms July 22 for their part in a protest last fall.

The ninety had been convicted of criminal trespass for entering the grounds of the Trojan nuclear power plant near Rainier. The protesters were members of the Trojan Decommissioning Alliance, which seeks to have Trojan shut down.

## IT WAS SO GOOD, LET'S MOVE BACK

U.S. Sen. S. I. Hayakawa said July 23 that sending Japanese-Americans to concentration camps ("relocation centers") in World War II was not only "perfectly understandable" but really for their own good.

In a speech to the Japanese American Citizens League, Hayakawa opposed a JACL resolution calling for \$25,000 restitution for each person sent to the camps. He said it would rekindle old resentments.

**The wheels of justice**—The rich, Attorney General Bell recently mused, tend to be treated more harshly by the courts than the poor. We were reminded of this by the recent parole of John Mitchell. Convicted of conspiring to obstruct justice, obstructing justice, and lying under oath, the former attorney general drew two and a half to eight years. That sentence was then reduced to one-to-four. Of this, he served nineteen months—including five months when he was out on medical furlough.

**The imagemakers**—To impart "a more presidential image," a new official Carter portrait has been issued. Unlike the initial one, wrinkles, sagging skin and eyebags are not retouched. Even the toothy grin is a bit narrower, with the ten upper molars displayed in the first photo reduced to seven. A White House secretary said the new portrait had been approved by the Atlanta media specialist who directed Jimmy's '76 ad campaign.

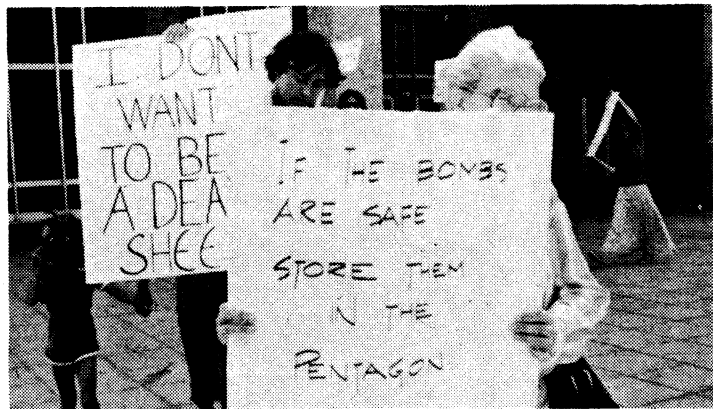
**Making ends meet**—The July 20 *New York Times* reported the air force is shop-

ping for an area the size of Connecticut for a mobile missile site. The initial estimated cost of the project is about \$27 billion. The same page of the *Times* reported an intensified governmental effort to track down the fathers of children on welfare. HEW's Joseph Califano estimated this could net the government \$500 million.

**Mr. Fixit**—To get by while working to dodge a recently imposed four-year term for mail fraud, former Maryland Gov. Marvin Mandel has opened an office with his spouse. The name of the business is "Consulting and Coordinating." What's that? A friend explained that it's for "businessmen who have problems with government and need some guidance."

**Surprise, surprise!**—"DETROIT, July 14—The nation's major automobile manufacturers begin their 1979 model-year introductions tomorrow. . . . Analysts say it will be another year of surprises. . . . The cars will be smaller and lighter. . . . Prices to new-car buyers will be higher."—the *New York Times*.

## No to nerve gas



Militant/Ed Berger

One hundred fifty people demonstrated outside the Salt Lake City federal building July 15 against the planned transfer of 900 "Wet eye" nerve-gas bombs from Colorado to Utah.

Each bomb contains enough gas to wipe out a good-sized city. Army plans called for shipping the bombs to a depot near an active earthquake zone.

The protest was endorsed by the Rocky Flats Action Group, several chapters of the Mobilization for Survival, Utah National Organization for Women, Socialist

Workers Party, and other groups.

The army's shipping plans were indefinitely delayed when three of the bombs were discovered to be leaking.

Utah Gov. Scott Matheson says he is against bringing the bombs into his state. And Colorado Gov. Richard Lamm says he doesn't want them in Colorado, either.

There is already a huge stockpile of nerve gas in Utah. Ten years ago, a nerve-gas "accident" at the Utah Dugway proving ground killed thousands of sheep.

## Union Talk

### A token offering

This week's column is by Bill Arth, a member of United Auto Workers Local 140 in Detroit.

DETROIT—United Auto Workers President Douglas Fraser made headlines in April with his promise to restrain wage demands during 1979 contract talks if the auto giants would in turn hold down prices.

"The auto industry plays a crucial role in our economy," Fraser said. "I believe it should lead the way in the nation's efforts to control inflation by freezing prices between now and the end of the 1979 model run."

Fraser pledged to give such a "freeze" on prices "major consideration when we go to the bargaining table."

A price freeze by the auto companies has slightly less chance than a snowball in hell—a fact Fraser is well aware of. Within three days, industry gave its answer: General Motors announced an additional 1.4 percent price hike on its 1978 models. Ford and Chrysler soon followed suit. This is on top of the average 6 percent price raise announced at the start of the 1978 model year. And there will surely be a hefty price jump for the 1979 models.

So why did Fraser make the offer in the first place? One auto executive, in an off-the-record comment, called Fraser's statement a "tokenist gesture."

Fraser's offer was token—a sign of "good faith." The union officialdom would do its best to keep down wage demands if big business would just reciprocate with enough "good faith" gestures of its own to sell the scheme to the union ranks.

According to the UAW's newspaper, *Solidarity*, production workers with families have seen their real spendable earnings decline by 5 percent since 1972. It makes things tough for the labor tops. With the squeeze on our standards of living, the union officialdom finds it harder and harder to convince the ranks that it can and will deliver the goods.

Union officials like Fraser are used to wheeling and dealing with the corporate

heads. That approach is no longer bringing results, so the labor bureaucrats have resorted to begging the bosses for mercy.

But gimmicks like Fraser's plan don't work. Union leaders have no business trying to tie our living standards to corporate profits. UAW members at American Motors have already seen the effect of such an approach. Their wages dropped behind those of "Big Three" workers as part of a deal by the union to help American "survive."

The *Detroit News*, local mouthpiece for the auto industry, delivered its interpretation of Fraser's offer in an April 27 editorial. "Fraser has asked that the industry concede something of substance to the economy," the *News* declared. "Is it not reasonable to expect that the union, in its turn, would balance that demand with a substantial concession of its own? . . ."

"If the union offered to suspend the cost-of-living clauses in exchange for a price freeze, there would be substance on both sides of the deal. . . ."

"If the auto industry is to lead other industries in the inflation battle, both the auto companies and the workers have to make comparable sacrifices on the altar of the national economy."

We have seen time and again that when government and big business talk about "comparable sacrifices" it is so much cover for stepped up attacks on working people. When union officials join in the sacrificial prayers, it only encourages more attacks.

Instead, auto workers need to advance demands that give us ironclad protection against the effect of inflation. We need an unlimited cost-of-living clause for both active and retired auto workers. We need to monitor inflation through our own organizations—union-run committees—rather than relying on phony government figures.

We need to organize now to put these demands forward for the 1979 contract negotiations.

And we need a union leadership that thinks first and only of our needs and has confidence in our power to win these demands.

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## UAW debates labor party

Recent statements by United Auto Workers President Douglas Fraser are likely to spur renewed discussion in the UAW and other unions about the need for independent working-class political action—a labor party.

It's a discussion that actually dates back to the earliest days of the UAW. Delegates to the 1936 UAW convention voted *unanimously* to call for formation of a national labor party. These were the men and women who founded the UAW and led the heroic strike battles that established its power.

Throughout the 1930s, 1940s, and even into the 1950s, there was always a big section of the UAW membership that favored independent political action. The whole story can be found in *Labor's Giant Step*, the incomparable history of the CIO by Art Preis.

Labor party sentiment was especially strong in 1943, provoked by wartime antilabor attacks from the Roosevelt administration. The June 1943 convention of the political arm of the Detroit-area CIO—representing some 200,000 workers—voted overwhelmingly for a labor party, despite opposition by top CIO officials.

This resolution said in part:

"Whereas: Labor is sick and tired of depending on so-called 'friends' in public office who are, in fact, in almost all instances, better friends of employers and reactionaries than they are of labor, and . . .

"Whereas: The Republican and Democratic parties have demonstrated their growing inability and unwillingness to solve the basic social problems of the workers of the nation, and

"Whereas: Labor must have its own political party to successfully cope with problems of unemployment and the social disorder that will exist in America in the postwar period; therefore be it

"Resolved: That this Convention . . . go on record in favor of the immediate establishment of an independent party of labor and working farmers. . . ."

The April 1951 UAW convention saw one of the last open debates on the labor party. Like Roosevelt during World War II, President Truman was attacking wages and union rights under cover of calls for "sacrifice" and "national unity" for the Korean War. A few months before the UAW convention, top union officials had formed a United Labor Policy Committee for self-defense against Truman's offensive.

In this atmosphere of developing confrontation, three members of the Resolutions Committee at the UAW convention submitted a minority resolution for a "Congress of Labor and . . . an Independent Labor Party."

The majority resolution, representing UAW President Walter Reuther's position, put the blame for labor's plight on an

"unholy alliance of reactionary Northern Republicans and Southern Democrats." The minority resolution hit Truman and the entire Democratic Party.

"These so-called Fair Dealers have turned out to be fake dealers," it said. "Their fair deal has become a raw deal. Truman has ceased giving even lip service to social legislation. The fight for a real Fair Deal now depends upon labor and the party it must and will create."

Art Preis describes what happened: "No one during the debate, including Reuther, spoke against a labor party. Speakers for the majority resolution even expressed sympathy for the 'sentiments' of the labor party advocates. Their difference, so they said, was with the 'strategy and tactics' of the minority—the 'timing' of the labor party resolution, as Reuther put it. . . ."

The last speaker was John Anderson, president of Fleetwood Local 15. "Anderson recalled that he had been speaking for a labor party 'on every possible occasion' since 1939. . . . Whenever the labor party question was raised, 'we are told now is not the time. . . . I say now is the right time to form a labor party. We've been boasting all week here that we're a million and a quarter strong and now we've suddenly become so small and weak when the labor party is being discussed.' On the contrary, if the American workers form a labor party, 'we will win national elections, we will win state elections, we will win city elections.'"

"When Anderson finished, the applause was deafening. At this point Reuther . . . took the floor himself. He claimed that 'all agree on the sentiments of both resolutions. Both criticize both political parties and that criticism is justified.' . . . He shouted, 'If you want to make it impossible to further exploit the possibilities of the United Labor Policy Committee, then support the minority resolution.' He pleaded with the delegates, 'Don't isolate this movement of ours.'"

Despite Reuther's prestige and his demagogic "labor unity" argument, a quarter of the convention voted for the labor party resolution.

It's been more than forty years since the UAW first went on record for independent labor political action. Yet the union remains tied to the Democrats, with results that are ever more disastrous for working people.

As a new labor party discussion begins, union activists can gain valuable insight into the history of the labor-Democratic "alliance"—and the arguments that have been used for and against a labor party—from *Labor's Giant Step*. (Available in paperback for \$6.95 at all bookstores listed on the facing page, or order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Enclose 50 cents for postage.) —Gene Anderson

## Letters

### ERA vs. Bakke

According to the *Bakke* decision, it seems we're entering another period of "benign neglect." Because of the history of Blacks in this country (100 years of servitude), I feel affirmative action and quotas are one and the same. To deal with the semantics of this argument serves a grave injustice—like what we are about to go through if nothing is done to reverse the *Bakke* decision.

However, here is where the Equal Rights Amendment comes into play. One of the Supreme Court justices commented that the history of discrimination against women in this country is not like that of minorities. I disagree with this. Though it may not have been the same in the brutal sense, there are great similarities.

I feel once the ERA is passed it will be a great influence in reversing the *Bakke* decision. Everyone sees that the *Bakke* decision affects women too when the white male chauvinists are left with their so-called discretions! Hopefully, these two forces will

My postman has worked out of the St. Paul, Minnesota, post office for almost a decade. In 1969, when he began work, there were about 3,600 workers. Today, there are about 2,700—almost 1,000 jobs eliminated in less than a decade!

To my surprise, wages—while important—were not his number-one concern. Retaining the cost-of-living clause was more important in terms of keeping up with inflation. Deterioration of his working conditions was what bothered him most.

What particularly incensed him was the jeep. The jeep, most people would conclude, probably improved the carrier's job. Not true. "The jeep has ruined my job," was his opinion. Since he began driving the jeep, his delivery stops have been increased three times. And he has to gas up the jeep, see to other routine daily maintenance of the jeep, change any flat tires, and deal with other well-known deficiencies of automobiles during his eight-hour shift. Shortly after getting his new jeep, he also got the job of delivering parcel-post



'Griffin Bell? Contempt rap? Does he play gin?'

unite, providing both organizations get some strong leadership.  
A prisoner  
Ohio

packages, formerly delivered by special truck carriers.

"It used to be that they would go easier on the older workers," he commented. "Now they send you out with a bad knee, bad back, or bad feet. They drive you out."

"Carriers are replaced by hiring eleven new carriers for every twelve who quit, get fired, or retire." The clerks were wiped out by the introduction of machines. "They have been reduced to a skeleton crew." Quotas, it seems, are alive and well when it comes to speedup and cutbacks.

Jim Kendrick  
St. Paul, Minnesota

### Enjoys reviews

I missed your not having reviews of movies and books in the July 14 *Militant*. Otherwise, the issue was excellent.  
A reader  
New York, New York

### Postal workers

I recently had a revealing conversation with my postman. If what he reported is common to all U.S. Postal Service workers, the *Militant* has a big job of telling the truth about their working conditions.

### NAACP on Bakke

Since the Supreme Court decision eliminating quotas, leaders of national Black organizations have been on a campaign to derail public opinion against the ruling. Vernon Jordan of the National

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# Learning About Socialism

## Capitalist crisis & workers states

Urban League and Benjamin Hooks of the NAACP have been in the forefront in trying to convince people that the *Bakke* ruling was a stalemate. They say that it was both a victory and a defeat. A victory because the court didn't wipe out the use of affirmative action with one swift blow. A defeat because it upheld the California court ruling admitting Allan Bakke into medical school.

On July 11, Hooks came to Dallas, Texas, to address a banquet sponsored by the Knights of Pythias. Hooks purchased a copy of the *Militant* from Socialist Workers candidate for Texas state treasurer, Derrick Adams, and continued greeting people with the *Militant* widely exposed in his hand.

I and another newspaper reporter were given a chance to speak with him. On *Bakke* he said: "I am dismayed over the decision.

"We expect a rash of lawsuits," he said. "We are serving notice that we are not letting institutions slip back. . . . Seventeen hundred [NAACP] branches will be monitoring admissions programs."

But if the largest civil rights organization in the country intends to wage a serious effort to oppose the *Bakke* decision, it will have to begin by realizing what it was: a serious blow to Black rights. There is nothing to praise about the decision. The NAACP will have to employ other means outside the courts, such as demonstrations, picket lines, and speak-outs to mobilize Blacks and our allies to protect those rights.

If Hooks intends to put opposition to *Bakke* in the forefront, he will have to do more than just "serve notice" and "monitor programs."  
*Melvin Chappell*  
Dallas, Texas

### Women in steel

I noticed two errors in recent articles in the *Militant* concerning women in the steel unions.

The July 7 issue carried an article titled, "District 31 steel union prepares for fall international convention." It quoted Doreen Labby as being a member of Steelworkers Local 1010. She is actually a member of Local 1014 at U.S. Steel Gary Works.

The article titled, "Women workers on the move," in the July 14 issue stated that the District 31 Women's Caucus is an official union committee. Actually, the caucus is independent of the union, although union leaders work closely with it.

*Marie Head*  
Chicago, Illinois

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.

Ernest Mandel, a prominent Marxist economist and leader of the world Trotskyist movement, was finally allowed to enter the United States this year after being refused entry by the U.S. government since 1969. At a speech given at the New School for Social Research in New York this spring, Mandel was asked about the effects of the world capitalist economic crisis on the Soviet Union and the other workers states. Mandel's reply follows.

This is a very interesting question, because it confirms in a striking way the correctness of the Fourth International's analysis of the nature of these [workers] states.

History confirms beyond any doubt that in 1974 and 1975—when every single imperialist country went through a decline of material output that averaged 10 percent and a huge increase in unemployment—there was not any decline of material production in any of the workers states, and there was not any unemployment of any significance whatsoever in these countries.

Both sectors of the world developed in completely different directions during these two years. The average rate of industrial growth in the workers states was 7 percent; the average rate of industrial decline in the imperialist countries was minus 10 percent.

So to say that both systems are the same, and that the same thing is happening in both, is just a sophism.

On the other hand, events have also confirmed that the thesis of the Stalinists, according to which you have a fully developed socialist society in Eastern Europe and the USSR—not to speak about China!—is nonsense.

These countries cannot completely escape the effects of what happens in the international capitalist economy. They are not ruled by the law of value, but they are influenced by the law of value. They are therefore neither capitalist nor socialist societies, but something in between. They are societies in transition, in between capitalism and socialism, bogged down at their stage of development by bureaucratic misrule, bureaucratic dictatorship, and all the other phenomena that Trotsky and the Fourth International have analyzed.

The effects of the world crisis on these transitional economies have caused many problems such as inflationary pressures as a result of the increase in raw material prices and big increases in balance-of-payment deficits.

This latter problem is an outcome of the decline of exports to the imperialist countries, the consequences of which prevent the import of enough equipment, and result in a slowdown of economic and technological growth.

Socialism in one country has proven again not to be a reality, but it has also proven not to be capitalism. From both sides, the classical Trotskyist analysis has been confirmed.

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ERNEST MANDEL

Militant/Lou Howort

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## Students call fall conference to aid African freedom fight

By John Hawkins

NEW HAVEN, Conn.—Meeting at Yale University July 15, the North East Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa (NECLSA) adopted plans for a fall student conference to discuss and coordinate campus activities in support of the African freedom struggle.

The conference will be held in New York City the weekend of November 17. It will draw together campus activists from throughout the northeastern United States. In addition, antiapartheid activists from across the country are being encouraged to attend.

The fall gathering will focus on the growing movement to end campus complicity with U.S. corporations doing business in South Africa.

NECLSA has led the divestment movement on campuses in the Northeast. It includes student groups from Amherst College, Brandeis, Hampshire College, University of Massachusetts, Wesleyan, Harvard, Yale, Dartmouth, Princeton, Columbia, Mt. Holyoke College, Smith College, Rutgers, and Clark University.

In addition to participants from thirteen campuses, representatives attended the meeting from Mobilization for Survival, African Liberation Support Committee, Young Socialist Alliance, Revolutionary Student Brigade, National Student Coalition Against Racism, and Workers Viewpoint Organization.

The coalition was founded in April at a conference of nearly 500 also held here at Yale. The founding conference called a coordinated week of campus divestment actions, backed the April 15 march in Washington to overturn



Militant/Lou Howort

Demonstrations across country have demanded that U.S. corporations and government cut ties with apartheid regime.

the *Bakke* decision, and endorsed several regional and national African solidarity demonstrations.

The spring conference adopted principles of unity for the new coalition:

"(1.) Working around the call for American withdrawal from apartheid, including the cultural, political and economic isolation of South Africa and Rhodesia.

"(2.) We recognize the right of self-determination of the people of Southern Africa. We support the struggle of the liberation groups to achieve this goal.

"(3.) We recognize that our struggle against racism and national oppression in Southern Africa is a contribution to the struggle against imperialism and racism in the United States."

Osborne Hart, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance National Executive Committee, said that the fall student conference will be "a big step forward for the campus divestment fight.

"It's an opportunity to move ahead in organizing a bigger movement in defense of the African freedom struggle," Hart said.

"The Young Socialist Alliance has always been a staunch defender of the colonial revolution—from Cuba, to the Congo, to Vietnam, to Angola.

"Our chapters across the country are already actively involved in this new campaign of solidarity with the revolution in southern Africa. We plan to do all we can to help make the fall conference a resounding declaration to campus administrations and Washington: 'No university complicity with apartheid!'

"U.S. corporations out of Africa!  
"U.S. hands off Africa!"

## How one campus cut ties with South Africa

By Betsy Farley

The rebellion of Black South African high school students in Soweto two years ago touched off international shock waves against the apartheid regime. Those shock waves continue to shake campuses in this country today.

More than 350 of the largest U.S. corporations prop up the racist South African regime through their subsidiaries there. Total direct U.S. investment is \$1.7 billion, with at least another \$2.2 billion in loans and credits.

Students on hundreds of U.S. campuses have protested this government and corporate complicity with the South Africa racists. This spring demonstrations swept schools across the country demanding that trustees divest all stock in companies tied to South Africa.

I talked with Sally Rees and Douglas Smith, two leaders of the divestment struggle at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst. They helped form the U. Mass. Amherst Committee for the Liberation of Southern Africa, which forced the school to divest. They also helped organize the North East Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa.

Rees and Smith are members of the Young Socialist Alliance.

The U. Mass. committee was directly inspired by the South African students. In the fall of 1976 Tsietshi Mashinini, a leader of the Soweto rebellion, spoke at U. Mass.

"More than 600 people came to hear Mashinini,"

Smith explained. "Out of this, we began to organize an educational campaign."

The committee found out that the school held \$680,000 worth of stock in eighteen companies doing business in South Africa. "It brought home the connection between the white minority government's racist policies—the imprisonments and murders—and the university here," Smith said.

"We began setting up literature tables in the student union building, where we handed out fact sheets," he recalled. The committee also initiated a petition drive.

Teach-ins and workshops spread the word. Demonstrations, including one of more than 200 in the pouring rain, "put the administration and the trustees on notice that we would not end our campaign until the university divested entirely from South Africa," Smith said.

With the backing of the graduate and undergraduate student senates, the committee went before the university trustees in the spring of 1977. The trustees decided to set up a committee of its own to "study the problem." It was, Smith said, a stalling tactic. The trustees "were not concerned with divestment so much as with ending the movement on campus."

So on the first day of the fall semester, the committee showed the film, *Last Grave at Dimbaza*. They also took the film into dormitories.

The literature tables and petitioning continued. More than 4,000 signatures were collected. A September 13 teach-in drew 300 students.

The work paid off. The trustees' meeting the day

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## Join the YSA

If you want to end U.S. support to apartheid, join an organization that's helping to lead the fight against it—the Young Socialist Alliance. Our members include high school students, college students, and other young people.

The YSA has helped organize speaking tours, teach-ins, and demonstrations to expose the U.S. role in South Africa. We are also active in struggles against the 'Bakke' decision, for the Equal Rights Amendment and abortion rights, against nuclear power, and for jobs for all.

We are fighting for a socialist society, where human needs come before profit.

Join us!

Contact a YSA chapter listed on page 27 or write: YSA national office, Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

Betsy Farley is national organizational secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance.