

THE MILITANT

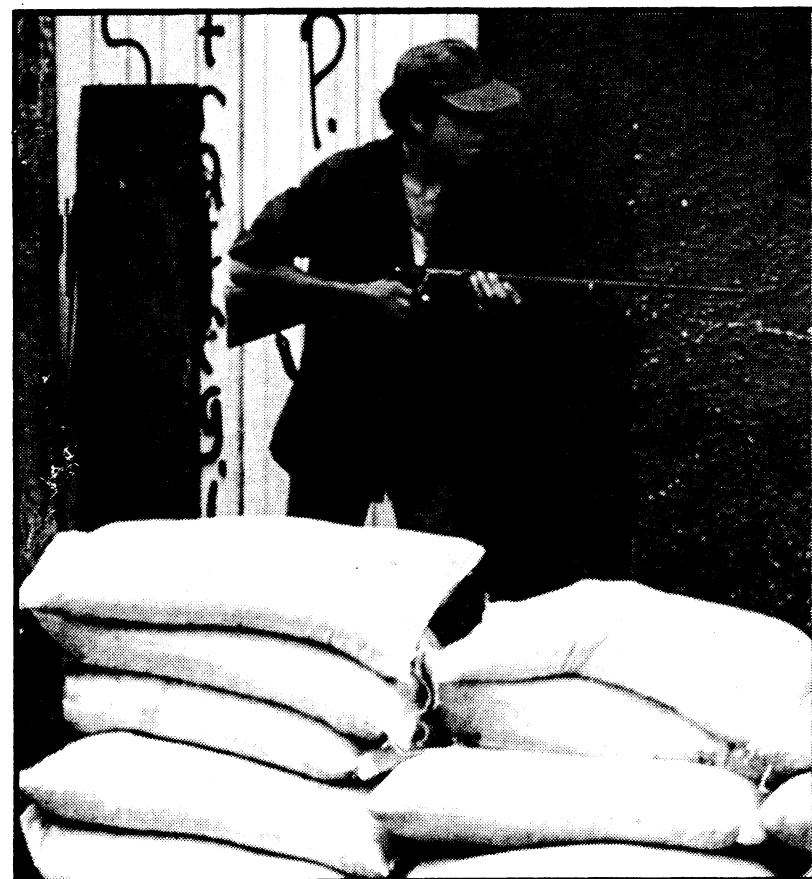
A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

IRAN IN REVOLT

Shah's troops massacre thousands, as largest protests in history sweep country



TEHRAN, September 4—Hundreds of thousands protest shah's tyranny. An estimated 3 to 4 million demonstrated throughout Iran that day. See pages 3-6.



Nicaraguans battle Somoza dictatorship

'Human rights' Carter sends \$12 million to hated tyrant

—PAGE 7

Argentine socialist leader's life in danger

—PAGE 9

Iran, Nicaragua, Peru & Carter

Amnesty International pointed out in 1975 that "no country in the world has a worse record in human rights than Iran." Billions of dollars in oil money has been used by the shah to buy U.S. military hardware and to enrich his corrupt hangers-on, while virtually nothing has been done to improve the life of the masses.

The Iranian people are fed up, and the shah's secret police and torturers have been unable to keep the lid on any longer.

Yet this vicious dictator has been able to rely on at least one true friend. Even as the shah's troops were machine-gunning demonstrators in the streets, President Carter sent him a personal message of support.

Another dictator in hot water, Nicaraguan strongman Anastasio Somoza, was able to brag September 12—while civil war was raging in the streets of major Nicaraguan cities—that the Carter administration had approved \$12 million in aid to his government in the midst of its troubles.

The Peruvian military regime, which has been shaken by a massive radicalization and widespread protests, can also depend on U.S. support.

The latest events in Iran, Nicaragua, and Peru have called forth a U.S. reaction that is not an exceptional one. When the U.S. government is confronted with the rebellion of oppressed and exploited peoples around the world, its standard response is to side with the oppressors.

That has been the case in Africa. For decades, Washington supported Portuguese colonial rule in Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau. After the break-up of the Portuguese empire, Washington worked hand in glove with South Africa in opposition to the anti-imperialist movement in Angola. And today, the U.S. government continues to support the South African regime, despite occasional statements deploring its apartheid policies.

We in the United States have an obligation to oppose the reactionary policies of our government. One of the most effective ways to do this is to get involved in the various groups—such as the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran and the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners—that are defending political prisoners and exposing the truth about the dictatorial regimes backed by Washington. Some of the activities of such groups are described in this issue of the *Militant*. We urge our readers to support them.

Biko's death

The racist rulers of South Africa know they are living with a time bomb.

That's why their cops beat Black leader Steve Biko to death a year ago.

That's why, on the first anniversary of Biko's death, the regime announced the jailing of eleven of his friends and relatives.

It is no sign of strength when a government lunges out so savagely. It is a mark of fear and desperation.

Biko's murder deepened the determination of Black South Africans to get the apartheid rulers off their backs. It deepened the worldwide revulsion against the despised and hated regime.

September 12 marked the first anniversary of Biko's murder. On September 11, the government confirmed its roundup of Biko's associates. Included are his sister and brother-in-law, as well as other relatives and friends.

No charges have been announced, and the eleven are being held under the Internal Security Act, which means they can be jailed indefinitely without trial.

This cruel new act will add fuel to the fire that was sparked by Biko's death. And more fuel will be added with the slated September 18 trial of eleven Black student leaders on charges of "sedition" and "terrorism."

Opponents of racism everywhere must respond to these new blows. Particularly here in the United States, the source of so much financial support to the South African rulers.

Several anti-apartheid activities are being held this fall. Drake Koka, a South African trade-union leader, will arrive in the United States for a speaking tour next month. The North East Coalition for the Liberation of

Southern Africa will host a conference in New York November 17-19. The new repression adds to the urgency of such activities.

Solidarity with the foes of South African apartheid!

Free all the political prisoners!

End U.S. complicity with the killers of Steve Biko!

Profits first

As a House-Senate committee was discussing whether the lives and health of 10 million workers should be left to the whims of their profit-hungry bosses, results of a new federal study were disclosed showing that at least one out of every five future cases of cancer will come from exposure to carcinogens on the job.

The legislation before Congress would exempt workplaces with ten workers or less with "good" injury-illness rates from regulation by the Occupational Safety and Health Administration.

It would mean that nearly 70 percent of this nation's businesses would no longer have to worry about the "costly" and "time consuming" health and safety of their employees.

AFL-CIO President George Meany says it's a "killer amendment" that would "turn several million workplaces into deathtraps."

It's a gruesome commentary on the priorities and loyalties of Democratic and Republican politicians. Here they are trying to *weaken* the already flimsy regulations that aim to control work-related injury and disease when tragic disclosures almost daily confirm new industrial health hazards.

And this is only the latest attack on workers' right to job safety.

In May, the Supreme Court upheld employers' "right to privacy" and said they could bar OSHA inspectors without court warrants.

In June, Carter intervened to drastically water down brown lung regulations because they were "inflationary"—in other words, the effort to curb the killer disease would cost the textile bosses too much money.

Meanwhile, Carter's own researchers say that up to 40 percent of cancer—which would have been 150,000 cases last year—is work-related. And that doesn't count the millions of other workers maimed and killed on the job. All because under capitalism, profits always come first.

Militant Highlights This Week

- 7 Masses battle Somoza
- 9 Repression in Rhodesia
- 10 Nat'l women's conference
700 hit anti-abortion law
- 11 Los Angeles desegregation
- 12 Unionist speaks against nukes
- 18 Marroquin, Piedra tour
- 19 New Orleans teachers' strike
- 22 Chicago rail strike
- 26 'Nation' joins fight for files
- 21 National Picket Line
- 27 Union Talk
Capitalism Fouls Things Up
Their Government
- 28 In Brief
What's Going On
- 29 The Great Society
By Any Means Necessary
- 30 Our Revolutionary Heritage
Letters
- 31 Learning About Socialism
If You Like This Paper . . .

WORLD OUTLOOK

- 23 15,000 cheer Hugo Blanco
- 24 China & Vietnam clash
Jomo Kenyatta

Stopping nuclear death machine

What strategy should the antinuke movement follow to abolish nuclear arms and power plants? **Page 13.**

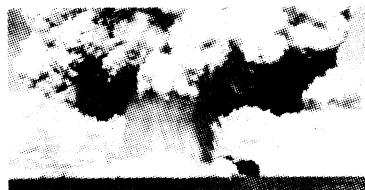


'I can't change the system by myself'

Black activist Leo Harris, fighting a police frame-up in Miami, describes his decade of struggle in the civil rights movement and how he became a socialist. **Page 14.**

Five years after Chile coup

Why was Chile's Allende overthrown but Cuba's Castro victorious? The Cuban revolution offers rich lessons for Latin American revolutionaries. **Page 16.**



The Militant

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Upsurge shakes Iran

Massacres, martial law ordered by shah

As immense nationwide demonstrations threatened to bring down his regime, the shah of Iran put his most reliable troops into action to massacre protesters in the capital city of Tehran September 8. The demonstrators had poured into the streets in violation of a last-minute martial law decree.

The shah has recently stepped up repression hoping to stop the most massive explosion of antigovernment demonstrations in Iranian history. Shouts of "Down with the shah!" have

This is an abridged and updated version of an article by Parvin Najafi that appeared in the September 18, 1978, issue of 'Intercontinental Press/Inprecor'

filled the streets of cities and villages throughout Iran for more than a month, reaching a crescendo the first week of September.

In response, martial law has been declared for six months. A curfew from dusk to dawn has been ordered and gatherings of more than two persons declared illegal.

In addition, immediately after martial law was imposed September 8, special squads were sent to arrest demonstration activists, as well as prominent leaders associated with opposition political parties and civil liberties organizations. Altogether, the military has launched a dragnet for an estimated 4,000 people, according to the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI).

As a result, many political and cultural figures have been arrested or forced into hiding, and their lives are in grave



Women played a prominent role in September 4 protests

danger. (CAIFI has launched a defense campaign, see page 5.)

Although the official government toll for the shootings is given at 95 killed, eyewitnesses reached by telephone September 12 report that nearly 4,000 death certificates have been issued in Tehran alone since the shah's new crackdown began.

Despite the shah's efforts to drown his opposition in blood, according to these eyewitnesses, street protests are continuing—even in Tehran. Press reports also indicated that demonstra-

tions took place September 11 in Qum and Mashad.

The September 8 martial law decree was made public in Tehran at 7 a.m., several hours after demonstrators had already begun assembling for their third protest in four days.

On September 4, a demonstration estimated at 400,000 to 1 million people wound through Tehran, a city of nearly 5 million people. This was the largest in a day of demonstrations involving 3 to 4 million people in nearly every city—the biggest demon-

strations ever held in Iran (see page 6).

Following this gigantic outpouring, the shah banned all further protests. But on September 7, at least half a million people marched in Tehran again—without large-scale violence from the largely conscript troops, some of whom even joined the protesters.

Hence, besides the fact that most people had not yet heard about the martial law decree (issued for Tehran and eleven other cities), the September 8 demonstrators were also unprepared for the shah's turnabout in ordering in more reliable troops to murderously enforce his royal edict.

The army issued routine warnings and then began firing on the crowd indiscriminately.

'Shame on you'

In a dispatch to the September 9 London *Guardian*, correspondent Liz Thurgood described the scene:

"In a brutal display of military force, troops and small tanks opened fire at 9:20 a.m. yesterday in Madan Jaleh at a spot where between 5,000-10,000 young people had gathered for a peaceful demonstration against the Shah. Men, women, and young children, many splattered with blood, ran screaming, 'They're killing us, they're killing us.'"

After the shooting, skirmishes followed in several different parts of Tehran, mostly in the central and southern districts. As large groups of people poured out into the streets in protest, the soldiers fired on them too. Thurgood reported:

Just before 11 a.m. troops roaring, "Shah, Shah," moved in to disperse the increasingly angry crowd. "We will kill you," one

Continued on page 6

Next week: all-out 'Militant' sales

By Nelson Blackstock

Next week is the big one. More copies of the *Militant* will be sold than in any single week in a long time.

This fall the Socialist Workers Party has set out to sell 100,000 copies of the socialist press in celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the *Militant*.

Sales of the next issues of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* will spur that effort forward.

In the days leading up to the time that issue goes on sale, socialists in more than forty cities are laying plans for an all-out sales offensive. Many thousands will get their first opportunity to read for themselves a copy of the socialist press.

The aim is to go well over the normal quotas, printed last week in the *Militant*. Newark, for instance, with a regular quota of 150, is considering a goal of 375.

Next week's paper, like this one, will carry coverage of key international developments.

The *Militant* is providing in-depth—and in some instances on-the-spot—coverage of three countries that have emerged as focal points of the world class struggle—Iran, Peru, and Nicaragua.

The people in these countries suffer from the brutal reign of American imperialism. In fighting for a better life, their enemies are the very same ones faced by working people in this country. Their struggle can serve as an inspiration, and we want to get out the story of what's happening.

News on the steel union—the Weber case and firsthand reporting from the Steelworkers convention—will make this issue attractive to Steelworkers and other unionists.

Of special interest to Latinos will be articles bringing readers up to date on Carter's latest moves against undocumented workers.

To ensure that the week will be a success, New York socialists scheduled a special city-wide meeting for September 14. Circulation director Mike Lux prepared a major political report outlining the purpose of the drive and how it will be carried out. Included is a stress on sales at industrial locations in the New York-northern New Jersey area.

Reports coming in on sales so far this month point to good results next week.

Socialists in Missouri sold more than 600 copies of the issue covering the fight to stop passage of a so-called right-to-work law.

Nan Bailey of Detroit notes a dis-

tinct rise in the rate of sales. Working people seem more willing to buy the paper. Average sales per hour has gone up, she says. Detroit's entire bundle was sold out the first two weeks of September.

Cleveland also reports a good response to the paper—particularly the last issue. News of South Africa met with a good response from Black people.

Newark socialists—both students and non-student workers—have been at Rutgers University to meet students registering for fall classes. In one day they sold sixty *Militants* and *Young Socialists*.

Over the weekend of September 16-17 New York socialists will be dispatching teams to visit campuses in the surrounding region. Getting subscriptions will be their main goal.

Special offer to new readers

The Militant—10 weeks/\$2

The *Militant* provides weekly news and analysis of important developments in the national liberation struggles in South Africa, Zimbabwe, and Namibia, as well as timely coverage of the fight here to end U.S. government and business support to southern Africa's racist regimes. Don't miss an issue.



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Carter phones butcher of Tehran

U.S. support to the shah—25 years of terror

By Peter Seidman

In contrast to the calculated secrecy prevailing throughout Carter's Camp David talks on the Mideast, the president made it appallingly clear where he stood on events in a nearby part of the world.

According to a White House statement, Carter telephoned the shah of Iran from Camp David September 10 to lend his personal support to the beleaguered tyrant and to express "his deep regret over the loss of life and his hope that the violence would soon be ended."

Of course, "Mr. Human Rights" conveniently overlooked the fact that even according to reports in the big-business press, all the "loss of life" in Iran has resulted from government massacres of peaceful demonstrators demanding an end to the shah's iron dictatorship.

In voicing this concern, Carter was exposing more than his personal hypocrisy. He was speaking for the tiny handful of wealthy rulers he serves—whose government in Washington rescued the shah's Pahlavi dynasty twenty-five years ago, armed it to the teeth, and has depended on it ever since as a counterrevolutionary bulwark in the Middle East.

Ties between Washington and the shah were forged following World War II. Previously, Iran had been in the grip of British imperialism. The Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (AIOC) controlled the production and refining of oil, Iran's most valuable raw material.

Plunder and profits

AIOC's pipelines drained more than oil out of Iran. The company deliberately refused to reinvest its earnings in Iran, preferring to keep that country completely dependent on imports from Britain.

As a result of this plunder, poverty, famine, and epidemics remained the lot of the Iranian masses. More than 80 percent of the population suffered from chronic malnutrition. The average daily caloric intake dropped from 2,010 calories in 1934-9 to 1,811 in 1946-49, the lowest figure in the entire Middle East.

Every second infant died. The average peasant could not expect to live beyond the age of twenty-seven.

In 1950, 90 percent of the population was illiterate.

But this desperation was simply the other side of a golden fortune reaped by the AIOC. In 1950 alone, profits totaled more than the income the Iranian government received from AIOC earnings during the preceding fifty years!

No wonder the masses in Iran were caught up in the same postwar colonial upsurge that led to the Chinese revolution, independence for India and many African countries, and the overthrow of Egypt's King Farouk. Revolutionary ferment swept the country, threatening to topple capitalism.

Neither Wall Street nor the cold warriors in the State Department were indifferent to such a challenge to the imperialist exploitation of this oil-rich land, which shares a 1,000-mile border with the Soviet Union.

London and Washington spared no effort to shore up the shah.

One key demand raised in this upsurge—and even supported by a section of the Iranian capitalist class represented by Dr. Mohammed Mossadegh and his National Front Party—was nationalization of the AIOC.

After elections in September 1950, the National Front emerged as the largest opposition party in the newly installed parliament. On April 30, 1951, the parliament elected Mossadegh prime minister.



The shah and Carter: 'armed to the teeth by Washington.'



MOSSADEGH

The next day, May 1, Mossadegh announced the nationalization of all British oil holdings, although offering to set aside 25 percent of all profits to meet the company's "legitimate claims" for compensation.

Washington watches . . .

Initially Washington was content to let Britain lead the charge against Mossadegh—at least until the AIOC's hitherto-exclusive grip on Iranian oil had been loosened a bit.

Britain pulled out all stops to protect its holdings. The Labour Party government assembled the biggest concentration of British naval forces since the end of World War II near the oil refining city of Abadan on the Persian Gulf. It also organized an international boycott of Iranian oil.

The masses in Iran responded to this imperialist bullying by pressuring Mossadegh to stand firm. In October 1952, Iran broke diplomatic relations with Great Britain.

Mossadegh called for popular—although severely limited—mobilizations to answer reactionary moves against his government from the shah, sections of the military, and big landowners. They all feared Mossadegh would not be able to contain the deepgoing upsurge sweeping Iran within the limits of capitalism.

As the shah's hostile moves escalated, Mossadegh sought further points of support. On August 2, 1953, he finally held a referendum on whether or not the parliament—in which monarchist forces were blocking his regime—should be dissolved. The referendum carried.

Four days later, President Eisenhower expressed alarm at the growth of "communist influence" in Asia.

. . . and strikes

Washington flew Brigadier General Schwarzkopf into Tehran. Schwarzkopf had been in Iran earlier, helping to bolster the shah's police force. He said he had come back to renew acquaintances. In fact, he seems to have been sent to find a replacement for

Mossadegh, whose ouster Washington was now actively preparing.

Soon thereafter, Schwarzkopf met with U.S. Ambassador Loy Henderson, who then flew off to Switzerland for a secret meeting with CIA Director Allen Dulles and Princess Ashraf, the shah's sister.

Less than one week later, on August 19, Mossadegh was overthrown. According to a 1961 article by Fred Cook in the *Nation*, the price tag on this CIA-sponsored operation was \$19 million.

Repression

Within months, Washington forked over some \$60 million to help prop up the shah's new prime minister, General Zahedi. U.S. aid totaled \$127.3 million for the 1954 fiscal year.

This aid was granted, as Secretary of State John Foster Dulles put it, "in response to favorable political developments" in Iran.

U.S. military specialists also started to pour in. They helped organize a massive crackdown on all dissent.

Papers and magazines were suppressed. Printshops were closed. Books confiscated. Censorship imposed. Journalists were prosecuted. Mass trials of opposition figures were begun. A witch-hunt was launched against the Tudeh (pro-Moscow Communist) Party. Murderous attacks were staged against university campuses to stifle freedom of thought, assembly, and protest there.

By 1957 the CIA—assisted by its Israeli counterpart, the Mossad—had set up SAVAK, the shah's dreaded secret police. The well-known Iranian poet and former political prisoner Reza Baraheni reports in his book, *The Crowned Cannibals*, that since then, more than 300,000 people are estimated to have been in and out of the shah's prisons.

Martin Ennals, secretary general of Amnesty International, said of the U.S.-created monstrosity in Iran that it has "the highest rate of death penalties in the world, no valid system of civilian courts and a history of torture which is beyond belief."

U.S. oil corporations, on the other hand, received better treatment from the new regime. Within a year of the coup, five U.S. oil giants finally broke the British stronghold on Iranian oil—being awarded a 40 percent share in a new agreement.

One of the big winners was the Gulf Oil Corporation. Gulf later hired Kermit Roosevelt, the CIA agent who engineered the overthrow of Mossa-

Continued on page 25

Bosses' press backs dictator

The editors of two influential big-business dailies are urging the U.S. government to pull out all stops to help salvage the shah.

Iran "matters," a *Washington Post* editorial argued September 12, because of "its oil, . . . the stability it lends to its exceedingly shaky region, [and] for the bulwark it forms to the spread of Soviet influence."

The shah can protect these interests better "than any of the elements clamoring for his removal," the *Post* goes on.

"Without the shah," the *Post* warns, "the Libyan model of an oil-rich state led by a fanatical Iranian Quaddafi . . . could come to be."

A September 13 editorial in the *Wall Street Journal* also discerned in the current demonstrations in Iran "the same combination of religious fervor and political radicalism seen

in Colonel Khadafi's Libya. . . ."

The *Journal* proclaims that Washington should back the shah despite his reputation as a tyrant. Why? The editors of the *Journal*—in a disgusting display of their racist, arrogant mentality—explain that Iranian society is "unlikely ever to accept more than the outward forms of Western democracy" since "human rights there are obviously viewed in a different way."

The bottom line? "Economically and strategically," the *Journal* says, "we need a strong and friendly Iran. This means that, in whatever way we can be useful, we need to support the Shah."

When the big-business press starts growling about the need to guarantee the shah's future, working people should be alert to the danger of U.S. intervention to support this blood-stained regime.

—P.S.

CAIFI: 'Protest shah's bloodbath in Iran!'

By Diane Wang

WASHINGTON—"I appeal to world public opinion to listen to the demands of our people," pleaded exiled poet Reza Baraheni, a former political prisoner in Iran. Baraheni, cochairperson of the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI), spoke at a September 13 press conference held in the Capitol building here to launch a defense of the victims of the shah's most recent crackdown.

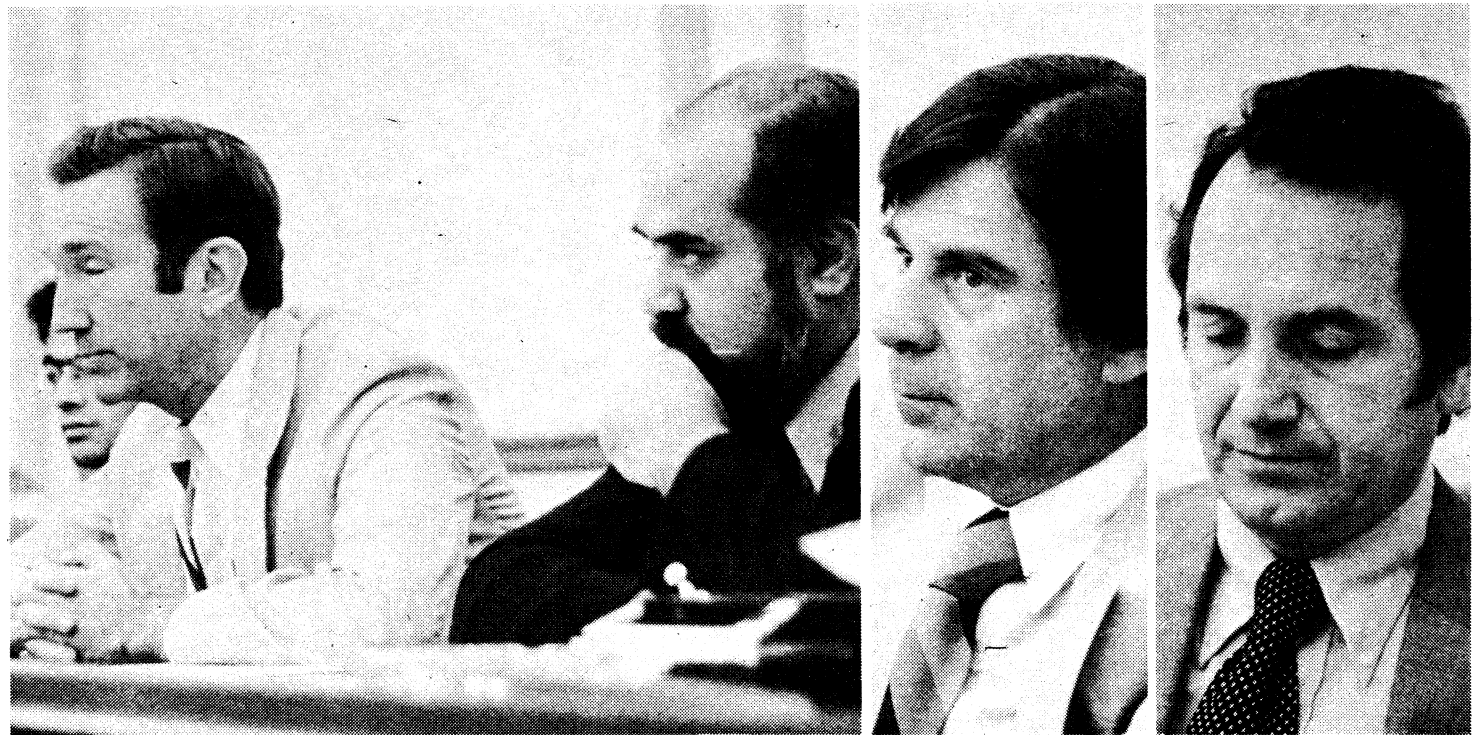
Speakers at the press conference demanded an end to martial law in Iran, freedom for all those arrested in the recent upsurge, and safety for Dr. Ali-Asghar Haj-Sayyed-Javadi and other Iranian dissidents being hunted down by the shah.

Speaking along with Baraheni were Babak Zahraie, CAIFI national field secretary; former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark; and U.S. Representatives Fortney Stark and Tom Harkin.

Zahraie described the casualties in the shah's bloodbath—grim facts grossly misreported by the American press. In Tehran alone, Zahraie reported, one cemetery received 3,897 bodies on the second day after martial law was decreed.

In addition, the shah has ordered a dragnet to pick up an estimated 4,500 people who helped organize the huge protest marches in recent weeks. Not only Islamic religious leaders, but trade unionists, students, journalists, and writers have fled into hiding.

Among those in hiding is Dr. Sayyed-Javadi. Orders have been issued to shoot him on sight. In 1975 and 1976 Sayyed-Javadi wrote two open letters to the personal secretary of the shah, accusing the government of corruption. Since then he has published more than 100 other pamphlets about the social corruption of the ruling class and the devastation of the country.



At CAIFI press conference (left to right): Babak Zahraie, Ramsey Clark, Reza Baraheni, Rep. Fortney Stark, and Rep. Tom Harkin.

Sayyed-Javadi's last pamphlet before he went into hiding, *The Dawn of the Blast*, describes the demonstrations of September 4.

Zahraie and Baraheni listed some prominent dissidents who have already fallen into the shah's clutches: Mehdi Bazargan, president of the Iranian Society for Liberty and Human Rights; Rahmatollah Moghaddam-Maraghei; Karim Sanjabi; Ayatollah Nuri; Hadji Manian; and Dr. Mofattah.

Pointing to the shah's long history of torture and oppression, Zahraie said, "Is it any wonder that the majority of the people of Iran are clamoring for freedom and democracy—and taking action to achieve their goals?"

"The only response of the regime, apart from hollow promises of the

future reform, has been bullets, bayonets, and tanks.

"The American public has a special interest in what is happening in Iran," emphasized Zahraie, noting Washington's massive aid to the shah.

Ramsey Clark echoed the importance of protesting U.S. involvement in Iran. Asked by a reporter what would happen if U.S. troops were sent to prop up the shah, Clark predicted "overwhelming opposition."

"It is unthinkable that we would believe we have the moral or legal right to intervene in Iran with military power," said Clark.

"We have been through that before" in Vietnam, added Representative Stark.

CAIFI is calling on human rights supporters to send protests to the Iranian government. At the press conference CAIFI released copies of the protest sent by the International League for Human Rights, which has consultative status with the United Nations and UNESCO, and an appeal by Jean-Paul Sartre, Simone de Beauvoir, Daniel Guerin, and others.

"The pressure of protest from abroad, and especially from the United States, can help stay the hand of the official murderers," concludes the CAIFI fact sheet on the recent massacre in Iran. Copies of protests and funds should be sent to CAIFI, 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, New York 10003.

Send a message to the shah

President Carter recently telephoned the shah of Iran to assure him of U.S. support. Now is the time to let the shah know that Carter doesn't speak for the American people.

The Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI) has been organizing educational and protest campaigns on behalf of political prisoners in Iran for several years.

Now CAIFI is collecting signatures for the following protest against the martial law and fierce repression imposed in Iran:

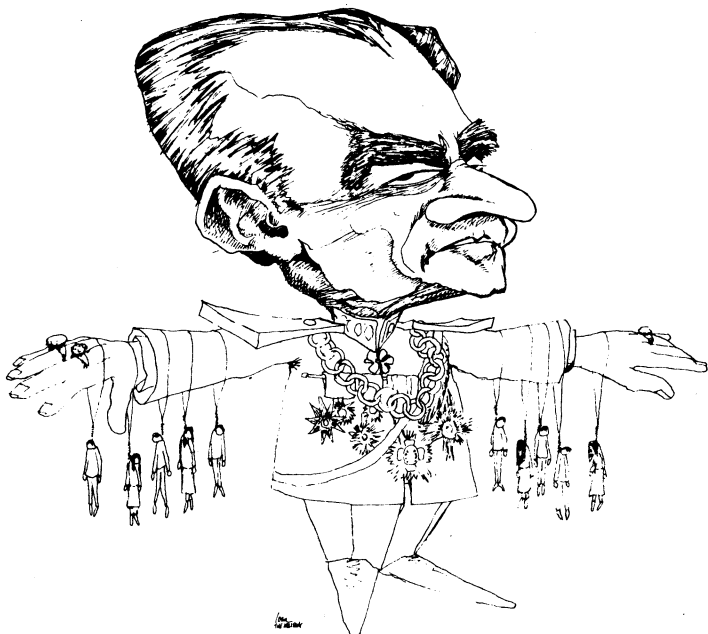
"The imposition of martial law in Iran on Friday, September 8, has caused the suspension of all civil liberties and the mass shooting of peaceful demonstrators in major Iranian cities. Under the pretext of martial law many prominent Iranian dissidents have been arrested or forced into hiding to escape arrest and death.

"I strongly protest the establishment of martial law in Iran and demand its immediate suspension. All those arrested since the imposition of

martial law must be freed and the civil rights of all Iranians must be restored."

—American Center for PEN, Daniel Berrigan, Philip Berrigan, Eric Bentley, Kay Boyle, Noam Chomsky, Daniel Ellsberg, Michael Harrington, Arthur Miller, Dr. Philip Oake, Bertell Ollman, Gholam Hossein Sa'edi, Edward Sorel, I.F. Stone, Kurt Vonnegut.

Send your protests today to the Shah of Iran, Niavaran Palace, Tehran, Iran. Send a copy of your protest to CAIFI—along with funds that are needed to publicize the events in Iran.



CAIFI

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- ☐ Enclosed is my contribution of \$_____
- ☐ Please send me the CAIFI Newsletter, published every two months, 50¢ each.
- ☐ Please send me the CAIFI button, designed by Jules Feiffer, saying 'Open the shah's jails,' 50¢ each.
- ☐ Please send me a CAIFI poster, saying 'Free All Political Prisoners,' \$1 each.
- ☐ Please send me campaign brochures, \$5 for 100. Send me brochures about:
 - _____ Women Political Prisoners
 - _____ Thirty-two political prisoners in Tabriz.

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September 4: largest protest ever in Iran

By Parvin Najafi

The demonstrations September 4 were not only the largest in the history of Iran—but also the first legal protests against the regime in twenty-five years.

After these outpourings, it seemed that everyone in Iran walked a little taller. The masses gained new confidence in their power and readiness to stand up to the authorities.

The demonstration in Tehran was the largest.

The atmosphere was tense as the marchers came upon the first three army vehicles. After a few seconds the procession moved toward the trucks, showering them with flowers and chanting, "Brother soldier, why do you kill your brother?"

After the demonstrators realized that the soldiers were not going to fire at them, a carnival mood began to take over in the crowd.

Although provocateurs, most likely SAVAK [the secret police] agents, in several instances picked up rocks to throw at the soldiers or windows, they were stopped before they could act and were asked to leave the march. All through the march the demonstrators were vigilant to ensure that no acts of violence were committed in their name.

'Freedom! Justice!'

Most of the chants demanded "freedom," "justice," "independence," and "Free the political prisoners!"

"On the orders of a clergyman," William Branigin reported in the September 5 *Washington Post*, "the demonstrators refrained from chanting more virulent slogans against Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi. In open defiance of him, however, they called for the return of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini—exiled to Iraq by the shah 15 years ago. . . ."

Every time the marchers came across the soldiers they would start appealing to the army ranks, chanting "Soldiers, you are from us."

As the procession passed, housewives and children rushed into the streets, bringing milk, bread, flowers, water, fruit, and anything else



Tehran demonstrators lift soldier on shoulders after he says he will not obey orders to shoot them.

they could find to the demonstrators.

Although all the shops in the city were closed, the florists and bakeries along the route opened up their stores and distributed flowers and bread among the crowd.

In short, the demonstrators were greeted as national heroes. The Tehran daily *Kayhan* reported that at every intersection, every corner, and every street fresh forces would join in, making the demonstration bigger and bigger by the moment.

Every once in a while, *Kayhan* added, a group of demonstrators would come up to the reporters alongside the march and tell them that they supported freedom of the press and asked them to tell their readers about the feeling in the demonstration—the solidarity, unity, joy, and sentiment for freedom.

When the procession passed Tehran University the demonstrators began chanting in favor of the students' demands.

As the march lasted more than fourteen hours, the demonstrators took frequent breaks to sit in the streets or listen to speakers, mostly religious leaders.

Most of the speakers talked about domestic issues but a few spoke about Israeli aggression against the Arabs. The crowd responded by chanting, "Palestinians are our heroic brothers."

One of the junior army officers made a speech saying they had been ordered to fire upon the people but did not want to. The crowd then carried him on their shoulders.

Murder in Tabriz

Other major demonstrations occurred that day in Shiraz (150,000), Mashed (300,000), Yazd (100,000), Qum (100,000), and Ahwaz (150,000).

In Tabriz, the main center of the oppressed Azerbaijani nationality, the army and police did not allow any demonstrations to take place. Troops opened fire after protesters refused to obey a request to disperse. After five persons were killed and many more wounded, the demonstrators finally had to back down and leave.

Demonstrations did occur, however, in other smaller Azerbaijani cities, including Maragheh, Khoi, Banab, and Miyandu-Ab.

One fact about all of the demonstrations that attracted the attention of reporters, both Iranian and foreign, was the large participation of women, who wore black veils and marched in separate contingents.

Strikes

A massive upsurge in strikes accompanied the demonstration. In the days before and after September 4, walkouts were held by the workers at Alborz Industries in Tehran, the sugar mills in Haft-Tapeh (a city close to Ahwaz), the paper mills in Haft-Tapeh, two big construction firms in Ahwaz, the water department in Mashed, the bus line between Shooshtar and Ahwaz, the central bank of Iran, and the Medical School of the National University of Iran.

Most of the strikers' demands centered around better pay, better working conditions, longer vacations, and implementation of government programs instituted a few years ago but never really put into effect—such as pension and retirement benefits, and profit sharing.

The biggest walkout of all occurred in Ahwaz. There 7,700 workers at four different companies belonging to the same industrial unit—Faster Viller, Mana, Batiman, and the Pars machine tool factory—went out on strike. In addition to higher wages they are demanding additional allotments for the expenses of their children, housing, clothing, and food.

Representatives of the workers told *Kayhan*, "Until those responsible for these four companies give us an official and definite answer, and until our demands are met, we will not start working and will remain on strike."

Even the peasants in outlying areas have been encouraged to stand up for their rights. For example, the peasants of two villages near Hamadan, in western Iran, gathered in front of the governor's office in Hamadan and sat down in front of the building, demanding that their grievances be met.

...massacres, martial law ordered by shah

Continued from page 3

yelled at us. "Go and hide."

"Shame on you," stormed the crowd. "Who pays for you?" Minutes later the troops fired.

For the first several hours after the mass murder by the shah's army began, the demonstrators did not disperse. Overturning city buses and cars, building barricades to defend themselves, they tried to resist. Meanwhile, more and more people poured out into the streets.

Reporting the mood in the streets, *Washington Post* correspondent William Branigin wrote:

"We only need guns," one youth screamed as he furiously slammed a piece of wood down on the street. . . .

"Another young man said the people were only waiting for a signal from the religious leaders to launch a full-scale revolution, although they lack weapons. 'We're waiting for the religious leaders to say that, and then we will fight as hard as we can,' he said. 'But we can't wait much longer.'"

With the declaration of martial law, which has become a cover for mass murder, the regime is trying to bleed the opposition movement white.

Censorship has been reimposed on the press. Unconfirmed reports say that government agents took over the offices to the two major Iranian dailies, *Kayhan* and *Etela'at*, for several

hours, arresting those journalists who had written articles against the regime in the brief liberalization that followed the announcement of the shah's new cabinet.

Clearly the shah has embarked on a risky gamble, staking all his chips on the bid to crush the movement. Whether he can do so remains an open question.

Even within the shah's own Rastakhiz Party, one wing has now issued a statement pointing out that martial law cannot be a longterm solution.

Cracks have also appeared in the parliament. Nine members disrupted a September 10 speech by Prime Minister Jafar Sharif-Emami, shouting, "We don't accept you. . . . Your hand is stained with the blood of your countrymen." The nine then walked out.

Addressing the same question, *Washington Post* correspondent William Branigin quotes a European diplomat as saying: "Unless the government makes a bigger show of strength, these demonstrations and riots are likely to continue and the shah may be forced to step aside."

Branigin continued:

"There was speculation that the 12-day-old government of Prime Minister Jaafar Sharif-Emami did not deploy more troops because military leaders did not want to risk mutinies by some units."

With sympathy for the mass move-

ment increasing inside the army, how long the shah can maintain discipline remains to be seen.

The Pentagon, it is clear, is not ruling out the possibility that help may be needed. According to a report in the August 17 *Los Angeles Times*, "Secretary of Defense Harold Brown already has been discussing the possible 'dispatch of appropriate U.S. forces to the

scene [the Persian Gulf] in support of friends' and 100,000 U.S. troops are being trained for possible intervention in the Gulf."

But even in the absence of American troops, the ultimate responsibility for the bloodbath being carried out in Iran rests squarely on the shoulders of Washington, which has armed the shah to the teeth.



People gather to identify and bury their dead at Behshte Zehra graveyard near Tehran after September 8 massacre. Government claims 95 were killed, but eyewitnesses in Tehran say nearly 4,000 death certificates have been issued.

Civil war grips Nicaragua

Masses battle against Somoza tyranny

By Harry Ring

On-the-scene reports confirm that civil war is raging in Nicaragua, as the people of that country challenge the Somoza dictatorship.

Dispatches to U.S. dailies report heavy fighting in at least five cities, with the rebels battling Somoza's National Guard for control.

In a dispatch from the capital city of Managua to the September 13 *Washington Post*, correspondent Karen DeYoung offered this assessment:

"While the city appeared calm, the past ten days have shown a marked increase in the number of businesses and shops whose doors are closed in cooperation with a nationwide strike called two and a half weeks ago by anti-Somoza opposition groups.

"Outside of Managua, however, there is little doubt that Nicaragua is now engaged in a civil war, complete with military operations reports and an end to the freedom given reporters to observe what a few weeks ago seemed barely a series of skirmishes."

C of C 'subversive'?

Opposition to the U.S.-installed Somoza dictatorship is unprecedented in its breadth—ranging from the very poor to top industrialists. So extensive is this opposition that Somoza found himself forced to outlaw the chamber of commerce.

The Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), whose August 22 seizure of the National Palace proved to be but an anticipation of the mass upsurge, has called for a concerted armed drive to topple the dictatorship.

That call is getting a popular response. In her September 13 dispatch, DeYoung reported:

"Guerrillas have hit again and again, usually supported by local citizens to the point where it has become impossible to believe that all the fighting is the work of approximately 250 hard-core guerrilla terrorists, as Somoza said yesterday."

In Matagalpa, where 500 youths had held off Somoza's guard for five days and then were reportedly crushed, fighting has resumed. A Sandinista rebel reached by telephone told the New York Spanish-language daily, *El Diario*, that the guard command post there had been captured and arms distributed to the people.

Poor fight hardest

The dispatches agree that everywhere the fiercest opposition to the guard comes from the poorest sections of the cities.

Meanwhile, businesspeople are keeping their ventures shut, hoping for a quick ouster of the dictator and a transfer of power to a "responsible" regime capable of cooling down the situation and thwarting basic social change. They hope such a strategy will assure their profits and property

Chicano Liberation and Socialism

By Miguel Pendás

16 pages 25 cents

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.

Nicaraguans in U.S. march in solidarity



Sandino portrait at New York picket

Militant/Tim Brennan

Nicaraguans in a number of U.S. cities have held demonstrations in solidarity with the anti-Somoza fighters in their homeland.

In Los Angeles 400 Nicaraguans marched and chanted for three hours.

A spokesperson for the demonstrators told the *Los Angeles Times* September 1: "There are 20,000 Nicaraguans in Los Angeles, and in direct and indirect ways we are exiles from our country. We could live there if we had a democratic government."

In San Francisco there have been at least three demonstrations. In one action, pickets gathered at the

Federal Building chanting "CIA out of Nicaragua," then marched to the Nicaraguan consulate.

Other demonstrations were held in the city's mainly latino Mission District.

In New York there was a picket at the Nicaraguan Embassy September 5, and another the next day at the United Nations. A further action was slated for September 13. Principal sponsors were the Association for Human Rights in Nicaragua and the Committee of United Central Americans.

Demonstrators demanded freedom for political prisoners and an end to U.S. aid to Somoza.

rights, which are increasingly under challenge by the radicalizing Nicaraguan masses.

A member of the Nicaraguan Institute for Economic Development, which includes most major industrialists, told a reporter: "I think the longer Somoza stays, the closer he brings the country toward the possibility of communism."

Many wealthy Nicaraguans look to Washington to yank the rug from under Somoza.

While Washington is keeping its options open in this regard, it is, so far, continuing to support Somoza.

Somoza emphasized this support at a September 12 news conference, pointing out that "the economic aid we are receiving from the United States has not been stopped."

'Human rights' champion

On this particular point, Somoza is not lying. Several weeks ago, the Carter administration approved \$12 million in economic aid to Somoza with the bald-faced assertion that he's been trying to improve "human rights."

Somoza's concern for human rights is indicated by his willingness to massacre civilians to preserve his rule.

Asked at his news conference about the large number of civilian deaths, Somoza no longer tried to deny them, attempting instead to shift responsibility. The situation, he said, is "very bloody. . . . It is unfortunate that these guerrillas hide in civilian houses."

In addition to conceding that his guard is shooting down civilians, Somoza's statement is also an admission that the guerrillas enjoy such wide support that people are ready to give them refuge, even at the risk of their own lives.

Despite Somoza's bloodletting, the masses are still pressing for fundamental change. The workers and largely

landless peasants cannot hope to solve any of their acute social problems without getting both the native capitalists and U.S. imperialists off their backs. And in increasing numbers they recognize this.

'Take a picture of that'

In the town of Leon, a young Nicaraguan fighter escorted three foreign correspondents through the *barrios* to give them a sense of what motivates the rebels.

Teri Shaw of the *Washington Post* reported:

"Pointing out children with distended bellies, piles of garbage, ramshackle outhouses, he repeated over and over again, 'Take a picture of that. Show the Americans how we live in Nicaragua.'"

The young fighter was not only concerned with getting public support in the United States. He was also pointing to U.S. responsibility for the conditions in his country.

To safeguard U.S. investments and business operations in Nicaragua, the marines occupied the country for various periods from 1909 to 1933.

Then it turned over the job of repression to the Nicaraguan National Guard, which it had trained and developed. At its head was Anastasio Somoza, Sr., a West Point graduate and father of the present tyrant. In 1936 he seized full power in a U.S.-approved coup.

Two years earlier, Somoza had murdered Augusto Sandino, the outstanding Nicaraguan freedom fighter, who in 1928 had gone into the hills to fight for withdrawal of the marines.

Washington responded with a force of 4,600 troops, who were assigned to "pacify" the country. It was an early preview of Vietnam, complete with aerial bombings.

(Sandino was murdered by the Na-

tional Guard after accepting an invitation to meet with the then-president of Nicaragua.)

Since then, the U.S.-built Somoza machine has prospered.

As of fifteen years ago, according to a recently released secret State Department report, the Somoza family owned 10 percent of Nicaragua's capital wealth.

The thieving tyrants have built a fortune estimated as high as several hundred million dollars. The loot is extracted from a broad range of agricultural and business holdings.

Such fantastic wealth was amassed, of course, by any means necessary. In the process of extracting it from the blood and bones of the Nicaraguan people, an estimated 25,000 people have been slaughtered.

Down to his killers

Today, Somoza II is stripped of all support except that of his National Guard killers and their U.S. advisers. (Three non-Nicaraguans died in a plane crash with a top National Guard officer September 8. One was Vietnamese; the other two were U.S. counterinsurgency "experts.")

But even that last base of support is no sure thing. Correspondents agree that the guard's morale is low and its loyalty far from solid.

And the rank and file of even such a hardened force is not immune to the attractive power of a revolution.

A September 11 AP dispatch describing the battleground in the town of Masaya sketched a scene that is a prophesy of things to come:

"One rebel who manned a National Guard machine gun perched over sandbags on the back of a truck said he had deserted the 7,500-man Guard and had stolen the machine gun and the piles of ammunition stacked beside him."

Kidnapped socialist freed after protests

Peruvian junta tries to counter upsurge

By David Frankel

An important victory was won in Peru September 10 with the release of Roberto Famjul, a reporter for the Colombian socialist magazine *Revista de America*.

Famjul had been kidnapped a week earlier by a group identifying itself as the Peruvian Anticommunist Alliance

For more on Peru, see page 23.

(AAP). There is strong evidence linking the AAP to the military government.

Widespread protests in Peru, including a news conference by Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, president of the newly installed Constituent Assembly, forced the junta's followers to release Famjul unharmed.

The release of Famjul occurred four days after the class struggle in Peru reached a new peak. On September 6, police carried out a brutal attack on a makeshift camp in Lima set up by striking miners. Later that day miners, together with striking metalworkers and government employees, battled police and army troops trying to break up their demonstrations.

According to a telephone report from Peru, there has been a pause in workers' demonstrations in the week since September 6, and the miners' and bank workers' strikes have been suspended. However, none of the basic issues that provoked the strikes have been resolved.

The radicalization of the Peruvian masses has been fueled by the effects



MORALES BERMUDEZ: Experimenting with extralegal terror.

of the world economic crisis and by the extortionate demands of imperialism. World inflation has jacked up prices on goods that Peru must import. At the same time, stagnation in the world economy has cut into the country's export markets, and the low price of copper on the world market has further reduced foreign-exchange earnings.

As a result, Peru's total foreign debt stands at more than \$8 billion. Inflation is running at 70 percent, unemployment stands at 50 percent, and Peru's imperialist creditors are demanding that the regime impose further privations on the working masses in order to ensure prompt payments on the foreign debt.

Not surprisingly, the Peruvian people have fought back. Attempts at repression have only deepened the radicalization and convinced ever

larger sections of the population that the dictatorship itself is the central obstacle to winning their demands.

Right now, a frontal assault aimed at decisively smashing the workers movement would be very risky for the Peruvian capitalists. A Pinochet-style coup attempt might well touch off a civil war. Moreover, after ten years of military rule and three years of economic crisis, the bourgeoisie itself is losing confidence in the ability of the officer corps to govern effectively.

The military regime hoped that by granting elections to a constituent assembly and promising to restore civilian rule by 1980 it could stem the popular upsurge. But illusions in the assembly had already started to erode before the June 18 elections, due to the junta's heavy-handed attempts to rig the outcome.

Now that the assembly has begun to meet, the capitalist parties that hold the majority have made it clear they will do nothing to confront the military regime nor take any concrete steps to solve the acute problems of the masses.

Meanwhile, a clear alternative to both the dictatorship and its regimented assembly is being presented by Hugo Blanco and other revolutionary workers deputies. They are calling for a workers and peasants government that would carry out a socialist transformation in Peru.

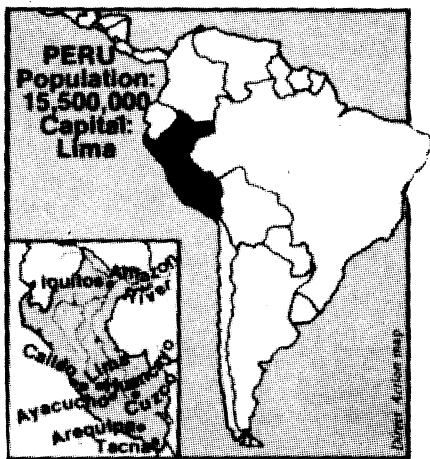
In August, huge crowds of workers and peasants in one provincial city after another turned out to hear Blanco and other leaders of the Workers, Peasants, Students, and People's Front (FOCEP). There were meetings of 6,000 in Moquegua, 8,000 in Cerro de Pasco, 10,000 in Tarapoto, 15,000 in Tacna, and thousands more in both Cuzco and Arequipa.

In some cities, such as Chimbote and Moquegua, organizations of workers and peasants delegates have begun to take shape, providing examples of the democratic government forms that Blanco and the FOCEP are popularizing.

Under these conditions, the appearance of the rightist AAP signifies an experiment in extralegal terrorism by the military regime. The junta is probing to see if it can launch a full-scale campaign to kidnap and assassinate prominent leftists and terrorize the workers and peasants.

But the unwillingness of the junta to take direct responsibility for such actions for fear of the response by the masses, and the successful campaign in defense of Famjul, show that such terrorism can be effectively countered.

A history of imperialist exploitation



Direct Action

By Peter Archer

Over the past year the *Militant* has covered the mounting upsurge of workers and peasants in Peru. Tens of thousands of Peruvians have challenged the austerity measures and repression of the military government, and cried out against imperialist domination of their country.

Behind these struggles extend hundreds of years of history during which the Peruvian nation was forged and during which it became a semicolony of imperialism.

Peru has a population of 15.5 million, about 40 percent of whom are Indians, descendants of the original inhabitants of Latin America.

The country is divided from north to south by the Andes Mountains. Most Peruvian cities are to the west along the seacoast. Lima, the capital, has a population of more than 5 million.

Beginning about 1438, Peru was the center of the Indian empire of the Incas, which also included the present-day nations of Ecuador and

Colombia. But in 1531 an invasion by Spanish *conquistadores* led by Francisco Pizarro destroyed the Inca civilization, and Peru became a Spanish colony.

In 1824 Peru revolted against Spain, gaining its independence. But, as with other newly formed nations of Latin America, the country quickly fell under U.S. and British political and economic domination.

U.S. corporations controlled Peru's major resources, including copper, petroleum, and sugar. Railroads were largely controlled by the British Peruvian Corporation, but new railroads were built mainly by American companies.

As a result of this imperialist domination, the contrast between haves and have-nots is stark in Peru. According to figures cited in Sir Robert Marett's *Peru*, in the late 1960s, 10 percent of the population received 60 percent of Peru's income; 0.25 percent received 35 percent.

The Indian peasantry is by far the poorest section of the population. Until the early 1960s, Indian peasants were tied hand and foot to the big landowners. Landlords granted them small plots of land in return for labor on the owners' estates.

In 1958, however, a young *mestizo* from Cuzco, Hugo Blanco, began organizing peasant unions to take back the land. A wave of revolt spread over the countryside.

The government hunted down and captured Blanco and sentenced him to death, but international protests forced them to commute his sentence to life imprisonment and—in 1970—to free him.

Peru's major industry is copper mining. It ranks seventh in the capitalist world in copper production. Much of the mining, however, is controlled by two U.S.-owned companies: Southern Peru Copper and Compañía del Madrigal.

The members of the National Federation of Miners and Metalworkers of Peru (FNTMMP) produce the vast bulk of copper, iron, zinc, and other metals that account for more than half of Peru's foreign-exchange income. The miners are one of the most militant sectors of the Peruvian working class.

In 1968 a military coup installed Gen. Juan Velasco Alvarado, who cultivated a populist, anti-imperialist image. Velasco gained popularity by expropriating two U.S.-owned oilfields, La Brea and Pariñas. His regime also carried out a partial land reform and demanded a better deal for Peru from the imperialist banks, corporations, and trading companies.

In 1975 Velasco was overthrown in a second coup, this one led by Gen. Francisco Morales Bermúdez.

Morales stepped into a situation of deepening indebtedness to foreign banks. As of the beginning of 1978, the Peruvian government's foreign debt had risen to \$4.4 billion. Interest payments alone amounted to about \$1 billion. The International Monetary Fund threatened to cut off loans to Peru unless the interest were paid.

To meet this ransom, Morales instituted harsh austerity measures in Peru, including price hikes in basic necessities such as food and fuel. In mid-1977 these belt-

tightening steps sparked a wave of strikes and protests that has recurred sporadically ever since.

As a concession to this popular sentiment, Morales called for constituent assembly elections for June 1978, promising that this would be the first step toward restoring civilian rule in 1980. He also allowed a number of exiled political figures, including Trotskyist leader Hugo Blanco, to return to Peru.

But as the elections drew closer, Morales became jumpy about the depth of revolutionary sentiment among the Peruvian people. A general strike was called for May 22-23. When Blanco spoke out in support of it, Morales deported him and ten other opponents of the government.

In a stunning repudiation of this undemocratic move, the people of Peru elected Blanco—along with more than twenty other working-class candidates—to the Constituent Assembly. Blanco ran on the ticket of the Workers, Peasants, Students, and People's Front (FOCEP). In July Morales was forced to permit Blanco's return for the opening of the Constituent Assembly. A crowd of 5,000 greeted the revolutionary leader, who declared his intention to fight for a workers government in Peru.

Throughout August and September, strikes and demonstrations have continued to rock the Peruvian regime—among teachers, miners, government workers, and others. And Blanco has increasingly become a symbol to the Peruvian masses of a revolutionary political alternative to the repressive Morales regime.

Prisoners still held by Brazilian junta

Argentine socialist leader's life in danger

By Fred Murphy

The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) is stepping up its efforts on behalf of several people recently arrested by Brazilian political police.

Two of those jailed—Hugo Bressano and Rita Strasberg—are leading member of the Argentine Socialist Workers Party (PST), a sister organization of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party. It is feared that Brazilian authorities may decide to deliver Bressano and Strasberg into the hands of the Argentine military regime.

The Argentine PST's leadership in exile released a statement on the case September 6. It read, in part:

"Besides being the founder of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores [PST] of Argentina, Bressano—whose pen-name is Nahuel Moreno—is an intellectual of recognized stature. His works on history, sociology, and philosophy are well known in Latin America, Europe, and the United States. . . . On the political level, his more than thirty years of activity have been at the constant service of building a workers party firmly rooted in the organizations of the workers movement. . . .

"Bressano's life, as well as that of Rita Lucia Strasberg, would be in grave danger should the Brazilian police or government decide to hand them over to the Argentine authorities—who, besides having banned the PST as part of the suppression of the activities of all political parties in the country, are responsible for the imprisonment of 50 PST members and for the disappearance and possible murder of almost 100."

Bressano and Strasberg were among twenty-two people arrested in São Paulo August 22. All were accused of violating the National Security Law, which bans political parties deemed "subversive" by the military dictatorship.

Portuguese socialist leader Antônio Sá Leal was also arrested. He was released and deported from Brazil on September 6, however—on the direct orders of President Ernesto Geisel. Geisel acted after the Portuguese parliament protested Sá Leal's arrest (see box).

Of the Brazilian citizens arrested August 22, eight remain in jail. All are activists in the Socialist Convergence, a legal group that has been holding public meetings and distributing a newspaper supplement called *Convergência Socialista*.

Six other Socialist Convergence activists, arrested in Brasília in July, are also still being held.

Brazilian cops claim that the imprisoned activists are part of "a subversive organization of a Trotskyist line that calls itself the Liga Operária [Workers League]," and that they have "infiltrated" Socialist Convergence.

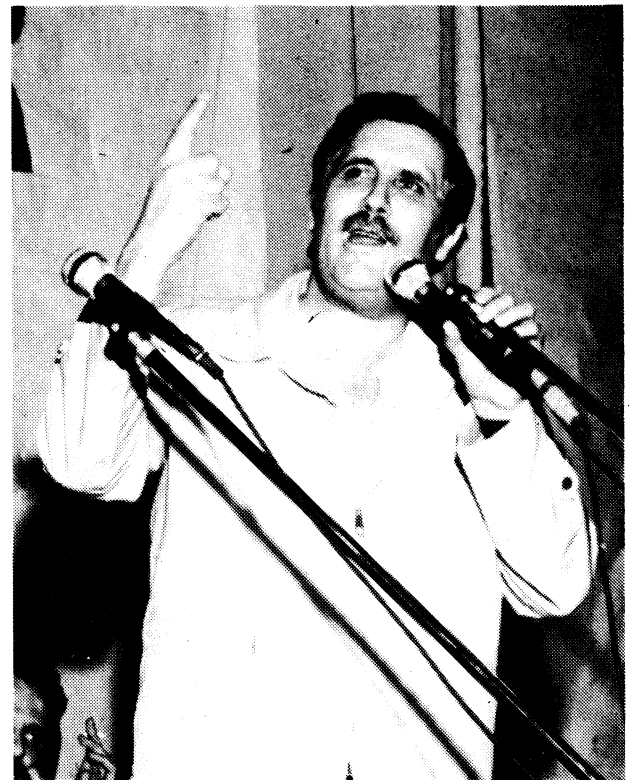
But the national coordinating committee of Socialist Convergence has denounced the arrests as "without any legal basis," pointing out that their group is "broad, legal, and democratic."

Attorney Idibal Piveta, who is defending the imprisoned activists, termed their arrest "a measure designed to intimidate all who might be interested in forming a party in Brazil, whatever their political position."

The arrests have been widely protested in Brazil, especially since the dictatorship has been promising a gradual restoration of democracy.

There have been street demonstrations by students in São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Porto Alegre, and other cities. On September 1, Socialist Convergence activists initiated a hunger strike in São Paulo. As of September 6, thirty persons had joined that strike, and another had been started by five persons in Rio de Janeiro.

Deputies in the Brazilian Congress and in the state legislative assemblies of São Paulo and Rio de



Hugo Bressano (Nahuel Moreno) faces deportation to Argentine butchers.

Janeiro have protested the arrests. Vigils and rallies have also been held.

In addition to Bressano and Strasberg, those still being held as of September 6 were Waldo Mermelstein, Aldo Schreiner, Maria José da Silva Lourenço, Bernardo Viana Marques Cerdeira, Oscar Itiro Kudo, José Aziz Cretton, Maria Gerbi Veiga, Edson Silva Coelho, Mário Gonçalves, Beliza Maria Gonçalves, Vera Lúcia, Alcides Bartolomeu de Faria, Flávio Lúcio de Faria, and Edilson.

Also still jailed was high school student Ronaldo Eduardo de Almeida. He was kidnapped in Rio de Janeiro August 23 and later turned up as a prisoner of the political police in São Paulo.

USLA has issued an appeal on behalf of all these victims of the Geisel dictatorship. USLA urges that letters and telegrams demanding their immediate release—and safe passage for Bressano and Strasberg to a country of their choice—be sent to the Brazilian Embassy, 3006 Massachusetts Avenue N.W., Washington, D.C. 20008.

Send copies to USLA, 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, New York 10003.

USLA Executive Secretary Barry Fatland told the *Militant*, "The impressive support for the case in Europe and Latin America [see box] shows the potential for this country. Our chapters are contacting prominent civil libertarians, political figures, public officials, trade unionists, and student groups.

"We will do all we can to help win the release and safety of these victims of the Brazilian dictatorship."

Int'l protests hit Brazil arrests

A wave of international protests met the recent arrests by the Geisel dictatorship.

- In Portugal, the Assembly of the Republic (parliament) passed a motion condemning the "arbitrary and unjustified detention" of Antônio Sá Leal, Hugo Bressano, and Rita Strasberg. Earlier, sixty members of parliament from all parties wired General Geisel protesting the arrests.

- International Secretary Luis Yanez of the Spanish Socialist Workers Party (PSOE) sent a telegram to the Brazilian ambassador in Madrid asking "liberation of those detained August 22" and "special protection for the Argentine citizen Nahuel Moreno." PSOE General Secretary Felipe González also sent a personal protest message to Brazilian authorities.

- In Venezuela, members of parliament from the MAS (Movement Toward Socialism) and the MIR (Revolutionary Left Movement) have sent protest messages, as has the radio and television workers union.

- Ten members of the Constituent Assembly in Peru have sent a protest.

- In Bolivia, protest letters have been sent by the Trade Union Federation of Mine Workers of Bolivia (FSTMB), signed by FSTMB President Juan Lechín Oquendo; and by the Assembly for Human Rights, signed by Rev. Fr. Julio Tumiri.

- A delegation representing locals of two national union federations and the national teachers union visited the Brazilian Embassy in France September 1 to deliver a message of protest.

Rhodesian regime steps up repression

By Omari Musa

Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith announced a new crackdown on supporters of Black nationalist groups September 10.

Smith's pretext was the September 3 downing of an Air Rhodesia plane in the northern part of the country near Kariba.

Joshua Nkomo, co-leader of the Patriotic Front, announced his forces shot down the plane. He said it was believed to be carrying troops or war material.

Nkomo denied government allegations that Patriotic Front guerrillas killed ten survivors of the crash.

The night before Smith's September 10 announcement, twenty members of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), including four top officials, were arrested.

Part of the white minority regime's policy has been to launch military raids into Mozambique and Zambia. The raids are designed to terrorize Zimbabwean refugees and weaken the



IAN SMITH: "We are facing our most serious crisis."

guerrilla forces based in the two countries.

Smith also hopes the raids will force the Mozambican and Zambian governments to apply pressure on the nationalist groups to stop fighting.

During his speech he issued a warning that more of these attacks may be forthcoming. Mozambique and Zambia "must bear the consequences of any defensive strikes we may undertake," Smith declared.

Smith also proposed what he called "a modification of martial law" but did not spell out details.

However, David Ottaway, writing in the September 11 *Washington Post*, pointed out that martial law in the areas where the nationalist forces have greatest influence would give a "free hand to the military to escalate its war against them there."

Smith also hopes his action will help bolster the sagging morale of the white settlers in the face of the inability of his "interim government" to crush the Zimbabwean struggle for Black majority rule.

In July alone, more than one thou-

sand whites fled the country.

The September 10 pronouncements are not likely to stem the upsurge of the Zimbabwean masses. Smith and his Black allies are becoming increasingly isolated.

Mass meetings in the Black townships numbering in the tens of thousands have been called by supporters of the Patriotic Front. Those called by Bishop Abel Muzorewa and Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole, Smith's Black collaborators in the government, have small crowds.

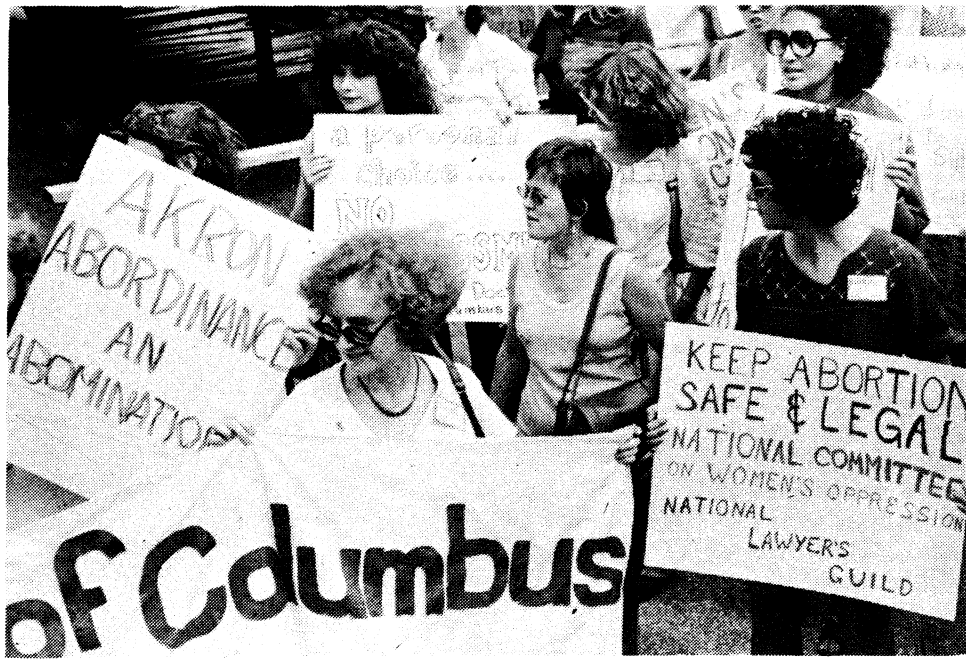
Some meetings have been canceled altogether for lack of support.

Black workers are also beginning to make their voices heard.

On August 14 the African work force at the Mangula mine, the largest copper mine in the country, struck for higher wages.

The next day 3,000 strikers rallied outside the mine offices.

Smith captured the seriousness of the situation when he told his white audience, "We face the greatest crisis of our lives."



Militant/Ginny Hildebrand
'Freedom of choice!' was chant of marchers protesting Akron, Ohio, anti-abortion ordinance.

700 hit anti-abortion law

By Yipper Fitzgerald

AKRON, Ohio—"What do we want? Freedom of choice!"

"When do we want it? Now!"

That was the message of 700 supporters of abortion rights who marched here on September 10 to protest this city's restrictive abortion law.

They came from all over Ohio; Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; western New York; and Louisville, Kentucky. They represented chapters of the National Abortion Rights Action League, the National Organization for Women, pro-choice coalitions, the Coalition of Labor Union Women, Planned Parenthood, religious groups, and political organizations.

The Akron anti-abortion law passed last spring has become a model for those trying to roll back a woman's right to control her own body. It requires women to give twenty-four-hour notice of their abortions to a husband or parent and to listen to biased and false information about fetal develop-

ment and the consequences of abortion.

Similar laws have already been passed in Louisville, Kentucky, and the states of Louisiana and Tennessee. Chicago, Pittsburgh, Missouri, and New Jersey are also considering similar laws.

Last week hearings on the Akron ordinance began in a suit challenging its constitutionality brought by the American Civil Liberties Union.

Valerie DuPriest, president of Akron NOW, welcomed the crowd to the rally that followed the march. "We have learned that we cannot rely on the courts," she said. "We cannot rely on the politicians."

"We have learned that we must rely on our own power to ensure protection of women's most elemental right. It is meetings like this through which we come to understand our power and strength."

"This fight is bigger than Akron, bigger than Louisiana, bigger than the Hyde amendment. Together we will win it."



Militant/Anne Teesdale

July 9 ERA demonstration. NOW chapters are bringing to national conference proposals for another big march.

of the population indicates support for ratification of the ERA in poll after poll, the fate of the ERA is uncertain." It says that "the central issue facing the women's movement today is the Equal Rights Amendment."

A call to action from the NOW conference would be a rallying point for pro-ERA sentiment. It could be taken to the unions, civil rights groups, students, and other ERA supporters. And it would serve notice to the Senate that the women's movement is not about to give up the ERA battle.

The New Orleans NOW board also passed other resolutions recommending NOW action. Louisiana is not only a state that has not yet ratified the ERA. It is also the focus of other attacks on women's rights.

Louisiana has passed one of the most restrictive abortion laws in the country. In light of that, the New Orleans board voted to urge NOW to "sound the alarm against our rights by calling for nationally coordinated pro-abortion actions on or around January 22, the anniversary of the Supreme Court decision."

The New Orleans NOW board also passed a resolution about defending affirmative action (see box).

For more information about the NOW national conference, write to the National NOW Conference, c/o NOW Action Center, 425 Thirteenth Street NW, Suite 1048, Washington, D.C. 20004.



Have you read these pamphlets about the fight for women's rights?

Abortion Rights in Danger!

by Nancy Brown, et al.
24 pages, \$35

Abortion and the Catholic Church

by Evelyn Reed and Claire Moriarty
16 pages, \$35

Black Women's Struggle for Equality

by Willie Mae Reid
15 pages, \$25

How to Win the ERA

by Ginny Hildebrand, Cindy Jaquith, Cathy Sedwick, and Reba Williams
31 pages, \$50

Is Biology Woman's Destiny?

by Evelyn Reed
14 pages, \$50

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Please include \$.25 with payment for postage and handling, \$.50 if order of more than \$5.00.

NOW nat'l meeting to discuss ERA fight

By Diane Wang

The Equal Rights Amendment is on the line. Women know it. And they are not planning to sit on the sidelines and watch it go down in defeat.

That seems to be the mood at women's activities and meetings around the country.

In Pittsburgh, for example, the campus chapter of the National Organization for Women (NOW) set up an information table soon after school began at the University of Pittsburgh. In just one hour, twenty women signed up to work for the ERA.

The Pittsburgh campus NOW chapter is planning a September 14 meeting. There they will show a film about the July 9 National March on Washington for the ERA. And they will discuss the national NOW conference and how to get there.

The national NOW conference, scheduled in Washington, D.C., for October 6-9, promises to be the single most important event in the women's movement this fall. There the ERA will be, as the *National NOW Times* says, "a key area of discussion, review and assessment, and strategizing."

One victory NOW chapters have already begun to assess while considering strategy is the July 9 ERA march. The impact of the 100,000 women, trade unionists, Blacks, and other ERA supporters who marched there was felt everywhere.

That demonstration—the largest in history for women's rights—not only forced the U.S. House of Representatives to quickly pass the bill to extend the ERA ratification deadline. It was felt, too, by women who were inspired with a new confidence. And it alerted millions to the importance of this issue.

In light of that march's success and the Senate's continued stalling on the extension bill, many women are discussing the need to call another massive action.

In August, for example, the New Jersey state NOW board voted to urge the NOW national conference to call another march for the ERA sometime before March 22, the current deadline for ratifying the ERA. The Summit-area chapter of NOW in New Jersey passed a similar resolution.

In Chicago the West Suburban chapter passed a resolution calling for a national ERA action as soon as possible. In Philadelphia the chapter voted to urge an ERA march on Springfield, Illinois, on March 11 to mark International Women's Day.

The New Orleans NOW board passed a resolution calling for nationally coordinated actions in the South, Midwest, and West this spring. That resolution notes that "while a majority

Resolution on Weber case

One of the important issues coming before the NOW national conference will be the *Weber* lawsuit threatening affirmative action for women and Black workers. In Louisiana, Brian Weber, a white, male worker at Kaiser Aluminum, claims he was discriminated against because of an affirmative-action program.

A federal district court and the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals have upheld Weber's claims. The case is now going to the Supreme Court.

The New Orleans NOW board has passed a resolution that says, in part:

"Whereas the Weber case both denies the right of labor unions to compensate for past discrimination of women and minority workers and

denies the rights of women and minorities to compete for skilled industrial jobs on equal ground, and

"Whereas the Weber case represents the gravest threat to affirmative action rights since these were won in the early 1970s,

"Therefore be it resolved that the National Organization for Women take an official position against the Weber suit by filing a friend-of-the-court brief when this case is appealed to the Supreme Court, and immediately begin a national education campaign on how this case will affect women through articles in *NOW Times* and other women's newspapers, teach-ins, and programs coordinated with other groups, i.e. labor unions and minority organizations that will also be affected."

Racists fail to block L.A. busing plan

By Lyle Fulks

LOS ANGELES—School buses rolled here September 12, culminating a fifteen-year legal battle to begin desegregation.

The busing began despite the best efforts of racists and white "liberal" school board members to prevent it.

First-day attendance figures were not available as the *Militant* went to press, but the racists appeared to have failed in their call for a boycott massive enough to wreck the busing plan.

In an eleventh-hour suit, the racist outfit Bustop had won a state appeals court ruling that would have postponed desegregation indefinitely.

When desegregation forces appealed this reactionary order to the state Supreme Court, the white liberal Democrats on the school board—elected as "integrationists"—joined with the racists in asking the high court to uphold the shelving of the busing plan.

When the court reinstated the busing plan, Bustop tried unsuccessfully to get U.S. Supreme Court intervention.

With failure in the courts, racists moved to launch the boycott. An anti-busing rally of 3,000 was held September 11, the night before school opened.

Among those urging a boycott was State Sen. Alan Robbins, a Democrat from the predominantly white San Fernando Valley, site of the rally.

On opening day, buses carrying Blacks and Chicanos to white schools were full. Buses carrying white students to minority schools ranged from 10 to 60 percent of projection.

Boycott promoters had wanted at least 70 percent to stay away, hoping to force the state supreme court to reconsider.

Many of those who did stay home did so out of confusion—confusion created by the school board. The board didn't notify students of their new school assignments until a day or two before busing began. Many of the students were unsure what bus to catch, and some were worried by the scare tactics of the racists.

Antibusing forces have enjoyed an

assist from Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley, as well as Gov. Edmund Brown. Both oppose widescale mandatory busing, without which the sprawling Los Angeles school district cannot be desegregated.

Bustop was also quick to seize the opportunity afforded by the *Bakke* decision, arguing in court that "excessive busing times violate [white] children's civil rights."

Fortunately, Superior Court Judge Paul Egly, who had issued the desegregation order, rejected Bustop's motion, saying, "I think you have stood *Bakke* on its head."

The racists have also tried to use Proposition 13, arguing that with the cutbacks in state expenditures resulting from the tax proposition, money should not be spent on mandatory busing.

This theme was voiced in the state legislature by Leo McCarthy, the powerful Democratic speaker of the House and a political ally of Governor Brown's.

The alliance of the school board majority with the racist Bustop gang is particularly outrageous, given the minimal nature of the plan they're trying to kill.

With 600,000 pupils, the Los Angeles school district is the second-largest—and one of the most segregated—in the nation.

Of those 600,000 pupils, only 30,000 are involved in the mandatory busing plan.

About 10,000 are in schools covered by "voluntary" plans, which often desegregate in name only.

Meanwhile, there are 260,000—more than a quarter of a million!—Black and Chicano students who remain in inferior, totally segregated schools.

The two Black members of the city council said Judge Egly should declare the board "recalcitrant" and take over administration of desegregation himself.

It wouldn't be unreasonable to ask him to clap them in jail for contempt of the Constitution.

South Africa unleashes new repressive wave

By Omari Musa

The apartheid regime in South Africa is continuing to step up its repression against Black activists.

At the end of July the government announced a September 18 trial date for eleven Black students for their role in leading the June 1976 Soweto rebellion.

The students are members of the Soweto Students Representative Council (SSRC) and are charged with "sedition" and "terrorism."

Pretoria has also charged several prominent Black exiles with being "co-conspirators." Among them are Tsietshi Mashinini, Khotso Seatlholo, and Tromfomo Sono—all former presidents of the SSRC—and Drake Koka, general secretary of the Black Allied Workers Union. Koka will tour the United States next month.

On September 6 the government placed Dr. Nthato Motlana, a respected Soweto leader, under a thirty-day banning order.

Motlana is chairperson of Soweto's Committee of Ten.

The gag order prohibits him from attending any public gathering.

A week earlier South African police shot and killed twenty-two-year-old Johannes Machobane. Machobane was a participant in the Soweto rebellion and had spent six months in jail

on charges of "terrorism."

Police claim he was shot while trying to escape custody.

The increased repression of the South African regime shows that anti-apartheid activists in the U.S. need to step up their defense of Black political activists.

The tour of Drake Koka, one of the "co-conspirators" in the Soweto Eleven case, provides just that opportunity.

Koka is well known throughout South Africa for his trade-union and anti-apartheid activities. His tour will help get out the truth to the American people about the frame-up trials, banings, and murder in South Africa.

Initial stops on Koka's tour are:

Oct. 2	Indianapolis
3-4	Cincinnati
5	Toledo
6-9	Cleveland
10-14	New York/Newark
16-19	Boston/ W. Massachusetts
20	Midwest Conference on South Africa
21	New York NAACP convention

For further information on Koka's tour contact:

Drake Koka Tour Committee, c/o Greenwich Village-Chelsea NAACP, 42 Grove Street, New York, New York 10014. Telephone: (212) 243-1650.

Protest apartheid frame-up

Opponents of the South African government in the United States are organizing a picket line and news conference in New York September 18 to protest the trial of eleven Soweto students accused of "sedition" and terrorism.

The activities will also protest the victimization of other Black activists by the South African regime.

The picket line is scheduled to begin at 5:30 p.m. in front of the

South African Consulate, 425 Park Avenue.

Endorsers of the protest include the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania; African National Congress; National Anti-Imperialist Movement in Solidarity with African Liberation; American Committee on Africa; Young Socialist Alliance and the Greenwich Village-Chelsea NAACP.

Representatives of the endorsing organizations will also participate in the noon news conference at the consulate.



Khotso Seatlholo, one of 'co-conspirators' named in frame-up trial

WHO KILLED MALCOLM X?

THE ASSASSINATION OF MALCOLM X

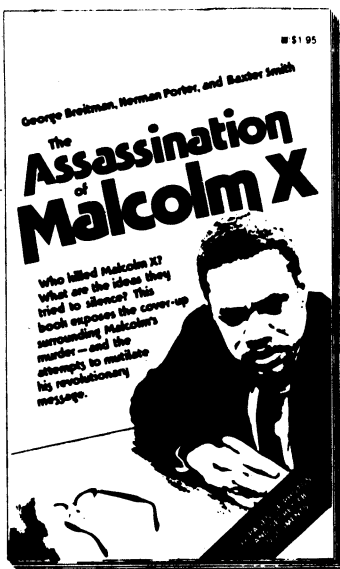
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By Nelson Blackstock with an introduction by Noam Chomsky. "These documents prove beyond any doubt that the FBI—through Democratic and Republican administrations—has deliberately tried to destroy legitimate American organizations and nullify the Bill of Rights. These disclosures are more damning than Watergate."—Robert Allen, editor, *The Black Scholar* 216 pages, cloth \$10.00

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Newsletter out for conference

The North East Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa has just issued a newsletter as part of its efforts to publicize its November 17-19 conference on southern Africa.

The conference will be held at New York University.

Included in the newsletter is a proposal for a national day of actions on March 21, 1979, the nineteenth anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre.

The newsletter also summarizes anti-apartheid actions held over the summer and gives an update on campus activities.

It includes a list of available source materials on bank loans to South Africa, nuclear collaboration with the apartheid regime, and new

films on African liberation struggles.

The newsletter urges divestment and anti-apartheid activists to attend the NECLSA Steering Committee meeting September 30 at Calhoun College, Yale University, in New Haven, Connecticut.

NECLSA has also sent out a letter to trade unionists, Black organizations, women's groups, and others seeking their endorsement and participation in the November 17-19 conference.

To receive the newsletter and further information on the conference contact:

NECLSA, c/o American Committee on Africa, 305 East Forty-sixth Street, New York, New York 10017.

Unionist speaks against nukes

'Educate patiently and persistently'

Following is the speech given at the June 25, 1978, anti-nuclear power rally at Seabrook, New Hampshire, by Jerry Gordon, international representative of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen. Gordon was a national coordinator of the National Peace Action Coalition, which organized many of the anti-Vietnam War demonstrations in Washington, D.C., and other cities.

The text is taken from the July/August 'Clamshell Alliance News.' The Clamshell Alliance organized the June 25 protest.

This is a great movement that you're building here. The test of any social movement is not its immediate popularity or the present acceptance of its program but rather the correctness of its cause, and for me at least, the slogan "Better Active Today than Radioactive Tomorrow" makes perfect sense.

I note in the press that a comparison is being drawn between this movement against nuclear power and the antiwar movement, and I may be biased, but I think it's a high compliment to draw that comparison.

Our movement, like this one, the movement against the war, was vilified and attacked. We were red-baited and infiltrated. Some of our activists were arrested—remember Dr. Spock—and others were shot down and murdered—remember Kent State and Jackson State. But we persisted, and for every blow we got we gave two in return. When the smoke was cleared and it was all over, U.S. military forces were out of Southeast Asia and the people there were left free to run their own country.

We stayed on the attack, exposing the barbaric, unjust colonial war for what it was.

But that was history and it's beyond us.

For people who care about humanity, there are new challenges before us today. None is more important than the fight against nuclear power plants, with their lethal radioactivity and nuclear wastes. And if there is one legacy that I hope the antiwar movement can leave this movement and others after it, it is this: the need always to reach out to ever-widening sections of the population, and especially the labor movement. To educate patiently and persistently through demonstrations like this which provide the forum and the method for reaching the largest



Militant/Arnold Weissberg



Militant/Fred Murphy

Jerry Gordon (left) addressed crowd of 20,000 anti-nuclear power protesters at Seabrook on June 25

numbers of people.

This great rally is one where people could come and relate to it because of the way it has been conducted and the way it has been organized. And I hope for ever-bigger demonstrations.

That's what we did, that's how we built the antiwar movement, and that's how you can take a movement which attracts thousands and transform it into a movement which embraces millions and creates a power and the capability to end wars and eliminate nuclear power plants from the face of this country.

Now, much has been said, and much has been written, about the fact that the labor movement has not participated sufficiently in the fight to protect our environment.

And I want to tell you this. The labor movement is like a sleeping giant, which, when roused, when moved, and when motivated—when it moves into action—it can change the tide of policy.

What we have to do is counter the big lie that the labor movement is an enemy of the movement to curb nuclear power plants.

The enemy of this movement is the same as the enemy of the labor movement. And that's the big corporations in this country, and the politicians, and the bureaucrats that carry out their desires.

Brothers and sisters, let me assure you that the working people of this country care about the air they breathe. It's the workers who must breathe the deadly air and drink the

poisoned water from the industrial communities, as well as suffer the hazards of the workplace. They care.

Now let me make a comment about the brothers and sisters that are working in the nuclear power industry. It's a very serious problem. It's an excruciating dilemma, because many of these workers see as the choice before them: the immediate and certain catastrophe of loss of job at a time when there are six or eight or ten million unemployed—as opposed to the prospect of possibly, in the long run, jeopardizing the environment for themselves and others.

And confronted with that kind of Hobson's choice, American workers, being pragmatic and practical, will often opt to stay and protect their jobs.

So what the environmental movement and the movement against nuclear power plants must address itself to, as we in the labor movement address ourselves, is a society where everybody has the right to a job, and we don't have to choose between that kind of safety hazard and working security.

And as a beginner, wouldn't it be great if we could take some of that \$128 billion that they blow on the Pentagon every year and use some of that money for public works programs, to build hospitals, and homes, and clinics, and urban centers, and the things that people need! That's the way to get jobs! We don't need that nuclear power plant to do it!

There are ties between this movement and the movement for full employment. But there are also ties between this movement and the movement to protect the right of Native Americans, the plight of the farmers, the plight of the Black community, the women's movement, the welfare rights movement, the gay rights movement—all the movements that seek to achieve social change and equal rights.

And let me tell you what links all these movements together. One is their placing of human rights above property rights. But the other is that we're all catching a lot of hell these days.

And I am one who believes that somewhere down the road—and you can't tell how long or how far it will take to get there—that all these movements are going to come together.

And we are going to create a new society, where everybody has a job, where people breathe clean air, and drink healthy water, where we live in peace, where we enjoy dignity and security.

We, together, unified, the labor movement and you and all these other movements, we will build such a society!

I want to congratulate all of you for the work you've done over these years when you were few in number, to have built this great movement which has such a fantastic future. Continue the struggle, and be assured of our support. . . . Thank you.

Tacoma: opposition to Maoist violence grows

By David Zilly

TACOMA, Wash.—Support is growing here for an appeal for democracy in the labor movement in the wake of a physical attack on Socialist Workers Party campaign supporters by supporters of the Revolutionary Communist Party and the Mao Tsetung Memorial Committee.

On August 29 Bob Rowand and Linda Malanchuk were selling the *Militant* and distributing literature about Mary Smith, the SWP candidate for U.S. Congress in Washington's Sixth District, at a Boeing Company aircraft plant in Auburn, Washington. Smith, a member of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, District 751, is employed by Boeing.

Four supporters of the RCP and the

Mao Tsetung Memorial Committee threatened Rowand and Malanchuk. Two of the RCP members attacked Rowand, pushing him against a lamp-post and punching him repeatedly in the face. They also hit Malanchuk in the head. The Maoist thugs also threatened Rowand's life.

In response, Smith issued an open letter to the RCP and Mao Tsetung Memorial Committee condemning the assault.

In her letter, Smith describes the attack as "a serious threat and a gross disservice to the labor movement." She points out that the use of violence "limits, in a most undemocratic way, the right of my co-workers to read and form their own opinions of my views as a candidate for U.S. Congress."

Smith adds, "We defend the right of

all political groups, including the Revolutionary Communist Party, to peacefully distribute literature and present their views. Without this right, the entire atmosphere of democratic discussion and debate so vital to the labor movement is severely undermined."

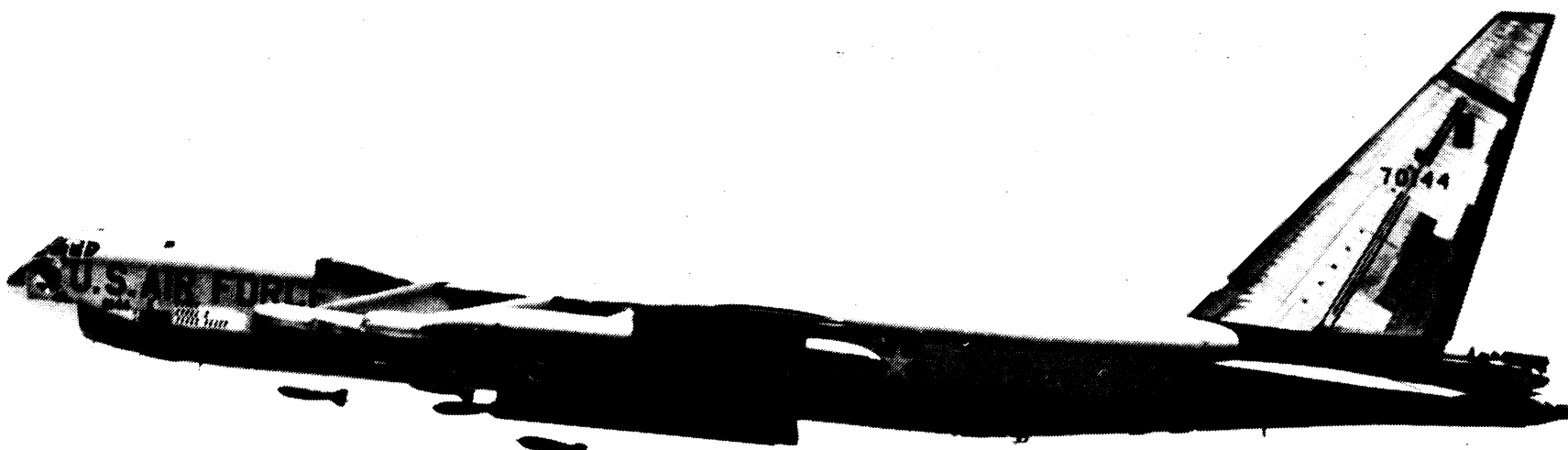
Smith notes in her appeal that this latest attack is part of a pattern. Linda Malanchuk and other campaign supporters have been threatened twice before at Kaiser Aluminum in Tacoma by representatives of the RCP.

Last April the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade, the youth group of the RCP, helped physically disrupt meetings held by the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran at the University of Washington and Portland State University.

In May a dozen RCP members and

supporters attacked a meeting at the University of Houston, where a staff member of the United Mine Workers of America was speaking about the miners' strike.

So far Smith's appeal has been endorsed by Karl Bermann, a shop steward for Boilermakers Local 104; Chuck Wickman, shop steward for International Molders and Allied Workers Local 158; Stephanie Coontz, vice-president, Evergreen State College AFT; Marcia Dombrowsky, co-coordinator, Tacoma National Organization for Women; Aleta Wenger, Feminist Student Union, Pacific Lutheran University; Judy Fortier, Tacoma Women's Rights Division; Tom Leach, American Civil Liberties Union; and Elaine Wong, Asian American Alliance.



NO NUKES!

Stopping the nuclear death machine

By Jay Ressler

What strategy will defeat the nuclear death machine?

That question brought more than 300 people to the National No-Nukes Strategies Conference in Louisville last month.

Local and regional discussions on perspectives have gone on for some time. But two big actions this spring—the May 27 United Nations disarmament demonstration, and the June 25 anti-nuclear power rally at Seabrook—pushed these discussions to a national level.

Louisville conference delegates expressed determination to continue the fight through nationally coordinated local actions in November and international protests next June. And a groundswell emerged behind the idea of a national action in Washington, D.C.

A striking feature of the conference was the degree to which delegates understood the links between nuclear power and atomic weapons.

This came through clearest in proposals from the workshop on nuclear power and weapons, in which I participated.

A summary of the workshop, printed in the conference proceedings, noted that commercial and military nuclear technologies have been intimately connected from the beginning of the nuclear era. It also pointed out that elimination of one requires elimination of the other.

The report concluded with a summons to antinuclear and peace groups "to unite in making these links in their organizing efforts both on the national and local levels."

Moratorium campaign?

The workshop, however, adopted another proposal that detracted from this positive thrust. This was a proposal for a "moratorium campaign."

This campaign would center on a call for a "moratorium on the entire process of the nuclear cycle"—including mining, exports, and the construction of new nuclear power plants and nuclear weapons.

This demand is backed by significant sections of the movement. For example, the Mobilization for Survival is considering raising the idea of a moratorium as an "interim" demand.

But this proposal would mark a step back from the movement's unequivocal demand for "no nukes" and a nuclear-free world. And it has been exactly that clear, simple demand that has

given the movement its strength and dynamism.

Simply halting construction of new nuclear power plants and nuclear weapons would do nothing to end the dangers posed by existing ones. Only *operating* nukes, for example, produce deadly radioactive wastes. And the Pentagon would still have enough nuclear weaponry to destroy the world a hundred times over.

The most important weakness of the moratorium proposal is that it concedes the right of the government and the nuclear industry to continue to endanger our lives.

Opening the door

If we allow the pro-nuke forces to wedge their feet in the door, shutting it once and for all will be that much more difficult.

It will be harder to convince people that nukes remain dangerous. "After all," someone might ask, "if they're so dangerous, why don't you try to get them all shut down?"

The best part of the moratorium proposal is its demand for an immediate halt to uranium mining. If implemented, the supply of uranium for atomic fuel and nuclear warheads would be ended, leaving all nuclear power plants in the United States high and dry as soon as uranium stockpiles were exhausted.

Opposition to uranium mining is fine. But the government and the industry will reply that ending mining means ending nuclear power. And they'll be right, of course. But what will the movement say in answer? Are we for nukes or against them? Are they safe or aren't they? There's no evading an answer, if we want to convince people we are right.

The moratorium proposal plays into the hands of Democratic and Republican politicians seeking to cash in on antinuke sentiment.

Here's an example. New York's Governor Carey, running for reelection, recently announced he favored a ban on new nuclear construction projects until the federal government comes up with an "adequate" radioactive-waste disposal program.

Carey's moratorium is a fake, designed to win votes. He did not propose halting construction on plants already in the works. He did not propose legislation to enforce the ban, nor did he define what an "adequate" disposal plan would be.

Above all, as the *New York Times*

noted editorially "the move has no legal force." Authority to approve power plants lies with a state siting board, not with the governor.

The board has overruled Carey in the past. Presumably the governor is counting on the board going along with his moratorium—at least until after the November elections.

Carter's 'moratorium'

President Carter claims to favor a moratorium on breeder reactors. (A breeder reactor produces more of the fiendishly toxic substance plutonium than it consumes.)

In reality, though, Carter is only against building a specific breeder reactor—the one at Clinch River, Tennessee, which is viewed by some experts as already obsolete. Earlier this year, the Carter administration offered to swap Clinch River for a breeder project two or three times larger.

This is the cynical way Democratic and Republican politicians can use the moratorium demand to promote even more dangerous projects.

The moratorium demand ducks the dangers posed by the very existence of the vast U.S. stockpile of nuclear weapons.

Even without ever being dropped, these weapons quietly spread their destruction.

Most of the atomic waste in this country is from military production and reprocessing. Already, massive amounts of military wastes have seeped into the environment.

The nuclear dump in Hanford, Washington, for instance has leaked a half-million gallons of radioactive waste. The toll in lives and increased cancer risks is incalculable.

Massive amounts of new radioactive wastes are produced each year just in servicing the existing stockpile.

The life span of weapons-grade plutonium is between three and five years. This means that just to keep *existing* bombs in working order, 5,000 pounds of plutonium must be reprocessed each year. And this means that thousands of pounds of plutonium, the most poisonous substance known, are regularly transported through the cities and towns of this country.

Risk of nuclear holocaust

The moratorium demand also fails to directly address the risk of nuclear holocaust, a real risk as long as nuclear weapons remain in the hands of America's capitalist rulers.

The U.S. government has shown that it will use atomic weapons to kill human beings. It is the only government that has ever done so. It has also demonstrated that it is the most aggressive and brutal military power in the world.

In 1962 President John Kennedy brought the world to the edge of destruction during the Cuban missile crisis.

In 1973 Nixon threatened to use nuclear weapons against the Soviet Union in order to force a favorable settlement in the Middle East.

In an attempt to impose its will in Africa, the Carter administration has threatened Cuba for helping national liberation movements. This belligerence poses the threat of future nuclear confrontation.

Another workshop at the Louisville No-Nukes Strategies Conference—the one on radioactive waste—declared: "nuclear weapons must be unconditionally abolished."

Shouldn't *this* be the movement's position?

We must make clear that half-measures will not do when it comes to the tremendous destructive powers of nuclear technology.

The rise of the antinuclear movement is testimony that widespread opposition exists to the government's "right" to maintain its nuclear stockpile and to push nuclear power.

Growing numbers of people are standing up to say the government does not have the right to put the survival of the human race in jeopardy for the sake of ever-larger profits and continued world domination.

The movement does not have the responsibility to come up with "interim" proposals for what steps the government should take to begin dismantling the nuclear apparatus. We don't control the nuclear stockpile or the nuclear power plants. If we did, they wouldn't exist. Let the White House figure out how to get rid of them.

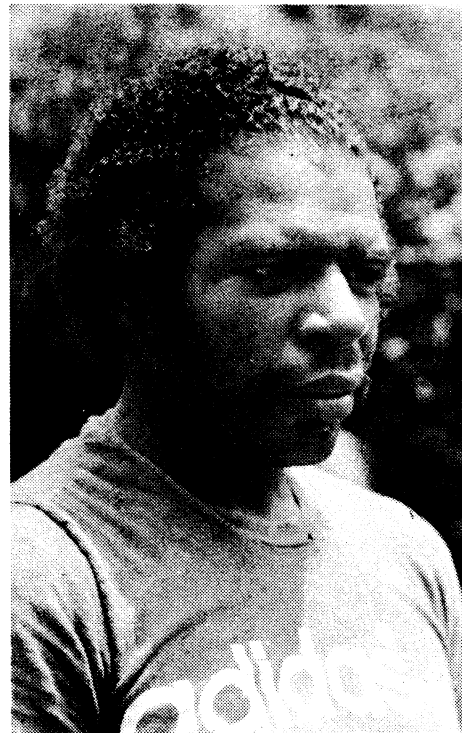
Our job is to mobilize the most powerful movement possible to demand: No nukes now! Ban the bomb now!

The program on which the Mobilization for Survival has achieved success during the past year is adequate to this task:

Zero nuclear weapons!
Stop the arms race!
Ban nuclear power!
Fund human needs!

LEO HARRIS:

'I always disliked this system, but knew I couldn't do very much by myself'



LEO HARRIS

Militant/Larry Seigle

By Larry Seigle

MIAMI—Roy Leo Harris is a man who is determined to see an end to police terror in the Black community here. He is equally dedicated to getting rid of the capitalist system, which breeds racism and is built on oppression and exploitation.

Because of these beliefs, and because of his prominent role in antiracist struggles in the Miami area, Leo Harris has been singled out by the cops for a campaign of frame-ups and harassment.

"When the cops come into our community," explains Harris, "you can feel the tension, the explosive tension."

"There is a general consensus in the Black community and in the Puerto Rican community here that the police are totally alien forces. It's just like if a spaceship from Mars came down on Earth and they said, 'OK, we're gonna police you.' It's the same kind of situation."

"We're going to have to abolish all the police departments," Harris believes. "Especially the ones in the Black and Puerto Rican communities. That is what it is going to take."

The cops here are notorious for indiscriminate killings of Black people. A few months back, in nearby Broward County, cops brutally murdered Jimmy Lee Spann. Leo Harris was one of

those who joined in protests after this sadistic killing.

"Jimmy Lee's brother had been in a shoot-out with the cops several years ago," Harris explained. "So I guess the cops had it in for him. They came to his house around 4:00 in the morning. Jimmy Lee came to the door in his underwear. And one of the cops pulls out his .357 magnum and just shoots Jimmy Lee dead, right in the neck. His little kids were watching. Then the cops claimed that Jimmy Lee fell off the doorstep onto the cop's gun."

Cops and the Klan

Shortly after the Black community held several demonstrations, including one of more than 500, to protest this killing, the Ku Klux Klan staged a march in the town of Davie, near Miami. Harris believes that a lot of those hiding under the white sheets were cops.

"They had quite a lot of police protection for their march. Better than any Black demonstration ever had. And there were cops in uniform marching alongside them. You know, marching right in step with the Klan."

Harris is convinced that the Klan has cells operating in the police department. There is, he says, "a general consensus" on that in the Black community.

"It is getting to the point where when cops come into the community to arrest somebody, they have got to send in a whole contingent. I don't know if that is even going to work much longer."

Like most Black people who have been active in the antiracist struggle, Leo Harris has been victimized by the cops before.

Harris grew up in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, where his father worked in the steel mills.

"The first time I was arrested, I was still in the twelfth grade. That was in 1968. Black awareness was just starting to catch on strong. We had formed a little organization of Black students at Fifth Avenue High School. We were fighting for Black history and better textbooks."

"One day we took about 100 students and went off to the board of education to present our demands. The cops arrested about twenty students and put them in a patrolwagon."

"I climbed up on the back of the wagon and looked inside to see who they had arrested, and then the cops came around and arrested me. They told me I was trying to release the prisoners. I guess that was my first brush with the law."

King assassination

Harris was arrested again during the rebellion that broke out in response to the 1968 murder of Martin Luther King, Jr. Earlier he had participated in demonstrations King led in Pittsburgh against firms that refused to hire Black workers.

Harris was in school when word came that King had been gunned down. "I got out of school, and everything was in turmoil. Stores were burning. That evening we were in the streets demonstrating, and maybe 4-500 National Guards came marching into the middle of the Black community. They had jeeps and tanks and riot equipment. I was arrested then, along with thousands of others."

"I was placed in a two-man cell, along with six or seven brothers, and we were kept locked up for a week. We never left the cell once during those seven days. We were fed in a dog pan they would slide under the cell door."

After high school, Harris went to Howard University in Washington, D.C. It was there that he became familiar with Pan-Africanist and other Black nationalist ideas. Stokely Carmichael was on campus regularly, as were other Black leaders. Harris was a member of the SNCC—the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee—and of the campus chapter of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

He was also active in the anti-Vietnam War movement at Howard, getting arrested once again for a demonstration in front of the ROTC building at Howard.

But much of his time was spent playing the saxophone, which he took

seriously. He recalls with a grin the day he played in the Howard marching band at Richard Nixon's inauguration in 1969.

Marine Corps

It was his horn that got him tricked into the marines. "In 1970 I got a draft notice. They told me I could get into the Marine Corps band and stay out of Vietnam. So I took the audition, and the marines told me I was accepted. They told me I would just have to take six weeks of basic training at Parris Island, and then I would be assigned to the band at one of the bases in the States."

"But at the end of the six weeks, they told me the band was all full. Hell, they were drafting symphony musicians in those days. So they told me I could still play music but I would have, you know, some 'extracurricular activities'—like in Da Nang or Saigon. So shortly after that I managed to get a medical discharge."

After leaving the marines, Harris moved to Baltimore, where he combined playing professionally when he could with assembly-line work to fill in the gaps.

It was in Baltimore that he joined the Nation of Islam. "All my life I was kind of an atheist at heart, you know. It was hard for me to believe in religion. But the Black nationalism of the Muslims, the mood and the discipline kind of attracted me."

But it didn't last. "I was turned off by the religion and by a lot of the realizations about the true story of Elijah Muhammad and Malcolm X. I had always really admired Malcolm, but in the Muslims they said that Elijah Muhammad was still the leader."

"And while they began with Black nationalism, they wound up with Black capitalism. I didn't go for that."

"They taught the philosophy that we could work in this system, in the capitalist system. They said we could be Black capitalists, open up a fish store or a shoeshine parlor, and that was the way to liberation. I just had a lot of disagreements with that. So I left the Nation."

Pan-African Congress

But Harris didn't change his ideas about Black nationalism. He attended a number of Pan-Africanist gatherings that were held around the country. He recalls his experience at one of those congresses.

"I met Ben Chavis of the Wilmington Ten there. Dick Gregory was there, and a number of other Black leaders. And I guess I really got more involved after that. I turned more toward the struggle than I had before."

One of the things that convinced Harris that radical changes were needed in this country was the passage of the "no-knock" law in Washington, D.C., where he was again living.

"One time I was in a little meeting of a small Black nationalist group in D.C."



Louisiana cops lead child away during 1972 Baton Rouge Black rebellion. Such police barbarism made Leo Harris a Black liberation fighter and socialist.

The facts in Leo Harris case

Black socialist Leo Harris was participating in a Haitian antiracist protest at a Winn-Dixie market when policeman Gerald Kuffner, driving a private car, ran him down. Harris was thrown onto the hood of the car and then whipped off. The car drove away.

Instead of taking the injured Harris for treatment, police took him to a stationhouse and arrested him. He faces a possible two-year sentence on charges of disorderly conduct and criminal mischief.

After Harris's arrest in the August 8 Winn-Dixie incident, political documents were stolen from his home. Squad cars have cruised up and down the street in front of his home and parked conspicuously in front of the offices of the Socialist Workers Party, of which Harris is a member.

As we were sitting there, all of a sudden police and federal agents started smashing into the place with sledgehammers. They just came in right through the walls, and they practically demolished the whole structure.

"After that, I kind of made up my mind to actively participate in every demonstration against Nixon, who had helped get the no-knock law passed. I really thought personally that he was Public Enemy Number One."

Harris moved down to Miami, where he has lived ever since. He has worked at a number of industrial jobs here and is now in an apprentice program run by the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

And he has seen the cops do their dirty work.

Union leader murdered

"There was Joe Caleb, who was a Black union leader and a friend of mine. Joe was a leader of the Laborer's International Union Local 478, a predominantly Black local. I really admired him, because he was leading a lot of strikes, and he was mobilizing Black trade unionists, minority trade unionists.

"He was respected by other workers in the longshore union, the postal unions, and in the Teamsters. He was concerned with the conditions in the community, and he rose up from the bottom of the pit.

"He was killed in 1973. He was murdered. A police officer was implicated, but the case was never solved. The city built a big new community

center, and they named it after him, and that was supposed to be the end of it. But it isn't, not in my mind."

Socialist Workers Party

What convinced Harris to join the Socialist Workers Party?

"Well, I had been a strong follower of Malcolm. I always had a strong dislike for this system. I had never really been a capitalist at heart. But I had never belonged to any real organization. I guess you could say I had a 'Lone Ranger' mentality.

"But when I came to realize the depth of the problem we face and the kind of changes that are needed, I knew I couldn't do much by myself.

"I had checked out a few organizations. I had considered the Communist Party here. But sometimes they would support Democrats for office. Sometimes even members of the CP would run as Democrats.

"And they had a somewhat do-nothing attitude. Maybe in other cities they are a little more active, but here they're really passive. They have a laying-back stance. I didn't particularly go for that.

Harris had seen a poster put up by some local supporters of Pedro Camejo, the 1976 presidential candidate on the SWP ticket. "It listed a local post office box, and I wrote two or three times but didn't get any reply. That was before there was a branch of the party here.

"Then I saw Camejo on television during the campaign. I guess that was what really turned me on. Finally, last year, I was talking with a couple of friends, activists from the Dominican Republic, and I told them I sure wish



Militant/Larry Seigle
Miami Haitian leader Arthur Papillon in TV interview after meeting with state's attorney to demand halt to Leo Harris frame-up.

the SWP had an office here. That's when they told me, 'Well, they just moved in.'

"So I went by the headquarters, and I found that it was really the closest organization to my personal beliefs."

Letter to 'Granma'

Last fall, before Harris joined the SWP, he was arrested on a totally concocted charge by the cops and badly beaten in jail. In reaction, he filed a civil rights suit in federal court. The frame-up charges were quietly dropped before the trial.

"This was the time when Jimmy Carter was mouthing off so much about human rights. I wanted to let people around the world know that there are no human rights for minority people in this country.

"So I sent copies of my police arrest report and a letter to newspapers around the world, to France, to West Germany, to *Izvestia* and *Tass*. But the only one to print it was *Granma*, the Cuban newspaper."

The letter was printed in the July 23, 1978, English-language edition of *Granma*.

"It seems as though poor and working people have no justice in the USA," Harris wrote. "Police brutality and murders of innocent people occur constantly. This is a situation of grave importance and a time bomb in our country. Something must be done to bring attention to these atrocities."

"I'm glad the Cubans published that

letter, because I admire the Cuban revolution. They have stood up to Carter's hypocrisy about human rights," says Harris.

Harris feels especially strongly about the role the Cubans are playing today in the anti-imperialist struggles in Africa.

"I think that's beautiful. Beautiful. Especially after all those years of slavery and the after effects of slavery, for the Cuban descendants of African slaves to go back to Africa to help break the chains and free the land. It is something that needed doing 100 years ago.

"And it gives me a great feeling of satisfaction. Not just the role of the Cubans in the fight against the racists in Africa, but the effects that the struggle in Africa today is having all over the world on Black people—here in this country, throughout Central and South America, and throughout the rest of Africa.

"I feel that all African people, and all progressive people, and all socialist people, should lend their moral support and all other kinds of support to the liberation of the African peoples.

"Because we are really fighting for the same thing. Our Black brothers and sisters in Zimbabwe and in Namibia and in South Africa are fighting for the same thing that we are fighting for here in the United States and right here in Miami—for the liberation of our peoples and for an end to the capitalist system."

Delegation tells DA: drop Harris charges

By Lee Smith

MIAMI—Dade County State Attorney Janet Reno met with a delegation from the Leo Harris Defense Committee in her office here September 6.

The delegation asked her to drop criminal charges against Leo Harris, a Black socialist who was assaulted and then arrested at a Haitian antiracist demonstration August 8.

They also asked her to file charges against Gerald Kuffner, the cop who drove a car into Harris.

Participating in the delegation were Jack Lieberman, secretary of the Leo

Harris Defense Committee; Arthur Papillon and Jean-Claude Exulien, leaders of the protest at which Harris was victimized; Ken Hall, head of the Black Political Prisoners Alliance, and an organizer of anti-police-brutality protests in Broward County; and Warren Hoskins of the American Friends Service Committee.

Also participating were Rose Ogden, Miami organizer of the Socialist Workers Party; Rulx Jean-Bart, director of the Haitian Refugee Information Center; and Mary Pike, an attorney for the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance lawsuit

against government spying.

Leo Harris and his attorney Lou Beller had planned to be part of the delegation. But Beller was suddenly taken ill and had to undergo surgery the day before the meeting.

Nevertheless, Harris accompanied the delegation and the media into the state attorney's office.

But Reno refused to let Harris stay in the room without Beller. She claimed it would not be "ethical" for her to discuss the case in Harris's presence unless a Florida Attorney representing him were also present.

Reno used Beller's absence as an excuse to refrain from any conclusive decision. But with reporters present from two TV stations, both major Miami daily newspapers, and an all-news radio station, Reno did listen to Jack Lieberman present the delegation's demands.

Ken Hall told Reno that in light of her expressed concern for ethics, she ought to be concerned about the conduct of the police in this case and thousands of similar ones.

Arthur Papillon refuted the police version of the incident. Miami cops now claim that Harris was not run down but instead leaped onto the hood of the car driven by the cop! They assert that this is how he was injured and why he was arrested.

However, Papillon pointed out that

witnesses saw the car hit Harris. Furthermore, he stated, he had personally gone to the police to insist that they get medical attention for Harris, who was bleeding.

When they finally did put Harris in a patrol car, they took him not to a hospital but to a police station, where they booked him.

Reno said she would meet with Harris and Beller as soon as Beller has recovered and "carry out every action possible based upon the evidence we can gather."

The Leo Harris Defense Committee held a meeting the following night at the New World campus of Miami Dade Community College. About forty people, including a number of Black students, heard speeches by Rulx Jean-Bart; Shirley Frye, executive board member of the Florida Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression; Tony Thomas, southeast field organizer of the Socialist Workers Party; and Harris himself.

The meeting raised \$120 for the defense.

Harris is slated to be arraigned September 13. The Miami City Commission meets the following day, and the Leo Harris Defense Committee plans to bring its demands there if the charges against Harris have not been dropped and Kuffner has not been charged.

**You
can
help!**

The Leo Harris Defense Committee urges that messages be sent demanding that the charges against Harris be dropped. Send messages to Dade County State Attorney Janet Reno, 1351 NW Twelfth Street, Miami, Florida 33135.

Copies of the protest messages, along with urgently needed contributions, should be sent to the Leo Harris Defense Committee, 7623 NE Second Avenue, Miami, Florida 33138.



Cuba &

Lessons of C

and Allende

By Peter Seidman

Five years ago, on September 11, 1973, the Unidad Popular (UP—Popular Unity) government in Chile was overthrown in a bloody military coup.

The new ruling junta of Gen. Augusto Pinochet imposed an ironfisted dictatorship.

Some 30,000 people out of a population of 10 million have been killed; some 100,000 arrested; about 2,500 have been "disappeared"; and one-half million have been forced into exile (according to the organization Non-Intervention in Chile).

Chile's once-powerful national trade-union federations and all political parties were banned. Books were burned in the streets. Tens of thousands of political and trade-union activists were tortured. All civil liberties were suspended.

The coup signaled that Chile's ruling rich and their co-conspirators in Washington had decided that the UP government was incapable of adequately containing the deepgoing radicalization among the Chilean masses. More direct measures would be needed to preserve capitalist rule.

Under tremendous pressure from the masses who voted it into office, the UP government carried out a number of progressive measures during its thirty-six months. These included the expropriation of some important foreign-owned businesses, particularly the U.S.-dominated copper companies; diplomatic recognition of Cuba; a land reform; substantial increases in workers' wages; and the granting of political asylum to left-wing exiles from throughout Latin America.

Borrowed time

Such measures, of course, did not sit well with Chile's rulers. They used the time Allende's conciliatory policies bought for their tottering system to organize the economic and political offensive that paved the way for Allende's death and the downfall of his government.

The White House, Wall Street, and CIA also played a major role in organizing this anti-UP crusade.

But as the bloody aftermath of the coup made clear, the real target of the reactionary onslaught was the struggle by the workers and peasants for socialism.

This bloody defeat was not inevitable. Responsibility for it rests with the leaderships of the Communist and Socialist parties—the two most influential working-class parties in Chile, and the two largest organizations in the UP coalition.

These betrayers never had the slight-

est intention of leading a socialist revolution.

Allende, for example—a part of the dominant wing of the SP leadership—was elected to the presidency with only a plurality. Consequently, under the constitution, he needed support from the Christian Democrats, Chile's principal capitalist party, in order to win congressional ratification and take office.

To get this backing, Allende agreed to respect the "independence" of the very officer corps that eventually overthrew him—as well as to uphold the existing capitalist judicial and governmental systems.

Marxism 'senseless'?

Shortly after taking office, Allende told *Le Monde* reporter Marcel Niedergang, "We are not going to set up a Marxist government. That is senseless. We will have a government in which the six formations of the Popular Unity are represented—the Communists, Socialists, [along with the capitalist and middle-class parties, the] Radicals, MAPU, Social Democrats, and Independent People's Action. That is the truth."

Allende never broke this pledge—right up to the end. The UP program was consciously designed to secure the tacit support of the Christian Democrats. It was also tailored to be acceptable to the UP's capitalist-party components—even though these parties constituted only a minuscule proportion of the coalition's support, which came overwhelmingly from the working class and peasant followers of the CP and SP.

For its part, the CP leadership made clear that the newly elected government would remain safely within limits acceptable to the capitalists. CP Sen. Volodia Teitelboim warned Niedergang on October 23, 1970, not to expect any "spectacular upsets." "We certainly have no intention of provoking useless confrontations with the United States," he said. "We will carefully study all the problems. . . . We hope to lay the basis for something that could later make possible the development of a socialist regime."

The UP government was what the Stalinist movement worldwide calls a *popular front*, that is, an electoral or governmental alliance with capitalist parties. While Stalinists claim that such alliances advance the interests of the oppressed, what is really involved is the subordination of the interests and struggles of workers and peasants to the procapitalist policies of the bourgeois partners in the coalition.

This strategy did not originate with the Stalinists. It is simply a warmed-

over version of the class collaborationism and coalitionism that had destroyed Social Democratic parties as a revolutionary movement by World War I.

The Communist International was built by Lenin and Trotsky in opposition to these policies, whose bankruptcy was proven by the victorious Bolshevik revolution in 1917. In his battle against these genuine Marxist policies, Stalin junked Leninism and peddled the old Social Democratic theories under a new label—the popular front.

Schooled in these bankrupt policies, both the Chilean CP (a Stalinist party) and SP (a Social Democratic party) openly said that their perspective in the UP was not to *abolish* capitalism but to *preserve* it, albeit with some reforms. Socialism was put off until the distant future.

That's why Marxists say that the Chilean CP and SP, and their sister organizations around the world, are *reformist*, not *revolutionary*, parties.

Cuban counterexample

The tragic and short-lived UP experiment in what the CP called the "peaceful road to socialism" stood in sharp contrast to the victorious outcome of the Cuban revolution. Workers around the world will celebrate the twentieth anniversary of that triumph this New Year's Day.

The gains of the Cuban revolution were made possible by the victory of the armed struggle waged by the July 26 Movement under the leadership of Fidel Castro against the U.S.-backed Batista dictatorship.

The Cuban example offers proof positive of how utopian the claim is that meaningful social progress can be achieved by simply holding seats in a capitalist government while the rulers' army, police, and entire state apparatus remain untouched.

But the full scope of the betrayal of the CP and SP in Chile goes beyond their failure to adequately prepare for the struggle with armed counterrevolutionary forces—a struggle inevitable in every genuine social revolution.

The rich lessons of the Cuban revolution show that this betrayal had even deeper *political* roots.

Even after the July 26 Movement had defeated Batista's forces militarily, the new government in Havana faced major challenges and contradictions. The defeat of the armed power of the old regime had only cleared the way for the abolition of capitalism. It had not guaranteed it.

On coming to power, the July 26 Movement set up a coalition government that included well-known repre-

sentatives of capitalist parties.

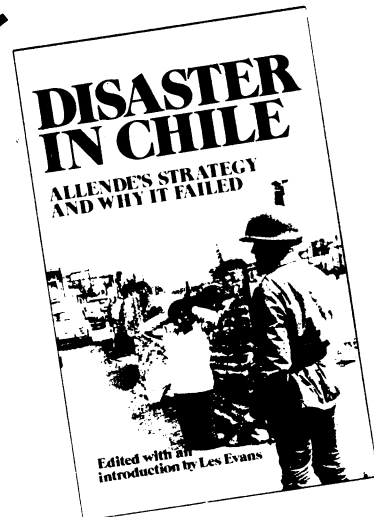
This appears similar in some ways to the cabinet appointed by Salvador Allende when he first came to power—in which capitalist politicians filled eight of fifteen seats.

What was different, however, was that Castro and the team around him never retreated from their revolutionary political aims or subordinated these aims to the interests of maintaining this governmental bloc with capitalist figures.

When Castro drove forward with the sweeping agrarian reform that was a key plank in the program of the July 26 Movement, he encountered the furious opposition of U.S. imperialism and local landlords.

Washington hoped that the capitalist figures in the new Cuban government could hold Castro in check. Instead, basing himself on the mobilization of the masses, Castro

Further



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Chile

Castro's victory Allende's downfall



ignored the complaints of these bourgeois politicians and expelled them from the government.

Cuba answered each counterrevolutionary blow from Washington with bolder and more radical measures. For example, the new government established a monopoly of foreign trade, nationalized the big estates, and carried through on the promise to nationalize the holdings of U.S. and Cuban capitalists right down to "the nails of their shoes."

To protect these gains, Castro armed the masses by setting up a popular militia.

By August-October 1960, this process of expropriation of domestic and foreign capitalist holdings, backed by mass mobilizations, had gone so far that only a civil war could have restored capitalist ownership and political control. The revolutionary workers and farmers government in Cuba had

established a workers state, beginning the transition from capitalism to socialism.

Castro's determination, come hell or high water, to implement the radical democratic program of the July 26 Movement had carried him—whatever his original intentions—onto the path first blazed by the Bolsheviks in 1917.

Allende

The revolutionary transformation of Cuban society, carried out in defiance of U.S. imperialism, stands in sharp contrast to the course followed by Allende and his UP government.

Allende refused to base his regime on the independent social power of the masses and their willingness to carry through the socialist transformation of Chile. He continually sought to *hold back* mass mobilizations and appease the Christian Democrats along with the capitalist partners in his UP coalition.

The UP restricted the land reform to laws originally passed under the government of Allende's Christian Democratic predecessor, Eduardo Frei. CP General Secretary Luis Corvalán used this as legal cover to oppose the frequent mass actions of peasants aimed at seizing land from the wealthy owners of large estates. "We do not approve of land occupations because we have an obligation to the country, and because we are going to carry out agricultural development within the limits of the law," he insisted on February 17, 1972.

The UP government also opposed arming the masses. "... functions relating to order and security are exclusively the armed forces' and Carabineros' jurisdiction," Minister of the Interior Tohá proclaimed in 1971.

Allende assured reporters at a May 25, 1971, news conference that "the Chilean armed forces, which assure the sovereignty, independence, and dignity of Chile, are the guarantee of our political process."

When rightists organized an economic offensive in the summer and fall of 1972, the UP government declared martial law—preventing mass mobilizations of the workers, students, and urban poor, who wanted to resist the reactionaries.

And when the masses pushed forward with organizations such as the Cordones Industriales and Comandos Comunales (factory and neighborhood councils), and supply-and-price-control boards—all aimed at organizing production, distribution, and self-defense during this crisis—the UP consistently opposed them.

In an attempt to quiet rightist oppo-

sition to his government, Allende brought the heads of the armed forces into his cabinet—a far cry from the July 26 Movement, which smashed the Cuban army officer elite and established popular militias to defend the gains of the revolution.

By refusing to follow the Cuban road, the UP actually played right into the hands of the rulers and their military backers.

From the beginning of the UP government in September 1970, the capitalists' strategy was not to seek its immediate overthrow. In fact, many hoped that the UP could mollify the Chilean masses. That aside, the rulers also feared that any head-on attack could provoke massive countermobilizations threatening to sweep past Allende and move in a revolutionary direction.

So the capitalists followed a more cautious approach. They sought to create an atmosphere of economic and political confusion that they could blame on the government.

Over time, they hoped, shortages and right-wing mobilizations would wear down the workers' combativity and discredit Allende. Points of support for a counterrevolutionary overturn could be organized while the capitalists—in collaboration with Washington—took their time choosing the circumstances of Allende's ouster.

Allende could have countered this strategy only by organizing and arming the masses to fight back, as Castro had.

But the CP and SP leadership refused to do this, because such a strategy would have ended with the breakup of the Popular Unity coalition based on a bourgeois program.

Struggle resuming

There are signs that after five years of military terror, Chilean working people are beginning to resume their struggle for economic and social justice.

Yet, the Chilean CP argues that any new wave of resistance should repeat the same course that led to defeat five years ago.

"The Chilean revolution has suffered a temporary reverse, CP leader Corvalán wrote in the January 1978 *World Marxist Review*, "but such an outcome does not refute the assumption that in other countries, and perhaps even in Chile itself, the working class and its allies will be able to win political power and carry out their revolution without resort to the use of arms."

But thousands of revolutionists, both in Chile and in exile throughout the world, will be repelled by this attempt to justify and reenact the betrayal

carried out by the Chilean CP.

A lively discussion is taking place among dissident members of the SP, the CP, the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR), the Chilean Trotskyists—and even within the bourgeois parties of the UP—over the real lessons of the defeat in Chile.

Besides the lessons already touched on, another is well worth consideration.

As the Chilean events demonstrate, the arch-enemies of socialism in Washington learned from the Cuban revolution too—the hard way. And as the old saying goes: Once burned, twice shy.

So the imperialists have stepped up their intervention—both direct and indirect—to head off any further threats to their ongoing exploitation of the Americas.

This makes a simple repetition of the victory in Cuba highly unlikely.

Revolutionary organizations elsewhere in the Americas will need more than the audacity, resoluteness, and honesty of the July 26 Movement to do the job the Cubans did.

That will require a revolutionary working-class party like the one that led the Russian workers to power sixty years ago. That kind of party will provide the urban workers and oppressed peasants with a program for the intertwined struggle for national liberation, land reform, and abolition of capitalist exploitation.

Such a party will need to win the masses away from their illusions not only in capitalist parties but also from the CP and SP leaderships. This will be done by exposing the reformist strategy of these betrayers in the course of united struggles alongside CP and SP workers.

Through these common struggles for democratic rights, decent living standards, and other demands, the masses will have to be armed politically—as well as physically—if they are to be able to stand up to imperialism and win.

The discussion now going on in the Chilean workers movement is a valuable contribution to the formation of that kind of party to lead the Chilean masses.

Such a party also needs the full historical experience of the world struggle for socialism. As shown by its understanding of both the defeat in Chile and the victory in Cuba, the Fourth International—the world Trotskyist organization—is the link to this experience and program today.

Building the Chilean component of this world revolutionary party is the best assurance that the bloody defeat and betrayal of 1973 need never be repeated.

Reading...

dynamics
of the Cuban
revolution

the Trotskyist view
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Marroquin, Piedra set national tours

By Arnold Weissberg

Political refugee Héctor Marroquin will undertake a national speaking tour this fall to bring his case to the American people. Marroquin, twenty-five, was a student activist in Mexico and was falsely accused of murder in 1974. He fled to this country and is seeking political asylum.

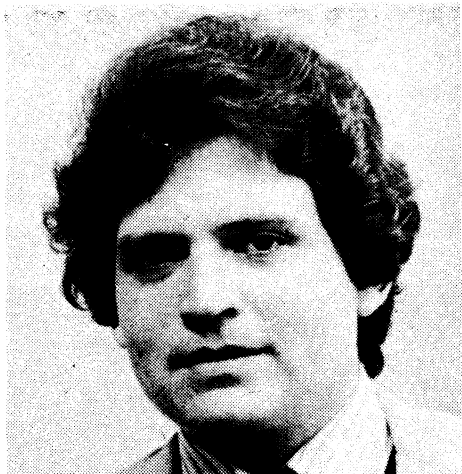
A member of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance, Marroquin faces imprisonment and torture and possible death at the hands of the Mexican police if the U.S. government has its way and he is forced to return to Mexico.

Marroquin's national tour is one part of a campaign by his defenders to publicize his case and win support for his right to political asylum. The Héctor Marroquin Defense Committee is also sponsoring a tour by Rosario Ibarra de Piedra, a leading Mexican human rights activist.

Piedra brings firsthand knowledge of the kidnappings and torture of political dissidents commonly carried out by the Mexican government. Her own son was kidnapped by the cops several years ago, and has not been heard from since. There are more than 300 such "disappeared" persons in Mexico.

The Héctor Marroquin Defense Committee organized a successful national tour for both Marroquin and Piedra last spring. "This time around," said defense committee coordinator Roger Rudenstein, "we want to try to get the people who came to hear Marroquin last time to help us with publicizing his tour and working on defense activities."

Rudenstein noted that Marroquin has won a good deal of support from the labor movement. He pointed to the



Militant/Arnold Weissberg

HECTOR MARROQUIN

decision by the 1.3 million-member National Education Association to back Marroquin's request for political asylum. (See box.)

"This gives us an unparalleled opportunity to work with unions all over the country," Rudenstein said.

He also cited the joint defense meeting in Los Angeles organized by the Héctor Marroquin Defense Committee and the José Medina Defense Committee as the kind of activity that Marroquin's supporters would be carrying out. Medina was an attorney and activist in Mexico also forced to flee the country for his life. Like Marroquin, Medina has asked for political asylum in the United States.

Rudenstein said, "There are good possibilities for involving Latino groups, women's groups, Black groups, and students in meetings for Héctor."

The U.S. government began deportation proceedings against Marroquin just a year ago, after he was arrested at the Texas border. He had already



Militant/Arnold Weissberg

ROSARIO IBARRA DE PIEDRA

been living in this country for more than three years, and was active in the Teamsters union. The Héctor Marroquin Defense Committee was formed shortly after.

The committee, working with Marro-

quin's attorney, Margaret Winter, was able to keep the government from quickly slipping Marroquin back across the border into the hands of the Mexican cops.

The committee has received the backing of thousands of individuals and organizations for Marroquin's request for political asylum.

The opening dates for Marroquin's tour are:

September 28-30	New Orleans
October 2-4	Houston
October 10-11	Albuquerque
October 12-13	Phoenix
October 15	Tucson

For Piedra, the dates are:

October 5-12	San Francisco Bay Area
October 13	Portland, Ore.
October 14-17	Seattle/Tacoma

For more information, contact the Héctor Marroquin Defense Committee at Box 843 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003, or call (212) 691-3587.

NEA writes to Mondale, asks asylum for Marroquin

"The National Education Association urges the United States Government to grant political asylum to Mr. Hector Marroquin," reads the opening sentence of a letter to Vice-president Walter Mondale. The letter is signed by NEA President John Ryor and Executive Director Terry Herndon.

The letter goes on, "According to the Department of State, the U.S.

accepts refugees: 'to express American's deep-seated humanitarian tradition and to show our concern for the homeless and persecuted, and to help restore the refugees to human rights they have been denied in their homelands.'"

"Hector Marroquin is a political refugee whose human rights would be in jeopardy if he were to return to Mexico."

New Orleans socialists fight police spying

By Scott Breen

NEW ORLEANS—The Socialist Workers Party here, responding to a police threat to bring criminal charges against party members, is seeking support for an open letter to Mayor Ernest Morial. The letter denounces the indictment threat as well as the police spying on political groups that has become a regular feature of the city's political life.

"This is a serious—and dangerous—attack on the First Amendment freedoms of speech, assembly, and political activity," the letter reads. "The threat of criminal prosecution of a legal party merely for expressing its ideas is a threat to everyone. This abuse of police power for political spying must be stopped immediately."

The open letter, which is being circulated with the help of the American Civil Liberties Union, has been signed by Nadine Henneman, president of the Louisiana ACLU; Larry Jones, St. Bernard Community Center; Black

activist Walter Collins; John Vodicka, Louisiana Coalition on Jails and Prisons; Blanche Lovelly, Oystershell Alliance; Kalamu ya Salaam, AHIDIANA, a Pan-Africanist group; Sara Jeffries, president of the New Orleans chapter of the National Organization for Women; and William Ronselle of the anti-police brutality organization, Committee for Accountable Police.

Meanwhile, in a face-to-face confrontation with SWP candidate for school board Joel Aber at a public forum on police brutality, Police Chief James Parsons made the shocking admission that his cops "spy on all" political groups in the city—from the Democrats to the SWP.

Aber, the SWP, and the Young Socialist Alliance have sued the cops for release of spy files. The cops have refused to turn them over, claiming they might be needed in the threatened indictments against the SWP.

The crowd at the forum, which was sponsored by the Committee for Ac-

countable Police, roundly booed Parsons's admission of widespread spying.

In an attempt to calm the crowd, Morial, the city's first Black mayor, asserted there is "a distinction here. Surveillance does not necessarily mean spying."

Morial won the election with the overwhelming support of the city's Black population, many of whom hoped his administration would mean a better life for Black people. But judging from the laughter that followed his declaration, he is going to have a tough time convincing anyone that his administration is different from the ones that preceded it.

Morial went on to claim that his cops photographed demonstrators in order to protect them from disruption by the Ku Klux Klan.

The fact is, however, that the cops don't photograph the KKK. Instead, they train their cameras on marchers defending Gary Tyler, calling for an

end to apartheid in South Africa, or demanding equal rights for women.

As one civil rights veteran muttered, "If the Klan attacked us, the police would probably say, 'Kill the niggers.'"

Obviously embarrassed at the audience's disbelief, Morial yelled at Aber, "Most of those people laughing are part of your group."

That brought one woman to her feet. "I'm not part of their group," she yelled back, "but you spy on me."

By the end of the meeting, Morial had agreed to meet with Aber to discuss police surveillance, the SWP suit, and the open letter.

Opponents of police spying are urged to send letters protesting police threats to prosecute the SWP and YSA and calling for release of all spy files to Mayor Ernest Morial, 1300 Perdido Street, New Orleans, Louisiana, with copies to the SWP at 3319 South Carrollton Avenue, New Orleans, Louisiana 70125.

... miners

Continued from back page

Miners are also angry at the inaction of federal and state inspectors. At the union's request, state inspectors scheduled a visit for August 31. Then they canceled it and rescheduled it for September 5.

Then they canceled that inspection, and the local walked out September 6. Now state inspectors have scheduled another visit.

Miners recall that at the Scotia mine in Kentucky, federal inspectors issued innumerable citations of safety violations by the Blue Diamond Coal Company. But mining went on—until March 1976 when two explosions killed twenty-six men.

Just last month, two miners were killed in a roof fall at the Arkwright mine near Morgantown, West Virginia. The safety committee at Arkwright had pointed out the hazardous roof conditions many times. *Only after the miners were killed did government inspectors flock to the scene to issue citations.*

In Marianna, miners don't intend to die waiting for government inspectors to come to the mine.

During the 110-day coal strike last winter, the coal bosses tried to cripple the power of the union safety committees. They fought to "take back" the committee's authority to shut down a mine section or the entire mine if it poses an imminent danger to the lives of miners.

The coal companies lost that fight, but now they're trying to win it at the

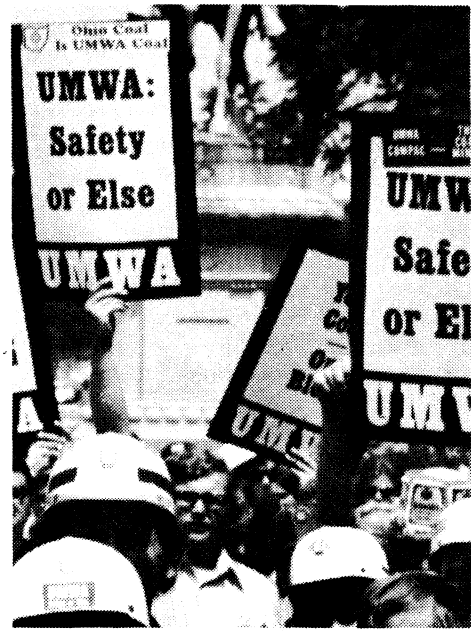
mine site and in the courts. As a rule, the courts side with the companies. Just a few weeks ago, miners on strike for safety at the Cambria mine in southwestern Pennsylvania were ordered back to work by the courts.

But three days into the Marianna strike, Bethlehem tried for a temporary restraining order and was refused.

But the union has another date in court, and there is little reason to believe the government and courts will long abandon their friend, Bethlehem Steel.

Bethlehem is a powerful corporation, and the seventh-biggest coal producer in the country. The Marianna mine is one of its largest mines. Most of the coal mined there goes for steel production.

But miners here are determined that coal will be mined safely or not at all.



School boards force 50 strikes

New Orleans teachers win pay, benefits victory

By Joel Aber
and Ron Repps

NEW ORLEANS—Four thousand jubilant teachers and paraprofessionals roared approval of a 7 percent pay raise September 11 at a meeting here ending an eight-day strike.

The teachers, members of the United Teachers of New Orleans, also won an increase from 50 percent to 80 percent in board payment of their hospitalization.

Prior to the start of the school year, the board offered exactly zero. Later the teachers were forced to strike when the board's offer climbed to only 4 percent.

The victory capped a strike that attracted widespread parent, student, and community support.

Mass rallies of school board employees were held almost daily. The union rented a forty-passenger bus to transport a flying picket squadron to bolster lines across the city.

School buses and delivery trucks stopped rolling as the Teamsters union joined teachers on the picket lines.

Parent groups across the city formed a coalition to support the striking teachers. High school students, spearheaded by the student government at McDonogh-35 High School, organized a city-wide student boycott, demanding of the school board, "We want our real teachers back," not unqualified scabs.

Ben Franklin High School students mimeographed a special edition of their school newspaper in support of the strike. When Loyola University Law School sent scabs to Lusher Elementary School, the Parent Teachers Association picketed Loyola and halted the scabbing.

The NAACP Youth Council and virtually every Black community organization supported the striking teachers. Contributions from other labor unions began to pour in.

Strike activities were coordinated through a strike headquarters with a bank of ten telephones. A daily strike newsletter was distributed to all teachers. Leaflets were mass-distributed to the communities.

Teachers in New Orleans struck twice before—in 1966 and 1969. Both strikes were broken, but four separate teacher union locals existed at the time.

There were separate Black and white locals, and separate affiliates of the American Federation of Teachers and National Education Association. The old bosses' scheme of divide and conquer worked well.

Louisiana has an antiunion "right to work" law. Unions, especially teacher unions, have been traditionally weak here. But the teachers union has taught New Orleans and its own members a lesson that will be remembered.

Tight-fisted school boards demanding "givebacks" forced some fifty teacher strikes across the country as schools were to reopen this month.

The National Education Association estimates that this school year may see a record number of teacher strikes.

In virtually every dispute, a major issue is wages. Where school boards have even agreed to bargain with teachers, the pay offers have fallen far below the official rate of inflation.

In Philadelphia, the board also demanded an increase in class size and elimination of in-school preparation



New Orleans teachers rally September 4

Militant/Andy Rose

time. Teachers voted 5,508 to 1,094 September 7 to accept a two-year contract and end a week-long strike.

Officials of the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers claimed victory in the contract, which grants teachers an 8.5 percent increase during the second year of the pact.

Militant correspondent Haskell Berman reports that many teachers were upset with the "takeaway" contract. Class size will be increased to thirty-seven until February when it will supposedly revert to thirty-three.

Similarly, all 2,100 laid-off teachers will be without jobs until February, when the board has promised to rehire them. Meanwhile, the union will subsidize the unemployed teachers sixty dollars a week. The pay raise spread over the two years of the contract

averages out to only 4.25 percent a year.

Across the state of Washington, teachers went on strike. In Seattle, the Seattle Education Association's 4,000 members exchanged pledges with school custodial and food service workers to honor each other's picket lines. The school workers are organized in the Operating Engineers.

In Tacoma, Washington, 1,900 teachers are striking over wages and the layoffs of 277 teachers.

Democratic Gov. Dixy Lee Ray says she opposes strikes by teachers and other public employees and will seek legislation to outlaw them.

In Cleveland, 10,000 teachers and school employees struck, refusing to return to work for the third straight year with no pay raise.

Thousands join Labor Day parade

St. Louis unionists answer 'right to work' sham

By Dianne Groth

ST. LOUIS—Unionists turned out by the thousands here September 9 in a show of force against a "right to work" proposition on the November 7 ballot.

It was the first Labor Day parade in St. Louis since 1941. Thousands marched in the streets while others rode in floats, vans, tractor-trailer rigs, campers, flatbed trucks—all decorated with slogans urging rejection of the antiunion "right to work" law.

Unionists blew whistles, shouted, and waved to the thousands of onlookers lining the streets downtown.

The float of the United Auto Workers Women's Committee was greeted with applause. One sign said, "Support the ERA [Equal Rights Amendment]—defeat the 'right to work'." A contingent from the National Organization for Women joined the parade.

Twenty-six international unions were represented. They included machinists, teachers, carpenters, auto workers, musicians, pipefitters, graphic arts workers, office workers, bricklayers, and electricians.

A contingent of steelworkers from Hussmann Refrigeration, whose strike was broken last year, were part of the parade, as were members of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists.

The parade was so long that units were finishing up the three-mile route while others had yet to leave the assembly point. The length of the parade was estimated at six to nine miles.

Unfortunately, a rally scheduled after the parade was canceled at the last minute.

The St. Louis Labor Council has focused its energies on a voter registration drive, so that unionists can vote "no" on the proposed state constitutional measure. Bumper stickers read, "I'm registered and ready."

The idea of building a Labor Day parade and rally was agreed on in July at local union meetings after the so-called right-to-work forces turned in 161,000 signatures to get their amendment on the ballot.

Although the labor council officially sponsored the event, it distributed no leaflet publicizing the action. Various union locals making up the United Labor Committee printed their own leaflets.

The fact that thousands showed up here September 9 shows that labor's ranks want to do something to defeat

this threat to their unions.

The "right to work for less" amendment, as it has been justly named, would outlaw the union shop in this state. Workers could not be required to join the union or pay union dues. All contracts would automatically be null and void as soon as the amendment went into effect.

Even though this was the first Labor Day parade in decades, the big-business news media here virtually ignored the day's events. The *Post Dispatch* ran a small, back-page story with no photos. TV news gave it scant coverage.

This is in contrast to front-page news articles and prime-time TV coverage given to the antiunion "right to work" forces.



Militant/Bob Allen

'Militant' sales

ST. LOUIS—Noticeably absent from the Labor Day parade here were the fair-weather "friends of labor." No Democratic or Republican politicians were in sight.

Not even Democratic U.S. Rep. William Clay, who has been given a top rating by St. Louis labor officials, made an appearance.

But Clay's opponent, Socialist Workers Party candidate Mary Pritchard, did. She and her running mates—state senatorial candidate Renita Alexander and state representative candidate Glenn White—rode in a Socialist Workers Party campaign float.

They and their supporters distributed campaign literature exposing the "right to work" fraud and urging its defeat at the polls.

Socialists also sold 104 copies of the *Militant* featuring a back-page story on the "right to work" drive.

Throughout the week preceding the parade, socialists here went on a special campaign to get out the *Militant* at plant gates and in communities. Altogether they sold 400.

In addition, at the parade socialists sold seventeen copies of the Pathfinder Press pamphlet, "The 110-Day Coal Strike: Its Meaning for All Working People."

In Kansas City, Missouri, socialists also made a special effort to get out that issue of the *Militant*, selling 218.

—D.G.

Louisiana Steelworkers repudiate Weber, defend Black job rights

A 'Militant' exclusive: Kaiser's record of racism

By Andy Rose

(first of a series)

NEW ORLEANS—Workers at the largest Kaiser Aluminum plant in Louisiana have repudiated Brian Weber's racist attack on affirmative-action quotas in their union contract.

The September 5 meeting of United Steelworkers of America Local 13000 adopted a strongly worded anti-Weber resolution (see box on facing page). It was introduced by Rev. Isidore Booker, head of the local's civil rights committee and the lone Black member of its executive board.

No one spoke against the resolution.

When the vote was taken, only a handful of isolated "nays" were heard.

Seventy-five members were present at the meeting, a larger than usual turnout.

The resolution will now be sent to the USWA international convention, which opens September 18 in Atlantic City, New Jersey.

At the previous meeting of Local 13000, on August 15, an attempt to slip through a pro-Weber, antiquotas resolution was soundly defeated.

For the first time in any USWA local, the issues in the Weber case are beginning to be widely discussed by the union ranks. Union activists here hope that the stand taken by Local 13000 will mark the beginning of an effort to mobilize steelworkers in opposition to Weber's anti-Black, antiwoman, and antiunion assault.

Convention resolutions

Local 13000 represents 2,300 workers at the Kaiser plant in Chalmette, Louisiana, just outside New Orleans. About a forty-five-minute drive up the Mississippi River toward Baton Rouge is Kaiser's Gramercy plant. It employs about 800 production and maintenance workers, who are represented by USWA Local 5702.

The Gramercy plant extracts alumina ore from bauxite. The Chalmette plant produces aluminum from the alumina ore.

Gramercy is Brian Weber's home local. At its July meeting, Local 5702 passed a resolution condemning quotas and implicitly backing Weber—even though the purpose of his lawsuit

is to overturn the union contract.

The Kaiser locals traditionally exchange pre-convention resolutions. It was this antiquota proposal from Gramercy that came before the Chalmette local on August 15. After several union activists, including Booker, spoke against the resolution it was voted down almost unanimously.

The opposition to Weber at the Chalmette local has been spearheaded by Black and women workers. It also has the support of an important layer of white, male union militants, especially young workers. At both of the meetings that took anti-Weber stands, the majority of those present were white.

These workers have become convinced that affirmative-action quotas for Blacks and women do not deprive white males of opportunities, as Weber claims. On the contrary, they see that standing up for victims of discrimination strengthens the union and makes it more possible to win gains for all workers.

Union & Black activist

In an interview with the *Militant*, Isidore Booker discussed the meaning of the Weber case. Booker has long been involved in the struggle of Blacks for equality at Kaiser. In addition to being a union activist, he is president of the West Bank Jefferson Parish NAACP.

Booker's manner is soft-spoken. Yet his conviction that Weber must be defeated comes through rock-hard.

For the federal courts to rule that affirmative action "discriminates" against Weber, Booker said, "makes me feel that the court is really insensitive to the plight of minorities and Blacks. So many Blacks have undergone devastating treatment by [Kaiser] management. And even though complaints were made on many occasions, they received very little consideration."

"Then one man is able to turn the tide on the experience we've had for the past 300 years."

"It suggests to me," Booker said, "that we've taken too much for too long."

As a Kaiser employee since 1952, Booker finds incredible the court's contention that Kaiser never discriminated. "The fact is that Kaiser Aluminum Company flagrantly discriminated against the Black employees," he said.

When the Chalmette plant opened in 1951, Blacks were hired for only two job categories—laborer and porter (janitor). When Booker started work as a laborer, he and other Blacks were paid \$1.07 an hour.

"Whites who were also hired as laborers were paid \$1.25 an hour," he said. "And they had the privilege of bidding into other departments, which we did not."

Departmental seniority

Beginning in 1956 a few Blacks were allowed to transfer into other departments. But they were strongly discouraged from doing so by Kaiser's policy

of counting seniority by department rather than plant-wide. To transfer out of a segregated department would mean a cut in pay and a loss of job security.

Plant facilities such as lunchrooms, restrooms, and drinking fountains were strictly segregated. Indeed, Booker recalled with gentle irony, when he became the first Black worker in the rod mill, "I was the only man at the plant who had a lunchroom exclusively for myself and five fountains personalized for myself."

At that time Kaiser Chalmette was organized by Local 225 of the Aluminum Workers International Union. Far from representing Blacks, the union joined in enforcing discrimination, Booker said. "The whites in the union felt this was a method of protecting their jobs. That was stated in no uncertain terms by the union officers."

Negotiations with the company were held in hotels that Blacks couldn't go into—a chilling example of the obstacles to Black representation.

Changes in this discriminatory setup were minimal until 1967, Booker said. "The only reason for this abrupt change was that we filed suit." In 1966 a Black worker named Harris Parson brought charges of discrimination against Kaiser with the federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

EEOC investigation

"The EEOC investigation verified our complaint and stated we had ample evidence that it was a civil rights case," Booker said.

In 1967 Parson—along with Arcell Williams, another Black employee—filed suit against Kaiser and the union in federal court. The suit was later broadened into a class action on behalf of all Black Kaiser workers.

Black workers at the plant organized themselves to support the suit and raise money for legal expenses.

Over the next several years, in response to pressure from the lawsuit and federal civil rights orders, Kaiser ended a number of its overt racist practices.

The Parson suit did not come to trial until 1973. A federal district court judge ruled in Kaiser's favor.

Last July, however, the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals overruled the district court and ordered it to rehear the case. The circuit court cited the extensive evidence of racial discrimination presented by Parson, Booker, and other Black employees at Kaiser.

The circuit court's decision in the Parson case directly contradicts its ruling in favor of Weber, Booker noted. It is absurd to contend that at one of its Louisiana plants, Kaiser discriminated year after year, while at another plant just a few miles away its record is clean.

The circuit court's findings on Blacks in the skilled trades are especially relevant to the Weber case. In its Parson ruling, the court said that the gross statistical underrepresentation of Blacks in skilled jobs puts the burden

Weber case: what's at stake

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

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

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

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

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

Brian Weber, a white, male worker at Kaiser Gramercy, sued to overturn the plan. He said it was "reverse discrimination."

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



BRIAN WEBER

discrimination," the court declared.

No testimony was heard from union representatives or from Black or women workers at Kaiser.

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

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

National picket line

Postal workers: no say on contract?

As the *Militant* goes to press, mediator/arbitrator James Healy is preparing what is supposed to be a binding contract settlement for the nation's postal workers. The fifteen-day talks between the unions and the U.S. Postal Service, which end September 15, were an eleventh-hour effort to avert a nationwide postal strike. The postal service has not only refused to budge on its 10 percent-over-three-years pay offer, it has also tried to take back the no-layoffs clause.

Both national conventions of the American Postal Workers Union and the National Association of Letter Carriers mandated a strike as the next step. Top union officials, however, are looking for a way out of that decision.

Harlan County miners face company violence

Jericol Mining Inc., in Harlan County, Kentucky, is transporting scabs into its mine in caravans led by an armored truck. More than 100 miners there—members of United Mine Workers Local 8771—have been on strike since December 1977 when the national UMWA strike began. Jericol is not a member of the Bituminous Coal Operators Association, and when the nationwide strike ended, the company refused to sign the UMWA contract.

Miners say that company guards have flourished automatic weapons. And the union hall has been firebombed. The armored truck is the latest attempt to intimidate miners and provoke violence.

Circuit Judge Sid Douglass issued an injunction September 4 that aids the company's scab running. The order limits UMWA pickets to twenty. It also prohibits firearms on both sides, but since the pickets are the only ones out in the open, such a ban will only be used to harass them.

And, in what even state police admit is without precedent, Douglass assigned a state cop to be the court's "eyes and ears" at the picket line. "In effect . . . [the cop] is escorting scabs to and from work at taxpayers' expense," says UMWA District 19 President Joseph Phipps.



Armored scab truck

Penna. chemical plant fights unionization

Members of United Steelworkers locals throughout the Monongahela Valley have joined the picket line of a representation strike in Irwin, Pennsylvania. The workers at ABCO, a small chemical plant, voted twenty-two to six to have the USWA represent them. This followed a three-month organizing drive characterized by firings, layoffs, and hourly antiunion indoctrinations by the company.

The workers—mostly women—struck August 29 and have picketed round the clock ever since. The company has hired armed guards, who threaten strikers, and a company car ran down two pickets August 31. One of the women hit is still hospitalized. Two requests by the company for court-ordered limits on the pickets have been refused. The strikers have stopped all deliveries to the plant.

Ford Romeo workers vote to strike

More than 1,200 workers out of 1,300 voting at the Ford Tractor plant in Romeo, Michigan, said "yes" to a strike mandate in early August. United Auto Workers Local 400 organized the strike vote on health and safety conditions at the plant. But according to workers there, an unstated reason for the overwhelming strike vote was the company's firing of seventeen workers who participated in a wildcat strike last May.

"Most of the guys in the plant don't feel that it's right that these people got fired for participating in something that we were all involved in," says one Romeo worker. "We all figure that while it's them this time, it could be us next time."

No strike date has been set. The cases of the seventeen fired workers is going through the grievance procedure.

OCAW at Houston Entex still without contract

The 640 workers at Entex—the "gas company"—in Houston have been working without a contract since April 24. In July, the workers—members of Local 4-227 of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union—turned down a contract by a three-to-one margin. The union's contract demands center around wages, adjustments in work classifications, pensions, and safety.

At least half of Entex workers injured on the job are meter readers, who are forced to jump fences to locate meters in backyards. The union is demanding front-yard meters, consolidated by block, to eliminate the present archaic system.

Entex has notified the union that it will not arbitrate any grievance or checkoff union dues from employees' paychecks during the "no contract" period. The long established practice of paying stewards for time spent in grievance sessions during working hours has also been dropped.

—Nancy Cole



ISIDORE BOOKER

DEFEAT WEBER!

Militant/Mike Alewitz

of proof on Kaiser to show that its eligibility requirements did not discriminate or perpetuate discrimination. Yet in *Weber*, the court simply accepted the word of Kaiser executives that they never discriminated.

When Kaiser says it made every effort to find and hire skilled Black workers, Booker knows firsthand the claim is false.

Blacks "just weren't permitted" in the skilled jobs, he said. "A number of persons were qualified, overly qualified. One man—Hutcheson—taught carpentry. That was his expertise. He applied when he was first hired, yet they wouldn't hire him as a carpenter."

Another Black worker—Davis—was a skilled mechanic. "But only long after our suit was filed was he able to work as a mechanic."

In the course of the *Parson* suit, Kaiser revealed it made an agreement

with parish (county) officials to keep Blacks in second-class status. "Parish officials made it a prerequisite for the plant to be built there that Kaiser would limit the number of minorities and in no way upgrade Blacks at the plant," Booker said.

The truth about anti-Black discrimination at Kaiser must be brought out—not only in court but before the public—if Weber's suit is to be discredited and defeated.

The first necessity, Booker said, is "to recognize the facts—that the threat does exist."

"I feel that Blacks themselves have to be made to realize their awful plight and the potential for reverting back to earlier conditions—of losing what we seemed to have gained through struggle and suffering and even bloodshed by our people."

(next: Gramercy Blacks speak out)

Local 13000 resolution

The following resolution was adopted on September 5 by United Steelworkers of America Local 13000 for presentation to the USWA international convention in Atlantic City, New Jersey, September 18-22. Local 13000 represents 2,300 workers at Kaiser Aluminum's plant in Chalmette, Louisiana.

WHEREAS The United Steelworkers of America in 1974 negotiated an affirmative-action plan with Kaiser Aluminum to provide equal job opportunities for Black workers, and

WHEREAS Before implementation of this plan, Blacks held only 2.2% of the skilled jobs at Kaiser's Gramercy, Louisiana, plant, while 40% of the area population is Black, and

WHEREAS The facts show a clear pattern of racial discrimination by Kaiser in hiring and promotion, as well as persistent racial discrimination in the state of Louisiana, notably the exclusion of Blacks from skilled trades, and

WHEREAS The contractual affirmative-action plan strengthened the unity of the union by defending the rights of Black workers, as well as improving advancement opportunities for both Black and white union members on a fair and equitable basis, and

WHEREAS The plan's provision for admitting equal numbers of Black and white workers for craft training preserved the seniority system by modifying it to compensate for past and present discrimination by the employer and society, and

WHEREAS The lawsuit by Brian Weber at Kaiser Gramercy threatens to overturn these gains, under the false and racist argument of "reverse discrimination," and

WHEREAS The Fifth Circuit Court decision in Weber's favor, by outlawing "voluntary" affirmative-action quotas, would prohibit the union from negotiating contracts to provide equal opportunities for victims of discrimination, and

WHEREAS This antiunion attack is in the worst tradition of the Taft-Hartley Act, "right to work" open-shop laws, and strikebreaking injunctions, and

WHEREAS A victory for Weber, on the heels of the Bakke decision, would gravely jeopardize every step toward equal rights for Blacks and women, including the Basic Steel Consent Decree,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED That Local Union 13000 USWA expresses its active support for the fight to defeat Weber, including legal and public efforts by the USWA International, District 36, and the local unions at Kaiser, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED That the local inform and educate its own members and the community at large as to the facts and real issues in the case, to overcome the poisonous propaganda of "reverse discrimination," and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED That this resolution be posted and reprinted in the local union paper.

Company threatens backfire

Chicago rail workers win ten-hour strike

By David McDonald

CHICAGO—Workers on the Chicago & North Western Railroad shut down all its commuter and freight operations for ten hours September 5.

The Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks (BRAC) walked off the job to protest threatened disciplinary action against more than 100 of its members. The clerks faced punishment for observing the picket lines of striking BRAC clerks from another line—the Norfolk & Western Railway.

In a move that obviously surprised the rail bosses, the other rail unions on the C&NW quickly declared solidarity with the clerks and instructed their members to honor BRAC's picket lines. By 7 a.m. picket lines were up at all but two locations on C&NW property.

One enterprising switchman told me that there were no pickets at his point when he reported to work. He went to a second location to get some, but none could be spared. He left and went to a third place, where he convinced the clerks to send pickets to his yard. When they arrived, he led the other workers out.

The strikers were in a jubilant mood. They vowed to stay out as long as necessary. As it turned out, that wasn't very long. By noon, the railroad gave in. C&NW President J.R. Wolfe agreed to drop all charges against the 100 clerks.

It was a victory for the N&W strikers as well. The rail industry, through a "mutual assistance pact," has been subsidizing the N&W to the tune of \$6 million a week. It has allowed the struck railroad to stall negotiations and reject out of hand BRAC's demands.

Other unions on the N&W are honoring BRAC's

picket lines, and only 10 percent of the railway's freight is moving with the use of supervisory help.

In addition to its own contribution of \$27,000 a day to the strikebreaking fund, C&NW has regularly interchanged freight cars with Norfolk & Western. This gave the N&W clerks justification to picket the C&NW. But C&NW President Wolfe claimed the pickets were illegal and began disciplinary proceedings against the workers who honored the lines.

Meanwhile, the workers were forming their own conclusions. Interest in the N&W strike picked up. Many C&NW workers who the company had originally scared into crossing the N&W clerks' picket line stopped to talk to the pickets. The N&W clerks explained what their strike was all about and how the C&NW was trying to break it.

The fact that the C&NW was giving money to the N&W at the same time it was crying poverty at the bargaining table angered many workers.

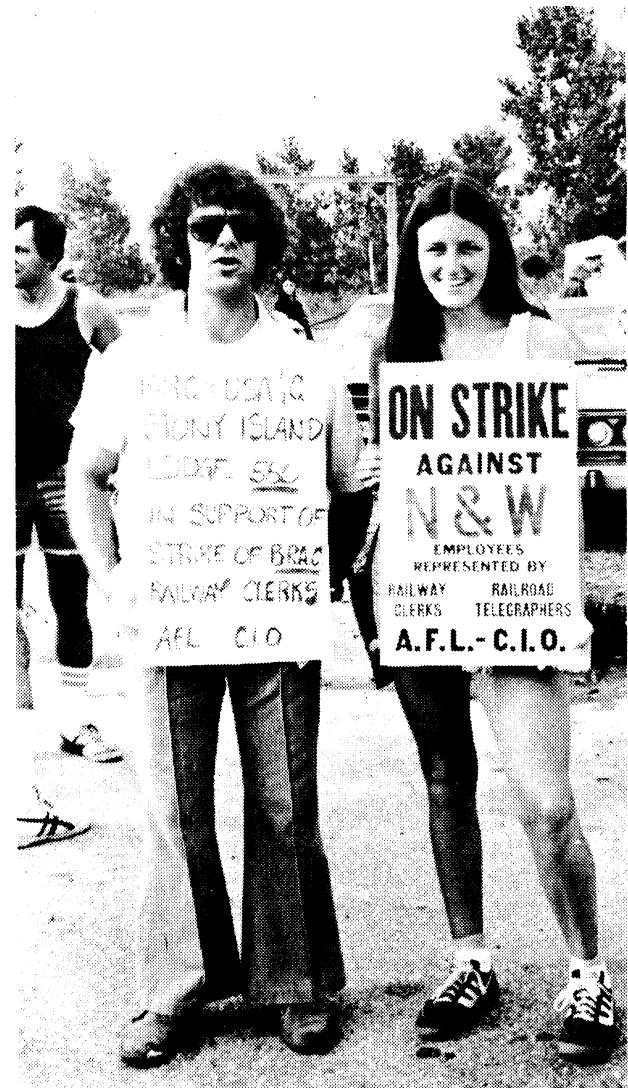
Guy Miller, Socialist Workers Party candidate for attorney general of Illinois and a switchman on the C&NW, issued a statement calling for support to the N&W clerks and explaining the issues of their strike. It was passed out to many C&NW workers.

People in my shop debated the issue all week long. Many came to the conclusion that they wouldn't cross any picket line—"legal" or "illegal."

The disciplinary action against our own brothers and sisters on the C&NW was the final blow. The clerks' walkout found ready support.

Faced with the solid determination of the ranks, management had no choice but to give in on the threatened action or go through a possible long strike.

As a result, the N&W clerks' strike is strengthened. Their right to picket any railroad that is exchanging freight with the N&W has been proven—not in the courts, but where it counts—on the picket line.



Militant/David McDonald
Clerks' strike against N&W has been strengthened as a result of successful walkout on Chicago & North Western Railroad.

Forced overtime: new rule at Toledo Jeep

TOLEDO—Forced overtime is the new rule at the American Motors Company/Jeep plant here. The voluntary-overtime clause of the United Auto Workers contract with Jeep was scrapped in a so-called union referendum in June.

A front-page article in the June 23 *Toledo Union Journal* praised the vote. It said, "Members voted Monday to forego a portion of their voluntary overtime in order to protect jobs at the Toledo Facility."

But Jeep workers didn't graciously accept the forced overtime "for two Saturdays per month," as the article suggests.

Two separate "vote no" leaflets were distributed by workers on first and second shifts. In all, some 5,000 leaflets were gotten out inside and outside the plant.

Company security guards surrounded and bullied two organizers of

the leafleting on the first shift. After the votes on the referendum were in, the company fired the two on phony charges.

The workers immediately filed complaints with their union and with the National Labor Relations Board. The NLRB sided with the company. The board investigator didn't even bother to talk with witnesses for the fired workers.

At the next union meeting, the chairperson refused to recognize a resolution in support of the two men. He immediately adjourned the meeting, over loud objections.

Jeep's 6,000 employees were given only five days' notice of the forced-overtime vote. The UAW constitution was totally disregarded. The executive committee had no authority to reopen the contract without first meeting with the membership.

In a letter dated two days before the



Militant/Henry Snipper
UAW President Douglas Fraser calls for shorter workweek while union officials push forced overtime schemes.

vote, the executive committee labeled the "vote no" leafleters "a small group trying to undermine the union."

According to the letter, the Jeep plant would be shut down if the membership rejected the forced overtime.

Even the ballots threatened catastrophe. They were worded, "Yes, () I want to work," and "No, () I don't want to work." With that heavy-handed maneuver, the "yes" vote carried by a sixty-to-forty margin.

To add insult to injury, the same *Toledo Union Journal* that hailed the forced-overtime vote also carried an editorial calling for a shorter workweek. It quoted UAW President Douglas Fraser saying, "... the American worker is going to have a four day week ... without a cut in pay."

Meanwhile, at the Toledo Jeep plant, two workers now have a zero-day workweek and everyone else is working Saturdays.

Toledo auto workers protest company cheating

By Dean Elder

TOLEDO—Employees of Bingham Stamping recently walked off the job to protest company cheating on their pay and to win some say on how their work is measured.

Bingham, a division of Gulf & Western Manufacturing Company, employs nearly 300 workers, members of United Auto Workers Local 12.

As in many Toledo stamping plants, some of Bingham workers' pay is based on the number of parts they

produce. The parts are counted by meters on the machines and are simultaneously recorded by Telecontrol, a central computer.

Bingham workers have been waging a running battle with the company over this system, since the Telecontrol count has often been less than the actual meter count. The company claimed sole power to decide which count was accurate, and frequently paid according to the lower.

The August 18 job action began after the company shorted the workers on one line by almost 400 parts—more than an hour's worth of production. The union shop committee called a halt to first-shift production forty-five minutes early.

Instead of running their machines,

second-shift workers met in the cafeteria, where a company representative presented a new method of resolving piecework disputes.

The proposal still provided no clear check on the meters, and after some discussion, the workers voted unanimously not to work under such conditions. They demanded the union have a say in checking meter counts.

The company refused, so the entire shift walked out, led by the shop committee. Almost thirty workers immediately set up pickets, while the union and company continued to meet.

Late that evening the union and the company announced a "verbal agreement" had been reached providing for more accurate counts and union involvement in checking.

But on the very next workday, at least one first-shift line was shorted. When second-shift workers heard the news, they spontaneously halted production and held a meeting.

This time the company signed a written agreement to institute the checking policy and to pay workers who had been shorted on both days.

The mood at Bingham is a militant "wait and see" attitude. Workers are willing to take on company cheat schemes and defend their right to a decent living standard.

But the fight won't be finally settled until the union wins control of the checking procedure—or better still, until the company guarantees us a living wage and piecework is abolished altogether.

Dean Elder is a production worker at Bingham Stamping and a member of United Auto Workers Local 12.

15,000 cheer revolutionist

Peru: a day on the road with Hugo Blanco

By Pedro Camejo

Tacna is a city of 70,000 near the border between Peru and Chile. In the province of Tacna, 25,000 voted in the June 18 elections. The Trotskyist-led electoral front, FOCEP,¹ received 10,000 votes.

Hugo Blanco, his wife Gunilla, another comrade, and I boarded a plane in Lima August 25 bound for Tacna. I was stirred by the prospect of

Next week the 'Militant' will feature major excerpts from Hugo Blanco's speech at Tacna.

visiting the town where twelve years ago Blanco was tried by a military tribunal for the "crime" of leading a massive peasant struggle for land reform.

In 1966 the military sought a death sentence for Blanco. They held the trial in the remote town, hoping to avoid popular protest. The newspapers joined in a campaign of lies telling the people of Tacna that Blanco and other peasant leaders were murderers.

Blanco's trial lasted from August 30 to September 8, 1966. Yet in that short time the people of Tacna were won to his side. Visiting day became a long reception line. Mass pressure both in Peru and internationally forced the military to back down from a death sentence, and instead Blanco was given a twenty-five-year sentence. Arrested in May 1963, he spent more than seven years in prison until he was freed on December 22, 1970, under a general amnesty for political prisoners.

Blanco not forgotten

Tacna had not forgotten Blanco. He swept the elections there, making the FOCEP the strongest electoral front. The FOCEP received three times the number of votes cast for Peru's largest bourgeois party, APRA.²

Blanco had planned to go to Tacna during the election campaign but the military had him deported (for the third time) for his support to striking workers.

As Blanco entered the Tacna-bound plane, people whispered, "Look who's here." Joining Blanco on the trip were Hernán Cuentas, who is a miner, a member of the Constituent Assembly for the FOCEP, and a leader of the Trotskyist POMR,³ and Javier Diez

Canseco, a central leader of the Maoist-led UDP⁴ and also a member of the Constituent Assembly.

As the plane landed one could see the roof of the terminal lined with people holding red flags. As Blanco descended from the plane a cheer went up: "Viva Blanco!" "FOCEP, FOCEP!" Some 200 workers from FOCEP committees had come as an honor guard to bring Blanco in the city.

A small caravan left the airport waving red flags to inaugurate a FOCEP headquarters in one workers district. Cuentas, Diez Canseco, and Blanco each gave a short speech.

From there the caravan went to the main FOCEP headquarters in the center of town where Blanco and the other workers deputies were given a formal welcome from the Tacna FOCEP.

Later that day a press conference was held in the central FOCEP headquarters. A single reporter for the bourgeois press appeared. He was surrounded by hundreds of workers straining to hear Blanco and the others.

Worker leaders pressed forward for a quick word with Blanco. Peasant organizers asked Blanco about an upcoming national peasant congress. A miner from a mine a few hours away came forward to inform Blanco of their situation. "The army has all the mining town surrounded. We had to sneak out at night past their lines to get here. We want you to know the strike is completely solid. The press is lying when they say the strike is falling apart."

'Blanco to power!'

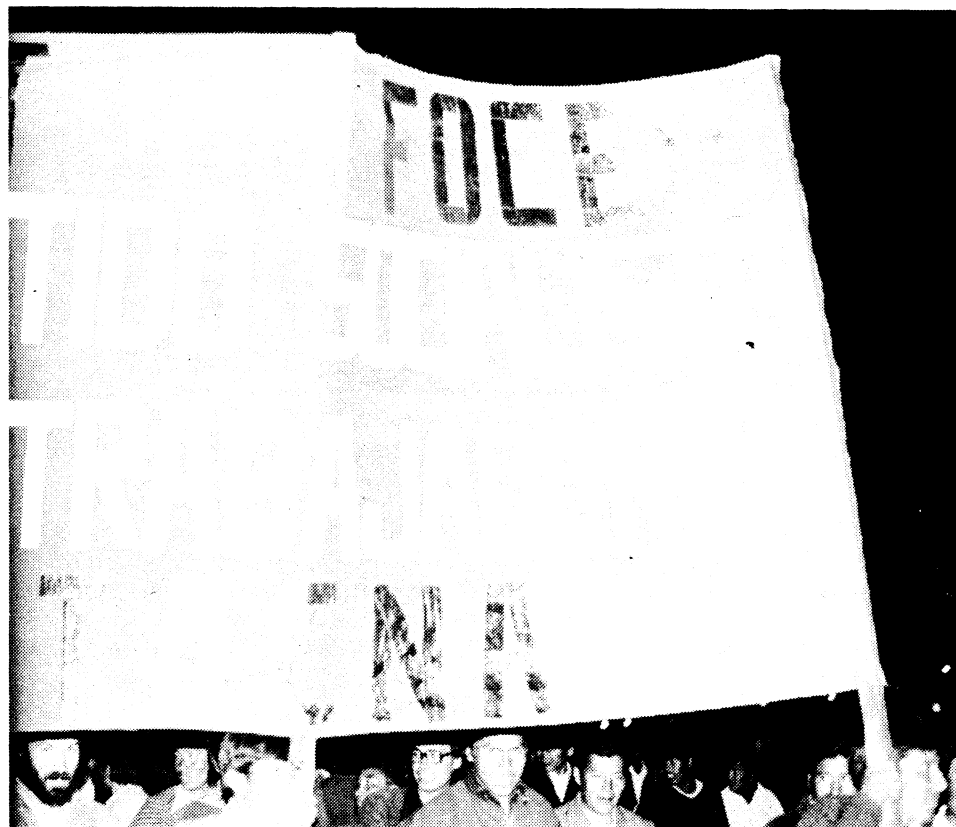
The time came to go to the main rally in the center of town. As Blanco rose to go, a defense guard of young workers tried to hold the crowd back, but to no avail. Hundreds pressed forward to cheer Blanco on. Slogans rose from the crowd: "For a Workers and Peasants Government!" "Blanco to Power!" "FOCEP, FOCEP!"

Outside the FOCEP headquarters a thousand persons were waiting to march with Blanco to the central plaza. The march turned into a demonstration. Slogans swept back and forth across the crowd. "Support to the Miners!" "Down With the Dictatorship!" Repeated over and over again was the call, initiated by the Trotskyists, for a workers and peasants government.

(All other currents on the left, using various slogans, call for a government that would include so-called progressive capitalists. But only the Trotskyist slogan is shouted.)

As the march proceeded, more people group that shares the views of the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International.

4. Unidad Democrático Popular (Democratic People's Unity).



Banner of Peruvian Trotskyists headed procession in Tacna Militant/Pedro Camejo

joined in. On the sidewalks bystanders applauded or waved to Blanco. I saw a girl of about ten point out Blanco to her younger sister. A banner of the Trotskyist PST⁵ was carried at the head of the procession.

15,000 at rally

As we approached the central Plaza we could see thousands waiting for the rally to begin. The crowd continued to grow into the night until it became the largest gathering in Tacna's history, finally reaching around 15,000—a substantial turnout in a town of 70,000.

A series of speakers opened the rally. Diez Canseco, a young and brilliant orator, tore apart the bourgeois parties for their support to the military dictatorship and their failure to respond to the demands of the masses. He, like all the speakers, reflected the growing awareness of the need for united-front efforts between workers parties on specific demands. Shouts of "UDP-FOCEP Unity!" "Rehire the Fired!" and "Blanco to Power!" interrupted his speech.

The next speaker, Hernán Cuentas, took up the cause of the miners' strike, which is in the vanguard of the class struggle. The military government was roundly denounced, including the town's appointed mayor, by local FOCEP leaders.

The crowd reflected the town of Tacna. Most were poor working people. Some of them wore traditional peasant clothing. All bore the features of their Indian ancestors of the pre-Spanish era. Close to the front were the younger and poorer layers of the population.

Shortly after 9 p.m., Blanco stepped forward to speak. He started by explaining what happened in the peasant movement of the early 1960s, which resulted in his being brought to trial in Tacna twelve years ago.

The audience became still. Every face seemed to be tense with expectation. Blanco's style is not one of agitation but of explanation.

Using the examples of the peasant movement in Chaupimayo in the early 1960s and the struggles of the Chilean people in more recent history, he explained why working people must take control of society themselves, why they must be prepared to defend themselves arms in hand if need be.

He explained why the Socialist and Communist parties failed the workers in Chile and led them to disaster:

5. Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (Socialist Workers Party), the organization of which Blanco is a member.

"Allende told the people to trust the capitalist military generals. But our exploiters are not to be trusted, can never be trusted," Blanco said. "We promise you in the name of the FOCEP, that we will never deceive you. You will never hear us tell you to trust any of our capitalist rulers."

An hour passed as Blanco spoke. No one moved. Occasionally applause or shouts interrupted him but it was clear he was not trying to get applause—only to educate. "We need a party, a truly revolutionary party, throughout Peru," he continued, explaining that the masses cannot be united without a party.

Blanco announced the coming unification of Trotskyist groups October 8 by explaining that like the need of the masses to unite, his movement is also confronted with the need to unify.

Blanco elaborated at length on how the bourgeois press lies day in and day out, and why workers must have their own press, their own sources of information. He announced that a new revolutionary paper will soon be published, of which he has been named the editor, and he asked the people of Tacna to help finance the publication.

The collection for the new Trotskyist

Continued on page 25

LAND or DEATH

The Peasant Struggle in Peru

by Hugo Blanco

The story of the fight for land reform in the early 1960s. Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. 178 pages, \$3.45. Please add \$.25 for postage and handling.

1. Frente Obrero, Campesino, Estudiantil, y Popular (Workers, Peasants, Students, and People's Front), the electoral slate for which Blanco was a candidate.

2. Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana (American People's Revolutionary Alliance).

3. Partido Obrero Marxista Revolucionario (Revolutionary Marxist Workers Party), a

Border clashes escalate

Peking keeps up threats against Vietnam

By Matilde Zimmermann

Border clashes between China and Vietnam erupted at a rate of more than one a week during July and August, and the skirmishes were of increasing severity. Both sides have been reinforcing their troops along the border.

The most serious incident occurred August 25, when at least six persons were killed and a number wounded. Peking's version of the clash is that 200 Vietnamese troops drove 2,000 Chinese refugees across the border at Friendship Pass and proceeded to occupy a hill on the Chinese side. Hanoi has denied that its forces are holding any Chinese territory.

The war of words has also escalated. In a single day (August 20) the New China News Agency carried at least eight articles against Vietnam.

Negotiations between China and Vietnam, which started in Hanoi August 8, were broken off after the August 25 clash. The talks had been little more than a forum for leveling charges and countercharges and showed no progress toward resolving the conflict.

Among the immediate victims of the conflict are the Chinese refugees from Vietnam. When ethnic Chinese began to flee Vietnam after the nationalization of private commerce last March, Peking was quick to seize upon the issue to mount a propaganda offensive against Hanoi. The Vietnamese were accused of ostracizing, persecuting,

and expelling Chinese residents. Peking even sent two ships to Vietnam in a much-publicized mission to "rescue" Chinese who wanted to leave.

In mid-July, however, Peking effectively closed its border with Vietnam, claiming that the 160,000 refugees who had already fled were more than it could handle. As refugees continue to gather at the border, Hanoi is demanding that China admit them, and Peking is insisting that Vietnam take those waiting to leave—and many of those already in China as well—back to their former homes and stop "persecuting them." Peking voices great concern for the fate of the Chinese "stranded" at the border but continues to exclude them.

No one wants or trusts the refugees. Peking has accused Hanoi of sending spies and "other bad elements" across as refugees. Hanoi claims to have proof "that many of . . . the people whom the Chinese authorities plan to send back to Vietnam have been entrusted with the duty of causing trouble or spying and disturbing Vietnam's security."

The conflict between China and Vietnam has another front, and there, too, military conflict seems to be escalating. Although reliable information is hard to come by, the border war between Vietnam and Peking-backed Cambodia seems to be growing in intensity.

In the last two months, Hanoi radio has claimed victories that involved the killing or capturing of thousands of Cambodian troops. Cambodian Foreign Minister Ieng Sary, on the other hand, claims that his army has "heavily crushed the Vietnamese enemy, annexationists and swallows of territory."

According to Hanoi, Chinese troops are involved in the fighting alongside the Cambodians. U.S. intelligence sources (hardly the most reliable or impartial source of information) esti-



Vietnamese guard at the Chinese border

mate that there may be more than 10,000 Chinese civilians and military advisers in Cambodia and that the Chinese have sharply increased their shipment of artillery, tanks, and arms to Cambodia in recent months.

There have been unconfirmed reports of uprisings within Cambodia, backed by the Vietnamese. Hanoi radio reports regularly on the progress of what it calls the "revolutionary forces" within Cambodia. U.S. newspapers have said that Hanoi is supporting the anti-Pnompenh guerrillas with air strikes.

The troop buildups and the cutoff of Chinese aid last July have put strains on the Vietnamese economy, already hit by several bad harvests and the need to scale down industrial production. On July 25, Hanoi radio announced that more than 350,000 additional men and women had just joined the armed forces, bringing the total number in the military to about 1 million.

In this context, Vietnam is putting increased emphasis on "normalizing" diplomatic relations with the United States. Hanoi has dropped its demand that the U.S. come across with promised war reparations as a precondition to diplomatic relations. The Vietnamese leaders may feel that improved relations between Vietnam and the U.S. would help to restrain Peking

Jomo Kenyatta—from freedom fighter to

By Ernest Harsch

Shortly after the announcement of Jomo Kenyatta's death August 22, an Associated Press dispatch reported, two American-made F-5E jet fighters circled Nairobi, the capital of Kenya, "in an apparent show of strength meant to discourage disturbances."

The death of Kenyatta, the doyen of Kenyan politics, has left the country's ruling rich—as well as their imperialist allies—with a distinct feeling of unease and uncertainty. Can they continue as before with their lucrative exploitation of Kenya, the capitalist "showcase" of East Africa, without the towering figure who made political stability possible for the past fifteen years?

With at least the beginnings of a "smooth" transition of power, Vice-President Daniel arap Moi was sworn in as acting president for a period of ninety days, while elections in the one-party state are scheduled to formally approve a successor. But neither Moi nor any of the other contenders for Kenyatta's mantle have anywhere near the prestige or political power of the "old hawk," who proved so capable over the years of keeping the sharp class conflicts in Kenyan society from seriously challenging neocolonial dominance.

Ironically, Kenyatta did not begin his long political career as a defender of imperialist interests, but as a fighter for Kenya's national independence from British colonial rule.

Born in the last decade of the nineteenth century (he himself was not sure what year), Kenyatta first entered politics in the 1920s to fight for land rights for Kikuyus, the largest nationality in Kenya. By the late 1940s he was involved in the broader nationalist movement.

The immediate postwar period was marked by a big upsurge of the anticolonial struggle, as peasants organized to take back their land from white settlers and as workers went out on strike and set up trade unions. Numerous political groups emerged. Although Kenyatta's prestige rose and he managed to build up a popular following, he was not particularly known for his militancy.

By 1952, the ferment against colonial rule, especially among Kikuyus, reached the boiling point. Militant nationalists initiated a massive insurrection.

The colonial authorities labeled the revolt "Mau Mau," and sought to crush it, along with the entire national liber-

ation struggle. In October, Kenyatta and nearly 200 other prominent figures were arrested. Although Kenyatta denied any direct connection with the uprisings, he was convicted of having "managed" them, and was sentenced to seven years in prison.

The revolt lasted for three years and was among the most massive anticolonial struggles ever waged on the African continent, involving at its high point about 30,000 freedom fighters. To suppress it, the British herded much of the Kikuyu population into specially guarded "villages," detained 80,000 persons in concentration camps, and butchered more than 11,000 Africans.

The uprisings were crushed, but the British realized that they could not maintain direct colonial rule without risking even bigger explosions. They adopted a policy of gradually moving toward political independence for Kenya, while trying to maintain imperialist economic domination. Toward this end they sought out African collaborators.

Because of his victimization at the hands of the authorities, Kenyatta's prestige among Africans had grown. The British were initially distrustful of Kenyatta as a result of his popularity, but they eventually decided, under mass pressure, to release him in 1961. Kenyatta's Kenya African National Union won the preindependence elections the following year and in 1963 Kenyatta became the prime minister of an independent Kenya. The imperialists were not to be disappointed.

From a fighter for independence, Kenyatta became the centerpiece of an elaborate system of neocolonial domination that kept the country tied to the world capitalist market and subject to

rapacious exploitation by foreign firms. Foreign capital retains a dominant influence, and even many of the local white settlers were able to set themselves up as wealthy farmers and businessmen. Roger Mann commented in an obituary published in the August 23 *International Herald Tribune* that Kenyatta "became better trusted by the likes of Henry Kissinger, General Motors and Union Carbide than by radical black youths."

As part of the bargain, according to revelations published in the American press in February 1977, the Central Intelligence Agency reportedly gave him \$50,000 a year for his own use and \$50,000 a year for his aides.

A small handful of Kenyans benefited from their alliance with the imperialists by becoming capitalists themselves. Through a system of patronage and rampant corruption, they acquired a degree of wealth, significant in the context of the poverty of Kenya's workers and peasants. Kenyatta himself became a wealthy landowner, and his wife and daughter are reportedly deeply involved in the illegal ivory and charcoal trade, which has led to the decimation of Kenya's elephant herds and to widespread deforestation. Kenyatta's Kikuyu, moreover, have come to dominate in government and business, to the detriment of Kenya's approximately forty other peoples.

In the words of Ngugi wa Thiong'o, a well-known novelist who was detained by Kenyatta in December, Kenya is dominated by a "system that bred hordes of round-bellied jiggers and bedbugs with parasitism and cannibalism as the highest goal in society. . . . These parasites would always demand the sacrifice of blood from the working masses."



Kenyatta while under arrest by British in 1952.



Tensions between Peking and Hanoi have been accompanied by border war between Vietnam and Cambodia. Above, captured Cambodian soldiers.

from military campaigns against Vietnam.

The State Department is in no hurry to establish diplomatic ties with Hanoi, however. Washington has indicated that the ban on trade with Vietnam will not be lifted when the current embargo expires September 14. The U.S. Congress has outlawed aid to Vietnam and even moved to cut allocations to the International Monetary Fund when the IMF approved a loan to Vietnam.

Some bourgeois news commentators attribute the reluctance to recognize Vietnam to a fear of domestic political repercussions. They try to suggest that a groundswell of anti-Vietnam sentiment exists in the United States. In fact, just the opposite is true. There is hatred for Vietnam, but it comes from the government still smarting from the

defeat it suffered. Elsewhere there is widespread admiration for the Vietnamese and even broader realization that the U.S. has a responsibility to help repair the country its bombs devastated.

A more likely reason for Washington's hesitation to open relations with Vietnam concerns the debate over how to respond to Peking's diplomatic overtures. An August 31 editorial in the *Washington Post* presents one point of view on this question, urging Washington to "tread water" on Vietnam "while the larger question of China is worked out."

"What is beyond cavil," says the *Post*, "is that the United States has no interests in Hanoi even faintly of an order with those it has in Peking."

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

neocolonial ruler

For the masses, Kenya's capitalist economic development since independence has meant growing landlessness, the proliferation of shantytowns (about one-third of Nairobi's population live in slums), unemployment, inflation, and hunger.

Although repression has not been as widespread as in many other African countries, prominent critics of the regime have nevertheless been assassinated, detained, or barred from political activity. Opposition parties have been banned.

During the past few years, some significant signs of opposition have

surfaced. Students have on occasion demonstrated in their thousands, in some areas peasants have taken over land, strikes have been threatened, and underground leaflets and pamphlets have been circulating.

While Kenyatta's popularity declined during the last years of his life, he still retained enough personal prestige and political influence to keep the lid on the simmering discontent. His removal from the scene could signal an end to the period of relative "stability" that the imperialists and their Kenyan allies have relied on for so long.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

...Blanco

Continued from page 23

newspaper surpassed the preceding collection for the FOCEP.

Blanco concluded by explaining that nothing is to be expected from the Constituent Assembly, that only a government of working people can solve the problems of Peru.

He explained the concept of soviets, or workers and peasants councils, using the recent appearance of such forms in the class struggle of Peru. He explained how democratically run committees of workers, peasants, and the urban poor will be formed, and said that it is through these committees that the working people will run Peru.

No time for theatrics

He made no attempt at a dramatic finale. A masterful speaker, he could easily have drawn a huge ovation from his attentive audience. But that was not his goal. He wanted to convince, to draw into active participation, the oppressed before him—to transform their trust in him personally into an understanding of his political program.

The masses are unorganized. The revolutionary party is much too small.

...Iran

Continued from page 4

deh, as its director of government relations—and in 1960, as its vice-president.

Military proxy

The shah quickly brought Iran into Washington's cold war alliance. In 1955 it joined the Baghdad Pact, and in 1959, CENTO. That same year the shah signed an agreement permitting Washington to aim intermediate-range nuclear missiles at the Soviet Union from bases on Iranian soil.

Altogether the Pentagon has shipped more than \$18 billion worth of arms to Iran during the past twenty years.

And there are approximately 40,000 U.S. advisers in Iran today—more than were in Vietnam before the Johnson escalation in 1965.

The balance of payments between Iran and the United States is immensely favorable for the imperialists. For every U.S. dollar flowing into Iran, two dollars return to line the pockets of U.S. corporations.

But the relationship between Washington and Tehran is not simply one of lucrative economic exploitation.

Together with Israel, the shah plays an important military and political role in helping to protect U.S. interest against revolutionary struggles in the Middle East. As one high official explained to *New York Times* reporter Nicholas Gage, July 9, 1978, "After the Vietnam disaster the United States would find it difficult to get involved in

There is no time to waste on theatrics. Blanco closed by simply announcing that he had promised to inaugurate another FOCEP headquarters organized by Trotskyist comrades. Amidst cheers, applause, and shouts he was carried off, accompanied by 5,000 persons, to open the new headquarters.

Blanco then went to the rooftop of the FOCEP office to say a few words to the crowd. Afterward, he attended a dinner organized in a workers slum area in his honor. Soon it was 1:30 a.m. and Blanco asked to be excused to drive to Arequipa, six hours away. There he was scheduled to catch a plane for Cuzco at 8 a.m. to begin another day of speeches.

The next day Tacna's only newspaper hit the streets. It contained not one word of the events of the previous day, as though nothing had occurred. Instead the paper carried a headline claiming that the miners' strike was ending—a completely false report. The paper was like something straight out of 1984.

Two days later Peruvian dictator Morales Bermúdez arrived in Tacna and delivered a speech answering Blanco without so much as mentioning his name. The dictator's speech was carried on the front page of the local sheet.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

direct fighting, even to protect oil resources and transportation routes in this area. Iran has accepted that role for us."

In this capacity, the shah sent some 3,500 troops to crush a rebellion in the Dhofar region of Oman.

He has assumed responsibility for the military "protection" of the Strait of Hormuz, through which passes two-thirds of the oil used in the capitalist countries.

And he has provided military and financial aid to a whole series of reactionary regimes that Washington for one reason or another has preferred not to supply directly. These include Somalia (after the Siad Barre regime broke relations with the Soviet Union), Sudan, and Egypt.

Moreover, the shah has continued supplying oil to the Zionist state of Israel, despite an Arab boycott imposed during the 1973 Mideast war.

"We don't mix politics with oil," former Prime Minister Jamshid Amouzegar told Gage.

But this is clearly false. The whole modern history of Iran centers around the maintenance of this oil kingdom as a bulwark of imperialist foreign policy.

That's why Carter moved so quickly to signal his support for the shah. And, as the whole history of U.S. backing for the shah proves, Carter is undoubtedly prepared to do a whole lot more than make a phone call to rescue his loyal Iranian servant.

Working people in this country need to be ready to mobilize against any further support to the butcher of the Iranian people—be it stepped-up military aid, or the dispatch of U.S. troops.



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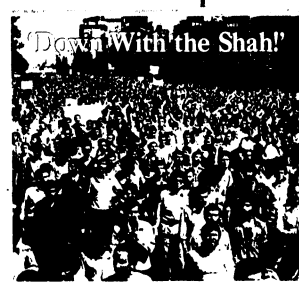
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Three Victims
Terrorist Squads—New Threat in Peru

'Nation' says: give FBI informer files to SWP

By Diane Wang

The debate over FBI informers touched off by the Socialist Workers Party lawsuit against government harassment continues in the press.

Last July a federal judge held Attorney General Griffin Bell in contempt of court for refusing to turn over eighteen FBI informer files as evidence for the suit.

The September 2 issue of the *Nation* carried an article on the case by Adrian DeWind and Morris Abram. DeWind is the past president of the New York Association of the Bar. Abram is a former U.S. representative to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights. They wrote:

"The Attorney General's difficulty does not lie, as he asserts, in being refused appellate review. It lies in the fact that the appellate courts have ruled against him and he will not accept that. . . .

"Quite rightly, the Attorney General has expressed concern with the 'unseemly' situation which exists. But the only unseemly thing here is the Attorney General's posture which ignores a basic precept of law in order to shield FBI 'informants' who were not, in fact, volunteer informants but government-hired *agents-provocateurs*.

"Documents made public in this case and through Congressional inquiries reveal a wearying catalogue of incidents of burglaries, blackmail, harassment and violent intimidation. The FBI has admitted committing more than ninety burglaries of the SWP's headquarters in New York City alone.

"The entire affair resembles an upside-down world in which citizens peacefully exercising political rights were treated as criminals, while criminals were enlisted on the government rolls to perpetrate their crimes while cloaked with government sanction. Whatever his intentions, Attorney General Bell's assertion of 'informer privilege' against the court's quite prudent order only serves to perpetuate this situation. To repeat, it defies imagination to believe that disclosing the contents of these eighteen files to the plaintiffs' [SWP's] attorneys would imperil any present or future legitimate law-enforcement activities of the FBI. If disclosure would discourage



In These Times/Richard Goldensohn

Recent rally for SWP lawsuit was reported by 'In These Times.' Above at rally: Héctor Marroquín, Rosario Ibarra de Piedra, Vernon Bellecourt, Robert Meeropol, and Larry Seigle.

repetition of illegal activities under government sponsorship, then all of us will benefit."

The August 23-29 issue of *In These Times* carries a full-page report on the lawsuit and the recent rally, held in Oberlin, Ohio, to celebrate the suit's victories. The article reported:

"Although the government claims its ability to fight crime will be danger-

ously impaired if its discloses the identity of informants by releasing the files, SWP members attending last week's conference argued that the government does not want to release the files so that it can continue to carry out disruption in the future. They point out that legislation is now under consideration to legalize otherwise illegal activities of informants through the use of

court orders."

In These Times suggests that the one reason the government fears turning over the files is that "officials may be worried that the information in them could encourage more suits like the SWP's. The National Lawyers Guild, for example, filed suit last year for \$65 million in damages in an action modeled on the SWP case."

Lawyers Guild hits gov't use of snitches

The National Lawyers Guild held its national executive board meeting in Lexington, Kentucky, on August 10-13.

A resolution on police informers approved by the national executive committee noted that "the Attorney General of the U.S. has been held in contempt for refusing to turn over to a federal judge and the SWP's [Socialist Workers Party] attorneys the files of 18 out of 1300 informers

deployed over the years to harass, disrupt and destroy the SWP."

The resolution said that the files should be turned over, not only as necessary evidence for the SWP suit, "but also because the forced turn over will strike a critically important blow against government by informers."

"The NLG is categorically opposed to and deplores the use of informers to investigate, destroy disrupt or spy

on political activity by individuals or organizations," the resolution reaffirmed.

In addition to educational activities against the use of informers, the NLG resolved to send telegrams to President Carter and Attorney General Griffin Bell demanding the eighteen files be released and to submit a friend-of-the-court brief in support of the court order mandating the files for the SWP suit.

Detroit FBI used right-wingers to stifle protests

By Susan Fink and Diane Wang

Who is Donald Lobsinger?

Thomas O'Neill, a former FBI agent from Detroit, questioned last year for the Socialist Workers Party lawsuit against government harassment, answered this way:

"Well, Donald Lobsinger is a quite infamous, famous, or notorious name in the Detroit area. . . . He would not like some of the policies that might have been put out by some local or civic group, and he might demonstrate. It might be a one-man demonstration."

That's a pretty generous description of the violent attacks organized by Lobsinger with his right-wing group, Breakthrough.

Lobsinger is a self-confessed informer for the Detroit Police Department. Over the past two decades he has attacked socialists, anti-Vietnam War protesters, civil rights activists, and women's liberation groups.

O'Neill's vague recollection is a far cry from what the FBI said about—and to—Lobsinger back in 1966, according to recently released FBI documents.

In 1966 the Detroit FBI office wrote to FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover, "Breakthrough is known to the Detroit office as a militant anti-communist right-

wing organization. It is more of an activist group than is the more well-known John Birch Society. . . ."

The FBI memo went on to describe Breakthrough members as young and eager people who only needed education in fighting communists.

And just in case Lobsinger's thugs weren't eager enough, suggested the Detroit FBI, "the offer of money to individual members and to the organization should be considered."

"Detroit is proposing as a counter-intelligence technique that efforts be made to take over their activities and use them. . . ."

To do that the FBI sent Lobsinger letters praising Breakthrough's attacks and urging more. The letters were signed "Lester Johnson," supposedly an elderly, wealthy, anticommunist.

"It is interesting to note that the harder you stick a pig the louder it squeals and the same thing is true for the commies," the so-called Lester Johnson wrote Lobsinger.

The letters did not just pat Breakthrough on the back. They went on to propose concrete activity. In one the FBI urged Lobsinger to picket the house of a targeted person.

In another letter the FBI sent three pages of charges against Ernest Goodman, an anti-Vietnam War activist

and lawyer. "I hope this information can be of some use to you," wrote the FBI, "and that the people of Detroit will be made aware of the background of scum like Goodman who are hindering the efforts of our brave soldiers in Vietnam."

The recently released information about the FBI and Lobsinger includes only twenty-five documents covering a four-month period in 1966. They raise interesting questions about how much the FBI had to do with Lobsinger's other infamous exploits.

For example, Lobsinger went to Detroit suburbs in the late 1960s urging people to buy guns to repel a "Black invasion." Did the FBI's "Lester Johnson" have anything to do with that?

Before the November 5, 1966, anti-Vietnam War demonstration in Detroit, Lobsinger sent a well-publicized message to the Detroit Common Council threatening "bloodshed" on the march. Did "Lester Johnson" egg on Lobsinger to intimidate people from demonstrating?

Just a few months earlier, on August 6, 1966, Lobsinger had attacked an antiwar demonstration. Instead of protecting the rally, the Detroit cops used Lobsinger's provocation to arrest antiwar marchers.

Frank Lovell, a leader of the SWP,

who was a marshal at the rally, was arrested and convicted for assaulting Lobsinger—even though a *Detroit News* reporter testified in court that Lovell was not even near Lobsinger.

Has "Lester Johnson" stopped writing to Lobsinger? In 1977 Lobsinger's group tried to disrupt a picket line for abortion rights sponsored by the Detroit chapter of the National Organization for Women.

Commenting on the newly released FBI documents, Robin Mace, SWP candidate for governor of Michigan, urged that all the FBI files be opened so that questions can be answered.

"Lobsinger's activities fit into a pattern on harassment by the FBI," said Mace.

"This incident is typical of the operations staged by the FBI. The FBI worked hand-in-glove with scum in Breakthrough, just as it worked with the Ku Klux Klan in Alabama to beat up civil rights freedom riders. Just as it worked through a right-wing group in San Diego to shoot at anti-Vietnam War activists.

"The FBI uses people like Donald Lobsinger to do its dirty work. Working people have a right to know just what dirty work has been done. All the files on Lobsinger and the rest of the FBI's secret army of informers should be made public!"

Speedup in the shipyards

This week's column is by Karl Bermann, a member of Boilermakers Local 104.

SEATTLE—There is a growing mood of resistance among Seattle shipyard boilermakers to attempts by the employers to push for greater "interchangeability" between job classifications.

For a number of years the shipyard owners have been trying to break down the traditional distinctions separating the job classifications of shipfitter, burner, welder, and rigger in order to eliminate what they call "stand around time" and get more work from fewer workers.

The bosses claim they have to do this in order to remain competitive. The issue is very similar to that of reduced crew sizes and "featherbedding" on the railroads.

In reality, the major Seattle yards, Todd and Lockheed—like most shipyards in the United States—are not competitive now, nor have they been for many years. But it's not because the workers spend too much time "standing around."

The real reason is that the corporate fat cats who own the yards have failed to make any significant

investments in modernizing plants and equipment. The result is that these yards are operating with equipment dating back to World War II. This equipment is not only inefficient by modern standards, it is unsafe in many cases.

The owners have felt no need to modernize the yards because they are content to sponge off the public treasury in the form of guaranteed profits on cost-plus U.S. Navy contracts.

In 1975, the officials of Boilermakers Local 104 signed an agreement that was supposed to meet "the modern needs of the shipbuilding industry and its future" and "put to rest" the problem of interchangeability "once and for all."

That agreement, which resulted from an unfavorable arbitration ruling, specified that the shipfitter could perform "incidental" burning and tack welding. Since that time the job category of burner has nearly disappeared and many welders' jobs have been lost. The shipfitter has had to assume the burden of the additional work.

No serious attempt has been made to enforce the limitations of the original agreement. The employers have had a field day.

In June, elections were held for local officers. The incumbent business agent and his staff, part of a grouping that controlled the local for nearly twenty years, were swept out of office.

The incoming officers, headed by Business Agent Luther Schwartz, closely identified themselves with opposition to interchangeability during the election campaign. In the months prior to the election, they promoted the establishment of a special committee within the local to study the interchangeability problem and make recommendations.

This committee called a special meeting to discuss interchangeability at the end of July. The overwhelming majority of the 200 local members attending the meeting voted to support a resolution from the committee demanding that terms of the Port Agreement be enforced.

Enforcing that agreement at this late date would entail a major confrontation with the bosses. It would also require going beyond the ineffective grievance procedures. So far, the new leadership of Local 104 has shown no inclination to take such measures.

Capitalism Fouls Things Up

Arnold Weissberg



Chemical time bomb in your backyard?

More bubbled to the surface at the Love Canal in New York State last month than just twenty-five years' worth of dumped deadly chemicals. Love Canal also revealed the frightening scandal of similar chemical dumps all over the country. No one knows just how many chemical dumps there are or where they are. Your water could turn brown, your lawn could die tomorrow, and you'd have no advance warning at all.

There are at least 10,000 landfill sites used to dispose of dangerous chemical wastes. The Environmental Protection Agency says that 90 percent of the dumping doesn't meet even minimal environmental protection standards.

For example: Last winter, tap water in a rural Tennessee community turned brown. Then well water started to smell funny. Finally, when an outbreak of stomach problems and dizziness hit, health inspectors moved in. Their discovery? Some 350,000 leaky fifty-five-gallon drums of *legally*

buried chemical wastes. Velsicol, the company that buried it, claims there's no proof the seventeen chemicals in the water came from its dump.

Michigan authorities discovered it would cost \$100 million to clean up a similar situation on the shores of Lake Michigan.

These two examples spotlight the dilemma: Who is responsible, and who should pay for chemical dumping?

When the EPA says the dumps don't meet environmental standards, that's not the same as saying they aren't legal. The truth is that the laws have been extremely lax—and that's why Velsicol could truthfully say its Tennessee dump was legal.

Hooker Chemical, the company responsible for the chemicals in Love Canal, also apparently complied with state and local laws.

But whether the dumping was legal or not, both the chemical companies and the government share responsibility for recklessly endangering human lives.

For one thing, the dangers from many of these chemicals were already known. Benzene, for instance, one of the chemicals Hooker dumped in the Love Canal area, has been linked to leukemia since 1928.

Despite this knowledge, neither federal, state, or local governments ever made serious efforts to control chemical dumps. Hooker and the other chemical companies, of course, only did what came naturally to them—got rid of their wastes as cheaply as possible, without regard for environmental consequences.

It may be too late for some of the Love Canal victims, and it may be too late for other victims of this form of chemical warfare. But it's not too late to make the polluters pay for cleaning up the chemical dumps, and it's not too late to make them pay the medical bills and moving bills for their victims.

Their Government

They're not tired of marching

WASHINGTON—Wha— what was this, my half-cobwebbed eyes began to ask. The morning paper front-page photo showed what was easily 50,000 at a protest here. Six-thirty in the morning is no time to be awakened to the fact that a demo of that size had snuck into town behind your back.

But a reading of the caption calmed me when it said the photo was of a May 1970 anti-Vietnam War demonstration. And the headline of the *Washington Post* article informed readers that "Causes Vary, Demonstrations Go On."

A year and a half as a Washington resident has taught me that. Many times over. But now the centenarian *Post* was learning it—or at least writing about it.

"This is demonstration city," the *Post* quoted George Rodericks of the mayor's command center as saying. "We've had a tremendous increase in both the number of demonstrations and the spectrum of issues."

Demonstrating these days, *Post* writer Paul Valentine points out, are "farmers, American Indians, religious fundamentalists, Marxists, Maoists, anar-

chists, anti-abortionists, pro-abortionists, women's libbers, anti-women's libbers, gays, senior citizens, marijuana advocates, ban-the-bombers and a broad assortment of foreign nationals who have seized on President Carter's pronouncements on world human rights to protest alleged abuse of human rights in their native lands."

Police officials report that demonstrations in the capital "are a daily occurrence."

The total number of protesters demonstrating just on the White House sidewalk, according to the Secret Service, leaped from 3,000 in 1968 to almost 48,000 in 1977.

"The pacifists want peace," Valentine wrote. "The blind want the Federal Aviation Administration to let them carry their canes aboard airplanes."

"Coal miners, farmers and truck drivers have come to town, occasionally blocking traffic or building entrances in protest against alleged inequities in their industries."

"Homosexuals, including a group of radical lesbian mothers called Dykes for Tykes, have joined the ranks of minority protesters. Veterans, senior

citizens, residents of rental properties all have asked for a better shake."

"Washington has become center stage for international disputes," says Valentine. "The D.C. Police Department's files of parade permits bulge with applications from Haitians, Koreans, Pakistanis, Romanians, Ghanaians, Bolivians, Indonesians, Baltics and Bermudans."

The mayor's Rodericks admits that "the success of the antiwar demonstrations and the civil rights movement here has had a lot to do with it."

That's certainly true. The demonstrations of the antiwar and Black movements helped change the consciousness of millions of working people who now believe that the government must be made responsible to the needs and desires of its citizens.

But these protesters, banging on the doors of power here, are more often getting an unwilling or unfavorable response. Sooner or later, though, something clicks. Maybe, they come to believe, their government—unwilling and incapable of solving their problems—should be replaced with our government.

—Baxter Smith

Quote unquote

"I'll give this country peace if I have to kill every other man in Nicaragua."

—Anastasio Somoza, former dictator of Nicaragua, and father of the current dictator.

STEVE BIKO MEMORIAL

A hundred people attended a memorial meeting at Columbia University September 12 for Steve Biko, the South African Black leader killed in jail a year ago. The meeting was sponsored by the Committee Against Investments in South Africa, and the 1978 Committee.

Speakers included Fred Dube, a former political prisoner in South Africa's notorious Robben Island prison. Sipo Mzinla, representing the African National Congress, discussed the connections between the South African apartheid regime and Nazi Germany. He also urged the audience to continue work to force Columbia to sell its stock in corporations doing business with South Africa.

NAZIS PICKETED

Three hundred people picketed a new Nazi headquarters on Detroit's west side September 10. The headquarters is located in a multiracial working class neighborhood, within a few blocks of areas where 40 percent of homeowners are Black.

This was the third try this year by the Nazis at opening a

public headquarters in the city. The last two attempts were shut down after picketing, car caravans, community speak-outs, and educational activities.

The September 10 picket was sponsored by the Michigan Avenue Community Organization and endorsed by United Auto Workers locals 22 and 600, and by the Labor/Community/Interfaith Council Against the Nazis, which led protests against an earlier Nazi headquarters.

CATCHING ON QUICK

Displaying a precocious lack of interest in the two-party electoral shell game, young people, according to the Bureau of the Census, vote less than any other age group. In 1976, for example, the voting turnout among eighteen-to-twenty-four-year-olds was only 40 percent, down from 50 percent in 1972.

The dwindling numbers of youthful voters are also less likely to register Democrat or Republican than other age groups.

BOSTON RACISTS LIFT THEIR HEADS

Less than two weeks after federal Judge J. Arthur Garrity lifted his two-year receivership over South Boston High School, racist attacks on Black students began.

Garrity took the school out of federal jurisdiction August 30. The school was placed in receivership after racist mobs attacked Black students bused there.

On September 11, fifty opponents of busing gathered across the street from the school, under freshly painted racist signs. They taunted Black students, hurled epithets, and called on whites to boycott the school. About 200 of the 500 white students answered their call.

James Kelly, a leader of the racist South Boston Information Center, was quoted in the September 11 *Boston Globe*: "If it's violence that's the only

Black groups set NYC protest

Black organizations in New York City are planning a mass march and rally at city hall at noon September 28.

The Black United Front, a coalition of organizations in Brooklyn's Crown Heights section, and the City Coalition of Black Organizations are sponsoring the action, billed as a "protest against [Mayor] Koch, [Governor] Carey, and Carter and their collective programs of genocide against the Black and poor people of New York City."

Heading the list of ten demands for the march and rally is an end to police brutality, an issue of burning concern to New York Blacks since the murder by strangulation of Arthur Miller, a Black Crown Heights businessman, at the hands of a dozen New York cops this summer. City officials have stalled on investi-

gating Miller's murder and prosecuting the cops responsible for it.

Sharon Grant, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress in New York's Fourteenth District, which includes Crown Heights, blasted Mayor Koch's foot-dragging on the indictment of the killer cops.

Speaking at the September 8 Brooklyn Militant Forum, she said the city administration "is delaying the investigation in order to cool down the mass protest against this murder."

Grant told the gathering she would march September 28.

Planning meetings for the march take place Monday evenings at 7 p.m. at the House of the Lord Church, 415 Atlantic Avenue, Brooklyn. For more information on the protests, telephone 596-1991, 348-0035, or 625-8292.

Danger: cancer at work

One of every five cases of cancer is caused by on-the-job exposure to a carcinogen, according to a study by the National Cancer Institute and the National Institute of Environmental Health Sciences.

The figure is ten times higher than industry claims, and is considered conservative by some experts. Other estimates range as high as 40 percent.

Exposure to only one substance — asbestos — may account for as many as 2 million premature cancer deaths over the next thirty years, the study said.

Some 375,000 new cases of cancer are reported each year.

Despite the tremendous cancer death toll, Congress is now considering a bill to exempt 69 percent of all workplaces from inspection by the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA). Already passed by

the Senate, the bill would exempt workplaces with fewer than ten workers in industries that the government says have relatively low injury rates.



Study found that workers in foundries like this one had high incidence of cancer.



Militant/Lou Howort

July 1978 demonstration in Brooklyn against police brutality

way that will show we're still against forced busing, violence it will be."

Brenda Franklin, Socialist Workers Party candidate for

U.S. Congress, issued a statement demanding massive police protection at all Boston high schools in the face of these threats.

What's Going On

CALIFORNIA EAST LOS ANGELES

REPRESSION IN MEXICO. Speaker: Jorge Mancillas, Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores. (English & Spanish). Fri., Sept. 22, 8 p.m. 1237 S. Atlantic Blvd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 265-1347.

LOS ANGELES: S.E.

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION: WHICH WAY FOR LOS ANGELES? Speakers: Mario Velásquez, Organization of Latin American Students, UCLA; Virginia Garza, Socialist Workers Party candidate for secretary of state. Fri., Sept. 29, 8 p.m. 2554 Saturn Ave., Huntington Pk. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 582-1975.

SAN JOSE

NUCLEAR POWER—THREAT TO HUMANITY. Speaker: Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party gubernatorial candidate. Sat., Sept. 23, 3 p.m. 742 E. Santa Clara.

GEORGIA ATLANTA

RALLY IN SUPPORT OF THE POSTAL WORKERS' STRUGGLE. Speakers from various unions. Fri., Sept. 22, 8 p.m. 509 Peachtree St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 872-7229.

INDIANA INDIANAPOLIS

THE FIGHT AGAINST NUCLEAR POWER AND WEAPONS. Speakers: Curt Steinmetz, Socialist Workers Party; David Canright, Bailly Alliance; representative of the Paddlewheel Alliance. Sat., Sept. 23, 3 p.m. 4163 N. College. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (317) 925-2616.

NEW YORK NEW YORK CITY

DISCO FUND RAISER. For the Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights. Tues., Sept. 26, 9 p.m. Harry's Back East Disco Bar, 1422 3rd Ave. between 80th and 81st streets. Donation: \$2. Ausp: CLGR. For more information call (212) 924-2970 or 691-5460.

TEACH-IN AGAINST THE 'BAKKE' DECISION. Speakers: Noreen Connell, president of National Organization for Women-New York; Victor Good, president of National Council of Black Lawyers; Joyce Hartwell, All Craft; others. Thurs., Sept. 28, 7 p.m. New York University, Loeb Student Building, Room 612. Ausp: Minority Women's Committee of NOW-N.Y., National Council of Black Lawyers, All Crafts, others. For more information call (212) 989-7230.

OHIO TOLEDO

NO NUKES: THE MOVEMENT AGAINST NUCLEAR POWER. Speakers: George Windau, Socialist Workers Party; Kurt Landefeld, Young Socialist Alliance; Mike Ferner, Toledo Coalition for Safe Energy. Sun., Sept. 24, 7 p.m. 2507 Collingwood Blvd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore. For more information call (419) 242-9743.

OREGON PORTLAND

UNIONS UNDER SIEGE: HOW CAN LABOR FIGHT BACK? Speakers to be announced. Fri., Sept. 22, 8 p.m. 711 NW Everett. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

WHAT A SOCIALIST WOULD DO IN THE SENATE. Speaker: Louise Haber-bush, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate, will speak on Proposition 6, the death penalty, and abortion rights. Fri., Sept. 29, 8 p.m. 711 NW Everett. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA LEHIGH VALLEY

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: Naomi Berman, Socialist Workers Party candidate for lieutenant

governor of Pennsylvania; Sarah Snider, president for action of Bethlehem National Organization for Women; Mike Schlosser, former chairperson of LE-POCO, Muhlenberg Five defendant. Fri., Sept. 22, 8 p.m. Americus Hotel, 6th & Hamilton, Allentown. Ausp: Philadelphia 1978 Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (215) 258-1692.

PITTSBURGH

THE FIGHT AGAINST NUCLEAR POWER. Speakers: Bill Kahlman, Socialist Workers Party; Andy Kahn, Mobilization for Survival. Fri., Sept. 22, 8 p.m. 5504 Penn Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (412) 441-1419.

REPORT BACK FROM UNITED STEELWORKERS CONVENTION. Speaker: Mark Zola, Socialist Workers Party gubernatorial candidate, member, USWA Local 2789. Fri., Sept. 29, 8 p.m. 5504 Penn Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (412) 441-1419.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

SUPPORT THE POSTAL WORKERS: A PUBLIC SPEAKOUT. Speakers: Gilberto Frederick, president, American Postal Workers Union Local 235; Marcie Kuzeja, Socialist Workers Party and member of Communication Workers of America Local 2336. Fri., Sept. 22, 7:30 p.m. All Souls

Church, 16th & Harvard NW. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

Forums on Iran

BOSTON

UPRISING IN IRAN: IRANIAN STUDENTS DISCUSS THE RECENT EVENTS IN THEIR COUNTRY. Speakers to be announced. Fri., Sept. 22, 8 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

NEWARK, N.J.

DOWN WITH THE SHAH!—AN ACCOUNT OF THE UPSURGE IN IRAN. Speaker: Parvin Najafi, correspondent for 'Intercontinental Press/Inprecor' and member of editorial board of 'Payam Daneshjoo,' a Persian-language opposition magazine published in New York. Fri., Sept. 22, 8 p.m. 11-A Central Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (201) 675-1675.



LOUISIANA ABORTION RESTRICTIONS DELAYED

On September 7 a federal court delayed for at least ten days implementation of a highly restrictive abortion law in Louisiana. The law has been challenged as unconstitutional, infringing on women's right to choose to have abortions.

Among other things, the law would require:

- Performing abortions in hospitals.
- Informing the parents of an unmarried woman under eighteen that she wants an abortion.
- Telling the woman that the fetus is "a human life from the moment of conception."
- Telling the woman that abortion is a "major surgical

procedure which can result in serious complications."

YOUTH SUICIDES SOAR

The suicide rate among young Americans has tripled since 1955, according to an article in *Newsweek* magazine. From 4 suicides per 100,000 population then, the rate has jumped to 11.8 per 100,000. About 5,000 people between fifteen and twenty-four years old kill themselves every year.

The suicide rate among young Blacks, which used to be about half that of whites, is now about the same.

With massive unemployment among teenagers, especially Blacks, it's perhaps not surprising so many young people have concluded that life under capitalism has no future.

Going after the biggies—Some people may try to confuse the public about governmental waste with chatter about billion-dollar submarines and "cost over-run" ripoffs. But nobody's fooling Jimmy. He's tracking down the people at the General Services Administration who are ripping off the paper clips.

The four pushers?—A Chinese daily recently carried the first story advising the Chinese people that cigarettes are a health hazard. Why not sooner? The article, written by two major medical figures, explains that they had wanted to open a drive against smoking but had been blocked "by the pernicious influence of the Gang of Four."

Adding insult to injury—Allan Bakke wants the University of California to reimburse him for the legal expenses involved in his victorious "reverse discrimination" suit.

Only twice as equal—There are, we're often assured, no special privileges in the USSR. Which did lead some to wonder how the former Christina Onasis and her Soviet spouse drew a seven-room Moscow apartment. Easy. Two earlier applicants were bumped and the wall knocked out between their scheduled abodes. The newly weds will have as neighbors such notables as cosmonaut Gregory Grechko

and exiled Chilean CP leader Luis Corvalan.

Trying to keep up—According to *Supermarket Magazine*, market shoplifting was up 10 percent last year. Which is just behind the inflation rate.

Brink's will deliver—A discreet sign in the canned fish section of a New York supermarket advises that tinned salmon and crabmeat are available in the manager's office.

And well he should—The Australian prime minister said thanks, but no thanks, to a proffered Nixon visit. But the Australian Cattlemen's Union extended an invite. The ranchers feel Nixon can help block U.S. congressional restrictions on Australian beef imports. "Mr. Nixon," the director of the cattlepeople's lobby explained, "knows where the bodies are buried."

Correction—We recently reported, with suggested irony, that the FDA will institute "a gradual phaseout" of cancer-causing nitrites in food processing. That, it seems, was an overstatement. Responding to objections from the food packers, the FDA assured them that its "phaseout" proposal is still on the drawing boards and that a total ban is a "goal" to be achieved only if other safe preserving methods are perfected.

Striking unionists arrested

Forty unionists were arrested while trying to turn back scab trucks in Sacramento September 11 as the bitterly fought strike against northern California food chains entered its eighth week.

The same day, officials of the eight striking Teamster locals refused to participate in a Washington negotiating session ordered by the Federal Mediation Service.

The unionists declared it would weaken the strike effort to negotiate so far away from the picket lines.

It was then agreed to hold the sessions at the Western Conference of Teamster headquarters in Burlingame, California. Negotiations were slated to open September 13.

Meanwhile, the struck chains—Safeway, Ralph's, Lucky, and Alpha Beta—continued massive recruitment of scabs, off-duty cops

and gun-toting security guards.

Police are now threatening to arrest participants in a September 9 mass picket at a market in San Leandro.

Jointly sponsored by the Alameda County Central Labor Council, AFL-CIO, and the striking Teamster local, the picket was disrupted when guards began beating a striker inside the store. Other pickets rushed inside to his defense. The police were not visible on the scene but say they have film of the incident.

In a blow to union solidarity, officials of the Retail Clerks withdrew their sanction to respect the Teamster picket lines, encouraging store clerks to return to work.

Meanwhile, picketing has spread to Los Angeles, San Diego, and Denver grocery distribution centers in a move to shut off deliveries to the struck stores.

By Any Means Necessary

John Hawkins

Employer of last resort

The following guest column is by Omari Musa.

They told us, "If you get an education you can get ahead in America. Pull yourself up by your bootstraps. Then you can find a good job and stay out of the army."

So we fought and defeated legal school segregation, fought our way into universities, and won some affirmative-action gains.

Then something happened. First came the initial attack on Black rights in the early 1970s with cutbacks in social services. Then the 1974-75 depression.

Jobs got scarcer. We got laid off and never called back. Unemployment went up and up.

And once again more and more of us discovered that the only bootstraps we were pulling up were U.S.-army-issue.

Specialist 4 Alvin Smith, interviewed in the *Washington Post*, explained why. "Wasn't nothing else to do out there. I had jobs, but the only ones advancing in them was the white guys."

The depression facing the Black community has forced thousands of Alvin Smiths into the army. Last May, 33 percent of those enlisting in the army were Black. Overall, Blacks constitute nearly 28 percent of the enlisted force—more than double the 1968 figure.

Something else is happening in the army. According to Charles Moskos, a Northwestern University sociologist, "The Army is the only arena in American society where blacks greatly exceed the educational level of whites."

We used to say that you would find more Black college graduates in the post office than anywhere else. Now the army is bidding for that slot.

Army propaganda claims that it is the largest and most successful "equal opportunity" employer. The navy says, "You can be Black and navy too."

However, Blacks in the armed forces know that life there is no different from outside. Even some of the Uncles who have "made it" are worried. "The equal opportunity and the affirmative-action programs have sort of taken a back seat in everybody's mind because the black soldier is not raising a hundred dollars' worth of hell," said Black Brig. Gen. George Price. "But," the good general adds, "he is capable of doing that."

The rulers of this country are beginning to take a hard look at what they've created.

The purpose of the army is to wage war to preserve and extend profits. That means protecting private property, putting down strikes and ghetto rebellions, crushing national liberation struggles, and rolling back socialist revolutions.

Its purpose is *not* to provide jobs for Blacks.

Suppose Black soldiers start raising a "hundred dollars' worth of hell" when the ruling class decides it must send U.S. troops to rescue its racist allies in South Africa from the wrath of the Black majority?

It's likely that these Black soldiers will recognize the difference between South African racists and Black freedom fighters. What's certain is that Black people won't run arms-in-hand to save apartheid. Nor would they be too enthusiastic about an attack on Cuba, the Soviet Union, or Vietnam.

So the rulers of the U.S. have a problem.

Karl Marx once said that capitalism carries within itself the seeds of its own destruction. The conflict between the composition of the army and Black oppression on the one hand, and the need of the ruling class to militarily defend its interests in Africa on the other, is one of those seeds.

All I can say is, may the capitalists reap what they have sown.



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Our Revolutionary Heritage

Celebrating 50 years of the Militant, 1928-1978

Hugo Blanco on trial: 1966

Twelve years ago this month the Peruvian government put Hugo Blanco on trial. He was threatened with the death penalty. His "crime"? Being a revolutionary fighter in the peasant struggle for land reform.

The respect he commanded as a leader of the peasant struggle inspired working people around the world—and terrified the Peruvian rulers. When Blanco was arrested in 1963, he was brought to a small Andean town. A crowd gathered. Shouts of "Land or death!" and "Long live Hugo Blanco!" rose in the streets. Soon these words would resound throughout Peru and even beyond its borders.

Peru's ruling class was torn between a desire to execute Blanco and their fear of the effect that would have on the masses. They sought instead to isolate him from the masses, holding him in solitary confinement.

It was not until 1966 that the regime finally brought Blanco to trial, despite a law that trials had to be held within six months of an arrest. They then moved the trial to Tacna, a remote town on the border between Peru and Chile.

The government tried to keep the lid on the mass sentiment for Blanco. But their attempts failed.

National and international protests were organized. The Fourth International, of which Blanco is a leader, organized a worldwide defense campaign for him and the other twenty-eight political prisoners also on trial.

Joining with other supporters of democratic rights—people with all kinds of political ideas and from all kinds of different organizations—members and supporters of the Fourth International organized as wide a protest as possible.

Participation in the defense campaign was based on only one point of agreement—justice for the Peruvian political prisoners.

Peasants in Chile, unionists in Argentina, members of parliament in Belgium, sugar workers in India, teachers in London, writers, scholars, and political prisoners joined in the defense campaign.

Mass demonstrations of tens of thousands in Peru reinforced the impact of the international effort. The trial itself showed the support Blanco had among the peasants and workers of Peru.

The *Militant* of September 26, 1966, reported: "At one point before the packed courtroom, Hugo Blanco levelled an accusing finger at the consulting judge who had demanded the death penalty. 'If the death penalty is going to be applied against me,' he said, 'then don't let a guard be the one to have to fire the shot, but the [judge] Fernández—with his own hand.'"

"In face of the tumultuous response of the audience and Hugo Blanco's shouts of



Blanco protesting injustice of trial

"Tierra o muerte!" [Land or Death!] the judge suspended the hearing."

Under this immense international pressure, the hand of the executioner was stayed. But Blanco was not freed. He was sentenced to twenty-five years in prison.

After being sentenced, the *Militant* reported that Blanco "rose to his feet and said, 'Tacna has passed down its sentence. The people will soon hand down theirs.'"

Later Blanco wrote to those who made their voices heard in protest of the threatened death sentence:

"Your voice of solidarity resounds throughout the world, and the conspiracy of silence imposed by the enemies of humanity has not been able to silence it. . . .

"With your example, solidarity will extend to all the political prisoners of Peru; to the victims of repression in Latin America and in all the countries fighting to liberate themselves; to the people who fight to maintain their independence, as in Cuba. Solidarity with the Vietnamese people, to whom the human race owes so much, will increase beyond measure. . . .

"If these criminals don't kill me, it will not be because they lack the desire, but because of the power of your solidarity."

This international outcry never died. And it was instrumental in finally winning freedom for Blanco in 1970.

Blanco recently returned to Tacna, the small town where he was put on trial. (See article elsewhere in this issue.) He was greeted there by 15,000 people. They shouted, "¡Viva Blanco! Workers and peasants to power!" This is proof enough that the Peruvian government has failed to isolate Blanco and crush the struggle of the workers and peasants.

Today in Peru repression is on the rise again. International solidarity is once again needed to get out the truth about what is going on there and to expose the new threats against the lives and safety of revolutionaries such as Hugo Blanco.

—Priscilla Schenk

Political prisoners

Have you seen the latest issue of *Akwesasne Notes*? This summer's issue is a very good one. It contains a speech by Ken Tilsen, a lawyer in the Wounded Knee trial, delivered at the conclusion of The Longest Walk to a rally in front of the FBI building.

Entitled "There are Thousands of Political Prisoners in the U.S.," it relates directly to the Socialist Workers Party suit against the FBI and debunks the new refurbished image of the FBI in no uncertain terms.

Gerónimo
Springfield, Massachusetts

'Spies' series

I enjoy reading the *Militant* very much. I would like to receive back issues that contain the first two articles in the series on the FBI by Larry

the IAM working in war industries "could instead make things society needs—mass transit and solar energy systems, for example."

All this sounds pretty good, especially coming from a high-ranking union official. But we can safely predict that many others among them will be saying the same thing shortly, or they will stop being high-ranking union officials by decision of the union membership.

This, however, will not convert them to socialism, because none of them, including Winpisinger, are likely to endorse democratic procedures in the unions and reduce their own salaries to the wages of union men and women who are working in industry.

Socialism is the negation of capitalism, the complete transformation of our acquisitive society. And that



"Not only do you have water on the knee, Mr. Walters. It's polluted water."

Seigle. I received the July 28 *Militant* with the last article in the series entitled "How police serve the ruling rich." I will certainly appreciate this material very much.

A prisoner
Virginia

[In reply—The first two articles in the series, "Battle over FBI informers," appear in the July 7 and July 21 issues. These have been sent to you.]

doesn't suit the past training and present acquisitions of labor officials like Winpisinger.
Caroline Fowlkes
Phoenix, Arizona

Women & music

I recently attended my first Socialist Workers Party educational conference at Oberlin, Ohio. It was like a taste of what the future can be in a socialist society. I was struck by the need for change and was given a clearer perspective on how to make the coming revolution.

The following week I went to the Michigan Women's Music Festival. I was amazed at the political awareness of my sisters. Featured were women artists, poets, and performers, whose songs and stories reflected their strength in fighting against their oppression.

For example, the first night we sat together, thousands strong under the stars, listening to a tape of prisoners—Third World women creating waves of rhythms and melodies. Then the group "Alive" began to add congas and percussion. The song flowed on until we were all singing with one voice:

. . . women in prison, sisters in prison,
We won't let them keep you,

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*we won't let them keep you,
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The evening ended with a dedication to all Afro-American people who have been the guiding force of American music for over 200 years. Then everyone slowly stood up and applauded our united struggle for freedom.
*Shishonee Ayanna
Detroit, Michigan*

Relies on 'Militant'

The Albuquerque commercial press is awful, so I rarely read it. I've relied almost entirely upon the *Militant* for both local and world news for over a year and a half.

*Tom Sanders
Albuquerque, New Mexico*

'Militant' at work

Please send two-month subscriptions to the workers whose addresses are enclosed. They are women machinists at the plant where I work. Just last night I sold six copies of the *Militant* and two subscriptions inside the plant.

Sales are so easy once you get to know your fellow workers. All socialists should take papers and campaign literature in their lunch pail every day to work—even leave some in the restrooms.

Politics is discussed all the time inside the plant. Pamphlet sales are also easy—especially ones on Malcolm X.

Workers here were forced out on a long strike a few years ago. Now the union is in a battle for its existence. The company is demanding elimination of the seniority clause—they want the right to control all firings, rehiring, promotions, layoffs. They want total control of the work force and also want to take away the rights of the union health and safety committee.

Many people are demoralized because of the bad outcome of the previous strike—it was sold out by the international behind the backs of our own negotiating committee. However, there are some good discussions about how the union can win support and solidarity from the rest of the labor movement in our upcoming fight.

Some friends and I got the local to support the ERA march. The union is also discussing action around *Bakke* because of some proposals I made.

*M.F.
San Diego, California*

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

Why internationalism?

During the past few weeks capitalist regimes in one country after another have been shaken by massive protests. Demonstrations in Iran have involved literally millions of people, and have continued in the face of machine-gun fire from the shah's army. In Nicaragua, a virtual civil war between the workers and dictator Anastasio Somoza's National Guard has erupted in several major cities. In Peru, the military regime is desperately trying to contain the strikes and massive radicalization that have deepened since the installation of the Constituent Assembly there.

Each of these three cases involves our own country as well. The shah was placed in power by a CIA-organized coup in 1953, and his army has been armed and trained by Washington. The Somoza regime was helped to power by the U.S. Marines, and Somoza's National Guard is also trained and armed by the Pentagon. U.S. investors and bankers are equally concerned about the future of Peru's regime, which currently owes them billions of dollars.

The class struggle has raised the possibility of the downfall of hated dictatorships in Iran, Nicaragua, and Peru. At the same time, it has also raised the danger of imperialist intervention in these countries.

The U.S. ruling class knows from bitter experience that the struggle for democratic rights in the colonial world tends to grow over into a movement for socialism, and Washington is committed to preserving capitalist rule wherever it exists. The Vietnam War was a lesson in what this commitment can lead to.

American workers have a vital stake in every major eruption in the class struggle around the world. We in the United States have no choice but to be internationalists.

What does internationalism mean?

James P. Cannon, the founder of the Socialist Workers Party in the United States, explained in a speech in 1943:

"Internationalism was not a dogma invented by Marx and Engels, but a recognition of the reality of the modern world. It proceeds from the fact that the economy of modern society is a world unit requiring international cooperation and division of labor for the further development of the productive forces.

"The class struggle arising from the class division between workers and exploiters within the countries requires class unity of the workers on an international scale. From the beginning, the program of scientific socialism has called for the international collaboration of the workers and oppressed peoples in the different countries. . . .

"Just as the petty states and principalities and arbitrarily divided sections of the old countries under feudalism had to

give way to the consolidated, centralized national states in order to create a broader arena for the development of the productive forces, so, in the same way, the artificially divided national states have to give way to the federation of states.

"In the future course of development this must lead eventually to a world federation operating world economy as a whole without class and nationalistic divisions. From this it follows irrevocably that such an order can be created only by the international collaboration and the joint struggle of the workers in the various countries against their own bourgeoisie at home and against capitalism as a world system. So preached and so practiced the great founders of socialism, Marx and Engels; so preached and practiced their great continuators, Lenin and Trotsky. . . .

"Even the bourgeoisie recognize internationalism in their own way. The bankruptcy of national limitedness has become so clear to the bourgeoisie that all their most perspicacious leaders have been compelled to renounce the idea of national isolation altogether. Isolationism as a political tendency stands discredited in bourgeois politics." (From "The End of the Comintern and the Prospects for Labor Internationalism," in *Speeches for Socialism*.)

Of course, when capitalist politicians today denounce "isolationism," they are referring to the progressive opposition of the American people to any more Vietnam-style adventures. Capitalist internationalism results in financial aid, troops, and bombers being sent to help reactionary dictators in every corner of the world.

But the internationalism of the workers movement, more relevant today than ever, is summed up in the slogans:

Solidarity with the peoples of Iran, Nicaragua, and Peru!
No U.S. troops, no U.S. arms, no U.S. aid for the dictators!

—David Frankel



This collection brings together over thirty of James P. Cannon's speeches, given over four decades and documenting sixty years of labor and radical history. 462 pages, \$5.95 paper.

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THE MILITANT

RIGHT TO RATIFY

Steelworkers demand union democracy as USWA convention opens

By Andy Rose

"One steelworker, one vote!"

That's the aim of steelworkers across the country, who are organizing to win a major step toward union democracy at the September 18-22 United Steelworkers of America convention in Atlantic City, New Jersey.

They want a constitutional provision guaranteeing every USWA member the

Back campaign of Ed Sadlowski for USWA president in 1976-77, and in the heroic 138-day strike on the Mesabi Iron Range.

Steelworkers have also been inspired by the example of last winter's coal strike, when miners vetoed two inadequate contracts. And today they see postal workers battling to overturn a miserable settlement.

Fundamentally, all these developments are responses to stepped-up attacks by the employers—speedup, unsafe conditions, soaring inflation, unemployment. As the bosses try to boost profits at workers' expense, working people are looking for ways to fight back.

More and more often, the ranks of the unions are rebelling against "give-back" contracts accepted by leaders who are more interested in appeasing the employers than in standing up for the membership.

It's no wonder that steelworkers see the right to vote on contracts as an elementary measure of self-defense.

A union leadership that set out to win the best possible terms for the members would welcome membership ratification. It strengthens the hands of union negotiators. They can shrug off the typical bullying tactics of management negotiators and say, "There's no point trying to sell us a bill of goods—you have to come up with terms our members will approve."

That's not the attitude taken by the McBride officialdom in the USWA, however. In an interview in the September 3 *Pittsburgh Press*, McBride claims membership ratification would lead to worse contracts!

"People who advocate direct voting probably aren't looking at the effectiveness of the present system," he says.

"We're second to none in our basic steel contracts. . . . In our other areas where we have direct ratification, our members haven't done as well."

McBride asks, "What if workers at one company accept the contract and reject it at another? That means one company will be making money while the other isn't and is on strike."

This is a slippery attempt to duck the issue. McBride pretends that industry-wide bargaining requires steelworkers

to give up their vote. Why? He doesn't say.

Under the present setup, the basic steel contract is voted on by local union presidents. What if the presidents at one company accept, while presidents at another reject it? The contract isn't ratified until the majority votes to accept.

If the members vote, the same will be true. The contract isn't ratified until the majority of members votes to accept. That's not so complicated—and it's exactly how the coal miners vote on a contract covering more than 130 companies.

Besides, if the basic steel contract is really "second to none," as McBride says, why is he afraid to let the members vote on it?

One reason may be that if steelworkers voted on their contract, they would have a chance—for the first time—to vote on the no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement.

The ranks might get the idea they should have a say over bargaining demands.

They might start looking to use

union power in the mills to settle grievances, police safety regulations, and improve conditions—instead of relying on the rigged grievance procedure.

They might begin to demand democratic rank-and-file control over every aspect of union functioning.

As Joe Samargia, president of Local 1938 on the iron range, recently wrote in the union newspaper, "It's time to break the chains that tie our hands; chains that tie us to contracts we don't have a thing to say about. . . ."

"We must show McBride that it's time to have the membership run the union; not the union running the membership."

That's what McBride and the steel companies are afraid of. That's why they will use every bureaucratic trick and manipulation to try to stop the right-to-ratify movement.

But those are the needs and aspirations voiced by growing numbers of workers in steel and throughout industry—needs they will continue to fight for, regardless of the outcome of this convention.

INSIDE: 'MILITANT' EXCLUSIVE ON WEBER CASE

- Louisiana steelworkers defend Black job rights.
- Hidden history of Kaiser's racism. Page 20.

right to vote on the contract he or she must work under.

Dozens of major locals have adopted resolutions and elected delegates committed to the right to ratify.

These range from the giant Sparrows Point mills of Bethlehem Steel in Baltimore to the U.S. Steel mill in Pittsburgh, California, and from the can plants of Milwaukee to the big Kaiser Aluminum plant in Chalmette, Louisiana.

Delegations from District 31 in Chicago-Gary and from District 33 on the Mesabi Iron Range are expected to be solid for the right to ratify.

In the Pittsburgh area, most of the big basic steel locals have passed right-to-ratify resolutions.

In many cases local union officers, aware of the popularity of this democratic demand, have voiced their support. Others who fail to do so have been overruled by the ranks.

At U.S. Steel Homestead works (Local 1397), for example, a rank-and-file slate swept the elections for convention delegates, winning all eleven slots. Some 4,000 out of 6,000 workers at Homestead have signed right-to-ratify petitions.

The movement for the right to ratify is a movement to strengthen the union by giving the ranks the final say over contracts. It reflects a new militancy among steelworkers, a determination to exert control over their own union.

These sentiments found earlier expression in the Steelworkers Fight

Iron range women



Militant/Stu Singer

Women steelworkers on the Mesabi Iron Range are organizing to increase their participation in the union and to advance their fight for equality throughout society. More than 300 women are employed at U.S. Steel's Minntac plant, represented by USWA Local 1938. Forty of them met August 10 to establish a local women's committee. Minntac women took a banner to the August 26 demonstration in Duluth for the Equal Rights Amendment (pictured above), which was endorsed by Local 1938.

Pa. miners strike for safety

By Mary Zins

MARIANNA, Pa.—In 1957, Bethlehem Steel's Mine No. 58 in this southwestern Pennsylvania community exploded, killing twelve coal miners.

Today, miners here don't know if the

level of methane gas or any other mine conditions are really safe.

So on September 6, United Mine Workers Local 2874 struck the mine. It is a fight to force the company to abide by safety laws.

The UMWA health and safety committee charges that the mine examination books have been falsified and that hazardous conditions in the mine have

not been noted as required by law.

Foremen and "fire bosses" make regular inspections of the mine. They check for gas and note conditions of the mine, such as bad roofs or water accumulation. The safety committee says that management is encouraging inaccurate and incomplete reports.

One of the fire bosses—who are members of the union—has filed a

grievance, charging company harassment while trying to perform his job.

These practices put our lives in immediate danger. In August, the safety committee closed down one shift at the mine because of serious safety violations.

Since then, Bethlehem has consistently refused to accept the safety committee's proposal to correct the viola-

Continued on page 18

Mary Zins is a member of United Mine Workers Local 2874 at the Bethlehem Steel mine in Marianna.