

# THE MILITANT

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

## ERA YES!

As we go to press, women and their supporters have advanced one more step toward extending the deadline for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment, toward winning the ERA.

On October 4 the U.S. Senate voted down a crippling amendment to the bill that would extend the ERA ratification deadline from March 1979 to June 1982. The anti-ERA amendment

### An editorial

would have allowed states to repeal ratification if the deadline is extended.

In all, a half-dozen anti-ERA amendments to the extension bill have been defeated in the Senate. This has cleared the way for an October 6 Senate debate on the extension bill itself.

Women's groups, civil rights organizations, and trade unions have come this far because of a major drive this spring and summer to mobilize pro-ERA sentiment into action.

The July 9 ERA march of 100,000, called by the National Organization for Women, put the spotlight—and heat—on

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Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

## S. African union leader appeals: **Defend Soweto freedom fighters**

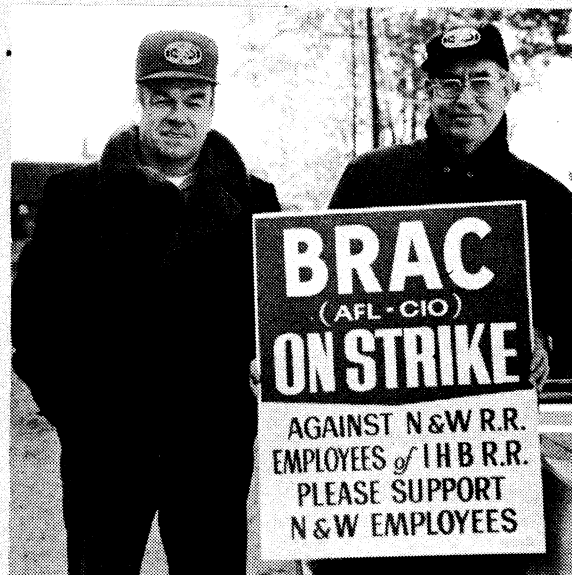


Funeral of Black power leader Steve Biko, murdered by South African cops. Eleven student leaders of Soweto uprising are now on trial for their lives. South African unionist Drake Koka is touring U.S. in their defense. See page 3.

## 'We have the power'

Rail strike showed  
militancy, solidarity

—PAGE 4



Militant/David McDonald

## ...ERA

Continued from front page

Congress. That demonstration left no doubt where the majority in this country stands: We want equal rights for women! We will tolerate no time limit on equality!

That massive march soon dislodged the extension bill from the congressional committee where it had been stuck and pushed it through the House of Representatives.

And when the Senate threatened to not even discuss the extension, 2,000 angry people repeated their demand at the Capitol in a September 26 rally.

New fighting forces—women, trade unionists, students, Blacks—have been roused in this battle. They recognize what high stakes they share in the ERA.

Far from a symbolic statement, the ERA will have a direct impact on women's lives. It will be a blow against scores of laws denying women equal opportunity, equal pay, and equal status. For working women and Black women—who suffer the most from sex discrimination—it can be an especially powerful weapon in the fight for equality on the job.

An ERA victory will strike still further—at the entire government offensive against women, oppressed minorities, and working people.

If the ERA is won, women will stand on higher ground in their battles to save abortion rights, affirmative action, child care, and other rights.

Black and Chicano communities will have a better climate for pursuing their struggle for affirmative action and desegregated schools and against cop brutality.

Trade unionists will have a stronger hand when they fight to protect their living standards and rights.

Defeat for the ERA, on the other hand, will spur on every racist Bakke and Weber, every boss plotting the union-busting, take-back campaign against labor, every bigot preparing to torch an abortion clinic, every Anita Bryant and John Briggs out to persecute gays.

With the ERA, women have taken their stand, have called a halt to the attacks on their rights. No matter how the Senate votes on extension, the ERA remains the crucial battle for the women's movement today.

If extension is lost, the ERA movement should take the nationwide fury stirred by that defeat and mold it into an all-out drive for ratification in the next five months.

If extension is won, we can turn the result-

ing enthusiasm and confidence into action to win ratification in three more states. We must not lose the momentum gathered.

A sober look at what it has taken to win the ERA up to now shows what a major task lies ahead. In the past seven years the Democrats and Republicans—on behalf of the ruling rich they represent—have defeated ratification, threatened crippling compromises, and stalled.

Their record, and the success of July 9 in forcing the politicians to finally take action, points to the kind of independent struggle necessary.

We need another big march like July 9 to mobilize ERA support. We need an ongoing campaign of teach-ins, educational, rallies, and other visible actions.

That way we can make our demand a reality: ERA YES!

## War in Lebanon

Fighting between Syrian troops and right-wing militias in Beirut seems to have surpassed the battles that took place in 1975-76, during Lebanon's eighteen-month-long civil war. One resident summed up the situation by saying, "They're firing shells like machine-gun bullets. There has never been anything this heavy."

The new outbreak of warfare in Lebanon could set the stage for another Israeli invasion, such as took place last March. The threat of a new Middle East war involving Israel and Syria—and possibly Washington and Moscow as well—shows once again the hollowness of Carter's promises of peace made after the Camp David summit.

Syrian President Hafez al-Assad originally sent his army into Lebanon in 1976 to aid the same rightist forces it is now fighting. During the civil war, the rightists, whose main base is in the Maronite Christian community, were fighting first of all to maintain their privileged political and economic status, which was being challenged by the Muslim majority.

This goal also required an assault on the Palestinian refugees in Lebanon. The Palestinians were one of the most radicalized sectors of the population. Also, their independent struggle against Zionist oppression was continually pushing forward the Lebanese class struggle.

By entering the Lebanese war in opposition to the Palestinians and the Lebanese Muslims,

Assad hoped to clear the way for negotiations with the Israeli regime, which also supported the Maronite rightists.

But once Assad had stabbed the Palestinians in the back, he was knifed in turn by Washington. The separate deal between Egypt and Israel engineered by President Carter at Camp David did not even make a pretense of returning Syrian land occupied by Israel ever since the 1967 war.

At the same time, the Israeli regime has not been happy about the presence of 30,000 Syrian troops in Lebanon, despite the reactionary role those troops have played. Israel has encouraged the Lebanese rightists not to cooperate with Assad and has sought to capitalize on the frictions between the Syrians and the Maronite militias.

Right after the Camp David summit, Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin warned once again: "We have helped them [the rightists] and we will help them in the future. We aren't going to acquiesce in the massacre of the Christian population."

Begin's claim that he is acting as the defender of the Christian population in Lebanon is reminiscent of Richard Nixon's statement that the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam would lead to a "bloodbath." It was the Israeli army, after all, that created more than 250,000 refugees and murdered more than 1,200 people during its invasion of Lebanon last March.

Today, Lebanon is on the brink of a new explosion, one that could be even bloodier than the civil war.

Carter, meanwhile, has begun to float a new plan that, according to a report in the October 4 *Christian Science Monitor*, includes greater use of French troops there. But the last thing that Lebanon needs is any more Carter "peace" plans, or any more foreign troops—especially imperialist troops.

The so-called framework for a Middle East peace worked out under Carter's direction at Camp David has already increased the danger of Israeli intervention in Lebanon. Once an Egyptian-Israeli treaty is signed, the Zionist regime will not have to worry about military pressure on its southern flank. Its hands will be freed for aggression against Lebanon and Syria.

The best contribution that we in the United States can make to the Lebanese people is to demand that Washington, France, and Israel keep their hands off Lebanon.

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### Arson attack on Chicago SWP

Right-wing terrorists fire bomb the Socialist Workers Party campaign office, destroying literature and stealing files. **Page 8.**

### Outrage in San Diego

Survivors of the worst airline crash in history speak out bitterly against the callous disregard for safety shown by the airlines and the government. **Page 9.**



### Hayden pushes 'lesser evil'

Tom Hayden, the ex-radical-turned-Democrat, says 'progressive people' should vote to reelect Gov. Jerry Brown. Fred Halstead, Brown's socialist opponent, explains why this is a dead end. **Page 12.**



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# 'End U.S. aid to So. Africa'

## Black trade unionist begins United States tour

Drake Koka, general secretary of the Black Allied Workers Union (BAWU) of South Africa, began a seven-week tour of the United States on October 2. He is speaking about political prisoners in South Africa and the fight for Black majority rule.

Koka has been indicted by the South African government as a "co-conspirator" in the frame-up trial of eleven Soweto student leaders charged with "sedition" and "terrorism." That trial is now under way in the town of Kempton Park, near Johannesburg.

BAWU was founded in August 1972. Its purpose, according to Koka, is "to organize a united, powerful African workers union."

Koka was also a cofounder and first general secretary of the Black People's Convention, an umbrella organization that developed out of the Black Consciousness Movement. In October 1977 it was outlawed along with other major Black groups by the South African government.

In February 1973 the apartheid regime placed Koka under a five-year ban that kept him under house arrest. He was arrested and jailed for eight months during 1974-75.

After participating in the June 1976 Soweto rebellion, Koka was again banned. He escaped to Botswana to avoid arrest.

Below is the text of a press release issued by the Drake Koka Tour Committee upon his arrival in the United States.

I am glad that I am here again in the United States. My last visit was in October 1977.

The fact that I am here is not very important. More important is what I'm here to talk about.

I want to draw the attention of the American people to two important events taking place today in South Africa.

First and foremost is the continued oppression, repression, and suppression of the Black masses by the white racist regime under the immoral policies of apartheid.

The choice of Prime Minister John Vorster's successor in the person of Mr. Pieter W. Botha—



**DRAKE KOKA: 'Our demand is Black majority rule'**

whose trend of thought is "shoot first and then ask questions"—shows the arrogant determination of the Afrikaners never to give up their oppressive, exploitative apartheid policy. Their determination never to hand over power to the Black majority.

I am also here to alert the American public—students, Blacks, workers, churchpeople—to the important trial of eleven students of the Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa.

These students were leaders of the Soweto Students Representative Council [SSRC], which was banned by the government in October 1977. These students, like me and thousands of other Blacks, participated in the 1976 Soweto uprising that rocked the foundations of the apartheid government.

*Continued on page 20*

## Hear Drake Koka

Drake Koka will be speaking in the following cities during October.

- Oct. 6-9 Cleveland
- 10-11 Newark
- 12-14 New York
- 16-19 Boston/Western Massachusetts
- 20 Midwest Conference on South Africa, Evanston, Ill.
- 21 New York State NAACP conference, Newburgh
- 22-24 Detroit
- 26-27 Baltimore/Washington, D.C.

The tour committee has also received many new endorsers.

These include: Patrick Gorman, chairman of the board of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America; Tom Turner, president, Metro Detroit Central Labor Council; Ralph David Abernathy, president emeritus, Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Michael Harrington, national chairperson, Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee; David McReynolds, War Resisters League.

Also Odeyo Ayaga, chairperson, Pan African Studies Department, Temple University; Black Leadership Caucus, Cleveland Federation of Labor; Sonia Sánchez, poet and novelist; Pete Camarata, Teamsters for a Democratic Union; Black American Law Student Association chapters at the University of Louisville and Purdue University at Indianapolis; Kentucky Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression; and Dorothy Hughes, executive board, Detroit Coalition of Black Trade Unionists.

For further information on Drake Koka's tour contact:

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

# Students set drive to end college-So. Africa ties

By Omari Musa

NEW HAVEN, Conn.—One hundred eighty people here participated in day-long discussions and workshops on university complicity with apartheid. The September 30 meeting was held on the Yale University campus.

The gathering, hosted by the North East Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa (NECLSA), decided to organize coordinated fall campus activities to demand that universities divest holdings in U.S. companies doing business in South Africa. The actions will focus on board of trustees meetings during October and November.

The meeting also discussed plans for the November 17-19 conference on southern Africa to be held at New York University. A tentative agenda was

approved, including an evening rally November 17 and workshops and plenary sessions November 18-19.

The meeting also voted to issue an initial poster to publicize the event.

Students from Yale, Harvard, Columbia, and University of Massachusetts in Amherst were among the representatives from more than thirty campuses who reported on divestment activity.

According to these reports, those thirty universities alone hold a total of more than \$1.5 billion in companies operating in South Africa.

One student from Howard University, a predominantly Black school in Washington, D.C., pointed out that Howard has more than \$1 million invested in such firms.

Also participating in the meeting

were Greenwich Village-Chelsea NAACP members and activists from District 1199 of the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees, American Friends Service Committee, and the Committee Against Apartheid of Springfield, Massachusetts.

Workshops focused on the demands of the divestment movement; ways to involve more Blacks, Latinos, and Asian-Americans; strategy and tactics; and campaigns against bank loans and sale of the Krugerrand, a South African gold coin.

NECLSA announced that it will hold another meeting at Yale October 14 to finalize plans for the November 17-19 conference. It urged divestment and anti-apartheid activists to attend.

On October 1, the Divestiture Working Group hosted a meeting in Evan-

ston, Illinois, to discuss the October 20-22 "Midwest Conference on University and Corporate Involvement in South Africa."

More than fifty activists from Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, Ohio, and Missouri attended the meeting.

The gathering voted on a conference agenda and decided on a leaflet for distribution.

The conference will be held at Northwestern University in Evanston.

For further information on these activities contact: NECLSA, c/o American Committee on Africa, 305 East Forty-sixth Street, New York, New York 10017 and Divestiture Working Group, 1570 Oak Street, number 215, Evanston, Illinois 60201. Phone: (312) 492-3122.

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# Strike showed power of

## BRAC clerks return to work

By John Hawkins

Striking members of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks (BRAC) ended their nationwide rail walkout September 29, after a federal judge upheld President Carter's back-to-work order issued the previous day.

Invoking the Railway Labor Act, Carter had ordered a sixty-day "cooling off" period and had created an

to cover seventy-three railroads that were contributing \$6 million a week to the N&W in accord with a strikebreaking "mutual assistance" pact.

Almost immediately, the four-day strike had a powerful impact on the country's economy—bringing nearly 70 percent of rail traffic nationally to a virtual halt.

The strike showed the power and growing militancy of railroad workers. Picket lines set up by striking BRAC clerks were universally honored by members of other rail unions. This solidarity among rail workers—inspired in large part by the example of the mine workers last winter—cut across craft divisions among rail unions and was key to the strength and solidity of the strike.

Clerks on other lines viewed the N&W strike as their own. If the N&W gets away with this, many said, our employer will try it next.

Railroad workers in other crafts also viewed the strike as their first line of defense against the carriers' job-slashing ambitions.

There is a growing conviction among railroad workers that they have the right to use their power to hold the carriers at bay.

Twice during the four-day walkout, BRAC members and other rail unionists ignored government attempts to force them back to work—first, when a series of injunctions were handed

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Chicago pickets

Militant/David McDonald

*'How the rail bosses got rich'—page 21.*

emergency board to "mediate" the dispute between BRAC and the Norfolk and Western Railway.

The court order halted the walkout on all struck railroads, including the N&W.

The nationwide strike, which began September 26, was in solidarity with the nearly 5,000 N&W clerks who struck July 10. They are demanding job security and no reduction in wages for employees displaced by automation. Most other railroads have already agreed to such an arrangement.

The N&W—long one of the most profitable companies in the business—is a hard-line anti-union outfit.

Initially BRAC directed the solidarity strike only at forty-three railroads that connect with the N&W.

But on the second and third days of the strike, BRAC expanded picketing

When the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks extended their strike against the Norfolk and Western Railroad, 'Militant' correspondents went to the picket lines to show their solidarity and help get out the strikers' side of the story.

The strike against the N&W began July 10. It was extended to forty-three other lines Tuesday, September 26, and to thirty more lines over the next two days. The striking rail workers were ordered back to work by a federal court Friday, September 29.

## Chicago

By Steve Wright

CHICAGO—Though workers at the Burlington Northern Railroad here had been notified of the impending rail strike, the issues involved were unclear.

But when the strike expanded to the Burlington, rail workers there quickly became aware of what was at stake.

The pickets went up at Burlington Tuesday morning. A temporary restraining order soon followed. But the general chairman of BRAC for the Burlington (the order must be served on him by law) had somehow dropped out of sight.

On Wednesday morning after Labor Secretary Ray Marshall announced that the N&W and BRAC had twenty-four hours to reach an agreement, clerks took down the picket lines. But not for long.

The lines went back up at 2:00 p.m. The second shift refused to report for work. And the few who had gone in that morning walked out—catching the company and the government off guard.

The attitude among picketers was militant. At one point clerks stretched their picket line shoulder to shoulder across a road leading to the piggy-back ramp. At times they sat down in the driveway. This action effectively blocked trucks from entering. And many drivers refused to cross the line.

Arrangements had been made with the company for five workers at a time to walk across the line into the offices to get paid Thursday morning. Only after those five returned could the next

five go in, in order to hold the line and prevent scabbing.

All went well until the company stopped handing out checks, saying any worker who crossed the line had to go to work.

Representatives of some unions tried to talk the company into resuming payment. But Burlington management would not budge until the United Transportation Union informed them that it too would strike unless everyone was paid immediately.

The company backed down at the thought of another strike, and everyone got paid.

Direct action did in a matter of minutes what takes months and years to accomplish through the antilabor procedures of the Railway Labor Act.

*Steve Wright is chairperson of International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 533 on the Burlington Northern.*

## Washington, DC

By Steve Bride

WASHINGTON, D.C.—"I've been telling these guys for years that we have the power," said a member of the UTU honoring a BRAC picket line here at the Richmond, Fredericksburg, and Potomac rail yard. "Now maybe they'll believe me."

"I wish somebody had thought of this when they were bragging about our contract," he said. "They told us we got 38 percent over three years. It turns out it was only 14 percent over the basic wage, with crew cuts to boot.

"I guess they think we're willing to bust a leg for a few extra bucks. Most of us would rather have the extra leg."

Gathered around a transistor radio, picketers listened for news of the approaching back-to-work order. A BRAC member spoke up: "They're trying to break the back of the union and take away our right to strike. Without the right to strike you're back to the days of no union."

At Fruit Growers Express, where they build and repair railroad cars, workers tried all day Thursday to reach BRAC international headquarters. They wanted pickets sent over.

"A lot of people here have relatives in the mines," said Fritz Edler, a Fruit Growers employee and member of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen. "All they've talked about is how the miners got what they wanted by staying together. If we ever reach BRAC we'll tell them we're ready to do the same."

Friday Fruit Growers was out.

At Amtrak corporate headquarters, members of BRAC Local 1906 were still at work.

"They announced Wednesday afternoon that they were laying off ninety-five of us because of the strike," said Sara Smith. "The international has told us to sit tight."

But at the Local 1906 meeting Wednesday night, members refused to bow to company intimidation. They voted to set up a strike support committee and to hold lunchtime rallies Thursday and Friday.

## New Orleans

By Rashaad Ali

NEW ORLEANS—"Tell them that we are 100 percent with them and we know that they are fighting for us too," said a striking railroad worker at the Southern Railroad here.

Like most rail workers here, he saw the strike as an action to defend the N&W clerks and all rail workers from layoffs due to automation and speedup.

As Carter announced strikebreaking plans to save rail industry profiteers,

rail clerks here responded by extending their strike to the Southern Pacific, Missouri Pacific, and Cotton Belt railroads.

These new additions to the strike virtually sealed off Louisiana to rail traffic from other parts of the country. From the beginning of the strike several major rail lines in this state had been closed down: the Illinois Central Gulf, Kansas City Southern, and Louisville and Nashville.

Events at Southern were typical of the strike here. All train crews refused to cross the picket line, shutting off all movement in Oliver Yard, the main New Orleans rail yard. Except for a handful of supervisors, all of Southern's yards were empty.

The Kaiser Aluminum plant here, serviced by Southern, usually receives 1,400 tons of raw materials and aluminum daily. It received none from Tuesday on.

Amstar Sugar Corporation, makers of Domino Sugar, virtually ran out of empty cars to put refined sugar into, and did not receive any raw sugar once the strike began.

Outside the city, Kaiser Aluminum's chemical plant in Gramercy shut down because it had no way to ship out its products.

Rail workers here saw they have the power to tie up the country. And as we go back to work, we'll undoubtedly be discussing how this power can be used in the future.

*Rashaad Ali is a member of United Transportation Union Local 1060.*

## Corbin, Ky.

By Nancy Cole

CORBIN, Ky., Sept. 29—Pickets at the Louisville and Nashville Railroad yards were not impressed when Carter ordered them back to work.

As for the president's proposed sixty-day cooling-off period, one striker quipped, "N&W clerks have been cooling off for eighty-two days now. It's



# rail unions

time things started heating up."

The real way to end the strike, these BRAC members explain, is to get Norfolk and Western Railway to negotiate an agreement with BRAC. "Then we'll go back to work, providing we *all* have jobs to go back to," they say.

The pickets report that to intimidate and harass strikers, L&N has handed out 1,000 layoff notices system-wide since they walked off the job three days ago.

Here in Corbin, the layoff wave has hit more than thirty workers—fourteen of them having had their jobs abolished.

One young striker noted the dramatic increase in the number of train masters at this yard since he started here nearly nine years ago.

"They're doing the jobs union members now do, and it's costing the company less. They don't get overtime pay, and the company can work them as much as it wants." Nor do they file grievances or go on strike, he readily agrees.

He believes the railroads are out to eventually get rid of the unions altogether.

A few cars pass through the picket line here—management personnel, a boss at U.S. Steel process coal preparation plant, which has the same entrance as the rail yard.

But no rail workers. All the other rail unions are honoring the picket line 100 percent. Workers at the U.S. Steel coal plant—organized by the United Mine Workers—are also supporting the strike.

"We stayed out four days when they moved pickets over here during their strike last winter," explained a picket. "Now they're helping us out."

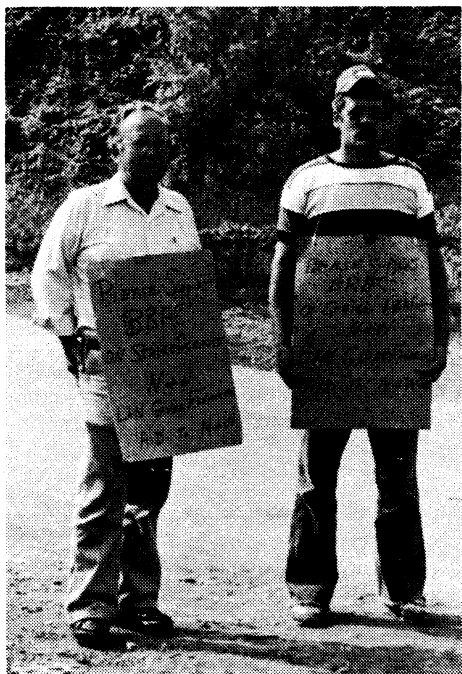
A member of the UMWA stopped by the picket line. "Yes, they honored our picket lines, and we appreciated it. We got all kinds of union support during our strike. It sure helped boost our morale."

## Los Angeles

LOS ANGELES—When clerks struck the Santa Fe and Union Pacific railroads here Tuesday, Odie Sanderfield, BRAC local chairperson on the Santa Fe, explained, "Any time you have a mutual aid pact between companies, then you need mutual aid between the workers."

Members of all the rail unions here agreed and observed the clerks' picket lines, as did Teamsters Local 208 members.

And thirty minutes after Carter invoked the Railway Labor Act to order the clerks back to work, the third and



Militant/Nancy Cole  
**BRAC strikers picket L&N in Corbin, Kentucky.**

largest railroad here—the Southern Pacific—was struck.

From the outset the strike affected area industry. Leading the chorus of complaints were auto and steel managements. Auto production depends on daily railroad shipments of parts, and Kaiser steel in Fontana requires thousands of tons of rail-delivered iron.

Agribusiness executives also complained that their industry would be hard hit by a prolonged rail strike.

On the other hand, workers on the picket lines were spirited. Clerks expressed support for the goal of the walkout. Some switchmen and brakemen came to the picket lines in solidarity and swapped stories about how they managed to get off company property before their tour of duty ended.

Some strikers noted that picketing was not well enough organized and that more up-to-date information should have been circulated by union officials. It was never clear, for instance, why the clerks on the Southern Pacific waited until Thursday to go out.

Rail workers here began to go back after it was announced Friday that BRAC President Fred Kroll had asked them to return. It will take some time, however, for things to get back to normal. Many clerks, trainmen, and engineers were simply not available when supervisors tried to reach them by phone Friday afternoon.

*The report above was submitted by a member of the United Transportation Union in Los Angeles.*

## SWP hits gov't strikebreaking

By John Hawkins

"The Carter administration's strikebreaking against rail workers shows that he and his party are no friends of labor," says Bill Peterson, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from Minnesota.

Peterson, a member of the United Transportation Union in Minneapolis, is a railroad worker. He joined other pickets on the Burlington Northern and Soo lines during the four-day strike.

"This slap in the face shows once again that Washington is not impartial in a conflict between workers' just demands and the greed of big business.

"During the strike," says Peterson, "we saw a little of labor's potential power. Had it not been for Carter's strikebreaking, we surely would have brought the carriers to terms.

"There's a lesson in this," Peter-

son believes. "Labor needs to mobilize its power on the political front, independent of the bosses' strike-breaking parties—the Democrats and Republicans.

"It's time that railroad workers and other unionists began discussing formation of a labor party based on our unions. That would be a big step toward winning a government loyal to the interests of working people instead of to the profiteers."

During the strike, supporters of Peterson distributed copies of a statement by the candidate to striking rail workers. In Chicago, supporters of Guy Miller, SWP candidate for Illinois attorney general and a UTU member, also distributed a statement.

In addition, SWP candidates in Colorado, Washington, D.C., and Ohio issued statements and demonstrated their solidarity at picket lines and strike headquarters.

# National picket line

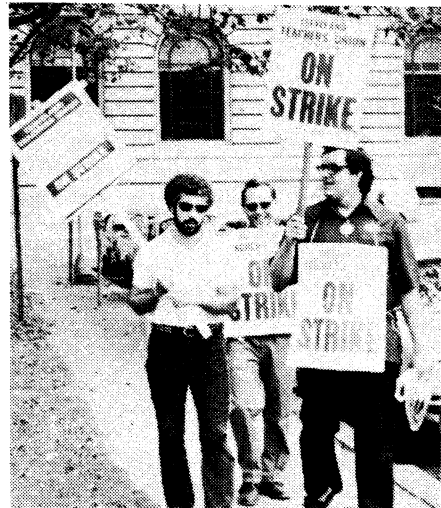
## Ultimatum to Cleveland teachers

The Cleveland School Board has made an offer to its 10,000 striking employees—one it insists they can't refuse. The exact terms are unknown because a local court has imposed a "gag order" on the negotiating parties. The court ordered the strikers to ratify the pact by October 4—or face a back-to-work injunction October 5.

On September 28 the school board announced just how it "balanced the budget" to come up with funds for the settlement. The city plans to lay off 637 employees, demote or transfer 180, and leave 160 positions unfilled.

The layoffs include five of seven top aides in the Department of Desegregation, which is charged with overseeing the city's school busing program. "It appears that they are trying to make desegregation impossible this fall," said department head Charles Leftwich.

At the outset of the school strike, the teacher-school employee unity committee stated it would not trade off wage gains for layoffs and would not obey any court-imposed back-to-work orders.



Militant/Jeff Young

## Cotton profits before textile workers' lives

What counts more in Washington—the lives of hundreds of thousands of textile workers or the profits of their handful of employers? The Senate gave its answer September 25 when it voted to delay implementation of the Carter administration's already diluted cotton dust rules.

Some 35,000 textile workers suffer from crippling "brown lung" disease, caused by breathing cotton dust. At least 150,000 more have less severe symptoms. The Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union says that no more than 100 micrograms of cotton dust per cubic meter should be permitted. Yet the Occupational Safety and Health Administration's new rules set the limit as high as 750 micrograms on some textile processes.

The textile bosses have fought even these inadequate safeguards every step of the way. Despite fat profits, they complain they can't afford to comply with the standards. And now their political mouthpieces have succeeded in delaying implementation until May 1, 1979. So for the next eight months, textile workers will continue to breathe in what is acknowledged to be a deadly dose of cotton dust.

## Support the Teamsters—'You may be next'

On September 29 a spirited picket line of some 150 women warehouse workers and wives of striking Teamsters demonstrated outside the main offices of Safeway markets in Oakland. Safeway is leading the pack of northern California food chains in their union-busting assault on the Teamsters union.

Safeway workers struck in July to protest a brutalizing new speedup operation. They have been joined by thousands of other Teamsters locked out by the area's four main supermarket chains.

"Safeway wants to take back most of what truck drivers fought for and paid for over the last fifteen years," the women said in a leaflet they distributed.

Their statement, written as a letter from a striker's wife, blasted Safeway's speedup plan. "A computer has decided how much weight my husband can lift and how fast he can lift and stack it. How can a machine know human endurance and limitations, when it has never felt them?"

Safeway used to encourage its workers to stay on until retirement, they explain. "But now only the young can survive—and their time is limited."

The pickets' leaflet was entitled, "Please support our strike—You may be next!"

## Transit militant reinstated

Henry Lewis, chairperson of the Coalition of Concerned Transit Workers, was reinstated in his job at the Metropolitan Transit Authority September 26. In a hearing attended by more than 200 members of the Transport Workers Union, the trial board overturned the MTA's suspension of Lewis as a violation of the union contract.

Although Lewis had worked for the MTA eleven years—and had eighty days of accumulated sick time—he was suspended August 8 for several one-day illnesses without doctors' certificates.

The Coalition of Concerned Transit Workers helped lead the fight against the MTA's miserable contract offer last spring. "They suspended me right after they shoved that contract down our throats," Lewis told the *Militant*.

## British Ford workers strike

Ford Motors Company's British operations have been shut down by a strike of 57,000 hourly workers in twenty-three different plants. The workers are protesting Ford's 5 percent pay offer—which conforms to the Labor Party government's new wage guidelines. Citing Ford's rising profits, the strikers are demanding a 25 percent wage increase.

—Shelley Kramer

# 14,500 in a week—sales drive big success

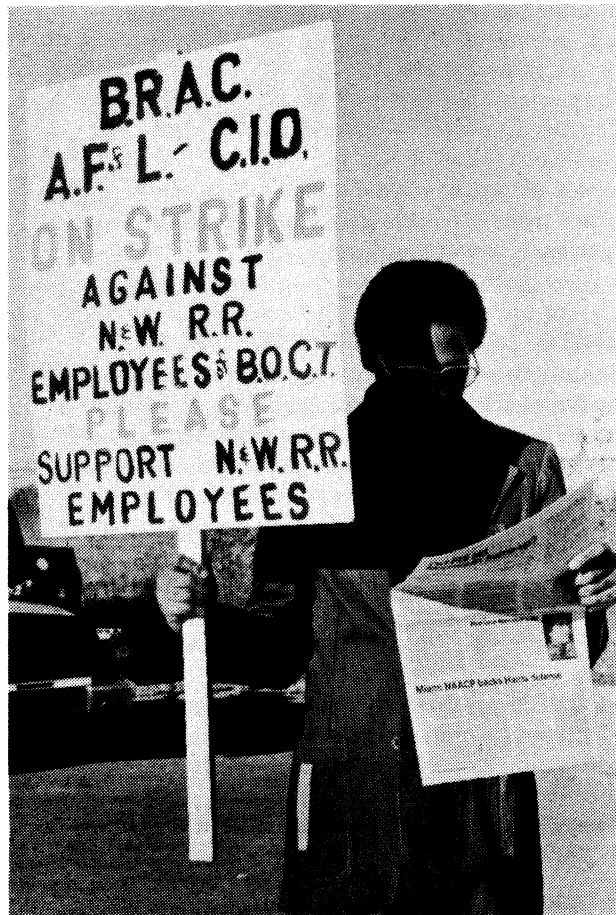
By Nelson Blackstock

It was one of the biggest weeks for *Militant* circulation in a long time. And for *Perspectiva Mundial*, the Spanish-language socialist biweekly, it was the biggest ever (see accompanying story). A total of 13,389 *Militants* and 1,171 *PMs* were sold.

Leading the way was Albuquerque, with 461 total sales, well over three times the normal weekly goal. They did it, according to sales director Lynn Rashkind, through organizing a steady flow of sales teams throughout the week.

Coming next was New York, also more than tripling its weekly quota. The big bulk of those were sold on Saturday, when more than 1,800 people on the streets of the city bought the *Militant*.

Top sellers in New York accepted awards at festivities celebrating the victory last Sunday. They were Eric Perkins, selling 122 *Militants*, plus 45 copies of the *Young Socialist*, and Tim Brennan, who racked up 110 *Militants* and another 87 copies of the *Young Socialist*.



Militant/David McDonald

Almost tripling its goal was Newark with sales of 444.

The week marked more than a big advance toward selling the 100,000 numerical goal for the fall. It also registered a big step toward meeting the key political objectives of the drive in terms of who bought the paper.

The socialist press reached larger numbers of working people. In the course of the week, a nationwide rail strike broke out. Socialists in cities across the country rushed to the picket lines with the *Militant*, which carried a major article on rail.

Leading the way was Chicago, where 120 *Militants* were sold to strikers. But in many other cities, socialists also systematically put together teams to visit the often numerous and scattered picket lines. Minneapolis strikers bought five subscriptions. City after city reported a warm reception, and said that a large percentage of those on the picket lines got copies of the paper.

In Baltimore, *Militant* supporters in the huge Sparrows Point steel plant sold forty-six copies to co-workers. In Detroit socialists in the auto plants sold sixty-four papers—although they say these sales are not a great deal more than what they are selling most weeks to co-workers.

At plant gates, Louisville teams sold fifty-one. Houston sold a similar number.

Louisville sent a team to Stearns, Kentucky, scene of a protracted coal strike. The team sold forty-one *Militants* and six subscriptions. Morgantown, West Virginia, socialists sent a team to Harlan County, Kentucky, another big mining area.

As for campus sales, Raleigh socialists sold eighty-six—mostly at dorms in the evening and on Saturday. Atlanta sent a team to the University of Georgia in Athens, where they sold forty-one papers.

From San Diego, Katherine Crowder reports the socialists sold fifty-nine papers at the University of California branch there alone. And like others, she says they are finding a new political awareness and receptivity among students.

A big portion of the week's total sales were on Saturday, and most of those were to Blacks. Manhattan's Upper West Side branch of the Socialist Workers Party sold 219 papers in Harlem on Saturday. Over the course of the week they sold 800 papers, mostly to working people on New York streets.

The issues sparking the most attention were the Weber affirmative-action case and South Africa.

The results point to an even bigger step forward

## Sales scoreboard

CITY	MILITANT		PM		TOTAL	
	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Sold	Percent
Albuquerque	105	403	15	58	461	384.2
New York	650	2349	100	248	2597	346.3
Newark	140	408	10	36	444	296.0
Louisville	100	287			287	287.0
San Antonio	75	212	25	50	262	262.0
Miami	80	199	20	48	247	247.0
Atlanta	200	479		1	480	240.0
Baltimore	120	294	5		294	235.2
Cincinnati	100	224			224	224.0
Salt Lake City	125	289	10	6	295	218.5
Washington, D.C.	230	487	20	54	541	216.4
Pittsburgh	145	305	5	5	310	206.7
New Orleans	140	281	10	19	300	200.0
Dallas	125	217	15	57	274	195.7
Detroit	250	475			475	190.0
Oakland	160	291	15	36	327	186.9
Albany	105	203	5	2	205	186.4
Milwaukee	95	172	5	10	182	182.0
Raleigh	125	225			225	180.0
Chicago	385	723	65	72	795	176.7
Los Angeles	400	715	100	139	854	170.8
Philadelphia	235	359	15	68	427	170.8
San Diego	105	182	20	21	203	162.4
San Jose	115	176	10	27	203	162.4
Cleveland	120	205	10	6	211	162.3
St. Louis	140	242	10		242	161.3
Seattle	135	230	15	3	223	155.3
Boston	225	362	25	21	383	153.2
Berkeley	135	220	15	5	225	150.0
Tacoma	100	147			147	147.0
Houston	300	421	50	62	483	138.0
Toledo	115	162	5	1	163	135.8
Indianapolis	115	153			153	133.0
San Francisco	250	310	25	49	359	130.5
Portland	90	114			114	126.7
Iron Range, Mn.	50	63			63	126.0
Denver	120	158	20	14	172	122.9
Morgantown	150	181			181	120.7
Gary, Ind.	50	59			59	118.0
Kansas City, Mo.	100	110	5	10	120	114.3
Phoenix	110	95	15	40	135	108.0
Tucson	30	29		2	31	103.3
St. Paul	95	76	5	1	77	77.0
Minneapolis	135	97			97	71.9
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>6875</b>	<b>13,389</b>	<b>670</b>	<b>1171</b>	<b>14,560</b>	<b>192.9</b>

during the next target week, which will be around the time of the November election. They also show the potential for strong week-to-week progress all throughout the fall.

## PM: 'Biggest sales week ever!'

By Harvey McArthur

It was the best week ever for sales of *Perspectiva Mundial*, as Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance members sold 1,171 copies across the country.

Establishing a high level of weekly sales of *Perspectiva Mundial* is one of the main goals of the fall sales campaign. And this past week highlights just how successful we have been so far.

New York and Los Angeles led the way, selling 248 and 139 copies respectively. And many other cities added substantially to the total.

Anne Teesdale from the Upper West Side of New York City sold thirty copies of *PM* in street sales and at Nicaraguan solidarity picket lines.

"I really get excited about selling *PM*," she says. "The people you meet are so friendly, and so interested to find a political magazine in Spanish."

"I always stress that *PM* is a socialist magazine. This sets it apart from anything else available here in Spanish and helps sales a lot."

*PM* sales have been sparked by large political and cultural events in the Latino communities. Both Chicago and Denver sold well at meetings on Chile last week. New York sold a total of nearly 120 *PMs* at Nicaraguan picket lines and meetings.

But most of the sales are now coming from regular *PM* teams at street corners, shopping centers, and small markets in the Latino communities.

Four socialists sold thirty-nine *PMs* and six

*Militants* on Graham Avenue, a busy street in Brooklyn's Williamsburg section.

Two people sold twenty-five copies of *PM* in only a half-hour to Chicanos and *mexicanos* shopping at La Fiesta Supermarket in Houston.

Miami socialists made a special trip to the South Dade Labor Camp, a state-run housing project for migrant farm workers. Most people there are Chicano, and they found the feature article on roots of the Chicano people especially interesting. Thirty-eight *PMs* and nineteen *Militants* were sold in one afternoon.

San Antonio has begun regular sales at several shopping areas in the Chicano community. The variety of stores draws a large number of people, and both the *Militant* and *PM* sell well there. At Las Palmas Shopping Center, where the socialists often send a team of three or four people with a literature table, they sell ten to fifteen *PMs* and English- and Spanish-language socialist literature.

Most of the fifty-eight *PMs* sold in Albuquerque this week came from regular sales locations in the Chicano and *mexicano* community. And one new member of the SWP who does not speak any Spanish was able to sell five copies to people driving away from a store just by holding up the copies for people to see.

Kansas City showed that you can find people interested in *PM* in every corner of the country. They sent a sales team to Kansas State University in Lawrence, where the bookstore doesn't even carry Spanish literature. However, they met Peruvian and other Latino students who bought

copies of *PM*, as well as a subscription.

And a final comment comes from Jon Hillson in Philadelphia.

"We really turned the corner on *PM* sales this week," he declares. "We sold forty-one copies at the annual Puerto Rican Day Parade, something we have never done before. Then we sent a team to the corner of Fifth and Cambria, that sold twenty-five more."

"After this experience, we're ready to do these sales every week."



Militant/Nelson Blackstock



# Conyers-Carter tiff: 'all in the family'

By Andy Rose

"All in the family" was how U.S. Rep. John Conyers (D-Mich.) described his much-publicized tiff with President Carter over the Humphrey-Hawkins bill.

Conyers made headlines when he walked out of a September 26 White House meeting between Carter, Vice-president Mondale, and members of the Congressional Black Caucus.

Conyers reportedly was pressing the administration to do more to secure passage of the Humphrey-Hawkins so-called full employment bill. Carter brushed aside Conyers's proposal of a "Camp David-style" summit meeting on the issue. A disagreement over who would be blamed if the legislation is not passed this year—the Democrats or the Republicans—supposedly prompted Conyers to walk out.

Whether Humphrey-Hawkins passes or fails to pass will have no impact whatsoever on unemployment, a fact that is almost universally recognized. The bill creates no jobs for the unemployed. Not a single one.

Humphrey-Hawkins allocates no funds for public works.

It does nothing to shorten the workweek.

It doesn't even prohibit the forced overtime that now compels millions of workers to labor beyond their physical and mental endurance while millions of others are denied employment at all.

All Humphrey-Hawkins offers is a vague promise that the government will try to get the official jobless rate down to 4 percent, five years after enactment of the bill.

The top priority method the bill lists



CONYERS: 'Offended when anybody questions my loyalty to Democratic Party.'

for meeting this goal is "to encourage private sector investment and capital formation"—that is, higher profits for the corporations!

Since it is the corporate profit drive that is keeping unemployment high in the first place, this—together with many other provisions of the bill—guarantees that the "full employment" goal will never be achieved.

So what was the dispute all about?

Big business opposes Humphrey-Hawkins because it is against any measure that even suggests that workers have a right to a job—no matter how empty the specific proposals for providing jobs. And the Carter administration, ever since it used the empty promises of Humphrey-Hawkins to get elected, has more and more openly tailored its policies to "restoring business confidence." Carter has steadily drawn back from even token concessions to labor, Blacks, and women.

That puts Black Democratic politicians such as Conyers in a tight spot. Their job is to persuade Blacks to continue supporting the Carter administration and the Democratic Party rather than taking independent action to win jobs and other urgent needs of

the Black community.

In a September 27 news conference, Conyers himself emphasized that he was just looking out for the best interests of the Democratic Party. "Of course I am offended when anybody questions my loyalty to the Democratic Party," he said in explaining his walk-out.

Conyers explained that Carter's reelection could be "critically jeopardized" unless Humphrey-Hawkins and the Equal Rights Amendment are passed. He said Carter was in danger of losing "a base built around Blacks, women, and the labor movement."

If Conyers were genuinely concerned with putting the unemployed back to work—rather than repairing the tattered credibility of the Carter administration—he could have pointed to the bill he himself has introduced. It would shorten the workweek to thirty-five hours by 1982 and ban compulsory overtime. Despite some major weaknesses, this bill—unlike Humphrey-Hawkins—at least points toward measures that would actually provide jobs.

Carter responded to the whole flap by stating that "I sincerely hope" Humphrey-Hawkins will pass because it is of "great symbolic importance." But what the unemployed need is neither sincere hopes nor symbols. They need jobs.

And the whole sorry saga of the Humphrey-Hawkins bill proves that jobs will never be won through "family" disputes inside the Democratic Party.

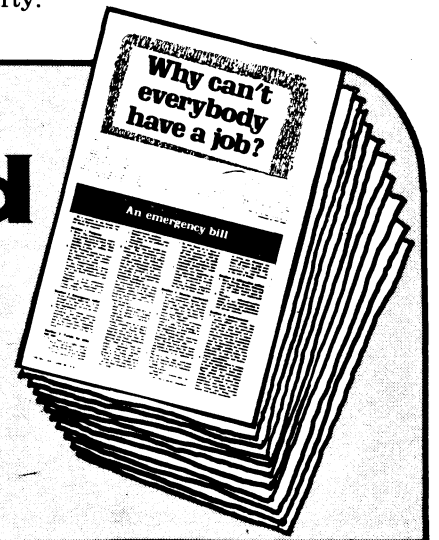
**Since Carter took office, Black unemployment has increased by 15,000, while white unemployment has decreased by more than 1 million.**

	Black jobless	white jobless
Jan. 1977	1,382,000	5,693,000
Aug. 1978	1,397,000	4,630,000

Source: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics

## Help get it around

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



# Natural gas: Democrats push \$30 billion ripoff

By Dick Roberts

The natural-gas deregulation bill passed by the Senate September 27—if approved by the House—will ultimately cost gas users \$30 billion. It will raise the price of gas for home heating by 8.1 percent per year for the next six years.

This profit breakthrough for the energy trust—it has been seeking gas deregulation for more than two decades—took an extraordinary amount of doubletalk to work its way through the Senate.

For various reasons.

The bill is more profitable for gas producers than the one proposed by President Carter in April 1977. Carter's original "energy plan" would have immediately raised natural gas from \$1.50 to \$1.75 per thousand cubic feet. The Senate bill immediately raises the price to \$2.00.

Carter's initial plan also would have kept federal controls on natural gas prices indefinitely. But the Senate bill ends all federal controls in 1985.

So the doubletalk was intended to keep the American people from noticing that the Senate, at Carter's urging, was going to give even more to the energy monopolies than the White House initially requested.

Then there is the question of "inter-" and "intrastate" gas. Intrastate gas is produced and sold in the same state. It was not previously subjected to federal controls, which applied only to gas shipped from one state to the next.

In the previous situation, gas companies drove the prices of intrastate gas into orbit. For example, a battle was waged against the Lo-Vaca Gathering Company in San Antonio and other smaller Texas cities. Lo-Vaca had raised gas and electric bills from six or seven dollars a month to nearly forty dollars a month.

The Senate bill, however, imposes controls on intrastate gas from now until when all controls are removed in 1985.

So undoubtedly some senators spilled forth remarks such as: "This is a tremendous sacrifice for our people in intrastate gas companies. How can they survive? We must have special regulations for them, etc."

To which other senators probably responded: "Look, we gotta have some cover. Pretty soon all gas will be decontrolled and we'll have Lo-Vaca-type profits everywhere."

The Senate bill ended up with no less than seventeen different categories of

gas, each with its own deregulation and pricing schedules.

"In order to reduce the shock to consumers," *Newsweek* said, "the legislation provides a complex 'incremental pricing' system: large industrial customers will have to pay the full price of new gas, while residential consumers will pay only a fraction of the increase [each year—D.R.]."

They think we won't notice if they rob us slower.

## Machinists head raps Carter turnaround

The Senate "compromise" energy bill was the key issue cited by Machinists union President William Winpisinger in his September 25 blast against the Carter administration and Congress.

In an open letter to Carter, Winpisinger recalled that a year ago the president had said, "Deregulation of natural gas prices would provide windfall profits without increasing supply."

Winpisinger's letter continued: "Since then, nothing has changed economically, with respect to gas deregulation issue, Mr. President, but your position has. Originally, you stood against deregulation as a champion of consumers, then retreated, and finally made a complete about-face."

"Cloaking the Conference Committee proposal as a compromise does not hide the fact that the big producers are getting exactly what they want," Winpisinger wrote.

"After natural gas, petroleum and gasoline prices, which have quadrupled over the past four years, will undoubtedly be next in line for deregulation. We can't forget that giant American oil companies are part and parcel of the OPEC Cartel and profit therefrom."

The Machinists president noted that natural gas and electric utility bills have gone up \$48 billion in the past four years—\$222 for every man, woman, and child in the country. The "compromise" bill will boost prices another \$50 billion, he said.

Winpisinger pointed to the absurdity of Carter's demand for curbs on wage increases when the administration is abetting such multi-billion-dollar price ripoffs. He declared:

"In fact, Mr. President, the Machinists Union promises that for every additional dollar your gas deregulation program costs us, we are going to demand automatic wage adjustment clauses, just as utility companies enjoy automatic fuel adjustment clauses, in our contract negotiations. You can depend on that."

Winpisinger also pledged that the Machinists would withhold support from any congressperson who votes for the energy bill. If the promise is kept, it will mean the union won't back forty of the sixty-two Senate Democrats.

# Right-wing arsonists hit Chicago SWP office

By Malik Miah

CHICAGO—On Monday, October 3, at 7:20 a.m., the headquarters of the 1978 Socialist Workers Statewide Campaign Committee was set on fire by a right-wing anticommunist group.

Two white thugs dressed in army fatigues came to 407 South Dearborn Street and asked the elevator operator if the "commies" were still in the building. They then rode up the elevator, got out on the eleventh floor, went to room 1145, broke down the door, and torched the office.

Thousands of pieces of SWP election campaign literature were destroyed. Substantial damage was done to walls and furniture. Files of the Socialist Workers Party were stolen.

According to the Chicago police bomb and arson squad, who arrived soon after the attack, they had received a phone call claiming credit for the attack from a right-wing organization calling itself the Vietnam Veterans Against Communists.

The caller told police—and later, during a second call, told a member of the party's state campaign committee—that today's act of violence was only the beginning.

The caller said next time members of the SWP and campaign would be machine-gunned and killed.

This is not the first time that the Socialist Workers Party and its election campaign have been attacked by right-wing organizations in Chicago.

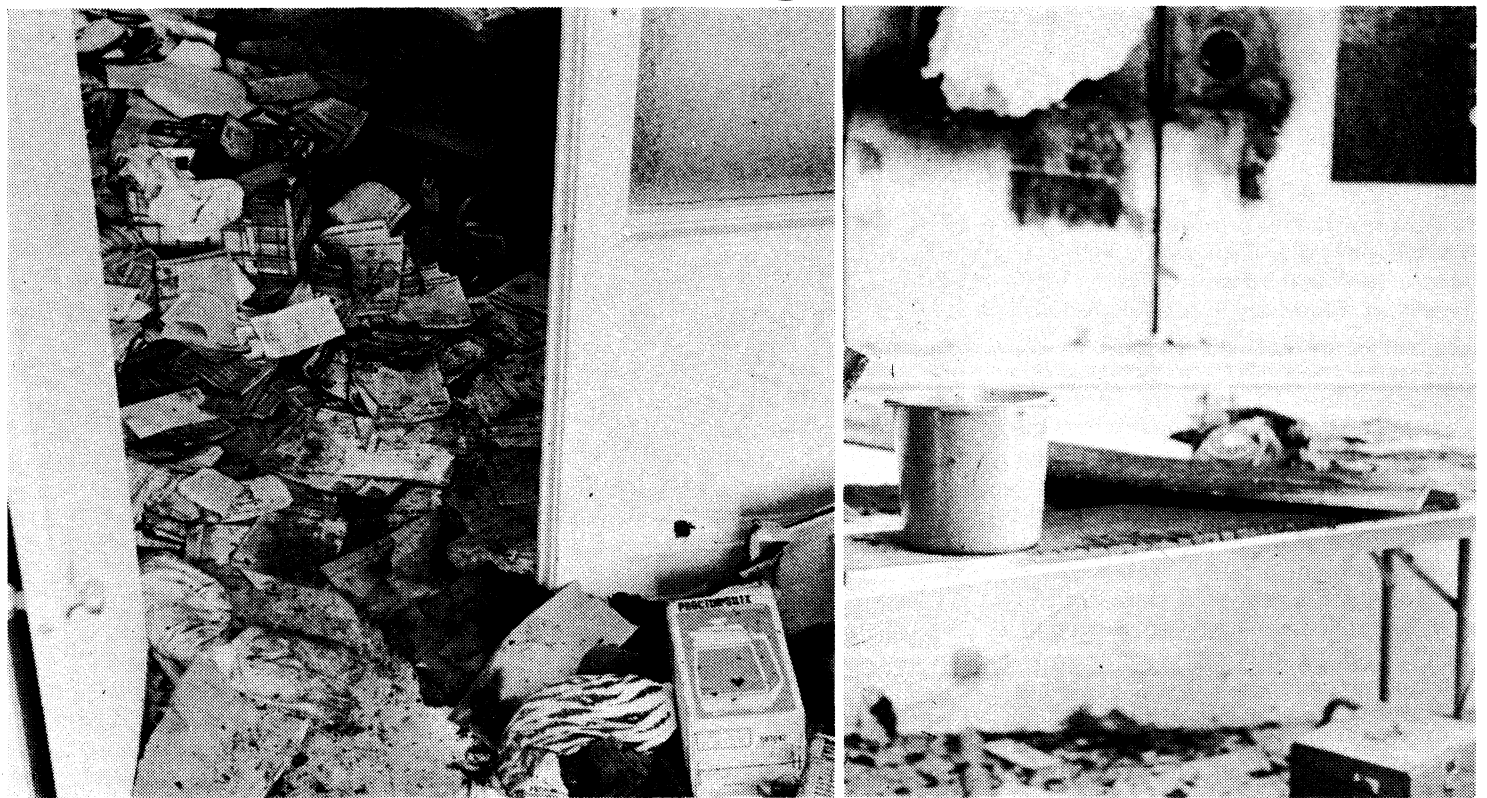
In 1969 and 1970, for example, the racist anticommunist, paramilitary Legion of Justice carried out several violent attacks against the SWP, as well as other radical groups.

In 1975, a Cook County grand jury empaneled to look into police abuses concluded, "There is no question that some members of the security sections [of the Chicago Police Department] maintain a close working relationship with the Legion of Justice."

In fact, a former member of the Legion who participated in one attack on the SWP testified in court that a Chicago police squad car provided protection during one raid by sitting outside the SWP headquarters throughout the operation.

Yet, not a single indictment was returned—against the Legion members involved, or against the police who cooperated with them.

The Chicago SWP is currently in court seeking redress for those unlaw-



Fire damage at Illinois socialists' campaign offices

Militant/David McDonald

ful acts carried out by the Legion in complicity with the FBI, Chicago Police Department Red Squad, and other police agencies.

Pat Grogan, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, issued the following statement after the attack:

"We condemn this attack on our right to carry out our election campaign and to exist as a political organization. We call upon Mayor Michael Bilandic and the Chicago Police Department to take whatever steps are necessary to apprehend those responsi-

ble for these acts against our party.

"We urge other groups and organizations—churches, labor unions, civil rights organizations—and the public at large to condemn this act of terrorism."

## United protest demands arrests

The following is a statement condemning the terrorist attack on the Illinois Socialist Workers 1978 Campaign Committee. Included is a partial list of signers contacted during the day of the attack.

We deplore the violence carried out against the 1978 Socialist Workers Campaign by a right-wing group—calling themselves the Vietnam Veterans Against Communists—which claimed credit for the attack. This represents a flagrant attack on their right to carry out an election campaign and to exist as a political organization.

We call upon the police department and city hall to take whatever

steps are necessary to apprehend those responsible. These attacks threaten the civil liberties of all of us.

### SIGNERS:

Alliance to End Repression; Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights; Peggy Herbert, lawyer; Peoples Law Office; L. A. Dunagan, International Representative, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers of America.

In addition: Robbye Lee Terry, Guild Bookstore; Young Workers Liberation League; S. Kehoe, president, University of Chicago Student Government; M. Zonis, director of Center for Mideast Studies, University of Chicago; Jane A. Raymond, assistant to staff counsel, ACLU; Christina Adachi, program coordinator, ACLU; Mary Selvas, coordina-

tor, Committee for the ERA; Dick Simpson, alderman; Steve Wright, local chairman, Local 533, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; Lyle Tatum, executive secretary, American Friends Service Committee; Bob Howard, general counsel, Better Government Association; and Quentin Young, director of medicine, Cook County Hospital.

Also: Women for Peace; News and Letters; Matt Monahan and Stan Smith, Roosevelt University Student Senate; Action Committee on South Africa, University of Chicago; African Studies Department, University of Chicago; William Coatsworth, chairman, Latin American Studies Department, University of Chicago; Women's Union, University of Chicago; Southside New American Movement; Prof. William Austen, chairman, African Studies Department, University of Chicago.

# Mexico: movement against repression grows

By David Frankel

Although the Carter administration and the big-business media prefer to ignore it, and although the Mexican government loudly proclaims its devotion to democratic ideals, there is a

growing movement in Mexico against political repression.

On July 26, more than 20,000 people demonstrated in Mexico City to protest the Mexican regime's repressive policies.

Another mass rally is scheduled for October 2.

The National Committee to Defend Political Prisoners, the Politically Persecuted, "Disappeared," and Exiled, which has organized these protests, has documented the cases of 367 "disappeared" persons—people picked up by Mexican police or government-backed paramilitary groups and never heard from again. In addition, it has collected information on the cases of more than 200 political prisoners, and 54 political exiles. Héctor Marroquín, who is currently fighting for political asylum in the United States, is among the political exiles listed by the committee.

Organized in August 1977 by relatives of victims of repression, the committee has prepared a draft of a Law of General Amnesty. It is demanding enactment of the law, which would give unconditional amnesty to all political prisoners and exiles and require the presentation and release of the "disappeared" by the government.

A National Representative Commission has been set up to coordinate the campaign for amnesty. The commission includes student groups, trade unions, peasant organizations, and political parties such as the Mexican

Communist Party and the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT), Mexican sister organization of the Socialist Workers Party.

The Mexican Trotskyists in the PRT have reported sixteen separate incidents of arrests, kidnappings, and torture since April. As many as seven members at a time have been victimized in these incidents.

October 2 was chosen as the date for the mass rally because it is the tenth anniversary of the Mexican government's massacre of 400 student demonstrators. In that massacre, the Mexican army opened fire on a demonstration of 100,000 students who were demanding the release of political prisoners and a halt to government repression. (See the "Our Revolutionary Heritage" column on page 30.)

In recalling the massacre in Tlatelolco Plaza, the National Representative Commission noted: "The passage of a general amnesty law is a debt owed to those who fell in the Plaza of Three Cultures [Tlatelolco] . . . not because we would set a price for these martyrs, but because we would be carrying forth their fight against repression and for freedom for the political prisoners—the cause for which they died there in front of all Mexico and the world."

## Marroquin to tour 30 cities

Héctor Marroquín has begun a fall national speaking tour of more than thirty U.S. cities to win support for his case for political asylum. Marroquín was forced to flee Mexico in 1974 to avoid a police frame-up stemming from his participation in the Mexican student movement. The Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee is organizing the tour.

The committee is also touring Rosario Ibarra de Piedra, leader and founder of the Mexican Committee to Defend Political Prisoners, the Politically Persecuted, "Disappeared," and Exiled.

Upcoming stops on Marroquín's tour are:

Oct. 9-11	Albuquerque/ El Paso
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Oct. 12-13	Phoenix
Oct. 15	Tucson
Oct. 16-17	Salt Lake City
Oct. 18-19	Denver

Piedra's beginning tour dates are:

Oct. 5-12	San Francisco Bay Area
Oct. 13	Portland
Oct. 14-17	Seattle/Tacoma/ Olympia
Oct. 18-19	Indianapolis/ Bloomington
Oct. 20-21	Cincinnati

For more information or to send contributions, write: Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee, Post Office Box 843, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003. Or call: (212) 691-3587.



# Calif. plane crash: corporate greed kills

By Roberta Scherr

SAN DIEGO—I live just one block from where the terrible air crash occurred September 27.

It's a working-class neighborhood called North Park. Everyone in the area is in shock over what happened.

It was the worst disaster in U.S. aviation history. So far there are 150 known dead. Many are injured, and sixteen homes were destroyed.

Neighbors and friends sit on their lawns all day—nervous, grieved, and angry.

We watch the big cranes hauling away wreckage. Rescue crews continue digging through the rubble for bodies of people still missing.

There are lights on in neighbors' homes all night. People still can't sleep.

Early each morning the newspaper rack on the corner is sold out. Everyone wants to read the latest "explanation" of what happened. And with each edition the sorrow turns more to anger.

The day after the crash, we read that the PSA jet collided with a small plane doing instructional landing practice. The PSA captain was warned of an approaching craft, but apparently there was a second one. The resulting confusion seems to have caused the

crash. Government investigators say it's a "puzzle."

Airline pilots and crew members have long insisted that all major U.S. airports are as unsafe as they are overcrowded. San Diego is definitely no exception.

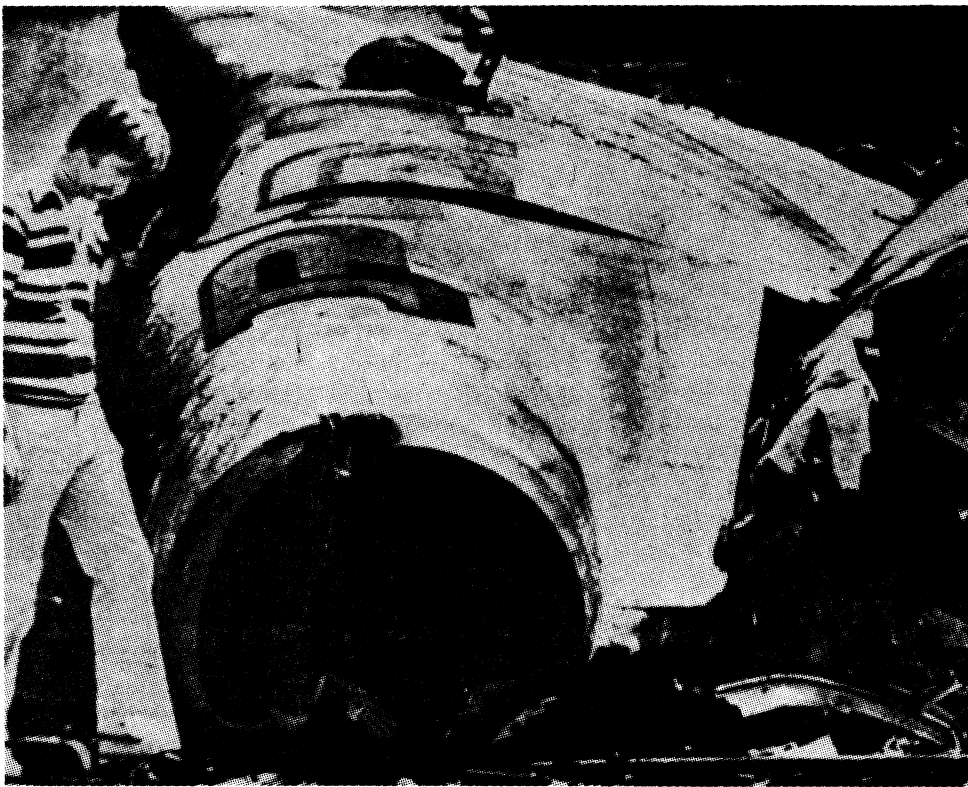
As we read the news accounts, our anger grew. Permitting the use of major airports for small-plane practice landings is apparently so dangerous that many—but not all—leading airports have banned it.

Airport officials here still stubbornly refuse to ban such flights.

That's only part of the outrage. For ten years San Diegans have been fighting to have the airport moved from the densely populated downtown area, where the planes have to make a steep descent to clear the office buildings. Two alternate sites outside the city have already been proposed.

But the San Diego Unified Port District doesn't want to lose the revenue it derives from leasing airport property. So city officials have blocked any move before 1995!

Albert Bell, a leader of the movement to relocate the airport, spoke for all working people when he said, "It's immoral that the port directors haven't lined up right now and said, 'We're moving the airport tomorrow.'"



Workman searches through wreckage of crash

The response of working people to the tragedy was one of great solidarity. Even before a call was issued, hundreds of women and men lined up at blood banks to aid the injured.

Truckloads of food and clothing came into the neighborhood. The Red Cross was flooded with calls offering housing and child care. Dozens of nurses volunteered around the clock, refusing to take breaks.

I commented to a neighbor that this

response should silence the cynics who say working people care only about themselves.

She agreed, adding, "We've got to care about each other, because you know for sure the politicians aren't looking out for us."

Her husband chimed in:

"They just better move that damn airport, because when folks stop crying, they're going to start yelling!"

# Busing off to good start in Wilmington, Del.

By Jon Hillson

WILMINGTON, Del.—The battle against segregation that was launched here twenty-two years ago by Black students and their parents finally bore fruit last month, as the nation's most sweeping school desegregation plan in nearly a decade got under way. More than 91 percent of the students attended class the first day.

Four predawn cross burnings on that first day, however, were reminders of both the Jim Crow history of the state and the continuing racist opposition to desegregation.

The plan involves busing 21,500 of the New Castle County school district's 63,500 students between predominantly white suburban areas and predominantly Black Wilmington, the state's largest city.

Faculty desegregation has also begun, with the transfer of 700 of the system's 3,900 teachers.

One flaw in the overall plan is that Black students are bused out of Wilmington for nine years, while white students are bused in for only three years.

Despite this weakness, the plan is potentially precedent-setting, in that it mandates city-suburban busing to remedy school segregation. It ends exclusion of Black students from the overwhelmingly white suburban schools. The Black plaintiffs in the desegregation suit proved that racist real estate

practices had prevented Black families from moving into the suburbs.

The first of many suits against segregated schools here in Delaware was filed in 1956. It resulted in a court order for desegregation.

In 1961 the state board of education came up with a bogus plan. In fact, it wasn't until 1967 that the last of Delaware's "colored only" schools were phased out. The Jim Crow signs came down, but the reality of second-class schools for Black youth remained.

In 1971, Black parents from Wilmington filed suit in federal court. They blasted the previous phony plan. Three years later, a panel of federal district judges agreed with the Black parents, ordering the merger of Wilmington and suburban schools.

Delaware's Democratic and Republican politicians, however, defied the law, maintaining bipartisan opposition to compliance with court orders.

The state's two U.S. senators, Democrat Joseph Biden and Republican William Roth, became champions of antibusing legislation in Washington. Republican Gov. Pierre DuPont—an heir to the billion-dollar fortune of the family that has ruled Delaware for a century—fought every desegregation attempt.

Such obstruction reached a temporary dead end this summer when a federal appeals court upheld the current busing plan. An eleventh-hour attempt

to disrupt its implementation failed when Supreme Court Justice William Rehnquist refused a request from Delaware antibusing lawyers to stay the order.

At the same time, Rehnquist pledged to seek a full court review of the plan and urged Delaware bigots to file such an appeal. That is now in the works.

The smooth opening of schools underscored the inability of local foes of Black equality to rally the kind of antibusing violence mounted by Boston segregationists in 1974-75. As classes began, the Delaware National Guard was on alert, and state troopers were on hand at many of the district's ninety-two schools.

The absence of substantial racist violence will undoubtedly help increase the already large support for the busing program among Wilmington Blacks. A poll prior to the opening of school reported that 70 percent of Wilmington's Black community supported busing.

Despite the success of the program so far, there are possible dangers on the horizon. There have been several incidents of violence against Black students and fights provoked by racist whites.

A bigger danger than that of white hooliganism, however, is posed by the possibility of a Supreme Court review. In recent years the court has struck down several comprehensive busing plans, including city-suburban programs.

A national show of support for the Wilmington plan could make the justices think a time or two before they deal a blow to school desegregation here in Delaware.



First day of school in Wilmington

Militant Jon Hillson



**TOP UNION OFFICIALS RIP CARTER:** New prospects for a labor party?

**KENTUCKY MINE WORKERS ON STRIKE:** Report from the coalfields by Nancy Cole

**WASHINGTON'S STAKE IN THE MIDEAST:** Behind the Camp David accords by David Frankel

**NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR WOMEN MEETS:** Initial report from Washington, D.C., conference

## Los Angeles barrios face dual needs

# Busing and bilingual/bicultural education

By Lyle Fulks

LOS ANGELES—School desegregation, undertaken for the first time here this fall, is only half the solution to the problems faced by Latino students, who constitute 35 percent of the Los Angeles school district.

For these students and their parents, two issues predominate: desegregation and bilingual-bicultural education.

One group actively encouraging desegregation is the Chicano Integration Coalition. While supporting the school board desegregation plan, the coalition has, however, been highly critical of its limitations. It points out that only eighteen out of sixty-seven segregated schools in the barrios are affected.

Despite such drawbacks, most Chicano parents support desegregation. School buses leaving the barrios have been full. Busing is recognized as integral to upgrading the education of Chicano youth.

At the same time, antibusing elements have tried to drive a wedge between Blacks and Chicanos by claiming that desegregation will mean the end of bilingual classes.

Bilingual programs have been funded since 1969. However, the L.A. school district has done as little as possible to include all students who need these classes.

Raul Arreola, executive-secretary of the Mexican-American Education Commission, maintains, "Except for a few schools, there is no bilingual program in the Los Angeles district."

One teacher in a barrio school told the *Militant* that bilingual classes exist only in those schools where Chicano parents have demanded the board implement the existing laws.

Changes are promised. Twenty-nine million dollars is budgeted for programs to reach the 100,000 students with no knowledge of English, 90,000 of whom are Spanish-speaking. In addition, 1,100 teachers are included in the program.

The district has had to adopt a three-year plan for bilingual education in response to a San Francisco case, *Lau v. Nichols*, in which the U.S. Supreme Court decided that schools must make educational opportunities equally available to English and non-English speakers.

Chicano demands for equal bilingual education can now be backed up by law. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare is supposed to cut off federal money to school districts not complying.

Bilingual education is only part of the problem. Most Chicano students speak at least some English, but they



Segregated racist schooling impels Chicano protests

are taught an alien culture.

As little as the school board has done on bilingual education, it has done less on bicultural education. This has led to skepticism by many in the barrios, such as the Chicano Integration Coalition, about the school board's intentions.

This skepticism is shared by others. The *Los Angeles Times* quoted one educator as saying: "It makes for an important difference. What those Mexican-American kids need—they need the bilingual programs, of course—is really bicultural classes. So they can find out who they really are."

## Your local paper getting worse?

By Harry Ring

One big corporation refers to them as "products" or "units." Their budgets are called "profit plans."

Not shredded wheat or deodorants. Newspapers. That's why the quality of daily papers in this country is getting worse.

Newspapers have become a big profit item for powerful chains, and they're gobbling them up.

The *Los Angeles Times* did a feature on this September 7. The headline was: "Profit motive: Newspaper chains—the growth trend."

The article reported that the independently owned daily paper is a rapidly vanishing species.

Of the nation's 1,759 dailies, 1,100 are now owned by chains. The remainder are being swallowed up at the rate of fifty-five a year.

One of the fastest-growing chains is Gannett Newspapers. Gannett owns seventy-seven dailies and seventeen weeklies. Right now it's absorbing another chain that includes the *Oakland Tribune*, the *Cincinnati Enquirer*, and twenty TV and radio stations.

Gannett is the company that tags its papers "units" and "products."

The remaining independent publishers, the independent *Los Angeles Times* smugly advises, look upon the chains as "cash registers" that sacrifice quality for profit.

Which is—considering the quality of the average independent paper—quite a commentary.

Only a handful of U.S. dailies have ever had anything resembling a network of correspondents and bureaus capable of informing readers of major national and international events.

Yet the chains decided that the pittance papers were spending on news gathering was too much.

What do they consider reasonable?

This year, the *Times* reports, the average Gannett paper is budgeting 13.3 percent of total expenditures for its news gathering and editorial departments! And that's typical, not exceptional, of all major capitalist papers.

Remember, that's simply a matter of the *quantity* of news offered by the average daily. When you

consider the *quality*, the picture really gets dismal. Twisted reporting, racism, sexism, antilabor propaganda. . . all this and more are the hallmarks of U.S. "journalism."

That's where we come in.

While the exact figures aren't readily available, you can be sure that a lot more than 13 percent of

our budget goes for news gathering. And, for good and obvious reasons, our readers have never been inundated with advertising.

True, we also don't have the kind of news-gathering resources and facilities we would like. Not because we don't consider it profitable; we just can't afford it.

Yet, considering our limited resources, we do unusually well in our news coverage.

One reason is that we consider it politically important.

Another is that we have a unique network of unpaid but strategically placed correspondents.

We have firsthand, on-the-spot reporting of labor developments, news of the women's and Black and Chicano liberation movements, and a lot more that the regular press couldn't get even if it wanted to. That's because our reader-supporters are actively involved in these movements, which more than makes up for an insufficient staff of full-time reporters.

Nor do we have to worry about corporate advertisers leaning on us to shape our editorial policies.

But we do need support.

And that, good reader, is where you come in. If you believe that a genuinely independent, quality newspaper should be sustained, simply clip the coupon below and send in a contribution to our Fiftieth Anniversary Fund. Thanks.

# 50<sup>th</sup>

## Anniversary Fund

Goal=\$75,000

	\$60,000
	\$45,000
As of Oct. 3	\$30,000
\$26,153=35%	
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Send check or money order to: Militant 50th Anniversary Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.



# Fla. prosecutor tries to gag Harris defense

By Lee Smith

MIAMI—Black socialist Leo Harris and several supporters confronted the assistant to the State Attorney here September 27, demanding that the charges against Harris be dropped.

Harris was arrested in August after participating in a Haitian anti-racist demonstration. He was run down by a cop and then charged with disorderly conduct and criminal mischief.

Accompanying Harris to the meeting in the State Attorney's office were his attorney, Lou Beller; Jack Lieberman, secretary of the Leo Harris Defense Committee; and Arthur Papillon, an organizer of the Haitian protest where Harris was assaulted.

Before taking a deposition from Harris, the State Attorney's assistant, Bill Richey, began threatening the delegation. "My secretary tells me there are a number of people from the press in the

lobby," he said. "I want to warn you about talking to the press about this case."

Claiming it was "unethical" to talk to the press, Richey said, "If you try to put political pressure on this office by talking to the press, you'll be sorry."

Lieberman interrupted, telling Richey the Leo Harris Defense Committee had every intention of talking to the press and making the case as widely known as possible.

"We consider this to be a political case, a frame-up," Lieberman said, "and we think the people have a right to know about this case and hundreds of other cases where innocent Blacks are railroaded to jail."

Richey said he would carry out an "investigation." But he refused to drop the frame-up charges against Harris or to press charges against Gerald Kuffner, the cop who rammed into Harris.

After the meeting, the defense committee delegation talked to reporters. The story was carried on Channel 7 TV news that evening.

Meanwhile, the campaign of police harassment against Harris, his family, and supporters has continued.

On September 21, Miami Police Detective Sergeant Anderson telephoned Harris's landlady and asked for Harris.

Leo Harris was at work. Sherry, his wife, came to the phone.

Anderson asked her where Harris worked—what was the address. When she refused to give him any information, Anderson asked, "Why won't you give me the address?"

"Why do you need that?" Sherry Harris answered. "You know where he lives. You keep his house well enough observed."

"Before Leo's arrest," Sherry Harris told the *Militant*, "I would see maybe one cop car a week go by my house—if that many. Now I see cop cars about three times a day."

Sometimes, when she is out in front of the house, she said, "a cop car will pull up and the cop will stop for a minute and look me right in the eye. They'll give me a real nasty look."

On September 22, Sherry Harris counted up to twenty cop cars go by her house during the day. The night before, at about 9:30 p.m., after putting her two children to bed, she heard someone walk up to the house from the rear and jiggle the back doorknob.

Alarmed, Sherry crept into the bathroom and switched on the light.

Whoever was at the door, left. The next day, a neighbor told her there had been a cop car parked around the corner at 9:30 p.m. It was parked in such a way that a cherry tree would block any view of it from the Harris' house.

Jack Lieberman called Anderson September 22 to protest his harassing call to the Harrises. Anderson claimed he needed the information for an internal review the police department is making of the Harris case.

But earlier, the cops had told the media that the internal review was complete and that they were "satisfied with the conduct" of cop Gerald Kuffner.

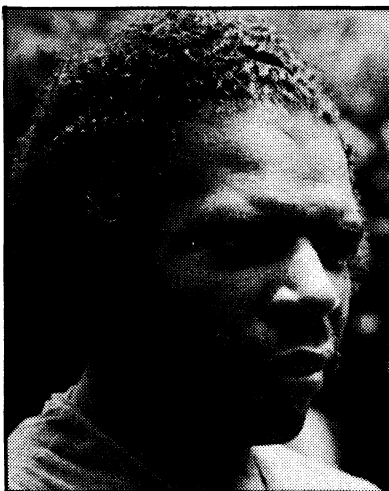
This time, Anderson argued that the review was complete except for checking with defense witnesses.

Lieberman told Anderson, "As far as we are concerned, we have nothing more to discuss with the police on this matter."

At 5 a.m. the next morning, Lieberman was awakened by cops banging on his front door. When he went to the door, the cops said they had received a call that a burglary was in progress at his address.

Cops had come banging on Lieberman's window at about the same time exactly three weeks earlier—with the same story!

This time, Lieberman opened the door of his apartment and went out into the hallway to attempt to get the names and badge numbers of the cops. When he came out, the police hurried off saying they had made a mistake about the address.



## Free Leo Harris

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

Copies of protest messages, as well as urgently needed contributions, should be sent to the Leo Harris Defense Committee, P.O. Box 380013, Miami, Florida 33138

# Wisc. suit demands equal TV time for SWP

By Alexandra Topping

MILWAUKEE—Wisconsin has become an important national battleground in the fight to win equal media treatment for socialist candidates.

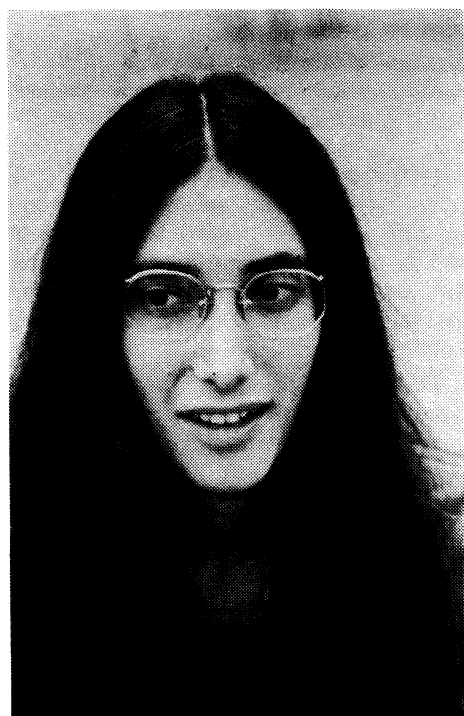
Supporters of Socialist Workers Party gubernatorial candidate Adrienne Kaplan have filed suit against the public television network here. The suit seeks to force Wisconsin public stations to provide equal or equivalent time to candidates running outside the two big-business-controlled parties, the Democrats and Republicans.

The suit was filed after Federal Judge John Reynolds refused to grant Kaplan an injunction against an August 31 televised debate that excluded her.

"Although there is merit to both sides of the argument," Reynolds ruled, "the law has to deal with the real world, in which the Democrats and Republicans are the dominant parties."

Reynolds should know. As former Democratic governor of the state, he has long been a mainstay of the party here. He told Kaplan that he would have granted the injunction if she had been a Democrat or Republican.

During the hearing, one of the attorneys opposing the injunction attacked Kaplan's arguments as "emotional." He criticized her for "using words like



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

ADRIENNE KAPLAN

'democracy' and 'free speech.'"

The televised debate was one of several over the summer and fall sponsored by the League of Women Voters. The LWV excused its refusal to invite Kaplan by claiming that it was inviting only "candidates who have made

significant efforts to campaign throughout the state."

Kaplan responded, "The league is saying, in effect, 'Because you have been financially unable to quit your job and campaign all around the state, we are going to prevent you from campaigning on statewide television now.'"

At the injunction hearing, Kaplan was represented by the Wisconsin Civil Liberties Union. The WCLU attorneys argued that since the public television network was tax-supported, it was required to present all points of view.

But Judge Reynolds disagreed.

Kaplan denounced the decision as "discriminatory and undemocratic."

"Reynolds evidently feels qualified to determine for the people of Wisconsin what political views they want and do not want to hear," she said.

The Wisconsin Educational Communications Board (WECB), which administers the state's public television network, mobilized a raft of assistant states attorneys for its courtroom defense. It even flew in a lawyer from the Federal Communications Commission in Washington, D.C., in its joint effort with the LWV to keep the SWP off the airwaves.

The League of Women Voters is no newcomer to these attempts to deny the American people their right to hear all points of view.

In 1976 the LWV evaded the equal-time provision of the Federal Communications Act in sponsoring the Ford-Carter debates. SWP candidate Pedro Camejo, independent candidate Eugene McCarthy, and others were excluded.

The LWV argued that the networks were covering a "legitimate news event," not a prearranged television appearance. The courts upheld this transparently fake claim.

In the Wisconsin case, WCLU attorneys have introduced correspondence between the LWV and WECB proving collusion in organizing the debates. A January 5, 1978, letter from a WECB

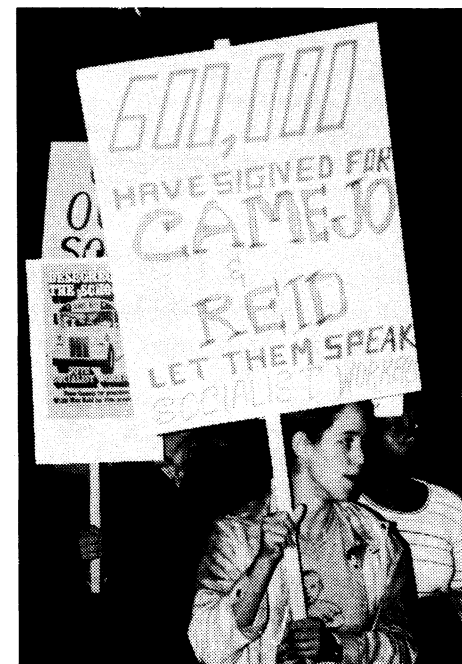
attorney to WECB explains how to avoid the equal-time provision. "I urge you to consider requesting the League of Women Voters to prepare the program," the attorney wrote.

When WECB contacted the LWV about the debates, it sent along a copy of the attorney's letter. Then, after the LWV had decided on a ninety-minute format, they changed it to sixty minutes and moved one debate to a new location on advice from WECB.

How much more "prearranged" can you get?

Meanwhile, the LWV and the Republican and Democratic gubernatorial candidates are arranging for further televised debates. Kaplan has written to her opponents, challenging them to meet her face-to-face.

Kaplan's challenge made the front page of the *Milwaukee Journal*, the biggest daily, and received wide publicity on TV and radio around the state.



Militant/Shafiq Abdulahad

Socialists protested outside televised Carter-Ford debate in Philadelphia when League of Women Voters excluded 1976 SWP presidential candidate Pedro Camejo.

## Back Pa. socialist's rights

By Bob Schwartz

"Socialist Workers candidates seek a share of election debate action" was the headline of an Associated Press story carried in the Berwick, Pennsylvania, *Enterprise* and in more than a dozen other Pennsylvania newspapers. Mark Zola, SWP candidate for governor, has received broad support for his appeal to the League of Women Voters to be included in debates they are organizing between the Democratic and

Republican candidates.

Endorsers of the appeal include Pittsburgh city council member Michelle Madoff; Monsignor Charles Owen Rice; the board of directors of the Western Pennsylvania Americans for Democratic Action; Pittsburgh NAACP President Harvey Adams; Philip Carter of the Western Pennsylvania Black Political Assembly; and Charles Leonard, president of United Steelworkers Local 7087.

# A cautious courtship

# Hayden: 2 cheers for Brown

By Nancy Brown

LOS ANGELES—"Four years ago working people voted for Jerry Brown to be governor of California because they wanted a change in the way this state was run," says Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of California.

"But instead of change, working people got continued unemployment—it's as high as 40 percent in the Black and Chicano communities. We got more nuclear power. More pollution.

"And we got Proposition 13, the tax swindle that promised lower taxes for homeowners but ended up cutting taxes for the corporations and increasing layoffs and social service cutbacks for all California working people."

## Loyal to big business

Now Brown is stumping the state, trying to maintain his image as a friend of the "little people."

But Brown's true loyalties—as shown by his positions on every issue from nuclear power to Proposition 13—are to the big corporations.

Despite Brown's poor track record during the past four years, many people are backing him over Republican Evelle Younger as the "lesser of two evils."

Among those doing so is the Campaign for Economic Democracy, a group led by Tom Hayden. Hayden is a former leader of the Students for a Democratic Society and a former activist in the anti-Vietnam War movement. He ran for the Democratic Party nomination for U.S. Senate in 1976.

CED describes itself as a "grass-roots progressive political organization," whose main focus has been promoting solar energy legislation. But now CED is drumming up support for Brown's reelection.

An editorial in the July *CED News* called "on all progressives to actively campaign for the re-election of Jerry Brown."

The editorial bore the headline, "Two Cheers for Jerry Brown."

"It is not possible to give a ringing endorsement of the Governor," the editorial states. "He has all too often followed corporate rather than human priorities. While preaching frugality to the majority he has promoted expensive and useless LNG facilities, a SO-HIO terminal, more prisons and tax bonanzas for the multi-nationals."

"Yet," CED concludes, "the Jerry Brown era has meant crucial steps forward for progressive people which

would be eroded by the Governor's defeat."

What are these crucial steps?

According to CED, "*Brown stands with those who are struggling to build a non-nuclear future.* This could be the most fundamental change in our lifetimes, and for his stand on just this one issue Jerry Brown probably deserves re-election."

## Brown's real record

But what is Brown's real record on nuclear power?

He does *not* stand with those working for a nonnuclear future. It is true that he has cultivated an image as an advocate of solar and other alternative energy forms.

But Halstead points out that Brown has not called for shutting down any of the nukes now operating in California or those now under construction. Brown says he won't oppose construction of nukes if they are "essential" to the state's economy.

"I'm not saying the door should be absolutely locked against nuclear energy," Brown said last year.

CED also claims that "*Jerry Brown has stood with the farm workers in their long struggle for justice in the fields.*"

The truth is that the Brown-appointed Agricultural Labor Relations Board, along with the Democratic-controlled legislature, has been aiding the growers in their efforts to stymie farm labor organizing drives.

The CED also credits Brown with taking "better positions than most politicians" on the *Bakke* case, Proposition 13, and abortion funding.

Yet Brown has never demanded that the *Bakke* decision be overturned, Halstead explains. At no time has he come out solidly in support of affirmative-action programs in hiring and education.

Brown jumped to implement Proposition 13 *the day after it passed* by ordering a state hiring freeze. He then vetoed cost-of-living increases that affected 1.4 million state and local employees.

Brown is using Prop 13 as an excuse to begin a series of cutbacks and layoffs that big business needs to keep their profits up.

Brown also signed a bill that will severely restrict Medi-Cal funding for abortion. If the law goes into effect, 95 percent of Medi-Cal payments for abortion will be stopped.

If this is Brown's record, why vote for him?

## Necessary transition?

The CED explains, "We reject the notion that a blatant reactionary like Younger is an easier and more desirable adversary than the mysterious Jerry Brown. We see the Brown era as a necessary transition toward a new political alignment, which will allow the radicalism of the 60's to come to fruition in the 80's."

Halstead explains that "the real meaning of the CED editorial is that people who want to change this society should give the capitalist system, Jerry Brown, and the Democratic Party one more chance.

"Their solution is not to change the system, but to join it."

For example, instead of organizing massive antinuclear protests and rallies, Hayden wants antinuke activists to pin their hopes on Brown.

"This is what Hayden did in 1976 when he ran for U.S. Senate," says Halstead. "He told people the way to change society was to vote for him."

"This editorial—'Two Cheers for



Tom Hayden offers. . .

Militant/Nelson Blackstock

Jerry Brown—reminds me of the slogan used by Students for a Democratic Society in 1964," Halstead says. "They raised the slogan 'Part of the Way with LBJ.'

"Instead of using their energy to build a massive, powerful movement against the Vietnam War, SDS leaders—including Tom Hayden—threw support behind Lyndon Johnson, who claimed he would end the war.

"But Johnson didn't end the war. He escalated it.

"It wasn't until the independent movement against the war became massive that Washington was forced out of Vietnam."

## 'One more chance'

"In 1964 students and working people who wanted an end to the war were told to give the Democrats one more chance. And that's what Hayden is still telling people fourteen years later. But it's a total dead end.

"People who cast a vote for Jerry Brown or Evelle Younger this year will get the same results they got in 1964.

Things will get worse, because the Democratic and Republican parties are not in business to protect the interests of working people. They are *in business* to make profits for business.

"Unemployment will get worse. Inflation will continue. Layoffs and cutbacks in social services will continue. There will be more nuclear power plants and more atomic weapons of destruction.

"Tom Hayden and most activists in the Campaign for Economic Democracy would tell you that voting for Jerry Brown is the only realistic alternative in this election," says Halstead. "They'd tell you that voting for SWP candidates is wasting your vote.

"But really it's a waste to vote for Jerry Brown.

"People who are looking for a real alternative should vote for the SWP candidates. We are the only ones telling working people that the way to change society is not to pull the lever for the Democrats and Republicans, that we have to depend on ourselves and our own power."

Pathfinder

# The Lesser Evil?

Peter Camejo  
George Breitman  
Jack Barnes

VS.

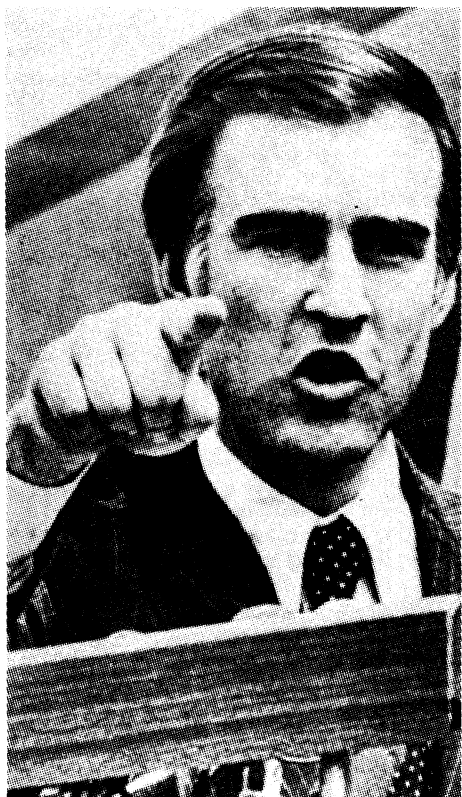
Michael Harrington  
Carl Haessler  
Stanley Aronowitz

What is the Democratic Party—the 'party of the people' or a dead end? Should feminists, Black people, union militants, socialists, and others support the Democratic Party? Or should they run their own candidates in opposition?

*The Lesser Evil?* contains three debates that examine the alternatives in light of the cold war witch-hunt, the civil rights movement, the Vietnam War, women's liberation, the New York City budget crisis—and in the broader context of the socialist perspective.

128 pages, paper \$1.75, cloth \$7.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Please add \$.50 for postage, \$.75 if order for more than one book.



... two cheers for Governor Brown



# Campaigning for socialism

## On the ballot in Washington State

According to unofficial returns, Mary Smith, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from Tacoma's Sixth District, won 1,400 votes in the September 19 primary, nearly twice the 1 percent needed to put her on the November ballot.

Smith is a production worker at the giant Boeing airplane factory and a member of International Association of Machinists District 751. In a statement announcing her victory, Smith called for support to the striking Tacoma Association of Classroom Teachers.

"I condemn the hiring of scabs," Smith said. "If the school board wants education to continue, they should meet the teachers' demands—protection against inflation, smaller class sizes, and the rehiring of 277 teachers laid off last spring."

## Socialist candidate in N. Carolina

Two prominent victims of North Carolina "justice" are supporting SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, Rebecca Finch. Speaking at a recent news conference in Raleigh to launch Finch's campaign, Jim Grant of the Charlotte Three blasted the Democrats and Republicans as the "twin parties of capitalism, fascism, and reaction."

Despite his disagreements with the SWP, considering the "enormity of what we must face at the hands of the capitalists," Grant said, "I unify with the campaign of Rebecca Finch for senator." Also speaking in support of the campaign was Anne Sheppard Turner, one of the Wilmington Ten.

Finch, a machine operator at Crown Zellerbach and member of the United Paperworkers of America, is challenging notorious racist incumbent Jesse Helms, a Republican, and Democrat John Ingram, former state insurance commissioner.

Newspapers throughout the state and as far away as Florida carried announcements. Two high school students who read about it in the *Winston-Salem Journal* have already raised thirty-five dollars to begin campaigning in that city.

## "Griffin Bell—Another John Mitchell?"

That was one of the signs that greeted Attorney General Bell when he arrived in Arlington, Texas—outside Dallas—to speak to a Texas Bar Association luncheon. The demonstrators were demanding that Bell okay a court order to turn over the FBI files on informer-provocateurs used against the SWP.

Bell, who was found in contempt of court for withholding files on government stool pigeons planted in the SWP, faced pickets as far away as Sydney, Australia, demanding he hand over the files. This time he ducked in a side entrance. But TV, radio, and newspaper reporters rushed to interview Jim White, SWP candidate for Texas's Fifth Congressional District, whose supporters had organized the picket line.

## Arizona candidate in Mexico

Jessica Sampson, SWP candidate for governor of Arizona, toured Mexico during the last week of September. She was scheduled to speak before student and peasant organizations and independent trade unions in the state of Sonora. Sampson and other socialist campaigners, with the help of Mexican revolutionists, were to visit Nogales, Hermosillo, Empalmbe, and Guaymas. One purpose of the tour was to expose Jimmy Carter's plans to rob Mexico of newly discovered oil reserves.

—Bob Schwarz

## ...BRAC

Continued from page 4

down by federal courts against the picketing; second, when Carter issued his September 28 back-to-work edict.

As in the miners' strike, the Carter administration, Democratic and Republican party politicians, and the media joined the railroad bosses' union-busting drive.

Denouncing the strike as a threat to the country's economy, these servants of big business mounted an extensive propaganda campaign about the threat of shortages and layoffs. Yet they breathed not one word about the N&W's refusal to negotiate the disputed issues.

Nor did they have anything to say about the thousands of retaliatory layoffs handed down by railroad managements in an effort to bludgeon strikers back to work.

Responding to the court decision upholding Carter's back-to-work order, BRAC President Fred Kroll called it a "tremendous victory."

"We got damned good protection against reprisals," he said.

How effective the court's order barring layoffs will be against carrier harassment of workers remains to be seen. But if railway management remains true to its nature, it will seek every way possible around this prohibition.

Earlier in the day on September 29, Kroll issued a statement suggesting that "Congress might consider seizing the railroads for the duration of the dispute as well as ordering the workers back to their jobs."

But as government strikebreaking in the current walkout, as well as congressional action against previous rail strikes indicates, workers always get the short end of the stick through such congressional interference.

A federal judge is scheduled to hold hearings October 10 on whether to extend the back-to-work order. Whatever the outcome, rail workers have shown a new sense of confidence and willingness to take on the carriers.

And that's something that Washington and the carriers will have to reckon with from now on.

# CAIFI sets fall tours to get out truth on Iran

By Peter Seidman

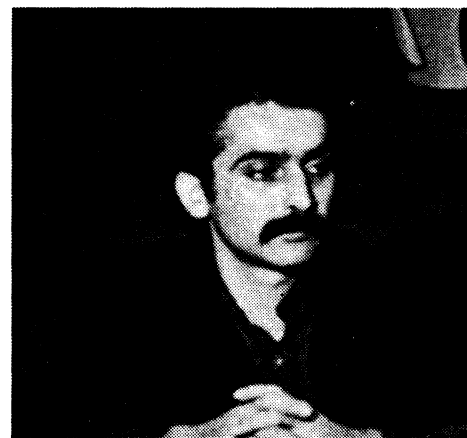
Two leaders of the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI) have begun a speaking tour of the United States.

Their tours will give the American people a chance to hear the truth about the protests against the shah that have shaken Iran this fall. They will be a valuable antidote to the biased coverage these massive struggles against tyranny are getting in the big-business U.S. press.

CAIFI National Field Secretary Bahram Atai and Assistant National Secretary Bijan Khezri have prepared talks on "The Shah of Iran: Modernizer or Tyrant?"

Both speakers are longtime activists in defense of political prisoners in Iran.

Bahram Atai will be speaking in Phoenix, Arizona, October 9-11; the San Francisco Bay Area, October 13-17; Los Angeles, October 18-19; Portland, Oregon, October 20-21; Albuquerque, New Mexico, October 23-24;



BAHRAM ATAİ

Denver, October 25-26; and Salt Lake City, October 27-30. Atai will also be speaking in Kansas City and St. Louis, Missouri, and Detroit during November.

Khezri's tour schedule will put him in Pittsburgh, October 16-17; Minneapolis, October 18-20; Raleigh, North Carolina, October 23-24; Atlanta, October 25-30; and Miami, Florida, November 1-3.

For more information on these CAIFI tours, contact Viewpoint Speakers Bureau, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Telephone: (212) 242-7654.

CAIFI is also sponsoring a picket line outside the Iranian consulate at 630 Fifth Avenue in New York City on October 4 from 5:30-7:00 p.m. The picket is cosponsored by the American Center for P.E.N., a writers' human rights group.

Participants will demand an end to martial law in Iran. They will also demand safety for the prominent writer and political dissident Dr. Haj-Seyyed-Javadi, as well as the thousands of other opposition figures forced into hiding during the shah's latest crackdown.

For more information, contact CAIFI, 853 Broadway, Room 412, New York, New York 10003. Telephone: (212) 673-6390.

## MIT protest

A meeting on "Iran: The Struggle for Democracy" has been scheduled for October 15 at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Speakers will include MIT Prof. Noam Chomsky, Nobel Laureate George Wald, and representative of *Payam Daneshjoo*, a Persian-language magazine published by Iranian students opposed to the shah's dictatorship.

The meeting will take place at 2:00 p.m. in MIT room 6-120. It was called to reaffirm the right of free speech and to protest political violence on campus. Last month a meeting sponsored by *Payam Daneshjoo* was physically attacked and taken over by a gang of thirty people led by Iranian Maoists.

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## W. Va. miners' bodies still inside

# Consol tries to seal death mine, bury truth

By Pat Hayes

MORGANTOWN—The widows of seven miners killed in the 1968 Farmington mine disaster have gone to court to prevent Consolidation Coal Company (Consol) from sealing their husbands' bodies in the mine forever.

Consol wants to seal the mine, burying the men where they fell—and burying the evidence of the causes of the disaster along with them.

On November 20, 1968, a series of gigantic methane explosions ripped through Consol's No. 9 mine in Farmington, West Virginia. Only a handful of men escaped. Seventy-eight died deep below in the mine.

Since that time Consol has run a recovery operation at the giant underground site, which once covered an area the size of Manhattan. Most of the bodies have been recovered—although in most cases all that remains are the small, numbered brass tags that all miners must carry.

But the bodies of eighteen men are still entombed.

R.E. Samples, Consol's chairman and chief executive officer, announced in April that deteriorating working conditions made it "unlikely" that the other bodies—or the cause of the explosions—would be discovered.

Despite the objections of the widows and the miners working the recovery operation, Consol has moved relentlessly to seal the mine.

The claim that continued operation is too hazardous has been proven to be

a lie by a United Mine Workers safety inspection, which found the site to be workable.

Brent Beveridge, an attorney for the widows, said, "Our first concern is to stop the sealing and recover the bodies. If the cause of the explosion is determined, we may possibly be able to reinstate the wrongful death claims. If you seal the mine you seal the evidence."

The suit contends that:

- reports submitted to federal and state authorities on the cause or causes were "false and misleading";

- exploratory efforts bypassed or avoided areas and parts of the mine containing evidence;

- a plan to seal the mine would "forever prevent the discovery of evidence" that would show the cause or causes;

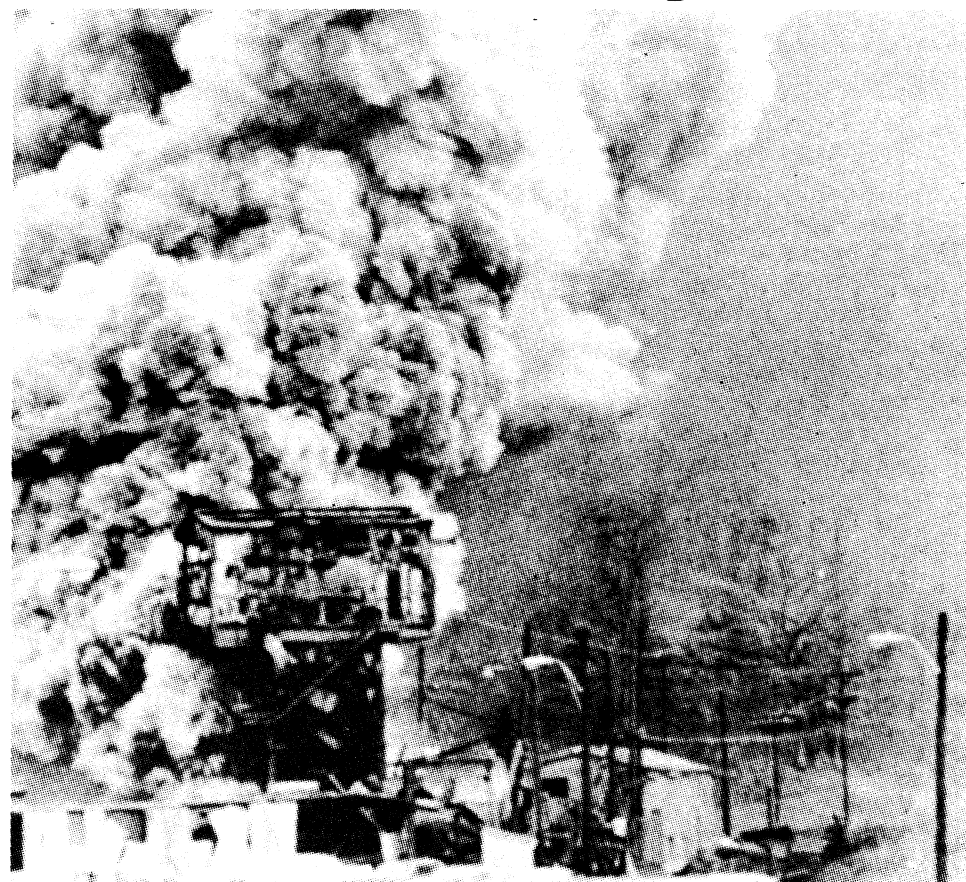
- Consol agents, employees, and others presented false testimony to the special review board of the state department of mines;

- employees concealed evidence uncovered during mining at exploratory operations; and

- public statements were issued to conceal and misrepresent the evidence.

The cause of the disaster may be a mystery to the owners and the judges they control. But it is no mystery to the miners who worked the mine that day in 1968 or the widows some of them left behind.

The Farmington mine was "gassy." Eight million cubic feet of methane



1968 Farmington mine explosion killed seventy-eight miners

seeped into No. 9's atmosphere every day. In 1954 sixteen men were killed in a methane explosion. After that first disaster the company "rock dusted" extensively to prevent a more dangerous coal dust explosion.

But by 1968 most of the tight safety precautions had been ended. It was too costly to pay overtime to safeguard the miners' safety.

The drive for more and higher profits killed seventy-eight men in No. 9.

## Bethlehem Steel: murder at Sparrows Pt. ...

By Norton Sandler

BALTIMORE—On June 16, Robert Hall was killed at Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point plant after his left hand caught in a high-speed wire-drawing machine, dragging his body head first into a giant spool.

Hall had worked the job for only five days after transferring to the wire mill from the blast furnace.

Five weeks later, Dunlop Johnson, fifty-six, died from heat exhaustion, bringing the death toll at Sparrows Point this year to four.

Hall's job was to apply resin on a 1917 vintage wire-drawing machine at the "nip points," reducing friction as wire is drawn onto spools at a rate of 2,200 feet a minute.

These particular machines have been of concern to Steelworkers Local 2609 for a number of years. The machines were first cited as hazardous in 1970 by the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) inspectors.

Three years later, after no changes in protection at the "nip points," a worker lost part of three of his fingers in an accident. The union's safety committee, in a written report, demanded that the machines be covered. The company promised to comply, but no action was taken.

The August 27 *Baltimore Sun* contains some surprisingly candid admissions from Robert Miller, who inspected the wire mill in 1976 for Maryland Occupational Safety and Health (MOSH).

Miller told the *Sun* that when an inspector went to the mill, "what happens is that word passes ahead that the inspector is coming, and the supervisors will say, 'Take a break,' and nothing much will go on as you are walking through an area."

Nevertheless, Miller cited Bethlehem for fourteen violations on the wire machine.

In a private meeting with Assistant State Attorney General Edward Ranier and Bethlehem officials, all fourteen violations were dropped. Neither Miller nor officials of the union were present at the meeting.

David Wilson, president of 2609, said that "had the union been invited no one would have agreed to withdraw the citation on the wire machines, because we knew they were hazardous."

Following Hall's death, Local 2609 demanded that Bethlehem officials be

prosecuted for manslaughter for their willful violation of safety standards.

MOSH officials, scurrying to cover their tracks, quickly cited Bethlehem for thirty-four violations in the wire mill.

The Sparrows Point plant operated this summer with production greatly increased over recent years. The mill has hired many new workers who are being rushed into dangerous jobs with little or no training. Concern among steelworkers over safety is increasing.

The death of Robert Hall is a powerful example of how relying on the government to protect us in fact only places us again at the mercy of Bethlehem Steel.

It is small wonder that the coal miners fought so hard to retain the right to shut down an unsafe job during their long strike.

Steelworkers too will have to rely on our own immense power and shut down unsafe jobs if we are going to protect ourselves in the future from the steel companies.

## ...while hundreds vie for jobs

By Jennifer Sorrel

BALTIMORE—If you're unemployed and looking for work in Baltimore, the Point is in a category all by itself.

The Point is the Bethlehem Steel Sparrows Point plant, which employs 19,500 people. Working conditions are hot, dirty, and dangerous, but the pay is decent.

Bethlehem Steel doesn't announce when it's going to hire. Either you get lucky and call the employment office on the right day, or you find out from someone who works there and happens to see the small sign posted on the door of the office.

But news about job openings at the Point travels fast. On Thursday, August 24, word was out that a limited number of applications would be distributed at 8:00 a.m. on Friday. I arrived at 11:00 p.m. the night before to find a small line already forming. By 2:00 a.m., 200 people were in line.

For the first several hours most people were in a good mood. Someone behind me said it was like waiting for tickets to a rock concert.

But by 4:30 a.m. the mood had grown more tense. No one knew how many applications would be given out.

By 5:30, the lawnchairs, sleeping bags, guitars, and playing cards had disappeared.

A half-hour later, it wasn't really a line anymore. It was a crowd—a nervous, tense, and angry crowd. I found myself right up in front of the door of the building with 75 or 100 people pressed against each other—all prepared to stand for the next two hours rather than lose their ground. Behind us another 500 stretched out around the building.

The mood became nasty. Just about everyone seemed ready to fight for those applications.

An hour before the doors were scheduled to open, the cops arrived. The crowd quieted down to hear what they were saying over the loudspeaker. But once the announcement was heard, the crowd became angry again. This time their anger was directed not at each other but at the police and the company.

"Because of the size of the crowd and its unruly nature, no applications will be given out this morning. The corporation apologizes for any inconvenience it may have caused," the police announced.

At first no one seemed to believe them, and nobody made a move to leave. As the announcement was

repeated over and over, disappointment turned to anger for some and resignation for others.

"You have jobs, what do you care?" someone yelled at the cops. Others shouted, "We've waited here all night, and we're not leaving here without what we came for!"

The cops just stared back at us, repeating their announcement.

When we were finally dispersed more than two hours later, we had nothing more than we'd come with—except the hope of hearing about the next hiring day in time for another chance.

The steel company's problem was summed up by a newscaster that night: "Bethlehem Steel has to figure out how to give out these applications without causing a riot."

There is a solution to that problem—one that serves the interests of both employed and unemployed alike. If the workweek were cut to thirty hours with no reduction in pay, Bethlehem Steel could hire a lot more people.

But that's not the steel companies' solution. The only time long unemployment lines bother them is when people begin to get angry and impatient—on their property.

Norton Sandler is a member of United Steelworkers Local 2609 at Sparrows Point.



# WOMEN AT KAISER

## 'We're standing up for ourselves'

By Andy Rose

(third of a series)

NEW ORLEANS—When Brian Weber filed suit against the affirmative-action plan at Kaiser Aluminum, he was aiming a blow at equal job rights not only for Black workers but also for women.

Weber seeks to outlaw affirmative action in a training program for skilled jobs at Kaiser (for background, see box below). Most news reports have stated that half the slots in the training program were reserved for Blacks.

"That's not exactly true," explained Jane Van Deusen, a pot operator at the big Kaiser Chalmette plant near New Orleans.

"Half the trainee positions were reserved for Blacks, other minorities, and women," she said.

A goal was set for minority representation in the skilled trades at each of nineteen Kaiser plants across the country, based on the percentage of minorities in the work force in the area.

"For women, the goal at all plants was 5 percent," Van Deusen said. "I have no idea where they came up with that figure—women are certainly more than 5 percent of the work force."

"Whatever the reason, 5 percent is certainly a modest enough goal. But Weber wants to deny us even that first step toward equality."

### 'A special breed of men'

Van Deusen is a member of the civil rights committee of United Steelworkers Local 13000 at Kaiser Chalmette. In an interview with the *Militant*, she described the discrimination faced by women in the plant—and how they are organizing to fight back.

Of the 2,300 production and maintenance workers at Kaiser Chalmette, exactly 6 are women. "We did have 8 women working," Van Deusen said. "But the company recently laid off 30 people and that wiped out 25 percent of the female work force." There are no women in skilled-craft jobs at the plant.

"As far as I've been able to find out, the first woman was hired about two and a half years ago. Before that, they always insisted that women just couldn't do the work. Because the work is extremely heavy and hot, the mystique was that it took a 'special breed of men.'"

"The only reason they started hiring

women at all was because they were afraid of losing their federal contracts," she explained.

Executive Order 11246 requires federal contractors to take affirmative action to hire and upgrade minorities and women wherever they are "underutilized."

"If the Supreme Court rules in Weber's favor," Van Deusen said, "that executive order—one of women's most powerful legal tools for breaking into better jobs—will be thrown right out the window."

### Inside the pot rooms

While Kaiser now feels compelled to hire women, it uses the rigorous training period to drive out or disqualify many of those it hires.

Aluminum is produced in large vessels known as pots. A powerful electric current is passed through an acid solution in which the alumina ore is dissolved. The process takes place at nearly 1000 degrees. Poisonous smoke and gases rise from the pots.

Sometimes the molten solution eats through the side of the pot and pours out onto the floor. If an uneven area builds up on the anode (the positive plate of the electrolytic cell), the pot may overheat and explode.

"The first part of training is anode training—the hardest and hottest work in the whole pot room," Van Deusen said.

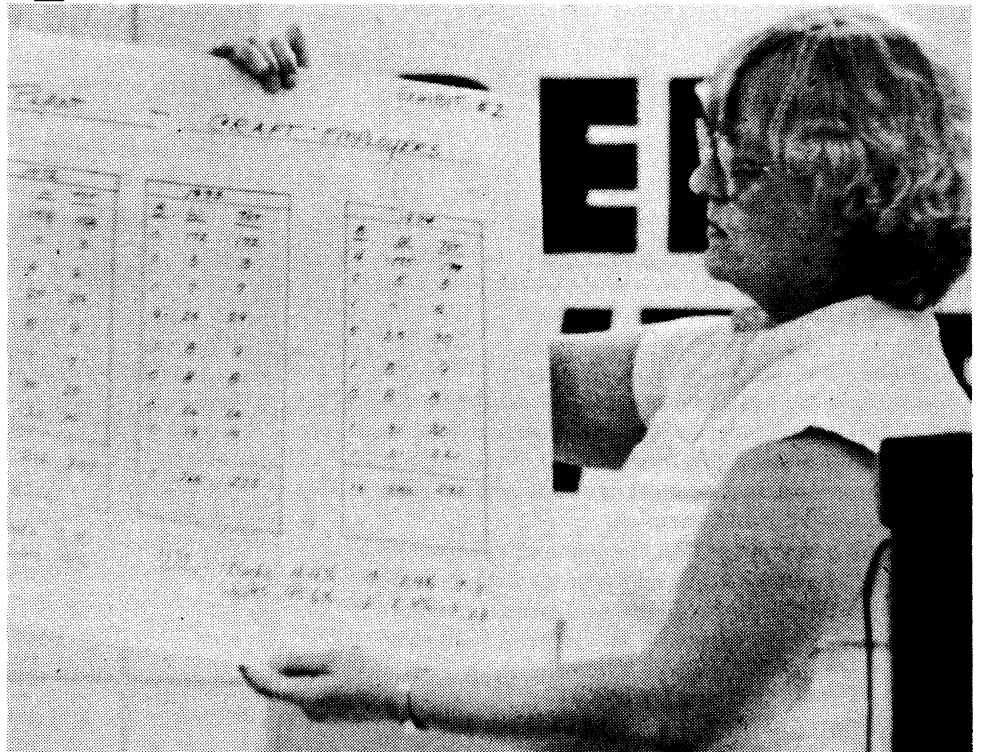
"Anode work is work inside the pot. You have to lean in, throw and hook up seventy-pound copper bars—fifty-pound hooks. It's even harder because it's tremendously magnetic with the electric current running through the pot—it can almost pull your tools away from you."

"You get burned very easily. You're wearing a respirator all day and you can't breathe through those things."

Van Deusen continued:

"Usually you have two people who are in training together, plus one trainer. The trainer can give you some help in completing the schedule—and believe me, you need any little bit of help you can get when you first walk into that oven."

"But for at least half the women, what they've done is assign a foreman full time to watch that woman and her partner do an anode schedule. That



Militant/Mike Alewitz

Jane Van Deusen explains issues in 'Weber' case at New Orleans Militant Forum. Chart shows that Blacks held only 5 out of 273 skilled jobs at Kaiser before affirmative-action plan was begun. No women held skilled jobs. Lawsuit by Brian Weber aims to keep it that way.

means the trainer can't help at all. They claim they have to 'weed out the weakies.'

"It's true that this work is hard for women. It is also hard for men. And women haven't been trained in what a ratchet wrench is, how to use different tools. Most of us haven't developed the muscles in our arms and wrists and hands to do this work as readily as men can."

"So they throw us in the same situation—even though society has kept us back—and expect us to perform just the same or better. The foremen watch us more. They give us the hardest work and then stand there and watch us do it. They try to break us."

Van Deusen told how another woman who started around the time she did was driven out.

"She had to do ten days of anode schedule. She had completed three days and thought she was doing all right. She was throwing jacks, which means hanging these big hooks inside the pot."

"You have to pace yourself, because it's so hot, or you'll just go down with heat prostration. So she did a couple and stopped for a minute."

"The training foreman came and said, 'Throw this jack. If you can't throw it I'm going to fire you.'"

"She did it."

"He said, 'Throw another one or I'm going to fire you.'"

"He made her keep throwing these jacks, and she did it. Then he said, 'You're fired. You're turning blue.'"

### Civil rights committee

When the president of Local 13000 asked Van Deusen to go on the civil rights committee, she was reluctant to accept the appointment. She knew the position carried no real power to improve conditions for women. Only action by the women themselves, with active support from other workers, could do that.

When Van Deusen discussed the proposal with the other women in the plant, however, she found they were excited about getting a woman on the committee who would act as their representative.

"We've been able to have discussions among ourselves about what we want to raise and fight for. Now more women have gotten involved in the union. We're standing up for what we think; we're standing up for ourselves."

"We want better training for new

women who come in there, instead of this approach of trying to break them. One woman who is an anode worker suggested that *she* should train women."

"We also want both the company and the union to know that every woman in there is important to us. If they start messing with any one woman, they have to contend with all of us."

"When they write up [discipline] a woman, the union should have some way to have a person from the civil rights committee there to monitor it and make sure it's not discrimination."

### Segregated facilities

One of the things the women are most angry about, Van Deusen said, is segregation of facilities at the plant.

"Women are only allowed to use the lunchrooms and bathrooms on five of the nine pot lines. The reason we can use those is because in the 1950s and '60s those were the segregated facilities for Blacks. When segregation was stopped out there, they just turned the Black bathrooms and lunchrooms over to women."

The courts that have ruled in favor of Weber and against affirmative action at Kaiser did so on the grounds that Kaiser "never discriminated" against Blacks and women.

Van Deusen thinks that claim is an outrage. She has firsthand experience of Kaiser's treatment of women. "And I know from talking to Black workers the history of segregation and discrimination they have had to endure," she added.

"We need that affirmative-action plan and we deserve it. If they begin to determine access to skilled-job training by seniority alone, it will be at least ten or fifteen years before any women get in—since Kaiser refused to hire us at all until just recently."

"The discussions about Weber at our last couple of local meetings have made a lot of people think. We know we have to defend the rights of Blacks. And they're understanding more why they have to defend our rights too. We're also winning white male workers over to our side."

"Here in New Orleans the National Organization for Women has also taken a stand against Weber."

"This is a fight we think the entire women's movement, the Black movement, and the labor movement should support."

(next: how Weber can be defeated)

## 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.

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.

Brian Weber, a white, male worker at Kaiser Gramercy, sued to over-

turn 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 discrimination," the court declared.

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.

By Cindy Jaquith

Like a "huge army advancing into battle."

That's how the *Washington Post* described us at the July 9 demonstration for the Equal Rights Amendment.

And that's how we felt.

The streets of Washington belonged to the women's movement that day—to young women, older women, trade unionists, housewives, Blacks, Latinas, students.

One hundred thousand strong, July 9 was a stunning victory for our movement—the largest demonstration ever in this country for women's rights.

The challenge before us now is to take the beginning we made on July 9 and multiply that army into a force that can win our rights.

The national conference of the National Organization for Women (NOW), meeting October 6-9, is an important place to begin this discussion.

### Winning the ERA

The immediate battle before us is the fight for the ERA. The drive to ratify the ERA in three more states, and to extend the March 1979 deadline, has become the major test of strength between supporters of women and our enemies.

The ERA has emerged as the issue around which women are standing up to call a halt to the erosion of our rights. Defeat of the amendment would encourage further attacks on affirmative-action programs, abortion rights, child care, gay rights, and other gains.

Victory for the ERA would give us a powerful weapon in the fight to defend and extend our rights, especially rights on the job.

Allies of the women's movement also have a stake in ratifying the ERA. Black organizations and the labor movement have begun to throw their weight behind the ERA struggle, recognizing that a victory for equal rights on this front can strengthen the fights for social justice they are waging.

The ERA can be won. But victory is far from automatic. To win, we need to build a broad, vocal, visible movement of thousands and thousands of ERA supporters.

### Lessons from first decade

We've learned some lessons from the past ten years of struggle. When feminists first began to organize in the late 1960s, we were ridiculed. But when we brought out 50,000 into the streets on August 26, 1970, the rulers of this country began to take us more seriously. When they saw women's groups spreading across the country they realized that a powerful movement was taking shape.

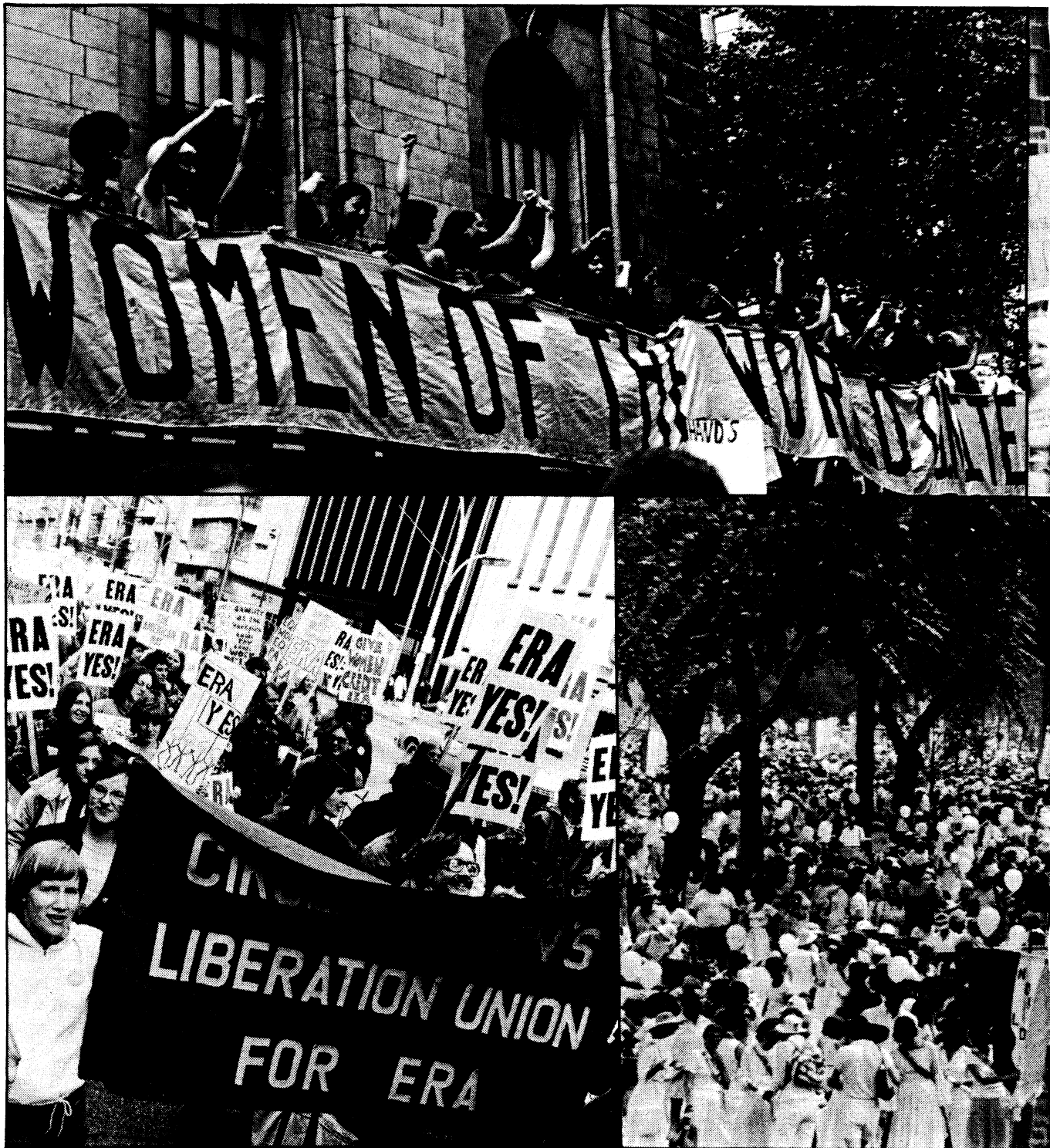
The rulers decided to make some concessions. They passed the ERA in Congress. The Supreme Court legalized abortion. Some big corporations reluctantly agreed to establish affirmative-action programs.

They made these concessions because they feared a more explosive struggle if they didn't. Earlier they had granted some demands of the civil rights movement for the same reason.

But then the political climate changed in the early 1970s. American big business faced intensified competition internationally. To maintain their profits, the rulers began waging war on the rights and living standards of working people.

The offensive began with attacks on the gains won by the Black and women's movements. These gains—such as affirmative action and increased social services—threatened to cut into the profits

# FORGING A POW WOMEN'S MOVE



reaped by discrimination. And the victories won by these movements had raised not only the expectations of the most oppressed, but the hopes of all working people for a better life.

### Women's movement unprepared

The attacks came down at a time when the women's movement was demobilized. Many of the original feminist organizations had disappeared. Others, such as NOW and the National Women's Political Caucus, were focused on seeking influence

inside the Democratic Party.

The rulers took advantage of the dispersed state of the movement to press its attacks further. The government carried out a divide-and-rule strategy. The most severe blows fell first on those women least organized and able to defend themselves. Medicaid funds for poor women's abortions were cut off. Affirmative-action plans were attacked.

The offensive against women, against Blacks, against undocumented workers, and soon against unions brought right-wing groups out of the wood-

## Resolutions at NOW conference urge ERA march



'July 9 demonstrated majority sentiment for ERA,' notes resolution from NOW New Jersey State Board.

As women gather in Washington for the October 6-9 national conference of the National Organization for Women (NOW), the Senate will be debating whether to extend the March 22, 1979, deadline for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

Whichever way the vote goes, the ERA will be the single most important issue facing the NOW conference.

Numerous resolutions have been submitted to the conference urging delegates to call for another big ERA demonstration.

A proposal passed by the New Jersey NOW State Board in August calls for holding another demonstration before March 22. "July 9 demonstrated the majority sentiment for the ERA both through the large numbers of people and breadth of organizational support," it notes.

"It is necessary to build on the momentum of July 9 by planning an even more massive outpouring of pro-ERA forces."

The Southeast Regional Board of NOW and the Colorado State Board have also passed ERA action resolutions.

Philadelphia NOW has voted to propose that the conference call an ERA demonstration in Washington for March 11, 1979, in commemoration of International Women's Day.

The San Francisco and East Bay NOW chapters are urging actions on the East and West coasts next spring.

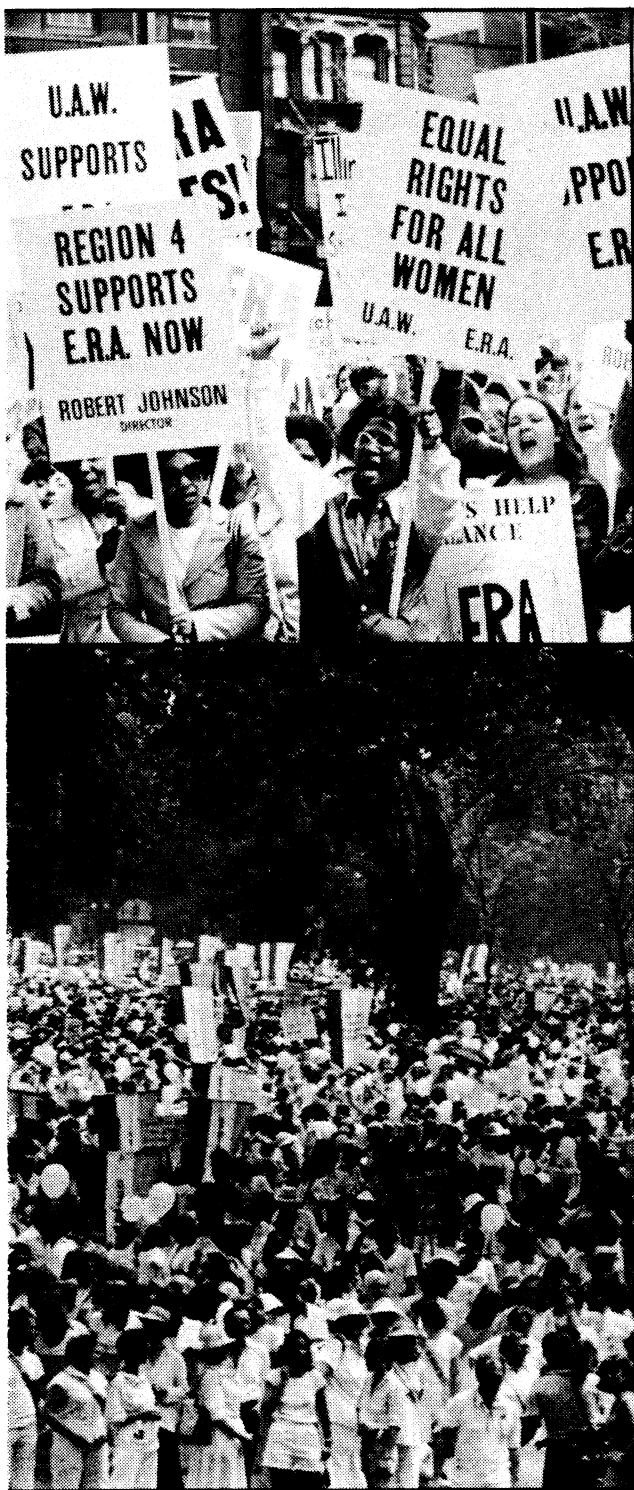
Chicago's West Suburban chapter passed a resolution for a national march as soon as possible.

New Orleans NOW is bringing in a proposal for nationally coordinated actions in the South, Midwest, and the West some time in the spring.

Chapters in Tacoma; Raleigh; Summit, New Jersey; Allentown, Pennsylvania; Dallas; and Denver have also passed ERA action resolutions, as has the ERA Task Force of Milwaukee NOW.



# POWERFUL MOVEMENT



Millant photos by Nancy Cohen, Lou Howort, Howard Patrick, Lane Satterblom

work. Anti-ERA, antibusing, and other reactionary outfits felt comfortable in the context of the government assaults to push their racist, sexist, anti-working-class programs openly.

Although they reflected only a minority of public opinion, the right-wingers presented themselves as the majority on such issues as the ERA. Because they were more visible than pro-ERA forces, the politicians used them as an excuse to vote the ERA down.

The women's movement made an important breakthrough, however, on May 16, 1976. NOW led an 8,000-strong ERA demonstration in Springfield, Illinois. Significant labor forces joined the action for the first time.

But instead of carrying forward the momentum of May 16, the national NOW leadership retreated from an action perspective and got diverted by the 1976 campaign for Jimmy Carter.

## Carter's maneuver

Carter maneuvered for the support of feminists by promising he would deliver an ERA victory. In return, women were to sit back and refrain from demonstrating for our rights. We were also told it would embarrass Carter and hurt the ERA effort if we spoke out against his anti-abortion stand.

NOW and other pro-ERA groups went along with this strategy. Few ERA actions took place. But the Democrats didn't deliver on their promise. Instead they went ahead and took back Medicaid funds for abortion and continued to let the ERA die.

Feminists who had believed in Carter began to get angry.

A new mood of combativity started to develop. A sign of this was the International Women's Year conferences in 1977. Tens of thousands of women attended these events. Ratification of the ERA, abortion rights, and lesbian and gay rights received overwhelming support—in a slap to the Carter

administration's policies.

Women began seeking out organized ways to protest. The size of ERA and abortion rights demonstrations picked up. Thousands of new women joined NOW.

The July 9 ERA demonstration offered final proof that women are on the move again, determined to struggle to protect our gains.

Shortly after July 9, on September 16, an important meeting of feminists took place in New York City. The topic was "The Women's Movement: Forum on the Future."

The program was a panel on perspectives for the movement, featuring prominent figures such as Kate Millett, Gloria Steinem, Ti-Grace Atkinson, and Robin Morgan. Twelve hundred women attended from a broad range of women's groups.

The speakers represented very divergent currents in the movement. They had not appeared together on a united platform in years.

But the theme of the meeting was that we must unite in response to the government offensive against women.

The most enthusiastic response came when Kate Millett spoke. "It's time to remember the power of our early marches," Millett said. "It's time to become truly political again—activists again."

"We've got to get back to the streets!"

## Where to go next

Discussions in the movement since July 9 point to three important lessons: the importance of allies in the women's struggle; the need for an open, nonexclusionary movement; and the power of mass action.

July 9 was the broadest action ever seen in this country for women's rights. Thousands marched as members of NOW and other feminist groups. And thousands more participated through their unions, through community groups and civil rights organizations, through lesbian groups and other organizations.

The labor unions mobilized women and men who had never before participated in a women's demonstration. A high proportion of these unionists were Black.

The delegations of auto workers, steelworkers, communications workers, and other unionists were one of the most inspiring sights that day.

Women had seen the organized might of the unions during the militant coal miners' strike. July 9 showed the potential for mobilizing that power behind women's demands—something we can and must do.

To bring the labor movement and the Black movement into the ERA struggle, to involve the many new women for whom July 9 was a first step, the ERA movement must be open to all women.

No single organization is strong enough by itself to win the ERA. We need to unite all ERA supporters and organizations as we did July 9.

This can only be done if the movement reaches out and welcomes all women, regardless of their views on other issues. What unites us is our conviction that the ERA is just.

Our strength lies in the potential to build a mass movement that includes Democrats, Republicans, socialists, women from all walks of life.

July 9 opened many women's eyes to the power we have in our numbers. It dealt a big blow to the propaganda that the majority does not favor equality for women.

The impact of the demonstration can be seen in the labor movement, where women have stepped up efforts to fight discrimination on the job and to expand their role in their unions. It is reflected in the larger numbers of women turning out for meetings of NOW and other feminist gatherings.

## Another July 9

We need another massive march for the ERA—soon—to keep up the momentum. We need an ongoing campaign of ERA activities—teach-ins, picket lines, conferences, and rallies.

One big demonstration by itself cannot win the ERA. But such actions are a crucial part of constructing the kind of movement that spreads in the unions, on the campuses, and in the Black and Latino communities.

If we organize this kind of campaign—a campaign of independent action—we can build a movement that grows so big the enemies of women cannot afford to ignore it.

The national conference of NOW has the opportunity and the responsibility to take the next big step forward. If the NOW conference calls for another ERA demonstration, we can mobilize even larger numbers than we saw July 9.

The need for such an action is the most pressing discussion as NOW members gather in Washington. The conference should be a celebration of our victory on July 9. And a preparation for the next July 9.

# Have you read these?



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**Affirmative Action versus Seniority**, by Linda Jenness and others, \$.50

**Abortion Rights in Danger!** by Nancy Brown and others, \$.35



**Black Women's Struggle for Equality**, by Willie Mae Reid, \$.25

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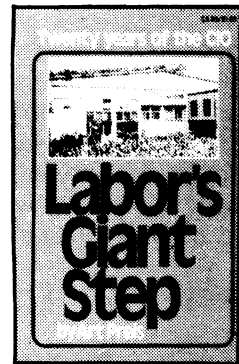
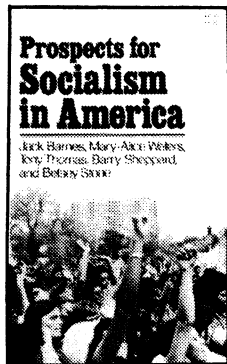
**Teamster Rebellion**, by Farrell Dobbs, first of a four-volume series, \$3.95. All four volumes, \$12.00

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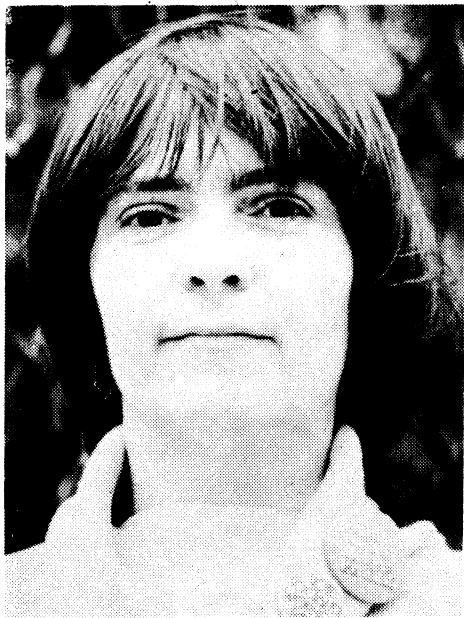
**The Lesser Evil? The Left Debates the Democratic Party and Social Change**, by Michael Harrington, Peter Camejo, and others, \$1.75

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# Socialist feminist runs for governor

## Interview with Dianne Feeley

By Diane Wang

In November New Yorkers can vote for a feminist for governor. Dianne Feeley is running on the Socialist Workers Party ticket.

Feeley has been active in the women's liberation movement and the socialist movement for a decade. In a recent interview she discussed her campaign and described how she became a socialist and a feminist.

In the early 1960s Feeley left graduate school to work with people around the *Catholic Worker*, a religious pacifist newspaper. "I began by thinking you made the revolution from the heart, that you could change society by doing good things as an individual," she explains.

Feeley taught in a Mississippi program organized by the Black community. One summer she was sentenced to ninety days in jail for antiwar activities in Washington, D.C.

"I went through a period of voluntary poverty, trying to live outside the system. I tried living on a commune," she recalls. "But these efforts seemed incomplete. I felt I wasn't helping make the kind of fundamental changes I wanted."

As Washington stepped up its genocidal war in Vietnam, ending that war became Feeley's main goal in life.

That is how she met members of the Socialist Workers Party. "They had a strategy for ending the war," Feeley says. "I was very impressed by the SWP's insistence that sentiment against the war could grow and win a majority."

"My view had been that we were doomed to be a minority. It seemed at the time like we would always be just a handful of protesters."

"But the socialists argued that if we kept doing visible actions that people could join, people would join," Feeley recalls. "And that strategy, it turned out, was right. It organized the movement that helped drive the United States out of Vietnam."

### Winning a hearing

It was during the antiwar movement, too, that Feeley became a feminist. In the late 1960s women began organizing around their own issues, as well as against the war. They began

speaking up for the right to be heard in meetings, to play a bigger role as leaders.

As the discussion about women's liberation began simmering around the country, women at San Francisco State planned a teach-in, which Feeley helped prepare and spoke at.

She also helped build the first big women's demonstration in San Francisco. That was August 26, 1970.

"I remember the sense of power women had that day," she says. "Although we had participated in the antiwar movement, this was the first time women organized the entire demonstration themselves. That sense that we could do it ourselves was just like breaking through a sound barrier."

Since 1972 Feeley has been a member of the New York City chapter of the National Organization for Women. There she has taught classes on women's history and literature, worked on such issues as the ERA and reproductive freedom, and has been a frequent speaker at feminist gatherings.

In 1976 she debated Stop ERA leader Phyllis Schlafly before 400 people in Atlanta.

### New political thinking

Looking over her experiences, Feeley notes a change among many feminists today, a lot of new thinking as a result of the attacks on women's rights.

"Women see the difficulty of winning the ERA, the attacks on abortion rights and affirmative action—attacks on gains we thought we had already secured," Feeley says. "Women are recognizing that sexism is more deeply rooted in the system we live under than they once thought."

The role of Democratic and Republican politicians in the attacks is becoming more and more clear also. "Women watch these politicians voting down ERA even though a majority support it," notes Feeley.

"And women see other disturbing things, such as cuts in social services and the continued refusal to do any-

thing about unemployment."

Feeley says this has brought about a growing interest in what the socialist candidates have to say.

"Just consider the one problem, why are these politicians voting against women's rights? Why do they promise to support the ERA and then switch to oppose it?" Feeley says. "The anti-ERA pressure is not coming from the population as a whole; the majority is pro-ERA."

"Phyllis Schlafly and her right-wing ilk are a minority, even if they are so vocal."

"The reason Democrats and Republicans oppose women's rights is that their first loyalty is to the handful of capitalists who own this country's wealth. The big corporations own the Democratic and Republican parties from top to bottom," Feeley insists.

In the course of her campaign Feeley is not only championing women's causes, but is also educating about the connection between the capitalist system, and race and sex discrimination.

"It is a simple fact that the handful of capitalists who dominate the U.S. economy profit from racism and sexism," she says. "They make money by keeping women—and Blacks and Puerto Ricans and Chicanos and other oppressed minorities—underpaid, underemployed, and segregated into lower-paying jobs."

"These capitalists use the Democratic and Republican parties to keep this system of discrimination intact. The whole purpose of those two parties is to keep the system working as it is, to keep it, above all, profitable."

Feeley believes that the scramble to keep the capitalists' profit margins high and to compete with foreign capitalists is responsible for the current intensified drive against the women's movement, as well as the attacks on unions and the Black movement.

"They are on an all-out campaign to push back affirmative action, defeat the ERA, and lower wages and social benefits in general," she explains.

### Fighting back

How can women fight back? Feeley believes that a strong, united women's movement can answer the attacks. She points to the 100,000 women marching on Washington July 9 as an example.

"That's the kind of political action that works," she says. "It shows our strength. It inspires women with our potential to change things, and puts maximum pressure on the politicians. When they see a crowd like that, it's hard for them to deny we are the majority."

"And activities such as that demonstration unite women of various political persuasions—Democrats, Republicans, and socialists," Feeley points out.

"But when the women's movement focuses instead on electing one or another Democratic or Republican politician, it undermines women's strength."

"A focus on electing this or that Democrat or Republican promotes the idea that we can depend on these politicians to win our rights for us. It sidetracks us from organizing activities to involve all women—the power-

ful, massive actions that build the women's movement."

Feeley also believes that it is necessary to build a strong socialist movement. "We need an alternative to the Republicans and Democrats, a party that can fight against all the evils of this society, from inflation, high unemployment, and poor medical care, to the threat of nuclear power and war," says Feeley.

"We must have a movement that unites these struggles. A movement that unites all working people, women, Blacks, young people, farmers—the majority of the population, which has nothing to gain from this profit-driven system."

### Why vote for me

"You see, when I ask people to vote for me, I don't ask them to just look at my program for women's rights," says Feeley. "They should look at my whole program—from what I say about unemployment, to the crisis of the cities, to international events."

"These issues are all related," she says.

"In New York, for instance, you have the Chase Manhattan Bank. It has big investments in South Africa. It also plays a big role in city and state politics. It decides how much to squeeze out of city workers for interests on bonds. It leads the antiunion attacks, cuts back on jobs and services, demands the closing of child-care centers."

"There is a growing movement to sever the ties banks like Chase Manhattan have to South Africa. I urge all my supporters to be part of that movement too. If we help loosen the Chase Manhattan's grasp on South Africa," she explains, "we loosen its stranglehold on our own throats."

### A socialist society

"More and more women are beginning to recognize the ties between these different struggles. I'm also convinced that if any woman thinks seriously about the causes of women's oppression and the other evils we face she will conclude that socialism is necessary," Feeley said.

"Take away the need to make a profit and you eliminate the need to socialize women into an inferior role. You eliminate the need for racism. Women and others who are discriminated against can exercise all their capabilities."

"Just consider what child care would be in a socialist society," Feeley pointed out. "We have enough technology, enough teachers, enough materials to set up excellent child-care centers immediately."

"Children would not just be provided for under socialism. We would create a stimulating and loving environment. We would devote the whole society's resources to loving and caring for every single child."

"That's the kind of future society I want to create. I want to get rid of this rotten, capitalist society and replace it with a system devoted to fulfilling human needs," says Feeley.

"It's that vision of the future that made me a feminist. And it made me a socialist."

### What about you?

Do you want an alternative to the Democratic and Republican parties? . . . Do you agree with Dianne Feeley that we need a socialist movement that unites the fight against sexism, racism, nuclear power, war, and the other evils capitalism breeds? . . . Do you want to help create a socialist society that puts human needs before profit?

### Then join the Socialist Workers Party!

Contact the SWP branch nearest you listed on page 31 of this newspaper. Or return this coupon to the SWP National Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

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# Democracy threatened in NOW

## Why red-baiting hurts women's movement

By Shelley Kramer  
and Wendy Lyons

This year's conference of the National Organization for Women has urgent business before it. How we can win the Equal Rights Amendment—and gain an extension of its deadline—tops the agenda. How we should respond to the many-sided attack on our rights—from abortion restrictions, to sterilization abuse, to new threats against affirmative action—are also questions on the minds of many women at the conference.

To answer these questions, we need a democratic discussion, one that is open to and welcomes every point of view within NOW.

But this exchange of ideas is in danger of being undermined. A slander campaign has been launched in NOW on the eve of the national conference.

It is primarily directed against NOW members who also belong to the Socialist Workers Party. But its effect is to prevent any NOW member with similar ideas about building the women's movement from getting a fair hearing for her ideas.

### Dishonest polemics

Dishonest polemics have appeared in NOW publications. In an unsigned editorial in the September *LA NOW Times*, SWP members in NOW are likened to cotton candy—"sickeningly sweet and apparently innocent at first taste" but "dangerous to NOW's health." The editors claim that the socialists have a "hidden agenda" and employ "sneaky tactics." They even imply that the SWP is trying to undermine the campaign for the ERA.

"What we are angry about," the editorial continues, "what we are acting against is the blatant attempt of one organization, as an organization, to influence and, not too subtly, change the focus of NOW's work."

The co-presidents of Seattle-King County NOW echo such charges in the September 19 issue of their chapter newsletter. They purport to unmask a "national effort" by SWP members to "coopt" NOW.

Cooptation, they explain, is the "manipulation of democratic processes to slow down and divert the purposes of the organization."

"Cooptation," "manipulation," "hidden agendas," "sneaky tactics"—this is the language of red-baiting.

To red-bait is to rely on slanders, distortions, and the old bogey of "red domination" to obscure and evade real political differences.

And, sure enough, the Seattle newsletter warns that NOW is in danger of just such a "red takeover." The article claims that 15 percent of NOW chapter presidents belong to the SWP.

Such scare talk is predicated on the assumption that socialists—as opposed to Democrats or Republicans—cannot



1977 NOW conference. Democratic discussion is needed at this year's conference to answer attacks on women's rights.

be trusted with leadership responsibilities in NOW.

The truth of the matter is that only one NOW president belongs to the SWP, according to Willie Mae Reid, the party's women's liberation director.

The false figure shows the logic of red-baiting. First the SWP is defined as harmful—"dangerous to the health"—of NOW. Then any NOW member—in this case chapter presidents—who shares ideas with the socialists becomes ipso facto a member of the SWP herself!

In this witch-hunt atmosphere, women become reluctant to speak out against such attacks for fear that by doing so they too will be labeled "socialists" and "anti-NOW."

### Undemocratic actions

Undemocratic actions at NOW meetings have become a feature of this red-baiting campaign. Using the poisonous logic of "Cotton Candy," these actions have been justified as the only way to deal with the "SWP problem." In fact, they trample on the rights of *all* NOW members, setting restrictive and unhealthy precedents.

April: A committee is established in the Great Lakes region of NOW to investigate the "organizational affiliations" of all NOW members;

June: NOW members are censured at the California state conference for selling the *Militant* newspaper and distributing SWP campaign material.



SWP delegation on July 9 march. Socialists have been consistent and active fighters for ERA.

What was really behind this attack was the *unwillingness* of the socialists—and other supporters of these proposals—to subordinate the women's movement to the interests of the Democratic and Republican parties.

The most vicious accusations came from those forces in NOW most intent on channeling the organization's resources and energies into Republican and Democratic political campaigns.

### Discussion still needed

Today there is still a pressing need to discuss these and other issues in NOW. Do we need more massive actions such as July 9 to win the ERA? How can NOW participate in the fight for affirmative action? In the battle to defend abortion rights?

Clearly what is called for is a democratic discussion, free of any intimidation or prejudice against any NOW member.

But unfortunately the red-baiting has started up again—once more threatening to disrupt this crucial discussion.

The essence of the charges leveled against the socialists this year is this: SWP members pursue their own "hidden agenda" in NOW in order to "redirect NOW's focus and energy" away from the ERA and other critical issues.

Exactly what is on this "hidden agenda" is not actually spelled out—that's the value of using the term—although "recruiting SWP members" and "selling SWP publications" is often presented as incriminating evidence. And there is always the implication that somehow the SWP is able to "manipulate" NOW women into doing things they don't really want to do.

Do socialists have a hidden agenda for NOW? Not at all. SWP members say openly how they think NOW should carry forward the fight for women's rights. These views are not only raised in discussions but in the very publications that socialist NOW members are attacked for distributing.

Is it true that the SWP is opposed to focusing NOW's energy on the ERA? No.

Winning the ERA is clearly the central task facing the women's movement, and socialists have enthusiastically worked to build pro-ERA activities like the massive July 9 march on Washington. They have called for more and even bigger actions of this character—actions that can reach out and draw in the majority of Americans that support the ERA. In what sense does this proposal threaten to "redirect NOW's focus and energy" away from securing women's rights?

### Where socialists stand

SWP candidates for public office across the country have made support for the ERA a big issue in their campaigns. Can any other political party say the same?

Socialists have been the most uncompromising advocates of women's rights in word and deed, actively fighting not only for ERA but also for child-care centers, abortion rights for all women, affirmative action, and other issues.

Uncompromising because we place our confidence in the struggle of women themselves—not in the parties that administer the capitalist system.

We also say that because this system profits from the oppression of women, that oppression can only be ended by fighting to build a socialist society.

And we plead guilty to seeking to convince other women of our views—through our literature, campaigns for public office, and by urging women to join our party. There is nothing "sneaky" about this.

*Continued on next page*

July: A special report is given in San Diego by *National NOW Times* co-editor Toni Caraballo on the "problem" of NOW national conference delegations that will include SWP members; August: West Suburban Chicago NOW hears a report from its state president on the "SWP problem."

To understand why these attacks are taking place, we must look at the origin of the slander campaign. For although the atrocity stories have picked up recently, the anti-SWP campaign began several years ago in the context of a debate over NOW's strategy.

### Origins

The debate concerned what NOW should do in the wake of the very successful pro-ERA demonstration of 8,000 organized by NOW on May 16, 1976, in Springfield, Illinois. After this heartening display of the willingness of large numbers of women to demonstrate for the ERA, NOW turned away from holding such actions.

Phyllis Schlafly and her ilk—who took to the streets in far smaller numbers—were allowed to grab the limelight.

In the two and a half years after Springfield, NOW's energies have turned in the direction of campaigning to elect Democratic and Republican party politicians. These politicians pressured NOW to abandon such "embarrassing" demonstrations, which, they argued, would result in "backlash" from the right wing.

Precious time was lost following this advice.

At the 1977 NOW convention, socialists and many other women proposed that NOW take the lead in fighting the attacks on women's rights by organizing an action campaign rather than relying on Democratic and Republican politicians to do the job for us. They argued that this was the most effective way to win the ERA and defend all our rights. And certainly the success of July 9 confirmed this perspective.

The socialists also joined with other members to propose that NOW reach out and involve the labor movement and Black organizations in this fight.

But instead of a calm discussion about the merits of these proposals, the socialists were accused of subordinating the interests of the women's movement to their own interests.

## New York NOW forum



Militant/Rich Robohm

'Did the Bakke ruling uphold affirmative action?' was the topic of a September 28 forum organized by the Minority Women's Issues Committee of the National Organization for Women-New York.

Speakers on the panel included (left to right): Lucia Ramirez, president of the National Conference of Puerto Rican Women; Victor Goode, president of the National Black Lawyers Association; Reba Williams and Rita Lee of the Minority Women's Issues Committee; and Leon Harris, president of the Chelsea NAACP.

Also, Noreen Connell, president of NOW-New York; Anne Jaffee of the NOW-New York Employment Committee; Larry Holmes of the National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision; and Edith Hood, who works at the Brooklyn Navy Yard.

## ...red-baiting

Continued from page 19

But at the same time we do not make sharing our vision of socialism a precondition for common action to win women's rights. We want to unite with any woman willing to stand up and fight for her rights, no matter what else we agree or disagree on.

And we believe NOW and other women's organizations have an important role to play in bringing together women of different persuasions in a common struggle to win gains for all women.

### Censorship

In order to build a united movement for women's rights, democracy is essential.

Every NOW member should be entitled to the same right to express her views and to *hear all points of view*. Women have no need for self-selected police and censors that decide what publications NOW members can read and what political candidates they can hear from.

The women's movement was founded on the idea that women can—and should—make decisions for themselves. In fact, they must—or women will not be able to build a movement that can win our rights.

The censorship in NOW has already revealed itself to be selective. While campaign literature from Democrat Jerry Brown was welcomed at NOW's California state conference, NOW members distributing leaflets about SWP candidates were censured for distributing this literature.

While a number of Democratic and Republican candidates spoke at the September 26 ERA action in Washington, SWP candidates who came with literature supporting the ERA were ordered not to distribute—or even show—their campaign literature.

This is quite a step backward from the 1976 Springfield demonstration where SWP candidates were intro-

duced from the stage along with other pro-ERA candidates

The importance of having an all-inclusive movement, where all views are welcome, cannot be overestimated. If lies, slanders, intimidation, and censorship rule, NOW will be destroyed as a force fighting for the needs of all women. The only victors will be the enemies of women's rights.

These enemies are already benefiting from the divisions and distrust this witch-hunting sows.

Georgia Congressman Larry McDonald is a John Bircher and an arch-enemy of everything the women's movement stands for. Yet his report on an SWP educational conference this August—received from sources unknown—was presented as good coin to a NOW Texas State Council meeting this September. This is the logic of antisocialist witch-hunts. They always end up playing into the hands of those who seek to divide and destroy our movement—the likes of Larry McDonald.

If the women's movement begins to revive the witch-hunting spirit prevalent in the 1950s, all women will end up paying a bitter price.

### How to win

Conference participants can reject this course, assert the right to a free and democratic discussion, and reaffirm NOW's open and nonexclusionary character. Several chapters have submitted a by-laws amendment that would add no discrimination on the basis of "political affiliation" to the list of safeguards to NOW membership. A vote for this change is one way to stand up and say no to the witch-hunters.

Defending and advancing women's rights will take a big fight—one that requires the involvement of every single NOW member. It is one that must draw into its ranks tens of thousands of new women and allies. Armed with a democratic organization—open to all who support the goal of women's equality—we can win.

# Conn. students back clerical workers' strike

By Laura Miller

MIDDLETOWN, Conn.—An unusual event greeted the students of Wesleyan University when they arrived here last month. For the first time in the school's history, a group of its employees is on strike. The secretaries and clerical workers of the Office and Professional Employees Union (OPEIU), AFL-CIO Local 497, have been off their jobs since September 1.

The secretaries have been negotiating with the administration for four years and have been without a contract since July 1977.

The secretaries' current salaries range between \$5,600 and \$10,600, with the great majority in the lower ranges. The administration's pay offer did not even keep up with inflation. The union wants at least part of any raise to be retroactive to January 1978.

Under the contract first proposed by the administration, any employee could be transferred to a different department without her consent.

The administration has staunchly refused the demand for a union shop. The union has since reduced its demand to a modified agency shop. The

administration will not agree to that either. It has also refused the union's request for binding arbitration. The administration says arbitration would hurt "academic freedom."

A campus strike support committee has mobilized students to help with picketing. The student supporters have distributed information and held a rally outside the administration building. They have also gathered 1,100 signatures on a support petition that was handed to President Colin Campbell. (The student-body population is approximately 2,500.)

Student workers have also volunteered to a slowdown of, and whenever financially possible, a boycott of their jobs.

The campus chapter of the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) has voted to censure the administration and to lend support—including financial support—to the secretaries.

The support for the strike has forced the administration to realize that it is dealing with people—people who will not be intimidated.

## ...Koka

Continued from page 3

These students are actually on trial for the irresponsible action of the South African police, who turned peaceful, nonviolent demonstrations into bloodshed and genocide.

The atrocities by the South African police incited Black people into the destruction of property.

These eleven Black students stood up and opposed an immoral socioeconomic and political system that is unacceptable to all Blacks in South Africa.

Each and every charge the students face carries the maximum penalty of death.

One of the charges against them is organizing demonstrations against the so-called United States peacemaker Henry Kissinger when he visited South Africa in 1976.

Now we have to ask ourselves, Who is Kissinger? What is so holy about him that no Black can demonstrate against him?

On the very day that Kissinger was in my country, South African police opened fire into a classroom and killed about six students on the spot as a sacrifice to this Kissinger of the United States government.

It is for having demonstrated against this man that the eleven students are now probably facing the death sentence under the Terrorism Act.

I also wish to point out that this self-same regime that is now led by P.W. Botha, the mad Afrikaner, is being supported by the western countries, the U.S. government included. This oppressive and suppressive government is being supported by foreign investors.

My purpose in coming here is to say to the American public, especially to the workers and Blacks, to stop handling goods marketed in South Africa and produced by the multinational companies that are now the main supporters of the regime.

I want to invite all workers and students of the U.S. to demonstrate their solidarity with the eleven young men and women on trial for having stood for justice, for having called upon the South African government to stop oppressing and murdering their colleagues.

I'm calling upon everybody of conscience to stand by the side of the accused students.

Our demand is the withdrawal of all

charges against these innocent students.

Our demand is the withdrawal of all the immoral laws that led the students to demonstrations.

Our demand is to hand over all government power to the Black majority—where every person will rule and where every person will enjoy the wealth of the country of their birth.

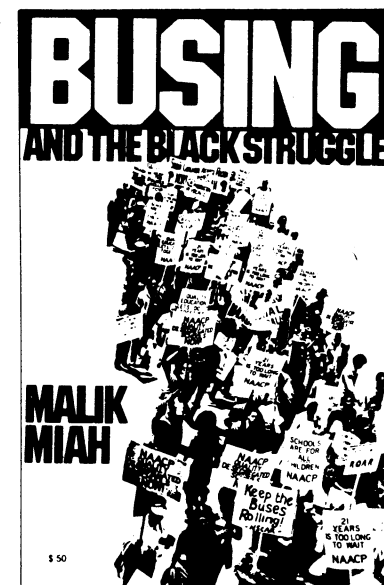
The aim of Black people—the aim of all those who are oppressed today—is to bring about a total change of the system and government.

We need a government through which we can rule. We have to have a government of the majority.

Our immediate cry and demand is the release—the immediate release—of all political prisoners in South Africa.

And we further call upon all foreign investors to withdraw their investments from South Africa. We call upon the U.S. government to impose immediate sanctions against South Africa.

That's the only language that the South African government will understand.



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# The New York Central

By Dick Roberts

(Second in a series)

Railroads are a public necessity.

They are essential to millions of commuters who ride them to and from work. Hundreds of factories across the country receive vital supplies and ship finished products by rail. If the branch lines to these factories were closed, many would have to shut down.

A considerable amount of farming also depends on the rails.

Initially, most railroads in this country received the land over which they run free from the government. From the first, these "public highways" were recognized as a social necessity of growing industry. Abroad, in the course of time, most railroads were nationalized in order to subordinate the railroads to the needs of capitalist industrial expansion.

In the United States, it is a different story.

## Profit drive

U.S. railroads began and remain privately owned. As such, they have always been the target of extensive financial manipulation. For decades, the rail industry was the number-one money-maker in the American economy. Until late in the 1800s, in fact, railroad securities were almost the only ones listed on the New York Stock Exchange. Many ruling-class fortunes were built on the rails.

The wealthy businessmen who own the industry are not now and never were concerned with the conditions of railroad cars, stations, or tracks. Least of all are they concerned about the conditions of railroad workers. Their entire preoccupation is with profits, with stocks and bonds.

To trace the roots of the rail bosses' current drive to drastically reduce the work force and speed up the pace of work, we must first concentrate on the finances of the rail industry.

An eloquent passage in Gustavus Myers's *History of the Great American Fortunes* points in the right direction. "Behold, in imagination at least," wrote Myers, "this mass of stocks and bonds.

"Heaps of paper they seem; dead inorganic things. A second's blaze will consume any one of them, a few strokes of the fingers tear it into shapeless ribbons. Yet under the institution of law, as it exists, these pieces of paper are endowed with a terrible power of life and death that even enthroned kings do not possess. Those dainty prints with their scrolls and numerals and inscriptions are binding titles to the absolute ownership of a large part of the resources created by the labors of entire peoples."

Myers wrote this in 1907 about the Vanderbilt fortune, which grew from Vanderbilt's control of the New York Central railroad. It loses none of its force almost seventy years later.

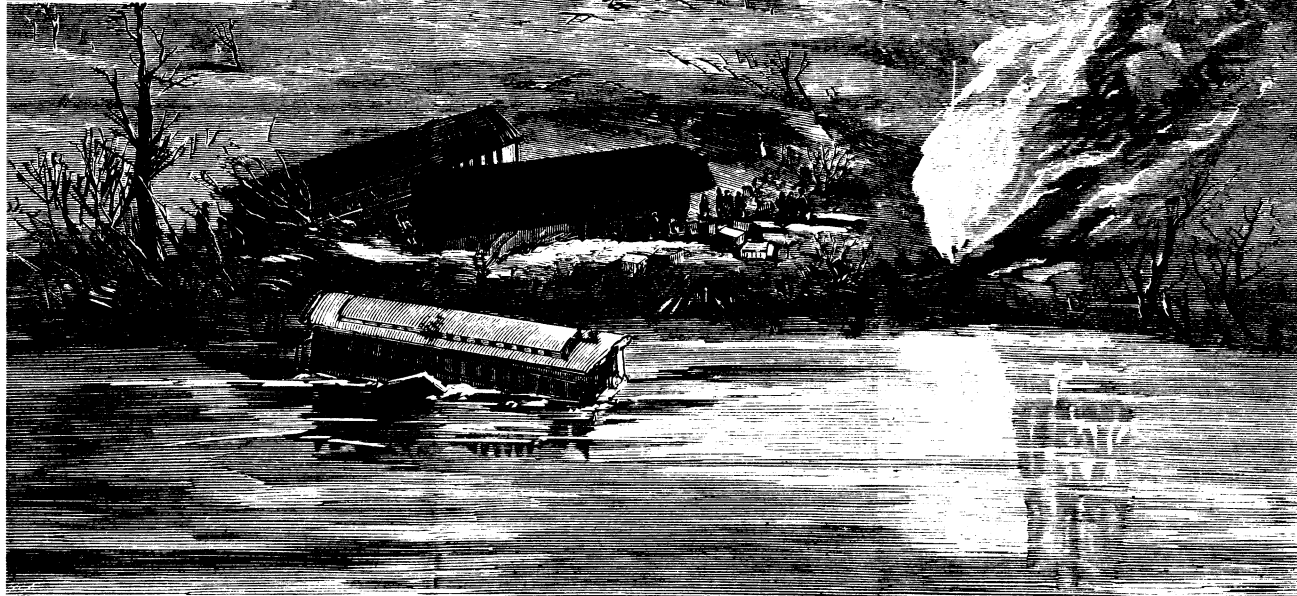
## Early railroads

From the earliest days, railroad corporations grew out of land-grabs by businessmen and politicians, and financial manipulations that saw the mergers of dozens of smaller firms.

In *To Hell In A Day Coach*—one of the best books about American railroads, written in 1968—Peter Lyon notes:

"Long before the first ten thousand miles of track had been laid down in the United States—which is to say, before 1850—the policy of railroad management in respect of the public interest had been set and hardened: it was to ignore the public interest, dismiss it, sweep it under the rug and carry on."

Lyon continues, "The Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Company was given, between 1827 and 1850, thirteen million dollars of taxpayers' money by the state of Maryland and cities of Baltimore and Wheeling, West Virginia; it was also given, tax free,



Safety has never been a factor in building the railroads. Cornelius Vanderbilt's New York Central empire was built on wrecked and bankrupt lines.

some choice real estate. Again: a committee of the New York state legislature would later reckon that the state and various cities and towns had given New York railroad corporations, among other goodies, \$40,039,496.82."

The history of the New York Central and of the Vanderbilt financial empire gets at the heart of the matter.

## New York Central

The New York Central was founded in 1853 as an amalgam of ten railroad lines running westward from Albany to Buffalo. "Throughout the 1840s," according to Lyon, "there were anguished outcries



against [these] railroad companies from scores of citizens, protesting high and discriminatory freight rates, poor passenger service, filthy accommodations, watered stock and other financial monkey-shines, a regrettable trend toward monopoly, and the policy of giving free passes to politicians, favored shippers, and newspaper editors."

In order to put together such monopolies, the railroads bought off entire state, and later, federal legislatures. "Edwin D. Worcester, the treasurer of the New York Central, later acknowledged that the company had spent, from 1853 to 1867, more than a half-million dollars to buy laws at Albany," Lyon says.

When the New York Central was founded, it was capitalized at more than \$23 million—an enormous sum at that time. It was almost half the 1853 federal budget.

Cornelius Vanderbilt took over the New York Central and made it into an even more gigantic monopoly in the 1860s.

The "Commodore" had earlier distinguished himself as a shipowner. During the Civil War, Vanderbilt sold the government a fleet of rotten ships. They were barely navigable on rivers and lakes, let alone on the sea, where they were supposed to ship troops. It was from the vast profits from this and other swindles to bilk the government into subsidizing his ships that Vanderbilt got the capital he then poured into the rails.

First Vanderbilt took over two parallel rails from

New York to Albany—the New York and Harlem Railroad and the New York and Hudson River Railroad.

## New York subways

New York subway riders may be interested to know—and in other cities the histories are little different—that in 1832 the New York and Harlem had received a franchise from the city government for exclusive use of Fourth Avenue north of Twenty-third Street (the area today of Grand Central Station, the Pan Am building, and other vastly expensive midtown real estate, to say nothing of the Lexington Avenue subway below).

According to Myers, "Vanderbilt not only caused the Legislature in 1872 to pass an act saddling one-half of the expense of depressing the tracks on the city [making them into subways—D.R.], but caused the act to be so adroitly worded as to make the franchise perpetual."

Also, in 1863, Vanderbilt "bribed the New York City Common Council to give the New York and Harlem Railroad a perpetual franchise for a street railway on Broadway from the Battery to Union Square" (right through the Wall Street area, financial center of Manhattan then and now).

In 1867 Vanderbilt stopped shipping passengers and freight from Albany to New York. This cut the throat of the old New York Central, which could bring goods from western New York State to Albany, but not to New York City. Vanderbilt succeeded in forcing the firm to sell out to him, merged his two other railroads into it, and thus founded one of the most powerful trusts in U.S. history.

## Manipulation

Myers's description of the process of railroad financial manipulation cannot be bettered: "Often the physical layout—the road-beds, rails and cars—were deliberately allowed to deteriorate in order that the manipulators might be able to lower the value and efficiency of the road, and thus depress the value of the stock. Thus, for instance, Vanderbilt aiming to get control of a railroad at a low price, might very well have confederates among some of the directors or officials of that railroad who would resist or slyly thwart every attempt at improvement, and so scheme that the profits would constantly go down. . . .

"The changing combinations of railroad capitalists were too absorbed in the process of gambling in the stock market to have any direct concern for management. It was nothing to them that this neglect caused frequent and heartrending disasters; they were not held criminally responsible for the loss of life. In fact, railroad wrecks often served their purpose in beating down the price of stocks. Incredible as this statement may seem, it is abundantly proved by the facts."

(next: the rails push west)

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## 'Dignity, courage'

# Cuba hails Nicaraguan freedom fighters

Since the beginning of the recent events in Nicaragua, the crisis of the Somoza dictatorship and the mass opposition to it has been covered extensively by 'Granma,' the newspaper of the Cuban Communist Party. The September 3 issue of the 'Granma' weekly review devoted a full page to the raid of the Sandinista National Liberation Front on the Nicaraguan Presidential Palace. The success of the guerrillas in winning the release of fifty-eight political prisoners was hailed by 'Granma' as "a victory for the Nicaraguan people."

The arrival in Cuba of twenty-two of the freed political prisoners was featured on the front page of the September 10 'Granma.' Inside were interviews with several of the released prisoners.

The following statement on the events in Nicaragua, issued in the midst of the popular uprising against the Somoza dictatorship, was published on the front page of the September 17 'Granma.'

In view of the alarming reports reaching us of the indiscriminate repression the Somoza dynasty is unleashing against the Nicaraguan people in an attempt to crush their struggle for real independence, the Government of the Republic of Cuba wishes to express its militant solidarity with that people and denounce to the world the genocide being committed against them.

The dignity, courage, dedication to the cause of freedom, and combativity of the Nicaraguan people are daily



evidenced by all the possible forms of struggle being used to topple the Somoza dictatorship. They deserve the admiration, respect and solidarity of all the governments and peoples now struggling the world over against imperialism, and for national independence, democracy, well-being of the people, peace and social progress.

A few days ago Somoza's genocidal repression became evident in the department of Matagalpa and in the city of Jinotepe when the civilian population in both places was bombed and strafed, a criminal aggression that accounted for hundreds of defenseless victims. Killing continues unabated in the departments of Managua and León, while hundreds of persons are illegally arrested and the premises of

trade unions and opposition political parties are raided.

The masses of workers and peasants, and even the broadest sectors of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie, have shown their readiness to fight the tyranny. The United People's Movement and the Broad Opposition Front (FAO), which includes the Democratic Union of Liberation (UDEL), are the positive outcome of the broad unity that now exists. The Nicaraguan people look upon the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) as their legitimate vanguard.

Somoza's ridiculous charges against Cuba, and his hysterical denunciations of an alleged "communist danger," are mere ruses to justify intervention by the most reactionary sectors of the

U.S. administration, which are proping him up and providing him with U.S. mercenaries as advisers, plus criminal counterrevolutionaries of Cuban origin, and are seeking at all costs to maintain imperialism's penetration and influence in that country. Somoza's false charges also aim to facilitate the intervention, at an opportune moment, of the reactionary Central American Defense Council (CONDECA), the local military instrument of imperialism, and of the area's most reactionary regimes, particularly the Guatemalan regime.

The example set by Augusto César Sandino has taught his people to identify, fight and destroy their enemies. They learned to do this by dint of their own efforts, constant struggles, setbacks and victories.

Neither imperialism nor Somoza can fool world public opinion, and much less the Nicaraguan people, by evoking ghosts and cooking up schemes aimed at distracting attention and upholding their vested interests.

The Government of the Republic of Cuba denounces Israel for supplying Somoza in recent weeks with masses of sophisticated arms to be used in the attempt to crush the people's resistance.

We further denounce the direct participation of U.S. mercenaries, and mercenaries of Cuban and Chilean origin, in the repressive actions, arrests and the interrogation and torturing of the patriots who have been detained.

World public opinion must be alert to the attempts by U.S. imperialism and its local agents to rob the Nicaraguan people of their final victory.

## Rhodesian gov't admits raids

By Ernest Harsch

In the last three months, the Rhodesian armed forces have made at least seven assaults into Zambia and Mozambique, a Rhodesian military representative admitted after the most recent raid into Mozambique.

These raids reflect the Smith regime's increasing belligerence—and desperation—as it tries to hold back the struggle for Black majority rule and retain white privilege. The attacks, together with earlier ones, have claimed the lives of several thousand Africans, most of them Zimbabwean refugees.

The four-day assault into Mozambique, which ended on September 23, was said to have resulted in the deaths of "hundreds" of Zimbabwean guerrillas and the destruction of twenty-five guerrilla bases, according to the Smith regime. (The Rhodesian forces, it should be noted, also refer to refugee

camps as guerrilla bases.) A Rhodesian military spokesman admitted that the regime's troops clashed with regular Mozambican forces as well.

The repression within the country has also been stepped up. Under regulations published in Salisbury September 26, large areas—at least a fifth of the country—have been placed under martial law. They include some of the Black reservations along the borders with Zambia and Mozambique, where the fighting has been particularly sharp, as well as areas within twelve miles of the capital.

The martial law regulations give military courts the power to impose death sentences on anyone alleged to be a guerrilla or accused of aiding the freedom fighters. They also give any member of the police, army, or Ministry of Internal Affairs powers of indefinite detention without trial.

Martial law was proclaimed in the selected areas under terms of an order signed by both acting President Henry Everard and Ndabaningi Sithole, the current chairman of the Executive Council and a prominent Black collaborator of the Smith regime.

Aside from those who were slain during the Rhodesian assault into Mozambique, more than 700 persons, the vast bulk of them Africans, were killed within the country in September alone, making it the bloodiest month in the war so far.

Clearly, the continued survival of the Smith regime poses the threat of even more death and suffering, not only for the Zimbabwean masses themselves, but for all the Black peoples of southern Africa. Those forces fighting against Smith deserve full support in their struggle to bring an end to racist rule.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor



Rhodesian government has admitted that its troops made raids into Mozambique and Zambia

## Somalia threatens Ethiopia

By R.D. Willis

The Somali regime of Gen. Mohammed Siad Barre, whose regular army invaded the eastern part of the Ethiopian state last year with imperialist backing, is now claiming that Somalia is the intended target of a "war of aggression" planned by the Ethiopian, Cuban, and Soviet governments.

Speaking at a news conference in Lusaka, Zambia, Somali Ambassador Michael Mariano charged September 26 that the strategy had been worked out earlier that month in Addis Ababa during a conference attended by Cuban President Fidel Castro and Soviet First Vice-President Vasili Kuznetsov. He said that the attack, which was expected "by the end of October," would be spearheaded by Somali dissidents and backed up by between 30,000 and 50,000 Ethiopian and Cuban troops.

The purpose of such a war, Mariano claimed, was "the domination of Somalia."

Coming in the context of General Siad's attempts to elicit more open imperialist backing, Mariano's charges could be intended as a justification for the receipt of direct Western arms aid.

The Ethiopian government denounced the charges, as a calculated attempt to camouflage Somali preparations "for another full scale invasion of Ethiopia."

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor



## White minority losing its grip

# Zimbabwe – the tide turns against Smith

By Ernest Harsch

Kayisa Ndiweni, a Black minister of internal affairs in the Rhodesian government, booked a football stadium in Bulawayo, the second largest city in the country. It was to be the scene of one of a series of mass rallies and meetings to whip up support for the coalition regime set up by Prime Minister Ian Smith and several prominent Black figures. On the day of the rally, nine people showed up. Some of them were plainclothes policemen.

In early August, Ndabaningi Sithole, one of the four members of the regime's Executive Council, traveled to the Mrewa Tribal Trust Land for a similar rally. No one came.

For the first time since the guerrilla war against the Smith regime began in 1972, the House of Assembly was adjourned ninety minutes early on June 22 to allow members living in "sensitive" areas to catch the afternoon armed convoys home.

A capacity crowd of 45,000 Blacks attended the Chibuku Trophy soccer match at Rufaro Stadium near Salisbury August 6. During the breaks in the match, Thomas Mapfumo, one of the most popular Black singers in the country, entertained the audience. His repertoire included songs about the plight of refugees from the war zones and about the problems of Africans in the regime's "protected villages." The audience cheered when he sang praises to "those who have died in the bush" fighting against white minority rule. Mapfumo received thunderous applause for his hit song, "Send Your Children to War."

\* \* \*

Ian Smith took a gamble when he signed the March 3 "internal settlement" and brought Abel Muzorewa, Ndabaningi Sithole, and Chief Jeremiah Chirau into the government with him. He had hoped that the inclusion of a few Black faces in the regime would undercut the Zimbabwean masses' support for the freedom fighters and allow the retention of white privilege for some time to come. It is now increasingly apparent that Smith has lost his gamble.

Under the impact of a rapidly sharpening struggle for Black majority rule, effective control over significant sections of the countryside has slipped out of the hands of the white supremacists. The morale of the remaining 230,000 whites has plummeted to an all-time low, while at the same time the militancy of the country's 6.7 million Africans has heightened. The white colonial-settler state is now in the most desperate position it has been in since its establishment in 1891.

### 'Internal settlement' a fraud

The reasons for the foundering of the internal settlement are not hard to find. They are rooted in the transparently fraudulent nature of the settlement's promise to achieve Black rule. Although Muzorewa hailed the agreement as the beginning of a "genuine transfer of power from the minority to the majority," its provisions actually sought to entrench white social, political, and economic dominance.

First of all, the coalition regime that was formally established March 21 did virtually nothing to change the white supremacist character of the state. The civil service, the judiciary, the police, and the military forces were untouched. All the major mil-

itary decisions are made by the War Council, a body composed of five white military and police commanders who are informally answerable to Smith, but not to the Black members of the government.

The coalition regime includes an Executive Council, a supposedly supreme governing body composed of Smith, Muzorewa, Sithole, and Chirau. Since all decisions are to be made by consensus, Smith has veto powers.

### White privileges protected

Although the March 3 settlement promises "majority rule" by December 31, it clearly envisaged the maintenance of significant white privileges after that date.

To choose a new Parliament, it projected elections in which whites would have preferential voting rights. Out of the new 100-seat assembly, twenty-eight seats were to be reserved for whites for at least a ten-year period. That would mean that each white vote would carry more than nine times the weight of a Black vote.

The agreement also stipulated certain "entrenched" constitutional provisions that could not be changed without the approval of seventy-eight members of Parliament, giving the white members effective blocking power. Those provisions included a "guarantee" against deprivation of property unless "adequate compensation is paid promptly," which would preclude any large-scale land reform or rapid nationalization of white-owned business.

Both Muzorewa and Sithole had led significant struggles against white supremacy in the past, but their willingness to go along with such measures—and to present them as big advances for Zimbabweans—represented a betrayal of the struggle for real majority rule.

Smith and his lieutenants were pleased. While explaining the settlement to an April 19 closed meeting of supporters of the Rhodesian Front, the ruling party, Minister of Foreign Affairs P.K. van der Byl stated, "Our advantage now is that whereas we [whites] were alone, we now have the advantage of authentic black nationalists defending our political position."

### Myth vs. reality

Aside from adopting a partial Black cover, the regime also tried to give the appearance that it was moving away from some of its previous racist policies.

Yet nothing was done to end racial segregation in schools, hospitals, and housing. Nor has anything been done to end the vast gap between white and Black living standards, the real core of racist rule. Although average earnings for whites, Asians, and Coloureds (those of mixed ancestry) were R\$5,583 in 1976, they were only R\$517 for Africans. More than 80 percent of the urban Black labor force receives incomes below the official poverty level, while most white families can afford African servants. Half of the land in the country is reserved for white occupation, largely by 6,000 white farmers. Yet millions of Africans are crowded into the impoverished reserves, called Tribal Trust Lands.

The regime also made a big show of its release of some 700 political prisoners and the lifting of the formal bans on the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) and the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), which are now allied within the Patriotic Front and are engaged in a guerrilla war against the regime.



Smith regime's 'internal settlement' has failed to dampen Black militancy.

But before their release, the prisoners were obliged to sign a pledge not to oppose the settlement. Those who refused, including several hundred ZAPU and ZANU supporters, remained in detention.

Moreover, in the two months after the signing of the accord, at least 200 political activists were known to have been detained. And on September 10 Smith declared a "modified" martial law, arresting more than 300 supporters of ZAPU and ZANU. A few days later he outlawed the internal wings of both groups.

### Terror against Blacks

Salisbury has also stepped up its campaign of mass terror. Strict curfews have been imposed in a number of the Tribal Trust Lands, some of them lasting twenty-two hours a day. Anyone found outside during curfew is shot on sight. Leaflets dropped over two areas earlier in the year warned that no children would be allowed outside the village at any time "or they will be shot."

In the southern parts of the country, tens of thousands of African villagers are being uprooted and forced to move into "protected villages," virtual concentration camps through which the military forces hope to maintain control over the population. On March 28, when a large group of Africans refused to move, Rhodesian troops, backed up by aircraft, attacked, massacring more than 100 villagers.

On the night of May 14, Rhodesian troops fired into a political rally in Gutu, near Fort Victoria, massacring another 100 Africans. The regime's official version was that fifty Africans were killed in a "crossfire" between troops and guerrillas. A similar excuse was used to justify a third massacre,

*Continued on next page*

## ...Zimbabwe: racist regime in deep trouble

Continued from preceding page

this time of twenty-two Blacks, at Domboshawa in early June.

In the five months after the signing of the March 3 agreement, 1,787 Blacks were killed in the war, according to official figures. Since the beginning of the guerrilla war in late 1972, the regime has uprooted more than a million Africans, many of them after March 3. Fleeing from Smith's stepped-up terror operations in the reserves, some 500,000 African refugees have drifted into the Black townships around the two major cities, Salisbury and Bulawayo. Tens of thousands more have fled to neighboring countries, especially Mozambique and Zambia. Of the 70,000 Zimbabwean refugees in Mozambique, 40 percent arrived since the beginning of the year.

But even those who have fled the country have not been able to escape Smith's repression entirely. Under its policy of "hot pursuit," the racist regime has repeatedly attacked refugee camps in Mozambique and Zambia, killing some 2,000 Zimbabweans since last year.

Although Muzorewa, Sithole, and Chirau have little real power in the regime, they nevertheless play a central role in trying to cover up and justify Smith's brutal attacks against the African masses.

At an August 2 news conference in Salisbury, Sithole openly defended the regime's raids into Mozambique, as did Chirau. Although Muzorewa adopted an elusive posture, he refused to condemn them.

During a visit to the United States in July, Muzorewa pleaded for an end to the United Nations-sponsored trade embargo against the Smith regime.

The failure of Muzorewa, Sithole, and Chirau to rally popular support for the coalition regime has become patently obvious. Just after the signing of the March 3 accord, Muzorewa was still able to rally a crowd of 100,000 Blacks in Salisbury. He has not been able to repeat the performance. Meeting after meeting set up in the townships or in rural areas has flopped in recent months. Either no one has shown up, or the audiences have been markedly cool toward the government speakers. Questions have generally focused on the stepped-up repression and the atrocities committed by the security forces. David Mukome, a leader of Muzorewa's UANC, has acknowledged the poor turnouts, commenting, "Villagers know in advance that they [the government ministers] have nothing much to report."

The popularity of the Black figures in the government has declined considerably, and many former supporters have shifted their allegiance to those



groups still fighting against white minority rule. In the eyes of the rural masses, Muzorewa, Sithole, and Chirau are now identified with Smith's brutal terror campaign. They have earned the nickname of the "three Blacksmiths."

### The masses stir

The basic failure of the March 3 agreement to win any significant Black support has come in the context of a rapidly widening struggle by the Zimbabwean masses.

Thousands of Black youths have left the country to join the freedom fighters. While the guerrilla war is now one of the main forms that the struggle has taken, resistance is also beginning to become more and more generalized among the population as a whole.

Besides giving assistance to the guerrillas, peas-

ants in the rural areas are now frequently refusing to pay taxes to the government.

Nor have the urban masses been passive. On April 2, thousands of persons demonstrated in Mpopoma, a Black township near Bulawayo, to express their opposition to the internal settlement (ZAPU claimed that 75,000 persons participated). Police attacked the demonstration, dispersing it with tear gas. On May 27, according to a Reuters dispatch, ZAPU held another rally in the township of Mabutwen, also near Bulawayo, attracting 50,000 persons. Amid cheers, ZAPU leader Josiah Chinamano denounced the white regime "with Black faces."

In response to the killing by Rhodesian security forces of Mrs. Tamangani, an organizer of ZAPU's internal wing in the Sinoia area, some 100,000 persons attended her funeral in April, according to a report in the June-July issue of the New York journal *Southern Africa*.

Smith's later banning of ZAPU's internal wing (the African National Council-Zimbabwe) was no doubt aimed at putting an end to these big demonstrations by ZAPU supporters.

In Salisbury, Black students from the University of Rhodesia held two public demonstrations April 24-25 to protest the internal settlement. They expressed their support for the Patriotic Front, carried banners reading "Down with the sell-out pseudo agreement," and condemned Muzorewa, Sithole, and Chirau. During the second demonstration, nearly eighty students were arrested and sentenced to suspended jail terms. The crackdown was protested through a boycott of classes by most of the 1,300 Black students at the university.

Encouraged by the political ferment, Black workers have also begun to press their demands. In late July, more than 500 Black employees of the Rhodesian Chrome Mines went on a two-day strike to express their dissatisfaction with a limited pay hike. A little more than two weeks later, on August 14, the entire African work force at the Mangula mine, the largest copper mine in the country, went on strike for higher wages. The next day, about 3,000 strikers rallied outside the mine offices. Police fired into the crowd, killing four workers and wounding at least five others. Mine officials blamed the strike on political unrest in the area.

The mounting sentiment against the regime has even prompted some of the traditionally more conservative sections of the Black population to express a degree of defiance. Four Black members of the Rhodesian Parliament have drawn up a statement opposing the internal settlement and urging negotiations with the Patriotic Front.

### Smith's losing war

Despite the Rhodesian military's experience, training, and armed might, its grip over the countryside has begun to weaken seriously. Though still greatly outnumbered and outgunned, the guerrilla forces, with the support of the rural population behind them, have been able to establish some influence over large areas.

There are now estimated to be 6,000 active guerrillas within the country. The majority of them belong to the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA), the military wing of ZANU, and operate in a wide arc along the eastern border with Mozambique, where their bases are located. The rest belong to the Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (ZIPRA), ZAPU's military wing, and are active in the west.

Both ZAPU and ZANU carry out political activities in the areas under their respective influence—ZAPU organizing rallies in its traditional stronghold in the west and to an extent elsewhere, and ZANU holding frequent meetings with villagers in the east.

While the guerrillas previously operated in small bands, staging hit-and-run attacks against vulnerable targets, they are now exhibiting greater confidence and are moving in larger groups, sometimes of up to 100.

Government troops have in effect conceded at least six of the Tribal Trust Lands to the guerrillas and no longer send regular patrols through them. If they enter at all, it is only in force. The Maranke Tribal Trust Land in the east, with a population of

## How British gov't secretly backed Smith

For at least twelve years, the two major British oil companies illegally shipped oil to the racist Rhodesian regime of Ian Smith with the knowledge of the British government itself. The revelations came through public admissions by some of those involved and through official documents that were leaked to the press.

Just a few weeks before Smith declared Rhodesia's unilateral "independence" from Britain in 1965, a top official of the British- and Dutch-owned Shell oil company assured the white supremacist regime that it would continue to receive oil "whatever happens," according to one document.

In subsequent years, even though the British government passed legislation making trade with the Smith regime illegal, both Shell and the government-controlled British Petroleum continued to supply oil to Smith, providing about half of the country's total oil needs (the rest was supplied by two American companies, Caltex and Mobil, and by the French company Total). The oil was supplied both directly and through a "swap" arrangement with other companies, in which they would sell Smith their own oil on the understanding that their supplies were replenished by Shell and BP.

High government officials in both the Labour and Conservative governments were fully aware

of the sanctions breaking, according to oil officials. Lord George Thomson, the Commonwealth secretary under the Labour government of Harold Wilson, admitted that he knew of the "swap" arrangement that Shell and BP made with Total to supply oil to Rhodesia. He added further, "I conveyed in writing to the prime minister [Wilson] and other ministers most directly concerned a full account of all that passed at my meetings on behalf of the government with the oil companies." The current prime minister, James Callaghan, may also be implicated.

Despite their knowledge of the sanctions busting, the various British governments maintained the fiction that they were doing all they could to stop the supply of oil to Smith. In fact, it was a very expensive fiction. In the late 1960s, the Wilson government actually maintained a naval blockade of the Mozambican port of Beira costing hundreds of millions of dollars, ostensibly to halt the flow of oil to Smith. At the same time, British companies were shipping oil to Rhodesia via both South Africa and Mozambique.

According to a report in the September 10 London *Sunday Times*, both Shell and BP are still arranging for oil to reach Rhodesia through a "swap" arrangement with the South African oil company, Sasol.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor



80,000, has become an especially strong base for the guerrillas. An estimated two-thirds of the rural areas are now combat zones. A few guerrilla actions have been carried out in Salisbury itself.

### White control breaking down

Civil administration in the countryside is breaking down. According to a report by Michael T. Kaufman in the July 10 *New York Times*, "More than half the local councils, which are the smallest unit of authority in the black rural areas, are inoperative, no longer running schools, clinics and cattle-immunization programs or collecting taxes. The members have quit, either intimidated or convinced by the guerrillas."

James Wilkie, Africa secretary for the British Council of Churches, described the situation he witnessed in a report in the July 24 *London Times*. In the eastern areas under ZANU's sway, he said, "There are stories of schools being reopened on the orders of the guerrillas, and of the encouragement of local agriculture so that the people are saved from starvation."

In the western areas where ZAPU is based, "... nothing operates, neither schools, nor district offices, nor dip-tanks, nor stores. Bus services run by permission of the guerrillas on certain days only, and the population is closely controlled."



ZAPU rally near Salisbury this June, before Smith banned Patriotic Front.

For the regime, the costs of fighting the war are becoming staggering. Military expenditures now run at about \$1.3 million a day, and absorb more than a quarter of the regime's total budget. Rhodesia's capitalist economy, moreover, is slowing to a crawl, with its gross national product having dropped 10 percent during 1976 and 1977.

White morale is also breaking down. According to Wilkie, "I did not meet one white Rhodesian who believed the battle could be won on the present terms." Increasing numbers of whites, fearful of losing their privileges or unwilling to live under a Black regime, are taking the "chicken run," that is, emigrating elsewhere, many of them to South Africa or Britain. Over the past two years, 40,000 to 50,000 whites have left. All outgoing flights are booked solid through the end of the year.

While the exodus of whites has not yet reached panic proportions, it is seriously sapping the regime's only real base of support and is making further white conscription into the military difficult. Smith made a personal television plea August 20, calling on whites to stay at least a few more months.

### The Patriotic Front

As the main organized force now opposed to the white minority regime, the Patriotic Front has reaped most of the benefits of the upsurge, recruiting thousands of new adherents.

Yet neither ZAPU nor ZANU has advanced a program or a strategy of action that is capable of fully mobilizing the Zimbabwean population against all aspects of their oppression and of truly freeing Zimbabwe from imperialist domination.

They are essentially nationalist organizations and do not have a perspective of carrying through a socialist revolution.

Both Nkomo and Mugabe have participated in past negotiations organized by the imperialists with the aim of establishing a Black neocolonial regime. Both have made appeals to the British imperialists to intervene more forcefully on their behalf, and have agreed to an American and British proposal that United Nations troops be sent to Zimbabwe during a "transitional" period to Black rule. Nkomo in particular has close ties with imperialist interests, as well as with the pro-Western regime in Zambia.

Given their political orientation, the Patriotic Front leaders have generally sought to control the upsurge by channeling it into the guerrilla campaign, which has been used as a pressure mechanism to try to force Smith into negotiations. Aside from the ZAPU demonstrations in Bulawayo, they have not tried to mobilize the urban population in any way that could likely escape their control.

### Negotiations preferred

The leaders of the Patriotic Front fear the potential power of the ongoing struggle. They fear that as the Black masses mobilize against their national and class oppression, they will throw up more

radical leaderships and raise demands that challenge the perspective of a neocolonial state. In his own way, Josiah Chinamano, one of the main ZAPU leaders, recognized this dynamic, stating that "if the war is prolonged, the next rulers of Zimbabwe will not be the Mugabes or Nkomos and Chinamanos. Authority will pass to the young men with the guns, and all of us will dance to their tune."

To avoid such a possibility, the leaders of the Patriotic Front would prefer a negotiated settlement—but on terms that would not seriously damage their credibility. Nkomo and Mugabe are under considerable pressure from their followers, and realize that they cannot make the same kinds of concessions as Muzorewa and Sithole did without also risking their political futures. So far, the main obstacle to such a negotiated agreement has been Smith's continued refusal to hand over real political power to a Black regime, even to a neocolonial one.

In spite of the political shortcomings of the various nationalist leaders, the Zimbabwean masses are moving into action on a greater scale than ever before. It is their struggle against white supremacy and all forms of class exploitation that revolutionists support unconditionally, no matter what the character of the immediate leadership. Insofar as ZAPU and ZANU—or any other groups for that matter—are actively engaged in the liberation struggle, they must be supported against the white racist regime.

### Imperialist fears

It is the mobilization of the Zimbabwean masses that the imperialists fear above all. If Washington and London are unsuccessful in installing a Black

neocolonial regime willing and able to protect Western interests, their stakes in all of southern Africa could be put in jeopardy, especially their billions of dollars in investments and their substantial political interests in neighboring South Africa.

As long as the conflict in Zimbabwe continues, a massive revolutionary upsurge of the Zimbabwean workers and peasants remains an immediate possibility. The first signs of it are already on the horizon.

The imperialists likewise fear that as the war escalates, Cuba's anti-imperialist fighters could become involved, giving a further spur to the African revolution (Nkomo has revealed that Cubans are already helping to train his forces).

For the past few years, the major imperialist powers, especially London and Washington, have been trying to head off a massive social explosion by pressing for a negotiated transfer of power to a "reliable" Black regime. So far, all their attempts have failed.

With the obvious weakening of Smith's hold, London and Washington are redoubling their efforts to retain some control over the situation. Another "round-table" conference including Smith and all the nationalist factions has been proposed. The so-called front-line states (Zambia, Tanzania, Mozambique, Botswana, and Angola), now reinforced by Nigerian diplomacy, have also been trying to arrange such a conference, putting some pressure on the Patriotic Front leaders to adopt a more "moderate" stance.

Smith acknowledged on September 2 that he had met secretly with Nkomo in Zambia three weeks earlier for "exploratory" talks. Nkomo claimed that Smith had offered to hand over power to the Patriotic Front, a claim that Smith emphatically denied. But whatever was actually discussed, the very fact that the meeting took place at all marked a tacit admission by Smith that his internal settlement was in desperate straits.

Whether the Patriotic Front, or a segment of it, manages to hammer out a deal with Smith remains to be seen. Even if it does, the prospects for a "smooth" transition of power to a neocolonial regime are not necessarily assured, given the increasing militancy of the Black masses.

The imperialists themselves have not displayed much confidence in such an outcome. In fact, they have already begun laying plans for possible military intervention should that become necessary to protect their interests.

### Imperialist 'rescue mission'?

British Foreign Secretary David Owen announced June 15 that a British battalion had been placed on standby alert for possible intervention in Zimbabwe. Using a justification similar to that employed during the French-Belgian-American-British aggression in May against rebel forces in Zaïre, Owen claimed that the purpose of the intervention would be to "rescue" whites and Blacks in the event of a breakdown of "law and order." At the same time, he alluded to other considerations, warning the Cubans that it would be ominous if their troops became involved in the conflicts in Zimbabwe or Namibia.

*New York Times* correspondent Roy Reed reported in the August 8 issue that similar "rescue" plans were under discussion in Washington as well.

Reed continued, "There is also the feeling that South Africa would probably start a rescue operation on its own, with whatever troops it thought necessary, should white Rhodesians be seriously threatened."

There are some reports that South African forces have, in fact, already begun to intervene. In December 1977, officials in Mozambique charged that South African Mirage jet fighters, flying from bases in South Africa, were involved in the Rhodesian bombing raids against Zimbabwean refugee camps in Mozambique. South African police are also reported to be operating in southern Zimbabwe, and Mugabe has claimed that his forces have on occasion clashed with them.

Whatever guise direct imperialist intervention in Zimbabwe might take, it would represent an extreme threat to the advancing liberation struggle. All supporters of the fight for freedom in southern Africa must be on the alert and ready to move into action to oppose any form of imperialist aggression in Zimbabwe—or elsewhere in Africa.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

## Chile: copper miners defy dictatorship

The Chilean military dictatorship declared a state of siege in part of Antofagasta Province September 1, in an effort to break a struggle by 10,000 miners at Chuquicamata—the world's largest open-pit copper mine. More than fifty miners were arrested.

The miners at Chuquicamata began a boycott of company lunchrooms on July 31 as a means of pressing their demand for a 50-percent wage increase. On August 8, an assembly of 4,000 miners reaffirmed the boycott.

Six miners who spoke at the assembly were fired shortly thereafter, on grounds of having violated their contracts by inciting strikes. The miners then added the demand for reinstatement of the six as a condition for ending the boycott.

Gen. Orlando Urbina, head of the government-owned mining concern Codelco, tried at first to break the movement at Chuquicamata by appealing to the miners' wives to urge their husbands to give up the lunchroom boycott. The women responded with a "march of empty pots" on August 9 in support of the miners' struggle.

Interior Minister Sergio Fernández then ordered direct negotiations between progovernment mine-union officials and the management of Codelco. The firing of the six workers was suspended.

In the midst of the talks the regime declared the state of siege at Chuquicamata. The talks broke down September 11 as the union officials walked out, declaring that they were "frustrated and disenchanted" with the government's attitude.

Chile's progovernment union officials are under great pressure from the ranks of the workers. President Bernardino Castillo of the Copper Workers Federation was shouted down by the Chuquicamata miners at the August 8 assembly, and he and other officials were forced to leave the meeting.

After General Pinochet blamed the Chuquicamata struggle on "a group of persons directly linked with the clandestine activity of the Communist Party," a number of top union officials



Union official reports 'general unrest' among Chilean miners.

held a news conference in Santiago and declared: "The government can say we're Communists. The government can say we're Christian Democrats. But we will continue defending the rights of the workers. . . ."

Among those at the news conference was Leon Vilarin, president of the independent truck-drivers union that played a key role in the capitalist offensive against the Allende government in 1973. Vilarin said Pinochet's economic policies are ruining the independent truckers.

The copper-union officials declared before their talks with Codelco broke off that they would not be responsible for "what might happen" if the miners' demands were not met. Union President Castillo warned the government that there is "general unrest" among copper miners, not only at Chuquicamata but also at El Teniente (the world's largest underground copper mine), El Salvador, Andina, and other mines. Meanwhile, another lunchroom boycott, also demanding higher wages, has been started by steelworkers in Concepción.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

## World news notes

### Bangkok Eighteen freed

In an important victory, eighteen young Thais, arrested during the October 1976 right-wing coup in Thailand, have been freed.

In response to mass pressure, the Bangkok government proposed a bill to the legislative council September 15 granting amnesty to the eighteen.

Another prisoner, Boonchart Sathienthammani, who was tried separately, was also released.

During the October 6, 1976, military coup, scores of people were killed and thousands arrested. The Bangkok Eighteen were among the most well-known defense cases arising from this repression.

Since hundreds of others arrested during the coup remain behind bars, it is important to continue demanding, "Free all Thai political prisoners now!"

### British unions battle wage freeze

During the past several months a major battle has been developing between Britain's Labour Party government and the trade unions.

At issue is the government's attempt to impose a 5 percent ceiling on wage increases. Since inflation is running at 8 percent a year, workers have pointed out that such guidelines are designed to drive down their living standards to squeeze out more profits for the employers.

James Callaghan, Labour Party prime minister and the main architect of the wage freeze, suffered a setback when the Labour Party conference on October 2 rejected the wage ceilings policy by a two-to-one vote. This vote is not binding on Callaghan, who has indicated he intends to continue his wage-cutting policy.

Workers at the Ford Motors Company plants in Britain have been leading the fight against the freeze with a strike. The workers say they won't even bargain with the company until it drops its demand to obey the 5 percent ceiling.

### U.S. sets record in arms sales

Amid the euphoria over Carter's "peace" efforts in the Mideast, the October 3 *Washington Post* struck a sour note by reporting that the United States sold a record amount of military weaponry in 1978—\$13.6 billion.

Among the top purchasers of U.S. arms were Iran at \$2.59 billion, and Israel at \$1.32 billion.

The *Post* commented:

"Although critics are expected to complain that Carter, the president who promised to reduce international arms trafficking, posted a record year in foreign sales, Lucy Wilson Benson, undersecretary for security assistance, said this would be unfair.

"He's done precisely what he said he would do," she said. . . ."

### Rhodesian gov't bans Black paper

The Rhodesian government banned the country's only Black daily newspaper, the *Zimbabwe Times*, October 2.

The paper, with a circulation of 20,000, has called for convening a peace conference involving Black freedom fighters.

The government's order said that the paper and other publications produced by the group that owns the *Times* are "likely to be contrary to the interests of public safety or security."

### Murder goes on in Iran

Iranian government troops killed at least four people when they opened fire on a demonstration in Western Iran on Sunday, October 1. The demonstrators were protesting harassment of Islamic opposition leader Ayatollah Khomeini by Iraqi police. Khomeini has lived in exile in Iraq for sixteen years.

A report in the October 3 *Washington Post* said that the clashes Sunday were "the worst since martial law was imposed Sept. 8."

In Kermanshah, a town in western Iran, some 8,000 demonstrators fought with troops for several hours. Many were injured, and at least twenty-five were reported in serious condition.

Meanwhile, opponents of the shah called a business strike in the capital of Tehran and five other cities. The strike partially paralyzed the capital on Sunday, October 1.

### No comment needed

"Pretoria, South Africa—A white man who killed a black man because the black brought him the wrong brand of cigarets was sentenced yesterday to pay a fine of \$115 or serve 50 days in jail.

"[Hermans] Louw told [John] Mokwena to go buy him a pack of cigarets and Mokwena returned with the wrong brand, witnesses said. That made Louw angry and he hit Mokwena, the court was told.

"Passing sentence, [Judge] Van den Berg said 'a reasonable man could not have foreseen that the blow Louw struck could possibly have led to Mr. Mokwena's death.

"He said Mokwena's death, therefore, would not be considered in imposing the sentence. . . ."—Associated Press —Peter Archer

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Left: Evans Bettelheim's 'China Since Mao' Right: Munkit Fortieth Anniversary of Fourth International  
Castro Takes Up Some Key Issues Facing His Government



## RCMP: the real subversives

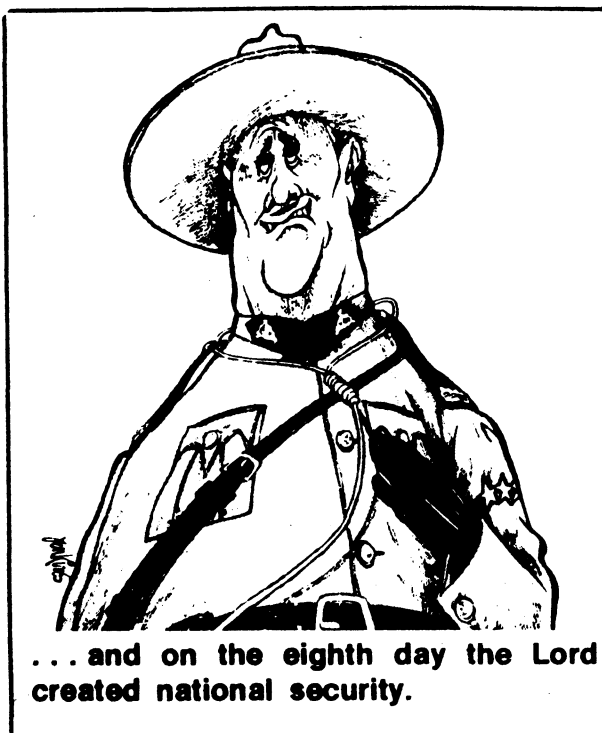
RCMP: the real subversives. By Richard Fidler. Vanguard Publications. 1978. 80 pages. \$9.00, paper \$2.45. Available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.

To believe the television shows, a member of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police is not just your ordinary, detested cop on the block. He is something special—friend of the great outdoors and implacable foe of all types of deception and crime.

This fantasy will not survive a reading of *RCMP: The Real Subversives*. Richard Fidler's careful documentation of RCMP activity presents quite a different picture. An arson squad that torches a Québec barn to prevent a meeting from taking place. Burglars who carry out elaborate break-ins involving twenty to fifty people as often as three times a week. An activist in the right-wing terrorist outfit Western Guard. A provocateur who tries unsuccessfully to get Native militants involved in blowing up bridges. Scribblers of poison pen letters. Conspirators plotting to hijack an airplane. Bombers. Thieves. Rats who read other people's mail and poke through their garbage. Generally the type that is more at home hiding out in a projection room or laundry closet than riding a horse through the north woods.

*The Real Subversives* explains how the facts about the RCMP's illegal activity came to be known. It started with a sensational disclosure in March 1976 that the RCMP had been responsible for the 1972 burglary of a radical news agency in Québec. The government was unable to stop the flood of disclosures that followed, as individual RCMP agents pled general practice or pointed the finger at superiors to save their own necks. Two commissions of inquiry were set up to try to persuade the Canadian public that something was being done to halt RCMP crimes.

The whole purpose of the RCMP, Fidler explains, is to suppress dissent and prevent any challenge to capitalist rule. Much of the RCMP's attention is directed against the Québec nationalist movement, which represents the most serious political threat to



the Canadian government.

The use of repression as an instrument of government policy is rooted in the very nature of Canada. Like the Czarist empire, the Canadian state is a veritable "prison house of nations." It was built on the oppression of the Québécois, the near-annihilation of Native peoples, and the degradation of the Acadiens and other francophones outside Québec.

Fidler explains why the government is trying to give its political police greater powers, and why it is having such a hard time.

The Canadian ruling class today confronts the worst economic situation since the 1930s, and its most serious political crisis since Confederation. Its response to both challenges entails increased repression, including stepped-up political policing. However, the same conditions also stimulate opposition to government policies and undermine public tolerance of repression.

The book provides answers for the various

arguments used to defend political spying, the most common of which is that such tactics are necessary to combat terrorism. In fact, Fidler shows that the much-publicized "terrorist network" called the "FLQ" was largely a creation of the RCMP. In one case involving an alleged conspiracy of five "FLQ" members to hijack an airplane, at least three of the plotters, including the initiator of the scheme, were RCMP agents.

The real targets of RCMP repression are not "terrorists," but rather activists in the trade unions, the Québec independence movement, women's liberation and gay rights organizations, and student groups. Revolutionary socialists in the Revolutionary Workers League have been victims of RCMP harassment, as is documented in a RWL brief to one of the government commissions investigating the RCMP.

The RWL, of which Fidler is a leader, is not involved in illegal activity and does not support terrorism. The reason the RCMP singled out the RWL for victimization is precisely because of the organization's support for the mass movements of the oppressed and for an extension of democratic rights. The book includes as an appendix the Statement of Principles of the RWL, so that readers can find out for themselves exactly what the organization stands for.

*RCMP: The Real Subversives* is more than just a compilation of the evidence against the RCMP. It is more than just a political analysis of why the RCMP wages war on individual rights. It is above all a strategy for fighting back, for defending democratic freedoms against institutions like the RCMP. Exposing and fighting against RCMP harassment, Fidler explains, strikes a blow for Québec self-determination and strengthens the ability of the Canadian working class to defend its standard of living. At the same time, building the mass social movements is one of the best ways to defend democratic rights against their real subverters—the RCMP and the class it serves.

—Matilde Zimmermann  
From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

## A Reader's Notes

Daniel F. Calhoun, a history professor in Ohio, has written a valuable study of the Anglo-Russian Committee (*The United Front. The TUC and the Russians*. Cambridge University Press, 1976. 450 pp. \$27.50). It is the most thorough work on the subject ever written, covering all the British and Soviet sources now available, along with material from other languages.

The ARC was one of the most important questions debated in the international labor movement in the twenties, and one of the central issues in the expulsion of Trotsky from the Communist International and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Organized in 1925, the ARC was an alliance of the official leaderships of the Trades Union Congress, the British affiliate of the Social Democratic-dominated International Federation of Trade Unions (or Amsterdam International), and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, the Soviet affiliate of the Comintern-dominated Red International of Labor Unions (or Profintern). It lasted only until 1927, but its doom was sealed by the British general strike of May 1926.

The Stalinists entertained all kinds of high hopes for the ARC: it could bring about a fusion of the IFTU with the RILU, or, failing that, it could win the TUC away from the IFTU into the RILU. It could enable the Stalinists to win over the "leftist" union leaders of the TUC, or through them revolutionize the British workers (thus bypassing the British CP). It could even prevent the British ruling class from declaring war on the Soviet Union.

All this was justified by the Stalinists as an application of the Leninist tactic of the united front. But it was in fact, as Trotsky pointed out, an opportunist perversion of the united front, a part of the rightward swing the Stalinists were making in both domestic and international policy.

The TUC "leftists" never had any intention of engaging in revolutionary struggle of any kind. They found it convenient to have a friendly association with the Moscow bureaucrats because that was a cheap way of strengthening their credentials to lead the British workers. But when they were backed into a corner by the militancy of the workers and had to call a general strike in support of the beleaguered miners union, it took them only a week to call off the strike and throw the miners to the wolves.

After that, it was only a matter of time before the ARC was dismantled. Because Trotsky demanded that the Soviet unions denounce and quit the ARC, the Stalinists refused to do so, and let the TUC "leftists" choose the time and place most convenient for them to walk out of it.

The Stalinists never drew correct conclusions from the ARC, but they did draw conclusions. These were expressed in their "third period" policy (1928-34), which in effect ruled out any united-front activity with any other tendencies in the working class and played a major role in keeping the German working class so divided that Hitler was able to come to power with ease in 1933.

One of the best features of this book is that it delves where possible into the disputes and tugs-of-

war taking place *inside* the various groups that were directly or indirectly involved with the ARC—as well as exploring the relations between them.

Calhoun tries hard to be objective, although this often takes the form of an even-handed cynicism toward almost everybody involved in his history (except for British workers during their general strike, and except perhaps for Mikhail Tomsky, the leader of the AUCCTU). He has an eagle eye for the clichés, exaggerations, and contradictions in the many documents he summarizes, but he himself is guilty of such absurd statements as "The dissolution of the Committee [ARC] was a cruel blow to Trotsky and the Russian Oppositionists [because it] deprived them of one of their last best issues in the battle against Stalinism." The dissolution of the ARC, which the Oppositionists had been demanding and which confirmed their analysis, deprived them of nothing: the whole ARC experience served them as a prime political and educational weapon in mobilizing revolutionary cadres for many years to come. Fortunately, Calhoun confines most of his opinions to the last chapter, including his philosophical conclusion regretting "the failure of Lenin's united front strategies."

Another complaint: Calhoun's rich and voluminous bibliography includes eleven titles by Trotsky, some of which are out of print, but why doesn't he list the book that collects Trotsky's major statements on the ARC: *Leon Trotsky on Britain* (Monad Press, distributed by Pathfinder Press, 1973), which is still in print?

—George Breitman

# In Brief

## ANTI-BRIGGS RALLY TO HEAR NOW LEADER

Eleanor Smeal, president of the National Organization for Women, will be a featured speaker at a Los Angeles anti-Briggs rally October 21.

The rally will be part of a "Stop 6 Saturday," sponsored by opponents of Prop. 6, the ballot initiative to victimize homosexual teachers. The initiative is sponsored by state legislator John Briggs.

The rally will be held at 11 a.m. in Hollywood's De Longre Park, followed by a massive distribution of anti-6 literature.

Along with a number of com-

mittees working to defeat the Briggs initiative, sponsors include the United Teachers of Los Angeles and the California Federation of Teachers, the United Auto Workers Western Region, Social Service Employees Local 535, the American Civil Liberties Union Gay Rights Chapter, and the Lawyers Guild.

## DON'T LOOK NOW, BUT YOUR PAY'S BEEN CUT

In case you didn't notice, your pay check bought less in August than it did in July.

According to the U.S. Labor Department, inflation cut your

real pay that month by .4 percent.

An indication that the finding may be conservative is the department's report that food prices remained stationary during that period.

It did find that the cost of medical care and gasoline each went up about 1 percent and that natural gas—which Carter wants to deregulate—increased 1.4 percent.

Housing costs continued to mount. For the past six months, the cost of home "ownership" has been increasing at an annual rate of 14.3 percent.

That inflationary hike is

mainly due to the government jacking up interest rates. Why the increase? To "fight inflation."

## CAREW TELLS OFF RACIST TWINS OWNER

Baseball star Rod Carew vowed he would never again play for the Minnesota Twins, or its owner, Calvin Griffith. Carew declared October 1, that he refused to be "a nigger on his plantation and play for a bigot."

Carew was responding to remarks by Griffith at a Lions Club meeting in Waseca, Minnesota.

Asked why he had moved the old Washington Senators to Minnesota in 1961, Griffith reportedly scanned the audience and then responded:

"I'll tell you why we came to Minnesota. It was when I found out Minnesota had only 15,000 Blacks.

"Black people don't go to ball games, but they'll fill up a 'rassling' ring and put up such a chant it'll scare you to death. . . . We came here because you've got that good hard-working white people here."

Later, Griffith said his remarks weren't racist.

And Hitler wasn't a Nazi.

## Quote unquote

"I'm going to say to the people of this city, 'Vote white.'"

—Frank Rizzo, mayor of Philadelphia, the "City of Brotherly Love."

ington is a majority Black city.

When Congress finally approved it, some politicians predicted it would quickly win the necessary ratification by two-thirds of the states. The same thing was said when the ERA ratification process first began.

## 'WORD IS OUT' ON TELEVISION

The widely praised documentary film, *Word Is Out*, will be shown on most PBS television stations Tuesday, October 10, 9-11 p.m. (New York, 8-10 p.m.).

It features conversations with twenty-six lesbians and gay men. In a *Militant* review last February 17, Nancy Elnor described it as "perhaps the most insightful work yet on the subject of homosexuality."

## LYING COPS AGAIN CAUGHT FLATFOOTED

Nothing in the files but information about lawbreakers.

That's what the cops have always insisted about the Law Enforcement Intelligence Unit, their national clearing house for secret information.

But now material has been released confirming that from the outset the LEIU has been a center for distribution of information about legal political activity by individuals in a variety of movements.

Copies of previously secret files obtained through pretrial discovery or under the Freedom of Information act, include such "criminal" information as: "Marxist scholar, political activist," or "Modus Operandi . . . recognized leader in Peace movement."

## 300 demand U. of M. divest

A reggae band playing, "Stand Up for Your Rights," kicked off a divestment rally at the University of Missouri, Columbia. About 300 students participated in the September 22 action, which demanded that the university get rid of its \$20 million stock holdings in corporations supporting South African apartheid.

Among the speakers were a Nigerian student from the African Student Association and the NAACP Youth Council chairperson.

Meanwhile, on September

25-26, Harvard students successfully protested a recruitment visit to the campus by a law firm with ties to the South African government.

The firm had been the legal representative for the apartheid regime and still maintains active ties with it.

More than 125 students marched in the protest. At the rally it was announced that all forty students who had signed up for job interviews boycotted their appointments.

The action was sponsored by the Harvard Black Amer-

ican Law Students Association, the South African Support Committee, and the Harvard Lawyers Guild.

And at the University of California, Berkeley, the student government voted to stop stocking its campus jewelry store with gold and diamonds from South Africa. At the meeting where the motion was passed, one speaker noted that this was consistent with campus referendums showing that a majority of students favor cutting university ties with South Africa.



University of Missouri students insist: 'Hock the stock'

Militant/Bob Allen

# What's Going On

## ARIZONA PHOENIX

**MEETING IN DEFENSE OF HECTOR MARROQUIN.** Speakers: Don Eklund, president, Arizona Educational Association; Tony Abril, state representative; Clovis Campbell, NAACP. Fri., Oct. 13, 7:30 p.m. Arizona Education Association Building, 2102 W. Indian School. Ausp: Hector Marroquin Defense Committee.

## CALIFORNIA LOS ANGELES

**SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN DINNER AND RALLY.** Speaker: Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party gubernatorial candidate. Sun., Oct. 15, 4:30 p.m., reception & cocktails; 6 p.m., buffet dinner; 7:30 p.m., rally. 2936 W. 8th St. Donation: \$5 for rally and dinner; \$2 for rally only. Ausp: SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (213) 482-1820 or 469-9983.

## LOS ANGELES: S.E.

**BATTLE OF NICARAGUA.** Speakers: representative of Frente Amplio Anti-Somocista (Broad Opposition Front Against Somoza); Dave Brown, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Oct. 20, 8 p.m. 2554 Saturn Ave., Huntington Pk. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 582-1975.

## FLORIDA MIAMI

**RALLY TO DEFEND LEO HARRIS.** Speakers to be announced. Sat., Oct. 14,

8 p.m. Miami Dade Community College North Campus, Room 1174, NW 110th St. & 27th Ave. Ausp: Leo Harris Defense Committee. For more information call (305) 756-8358.

## MARYLAND BALTIMORE

**WHY THE MIDEAST PACT WON'T BRING PEACE** Speakers to be announced. Fri., Oct. 13, 8 p.m. 2117 N. Charles. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (301) 547-0668.

## MASSACHUSETTS BOSTON

**DISCUSSIONS ON THE PERSPECTIVES OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY.** First discussion: Socialism and the fight for women's liberation. Thurs., Oct. 19, 7:30 p.m. Other discussions will be held every Thursday at 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave. 4th fl. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

**SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY.** Speakers: Brenda Franklin, SWP candidate for Congress, 9th C.D.; Anne Sheppard Turner, one of the Wilmington Ten; Maceo Dixon, SWP National Committee. Music, refreshments. Fri., Oct. 13, 7 p.m. cocktails & reception; 8 p.m. rally. University of Mass. at Park Square, Ar-

lington & Stuart St. Room 222. Donation: \$4. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

## MINNESOTA MINNEAPOLIS

**THE CAMP DAVID SUMMIT: WILL IT BRING PEACE?** Speakers: Peter Lazar, Socialist Workers Party; Hisham Reda, Arab student activist. Fri., Oct. 13, 8 p.m. 23 E. Lake St. (corner of 1st & Lake). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 825-6663.

## ST. PAUL

**THE MEANING OF THE RAIL CLERKS' STRIKE.** Speaker: Lynn Henderson, member of United Transportation Union Local 1000 and Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Oct. 13, 8 p.m. 373 University Ave. Donation: \$1.25. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 222-1358.

## MISSOURI ST. LOUIS

**WILL WOMEN'S RIGHTS BE CONSTITUTIONAL? THE FIGHT TO RATIFY THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT.** Speakers to be announced. Fri., Oct. 13, 8 p.m. 6223 Delmar Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (314) 725-1570.

## NEW YORK ALBANY

**HOW TO STOP NUCLEAR POWER.** Speakers to be announced. Fri., Oct. 13, 8 p.m. 103 Central Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (518) 463-0072.

**SHAH OF IRAN: MODERNIZER OR TYRANT?** Speaker: Kateh Vafadari, assistant national secretary, Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran. Fri., Oct. 20, 8 p.m. 103 Central Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (518) 463-0072.

## OHIO CINCINNATI

**SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY CAMPAIGN RALLY.** Speakers: Pat Wright, SWP candidate for governor; John Stiller, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, 1st District. Fri., Oct. 13, 8 p.m. 970 E. McMillan. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (513) 751-2636.

## UTAH SALT LAKE CITY

**HEAR HECTOR MARROQUIN.** Speaker: Hector Marroquin, Mexican student activist fighting for political asylum in the United States. Tues., Oct. 17, 12 noon. Univ. of Utah Union Building, East Ballroom. Ausp: Salt Lake City Hector

Marroquin Defense Committee. For more information call (801) 581-7245.

## WASHINGTON, D.C.

**RAIL WORKERS UNDER ATTACK.** Speakers: Sara Smith, member of Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks, Lodge 1906; John Hawkins, staff writer for the *Militant*. Fri., Oct. 13, 8 p.m. All Souls Church, 16th & Harvard sts. NW. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

## WASHINGTON TACOMA

**POLITICAL REPRESSION IN MEXICO.** Speaker: Rosario Ibarra de Piedra, chair, Committee to Defend Political Prisoners, the Politically Persecuted, 'Disappeared,' and Exiled. Sun., Oct. 15, 7:30 p.m. YWCA, 405 Broadway. Ausp: Tacoma National Organization for Women and Hector Marroquin Defense Committee. For more information call (206) 627-0432.

## WISCONSIN MILWAUKEE

**THE REVOLT AGAINST THE SHAH OF IRAN.** Speaker: Tony Prince, chair, Wisconsin Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Oct. 13, 8 p.m. 3901 N. 27th St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.





### 500 picket Hyde in S.F.



Militant/Rita Creighton

San Francisco demonstrators demand right to choose

Five hundred people picketed a San Francisco anti-abortion conference at which Rep. Henry Hyde (R-Ill.) was the featured speaker.

Hyde is author of the reactionary statute barring federal funding for abortions.

The September 30 right-to-choose demonstration was organized by the Committee to Defend Reproductive Rights and San Francisco Bay Area chapters of the

National Organization for Women. A main chant of the militant, enthusiastic demonstrators was: "Right-to-lifers, Henry Hyde, women's rights won't be denied!"

At a rally, Sylvia Weinstein of San Francisco NOW linked the fight for abortion rights to the fight for the ERA. She announced that the day the Senate votes on ERA extension, San Francisco NOW will hold a 6 p.m. demonstration at Union Square.

Established in 1966, the LEIU is a sort of police cooperative. Some 250 police departments are believed to be affiliated, plus such federal agencies as the Immigration Service. And, documents establish, companies such as Pacific Telephone, which apparently offer special surveillance services.

Copies of LEIU political dossiers were released by the Campaign to Stop Government Spying, which made the material public on the eve of a National Organizing Conference to Stop Government Spying. The conference was held September 22-24 at Ann Arbor, Michigan. Two hundred people participated.

### FIGHT RENEWED FOR N.Y. GAY RIGHTS BILL

The New York Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights (CLGR) has initiated a fall action program focused on winning passage of a long-stalled gay rights ordinance by the city council.

A community meeting of the coalition, with some seventy-five participants, also decided to build opposition to the anti-gay Briggs initiative in California and to press for prosecution of a gang that brutally beat several people in an area of Central Park that is a gathering place for gays.

To kick off the fight for passage of Intro 384, the gay rights ordinance, a picket will be held at City Hall on Thursday, October 12, from 4:30 to 7 p.m.

First introduced in 1970, Intro 384 has been defeated either in committee or by the council each year since then.

Mayor Edward Koch, a liberal Democrat, campaigned as a supporter of the measure. But, in office, he has refused to give it any support.

The Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights is at 156 Fifth

Avenue, Room 505, New York, New York 10010. Phone (212) 924-2970.

### NISEI GOV'T WORKERS WIN CREDIT

President Carter signed a bill giving federal Civil Service retirement credit to Japanese-Americans for the time they were interned in U.S. concentration camps during World War II.

Wonder if some federally employed Allan Bakke will decide that credit for time illegally imprisoned constitutes "reverse discrimination"?



### Indian women launch 'WARN'

Women of All Red Nations (WARN) held its founding conference in Rapid City, South Dakota, September 18-22.

Some 100 women heard movement speakers and discussed issues confronting them: national resources, forced sterilization, and protection of children. Also discussed were fishing rights, welfare rights, FBI infiltration, political prisoners, and international solidarity.

A council was formed to coordinate WARN. It can be contacted c/o Lakota Treaty Council Office, Porcupine, South Dakota 57772. (605) 867-5429.

**Nicaragua masquerade**—Somoza's National Guard charged that "communist guerrillas" committed atrocities against the people while wearing National Guard uniforms "so that their crimes could be attributed to our people." Sure. And they've got a gorilla dressed up like Somoza.

**Hobbyists**—There's a growing market in rare, expensive birds. For instance, there's the Madison Ave. exec who has a three-story apartment open from floor to ceiling so his two cockatoos can fly free. Plus a maid to keep the birds in fresh fruit. Then there's the California woman who spent \$22,000 buying birds last year. "I'm just one of those people, I see something I like, I have to have it," she says.

**A lesser evil?**—Attempting to indicate to his constituents the meaning of a \$500-billion federal budget, Rep. George

O'Brien (R-Ill.) said it would buy a two and a half year subscription to the *Joliet Herald News* for everyone in the world.

**Like burned out?**—Now a born-again Christian, Eldridge Cleaver is promoting a sequel to his 1960s best-seller, *Soul on Ice*. The new one? *Soul on Fire*.

**All systems go**—For \$875 extra, your next Cadillac Seville can include a trip computer that will do a million calculations per second. It will tell you how many miles you have to go to your destination and how many miles you've come. Also, we assume, when the next payment's due.

**Power of suggestion**—Five youths were arrested in San Gabriel, California, for allegedly stealing some empty pop bottles from in back of a market. The defense seems simple and clear cut: The name of the store is Grab & Run.

## Union Talk

### Rail union wins right to ratify

This week's column is by Johanna Ryan, a member of the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees Lodge 3012.

**PHILADELPHIA**—In recent years, the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees (BMWE) has not had a reputation for being a militant union.

The BMWE represents track workers and other maintenance workers on most railroads. Like other rail unions, it's organized along craft lines.

It's been paralyzed by antistrike laws and by a structure that leaves all the big decisions affecting workers' lives to a small group of conservative officials.

Like other rail unions, it's been that way for more than seventy-five years.

But a big change took place this summer.

The 540 delegates to the BMWE national convention in July voted to give rank-and-file members the right to vote on national contracts.

No committees or caucuses had organized around this issue. But twenty-eight local lodge delegations showed up at the convention with resolutions from their memberships demanding the right to ratify the agreements that they worked under.

And they won this right—over the protests of a leadership that had blocked this simple democratic measure for decades.

The delegates also approved a resolution from our lodge in Philadelphia to oppose all restrictions on our right to strike. That resolution is worth quoting from:

"Whereas, it has been illustrated time and again that workers deprived of the right to strike have low morale and are often driven to defy such bans because they have no legal way of effectively expressing their dissatisfaction,

"Therefore, be it resolved that we emphatically state our unshakeable belief that the right to strike is the prime ingredient behind our ability to fairly and forcefully represent our members . . . and oppose any efforts to weaken or destroy this right."

For years, the BMWE's constitution prohibited Communist Party members from joining the union. This year that clause was removed. No worker should be excluded because of his or her beliefs, the delegates decided.

Another proposed constitutional change was defeated—one that would have moved

the mandatory retirement age for officers up to seventy, so that President H. C. Crotty could run again. Apparently, most delegates felt that twenty years of Crotty was enough.

Behind all these changes is a new generation of workers on the tracks. The past few years have seen the first major hiring of track workers since World War II. Young men—and a few women—have been hired by the hundreds from state unemployment offices.

Once hired, we've found ourselves doing some of the hardest work on the railroad, for the lowest wages.

Management often treats us like animals. "You're hired from the neck down," is what new track workers at Amtrak are told.

We're forced to work under dangerous and unsanitary conditions because of the carriers' indifference to our health and safety.

Many of the new track workers are Blacks and Latinos who have taken part in civil rights battles in their schools and communities. Some are veterans of union struggles in the big industrial unions such as the United Auto Workers and the Teamsters.

They are willing to fight for their rights on the job. In trying to do so, however, they've found themselves at constant odds with the union bureaucracy. These officials are quick to condemn any move by the workers to defend themselves, but they can always sympathize with the company's point of view.

This convention showed that more and more BMWE members are determined to change this union into one that meets their needs.

Some pretty far-reaching ideas were raised by the delegations.

Lodges 104 and 1453 on the Burlington Northern proposed that our union adopt the principle of "No contract, no work."

Our lodge, 3012, proposed that all officers be elected by referendum vote of all members, as in the Steelworkers union.

Lodge 331 in Minnesota recommended that the various craft-divided railroad unions unite to form one big industrial union.

But perhaps the most "radical" notion that came out of this convention is that *we are the union*. If the union is going to fight for our rights, then it has to be under our democratic control.

That's an idea that, if it catches on, could do the whole railway labor movement a lot of good.

# Our Revolutionary Heritage

Celebrating 50 years of the Militant, 1928-1978

## Tlatelolco massacre

On October 2, 1968, more than 2,000 Mexican government troops opened fire on a peaceful demonstration at the Plaza of the Three Cultures at Tlatelolco in Mexico City. They fired indiscriminately into the crowd, which had gathered to protest police repression and to demand the release of political prisoners. Some 400 demonstrators and onlookers were murdered and hundreds more wounded.

It was a massacre.

Ten years have now passed since this brutal attack. President Diaz Ordaz has been replaced by Luis Echeverría, and Echeverría by the current president, José López Portillo.

But neither of these capitalist politicians were capable of meeting the needs of the Mexican people. Both continued the savage repression against socialists and all those fighting for social change.

On June 10, 1971, for example, the Falcons—a paramilitary group trained and armed by the Echeverría government—attacked a peaceful demonstration in Mexico City, killing 100 students.

It was this reign of terror in Mexico that forced Héctor Marroquín, a socialist and former Mexican student activist, to flee Mexico in 1974. Marroquín is now seeking political asylum in the United States. If returned to Mexico, he would face torture and possible death at the hands of Portillo's cops.

Below are excerpts from the October 25, 1968, 'Militant' report on the Tlatelolco massacre. The article is by Mexican revolutionist Ricardo Ochoa.

MEXICO CITY—After building up for 70 days, the political confrontation between the students of Mexico City, supported by a large number of universities in the rest of the country, and the government, reached a bloody culmination Oct. 2.

The irrefutable truth is that the Diaz Ordaz government staged a deliberate massacre at the Oct. 2 meeting in the Plaza de las Tres Culturas in Tlatelolco.

In order to understand what was in the minds of the students the day they assembled at the plaza, it is necessary to go back a bit.

During the week in which the University of Mexico was invaded and occupied by federal troops (Sept. 18), "unknown" persons machine-gunned Vocational School No. 7, Vocational School No. 5, Preparatory School No. 4, and the Colegio de Mexico.

The police proved utterly incapable of either arresting or identifying the assailants. This was not too strange. It was an

open secret that the police themselves organized the attacks.

On Sept. 26 a protest meeting was held at the Plaza de las Tres Culturas. There was no violence whatsoever because the police did not intervene and no troops showed up. This was a good illustration of the point that a peaceful demonstration is one in which the forces of "law and order" do not interfere.

The counteroffensive of the students continued during the week beginning Sept. 30. Their course of not giving in to the repression seemed to be succeeding.

On Sept. 30 the army evacuated the university, and the students staged a demonstration in the center of the city featuring some of the mothers of the political prisoners crowding the jails and prisons. About 5,000 persons participated in this. Again there was no violence.

On Oct. 1 two more rallies were held on the university campus with some 10,000 students participating. At these rallies everyone was invited to attend the meeting planned for the next day at the Plaza de las Tres Culturas.

In this context, it can be seen that the students visualized the Oct. 2 meeting as only one in a series of actions protesting the repression.

Why did Diaz Ordaz decide to convert this peaceful meeting into a blood bath?

By a thoroughly planned attack, the government wanted to make up for the mistakes committed in the Sept. 18 occupation of the university. The National Strike Committee escaped that raid almost intact. Only a few leaders were caught. The Oct. 2 operation was intended to rectify things by catching the leaders and cadres in a single scoop of the net.

And the government hoped that a murderous blow would strike such terror in the population as to assure calm during the weeks of the Olympic Games [which were coming up soon in Mexico City].

This explains the thoroughness with which the government disposed its forces, the way it placed its detectives both in the crowd and the Chihuahua building, the coordinated system of signaling used in directing the troops, and the cold-blooded way in which men, women and children were shot down.

The arrests were massive. A conservative estimate would run to about 3,000.

Mexico City is tense and gloomy. The day when the student conflict was a simple "commotion" without much significance is gone. Now the meaning of Oct. 2 must be assessed.

The bourgeoisie committed a grave error on that day, an error that will cost it dear. *It unmasked itself.* It showed how ferociously repressive it can be. There is no doubt that it has frightened broad sectors of the Mexican people. But this marks a political defeat. Confidence in the regime has now been seriously, perhaps irretrievably, undermined.



One of many mass demonstrations that rocked Mexico in 1968 protesting reactionary government policies.

## Letters

### Teachers' strike

During the past few years, as a member of the executive committee of the Lakewood, Ohio, Teachers Association (LTA), I saw an amazing radicalization of the teachers there.

Two years ago, the LTA was hesitant even to use due process and sue the board for breach of contract. When the suit was finally filed, there was still a feeling that reaching out for the support of other local unions would be a mistake. The divisions between the American Federation of Teachers and the National Education Association (to which we are affiliated) were very important to us. Many of our teachers were very proud of being "professionals."

Since then the LTA has passed resolutions in support of the J.P. Stevens boycott, the miners' strike, and even the struggle of the teachers in Cleveland—most of them represented by the AFT, not NEA. We organized a car caravan to take \$500 in contributions to the teachers in Brunswick, Ohio, while they were on strike, and we were thrilled by the broad union support they received.

The most recent result of the radicalization of the Lakewood teachers is the first strike in the history of the Lakewood Public Schools. Although I am now on leave of absence, I am following the progress of this strike closely.

The strike is over the right to a binding contract. More than 93 percent of the teachers are out. And the other two unions of school employees are honoring the picket line.

This would not have been possible two years ago. We have indeed discovered that in unity there is strength.

Jane McComsey  
New York, New York

### AFGE counsel ousted

The September 15 *Militant* article on the recent convention of the American Federation of Government Employees made only brief mention of the firing of their chief counsel. It deserves more mention.

Lou Pellerzi, the AFGE's counsel since 1973, was the model of a reactionary union bureaucrat—more "a corporate attorney than a labor lawyer," according to one unionist. His previous jobs included general counsel of the Civil Service Commission, assistant attorney general for the Justice Department, and assistant counsel for the witch-hunting Subversive Activities Control Board.

According to an article in the August 7, 1978, *Federal Times*, when Pellerzi was recently asked to unite with the ACLU and others opposing Senate bill S.274 (which would outlaw unionizing the military), he replied that he recognized "a half dozen known identified communists" on a list of law professors against the bill.

What ultimately aroused the ranks against him, however, was Pellerzi's strategy of

lobbying at the expense of legal action. The August 28 *Federal Times* called him "prime architect of AFGE's cooperation with the administration on civil service reform." Yet time and again he turned locals down flat when asked to go to court to correct some injustice. The four-to-one voice vote in favor of his ouster showed that this experience was widespread.

There are some who'll miss him, however. The September "Convention '78" issue of the AFGE's paper had not one word on Pellerzi's Waterloo. At the last meeting I attended of Local 3369, the president told of getting a letter from AFGE Secretary-treasurer Nick Nolan attacking her for taking part in the floor fight to dump Pellerzi. There is even some talk that he'll be retained in defiance of the will of the rank and file.

I doubt the AFGE leadership could get away with that. If they defy the "dump-Pellerzi" movement, they could be dumped themselves.

Steve Beck  
New York, New York

### Labor convention

The Bridgeport teachers' strike, nuclear energy, and independent political action were some issues highlighting the September convention of the Connecticut State Labor Council. I participated in the convention as a delegate representing Local 7528, United Steelworkers of America.

About 1,200 Bridgeport teachers are involved in an "illegal" strike over wages, benefits, class size, and educational programs [the strike is now over—*Militant*]. Hundreds of the teachers have been jailed. A number of delegates joined picket lines in support of the teachers, and the convention voted unanimous support for the strike.

The problems of nuclear power received a thorough discussion at this AFL-CIO conclave. A resolution was introduced by a steelworker delegate calling on the AFL-CIO to change its priorities from nuclear power to the development of alternative energy sources. Several delegates from industrial and service unions spoke in favor of it. Although the resolution was defeated, delegates concerned about the dangers of nuclear power—both to workers and affected communities—said they would be better organized for next year's convention.

Endorsement of political candidates—mostly from the Democratic Party—took place. Such support was seriously debated in a number of cases. Several delegates called for more political independence—including the creation of a labor party.

The delegates unanimously endorsed more rank-and-file participation in labor affairs, opposed investment in any companies doing business in South Africa, supported equal rights for women, pledged to improve Connecticut safety and compensation laws, and



## Studying the Cuban revolution

demanding full representation rights for citizens of Washington, D.C.  
*John Del Vecchio*  
*Bridgeport, Connecticut*

### 300 rally for ERA

More than 300 students attended an Equal Rights Amendment rally at the University of Illinois September 22.

The rally was called to support extension of the ERA ratification period. It was sponsored by the Champaign-Urbana ERA Coalition. Speakers included the university's director of affirmative action, Democratic State Representative Helen Satterwaite, and radical feminist Marilee Sargent, a professor at Parkland Community College.  
*Andy English*  
*Urbana, Illinois*

### Thanks for the 'Militant'

I would like the *Militant* to be sent to a friend so that he may read and pass the paper around.

The *Militant* keeps us up to date on the world. Thank you and all those who make it possible for inmates to receive these papers.

So many papers say they need money to help send inmates newspapers. I have written and asked for papers, even old papers—no reply. But the *Militant* lives up to its statements. I say that's in tune with your paper.

*A prisoner*  
*New York*

The 'Militant' special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help out, send your contribution to: Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

### 'No' to gays, women

Don't send any more of your literature. On moral grounds I cannot and never will agree with abortion. Abortion is murder, no matter how you whitewash it. Also, homosexuality is not normal. It is against God. I am not interested in anything the Socialist Workers Party or Young Socialist Alliance have to say.

*Cheryl Philipson*  
*Utica, New York*

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.

This is the time of year when branches of the Socialist Workers Party plan educational programs for the fall, winter, and spring.

And right now a study of the origins, development, and political characteristics of the Cuban revolution is very much on the agenda.

Cuba's support to African liberation struggles—including its dispatch of troops in the tens of thousands to Angola and Ethiopia, and the role of Cuban advisers in training Zimbabwean guerrillas—has done more than put Cuba in the headlines. It has sharpened Cuba's confrontation with U.S. imperialism, which sees the survival and extension of the Cuban revolution as a deadly peril.

Revolutionary socialists take the lead in defending Cuba from U.S. imperialism—and that means socialists have to study and understand the Cuban revolution. That is why Pathfinder Press recently published Joseph Hansen's *Dynamics of the Cuban Revolution: The Trotskyist View*.

Hansen is the editor of *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*, and a veteran leader of the SWP and the Fourth International. *Dynamics of the Cuban Revolution* contains Hansen's main writings on Cuba between 1960 and 1970.

The book consists of an introduction and four sections. These can form the basis for five classes on the Cuban revolution, and on the strengths and limitations of the Castroist leadership.

The first section reprints Hansen's 1960 pamphlet, "The Truth About Cuba." It describes Cuba's oppression by U.S. imperialism, including the domination of Cuba's economy by U.S. corporations and the imposition of puppet dictators like Batista. Hansen details the origins of Castro's revolutionary-democratic July 26 Movement. He shows how the opposition of the imperialists and Cuban capitalists to democratic reforms led the Castro leadership to take ever more radical measures that eventually transformed Cuba into a workers state.

The second part, "The Class Nature of the Cuban State," collects Hansen's main contributions to a debate that took place in the SWP and the Fourth International during the early 1960s. This section focuses on the criteria and method by which socialists determined that capitalism had been overturned in Cuba.

The third section deals with Cuba's efforts to extend the revolution internationally. This basic characteristic of the Castro team has brought it into conflict not only with Washington, but often with Moscow.

While stressing the revolutionary character of Castro's international goals, Hansen points out fundamental flaws in the outlook of the Cuban leaders. These include:

- The view that guerrilla warfare represents the primary road to revolution in the semicolonial world. This strategy led to numerous defeats, including the death of Che Guevara and other revolutionists;

- The lack of any program for taking advantage of possibilities to advance the socialist revolution in the imperialist countries and in the Stalinist-ruled workers states;

- And failure to foster the building of Leninist-type workers parties at home or abroad.

The fourth section takes up the important differences between Castroism, which seeks to defend the interests of Cuban workers and peasants and extend the revolution, and Stalinism, which upholds a privileged and tyrannical bureaucratic caste in the Soviet Union and other workers states. Hansen critically analyzes Castro's adaptation to Stalinism on some important questions, an adaptation that is caused in part by the pressure of Cuba's dependence on the Soviet Union, which in turn flows from its isolation in the Western Hemisphere.

The final class can center on Cuba's intervention in Africa, evaluated in Hansen's introduction. David Frankel's pamphlet *Upsurge in Africa*, recently issued by Pathfinder Press, will be useful additional reading.

Hansen sums up the SWP's basic proposals for advancing the Cuban revolution in three points that can well provide the theme for classes on the Cuban revolution: "1. For defense of the Cuban revolution against all its enemies. . . . This defense is unconditional—it does not hinge on the attitudes or policies of the Cuban government. . . .

"2. For the development of proletarian forms of democracy in Cuba. The purpose of this is to bring the masses into the decision-making process in the most effective way, thereby strengthening the struggle against bureaucratism. The initiation of workers councils would add fresh power to the Cuban revolution. . . .

"3. For the formation of a Leninist-type party that guarantees internal democracy, that is, the right of critical opinion to be heard."

—Fred Feldman

*dynamics  
of the cuban  
revolution*  
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**PENNSYLVANIA:** Bethlehem: SWP, Box 1096. Zip: 18016. Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16412. Philadelphia, SWP, YSA, 218 S. 45th St., Zip: 19104. Tel: (215) 387-2451. Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, 5504 Penn Ave. Zip: 15206. Tel: (412) 441-1419. State College: YSA, c/o Jack Craypo, 132 Keller St. Zip: 16801.

**RHODE ISLAND:** Kingston: YSA, P.O. Box 400. Zip: 02881. Tel: (401) 783-8864.

**TEXAS:** Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Dallas: SWP, YSA, 5442 E. Grand. Zip: 75223. Tel: (214) 826-4711. Houston: SWP, YSA, 6412-C N. Main St. Zip: 77009. Tel: (713) 861-9960. San Antonio: SWP, YSA, 112 Fredericksburg Rd. Zip: 78201. Tel: (512) 735-3141.

**UTAH:** Logan: YSA, P.O. Box 1233, Utah State University. Zip: 84322. Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. P.O. Box 461. Zip: 84110. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

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**WASHINGTON:** Seattle: SWP, YSA, 2200 E. Union. Zip: 98122. Tel: (206) 329-7404. Spokane: SWP, P.O. Box 672. Zip: 99210. Tel: (509) 535-6244. Tacoma: SWP, 1022 S. J St. Zip: 98405. Tel: (206) 627-0432.

**WEST VIRGINIA:** Morgantown: SWP, 957 S. University Ave. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

**WISCONSIN:** Madison: YSA, P.O. Box 1442. Zip: 53701. Tel: (608) 255-4733. Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 3901 N. 27th St. Zip: 53216. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

## 'We're fired up!'

### N.Y. marchers protest racism at city hall

By Omari Musa

NEW YORK—"We're fired up, can't take it no more!"

That was the chant, as more than 1,000 Blacks and their supporters marched and rallied at city hall here September 28.

The action, sparked by a struggle against police brutality in Brooklyn over the summer, also protested high unemployment, poor educational facilities, cutbacks in vital city services, and the overall deterioration of living conditions in the Black community.

The action was organized by the Black United Front and Citywide Coalition of Black Organizations.

Five hundred of the demonstrators marched over the Brooklyn Bridge to attend the noon rally at city hall in Manhattan's financial district.

As the protesters began circling city hall, hundreds more joined them, including workers on their lunch break. Within a few minutes the demonstration swelled to more than 1,000.

Participants carried signs demanding justice for Arthur Miller and Victor Rhodes. (Miller, a Black Brooklyn civic leader, was strangled to death by cops June 14. Rhodes is a sixteen-year-old Black youth beaten into a coma by white vigilantes in Brooklyn two days later.)

Hundreds of red, black, and green Black liberation flags sprinkled the march, along with portraits of Malcolm X and slain Black Panther Party leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark.

Demonstrators placed responsibility for the increasing attacks on Black rights and living standards at the doorstep of Mayor Edward Koch. In fact, Rev. Herbert Daughtry, a protest leader, hung a list of demonstration demands right on the city hall door.

"Koch must go!" was a frequent chant. Many protesters also aimed barbs at Koch's fellow Democrat, Gov. Hugh Carey. Carey has made "crime in the streets" a central focus of his reelection campaign, boasting of new laws that condemn thirteen-year-olds to life imprisonment.

Koch mobilized 600 cops in a clear attempt to intimidate the demonstrators. They encircled city hall and blocked its entrances. Some provocatively tapped their nightsticks on the wooden police barriers.

At the rally following the march,



Militant/Lou Howort

'Now is the time to go back into the streets' against cop brutality, unemployment, and cutbacks, said protest leaders.

protest leader Jitu Weusi said, "It's not just here in New York where police are running amok. They're doing it all over the country."

"We've been quiet too long," he said. "Now is the time to go back into the streets. Nothing should move until we get our rights."

The call to demonstrate in the streets found an enthusiastic response at the rally.

The Reverend Daughtry told the rally that the problems in the Black community extended beyond Mayor Koch. "Koch must go, Carey must go, Carter must go, and Wall Street must go," he said.

James Haughton, a leader of Harlem Fightback, took issue with those who blame the Black community for low voter turnout.

"Black people don't see any reason to vote," Haughton said, "because things continue to get worse whether we vote for Black Democrats or white Democrats."

"What we need," Haughton continued, "is a party of working people to challenge this system. It is the system that is the problem."

Other speakers included Arlene Rhodes, mother of Victor Rhodes; State Sen. Major Owens; actor Ossie Davis; Brooklyn Assemblyman Al Vann; Black attorney Florynce Kennedy; and Cenie Williams, Jr., of the National Association of Black Social Workers.

The September 28 action was the latest in a series of demonstrations following the police strangling of Miller this summer. In mid-July, 5,000 marched on two police headquarters in Brooklyn's Crown Heights.

The response of the Koch administration to these protests has been racist and arrogant.

Koch set up a special committee over the summer to "investigate" the death of Miller. But the committee has done nothing to bring the killer cops to trial.

Meanwhile, Koch has continued cutbacks without letup in vital social

services in the Black and Puerto Rican communities.

The mayor's answer to the September 28 protest was no different.

At a press briefing after the march, Koch lashed out at Daughtry, saying: "My administration will never cater to threats from those who seize upon the problems of the people and who become demagogic."

He snidely quipped that the demands Daughtry had hung on the city hall door were "not exactly the Ten Commandments."

Koch's parting shot to reporters was that "no special interest will be accommodated because they are rich, powerful, or militant—people are tired of special interests."

But the city hall protest showed that many people are beginning to see that Koch, Carey, and the Democratic and Republican parties do *nothing but* accommodate the rich and powerful—at the expense of Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and other working people.

## Calif. Teamsters fight to save union

By Shelley Kramer

What began in July as a strike against speedup at Safeway markets has turned into a major battle by more than 4,000 northern California Teamsters to defend their union.

Safeway is leading the union-busting charge for three other major chain stores—Lucky's, Ralphs, and Alpha Beta—whose Teamster employees are also either on strike or locked out.

This week Safeway announced its negotiating demands. First and foremost: no amnesty for strikers.

Along with importing scabs and goons, Safeway has put finks to work taking pictures of hundreds of union picketers. With these photos—and a

no-amnesty contract—Safeway could boot out the union militants and fill their places with new scab employees.

Safeway is also insisting that any strike settlement fine the Teamsters \$1 million for alleged "property damage" to its stores.

The company couldn't care less about the human damage its computerized speedup operations have cost. Before the strike, more than 100 workers were suspended or forced out on disability at its Richmond center alone. Nor does it wince at the everyday beatings and arrests of hundreds of strikers.

On September 9 fourteen strike leaders, attending a union rally outside

Lucky's Gemco market, were hauled off to jail.

They were arrested for rescuing a union picket—a victim of epilepsy—who was being beaten and maced by market goons. Meanwhile, the scab driver who ran down and killed striker Randy Hill is free on bond—after being charged with a mere misdemeanor offense.

"The California markets are out to break the back of the Teamsters union," said Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party candidate for California governor. "They need and deserve a mass outpouring of support from unionists and other working people."