

# THE MILITANT

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

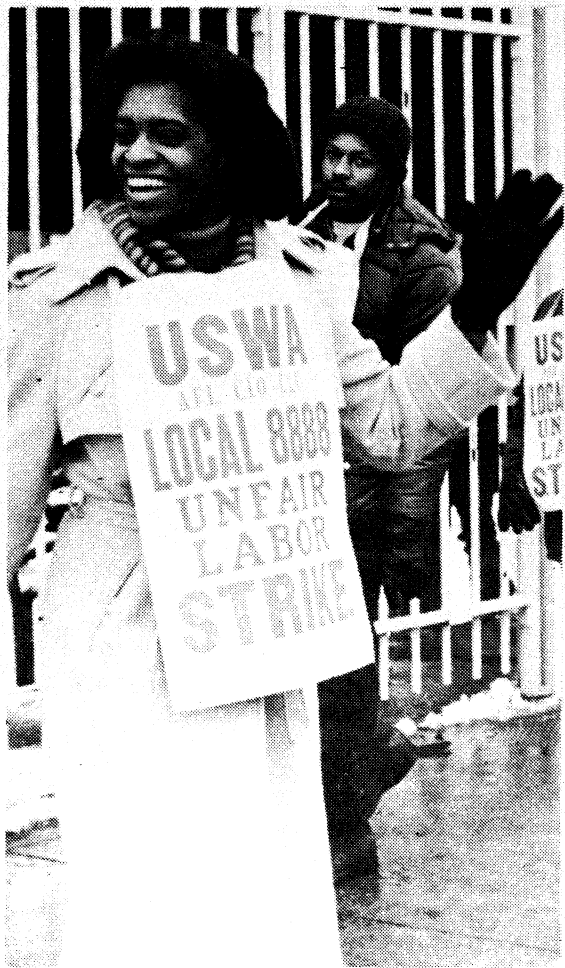
## Hands off Vietnam!

Peking's invasion aids Washington's drive against Indochinese revolution

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### Solidarity grows with Virginia shipyard strikers

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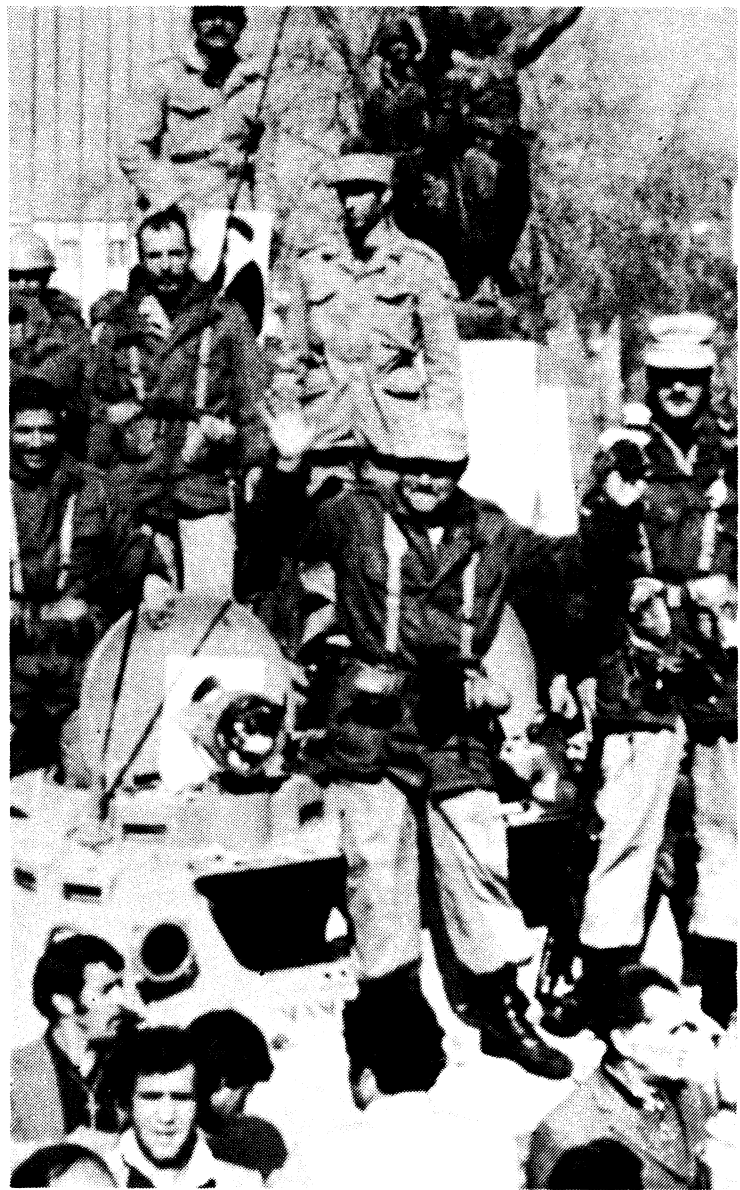


Militant/John Cobey

### Iran: Interview with rebel soldier

Also:  
How Tehran auto workers are organizing

ON-THE-SCENE  
COVERAGE,  
PAGES 6-8



TEHRAN—Insurgent soldiers played crucial role in toppling monarchy. Now they are fighting attempt to re-impose shah's hated officers.

## 400 women steelworkers meet

—PAGE 10

## Rhodesian raids

The white minority regime in Rhodesia launched another series of murderous raids against neighboring Zambia and Mozambique February 17-19.

A military spokesman said the attacks on Zimbabwean refugee camps and guerrilla bases were "part of a continuing operation, which will continue as and when necessary."

The regime carried out similar attacks last September and October, leaving more than 1,000 dead. These came while Prime Minister Ian Smith and his three Black collaborators were touring the United States trying to sell their "internal settlement" to the American people.

The raids are a desperate attempt to slow down the regime's disintegration.

The guerrilla war has stepped up considerably in the past year, and the success of the freedom fighters has produced a deep demoralization among Rhodesian whites. More than 18,000 fled the country in 1978.

The latest attacks are also an attempt to punish Zambia and Mozambique, hoping these governments will put pressure on the nationalist leaders to reach a deal with Smith.

The Carter administration has been silent on the latest raids. But State Department official Hodding Carter did find time to "deplore" and "condemn" the shooting down of an Air Rhodesia airliner by freedom fighters a few days before.

The Carter administration seeks to impose on Zimbabwe a neocolonial government that would safeguard imperialist interests and contain the radicalization of the Zimbabwean masses. Washington has had to take its distance from Smith's regime, knowing that its base is too narrow to serve this purpose.

At the same time, the Carter administration continues to allow all sorts of surreptitious aid to be funneled to Rhodesia through South Africa and its European imperialist allies and through trade with U.S. corporations.

This policy has nothing in common with the desire of the Zimbabwean people for Black majority rule. Nor is it in the interests of the American people.

Supporters of the African liberation struggle should expose Carter's maneuvers and mobilize the American people to demand the U.S. government keep hands off Zimbabwe.

## Anger over Weber

Brian Weber's challenge to affirmative action for Black and women steelworkers has aroused anger across the country.

In New Orleans, supporters of affirmative action will rally March 4 (see page 11).

In Gary, Indiana, United Steelworkers District 31 along with Gary Mayor Richard Hatcher will sponsor a meeting on *Weber* March 14.

In San Diego, a Machinists local has initiated a task force to defend affirmative action.

In Philadelphia, an ad-hoc conference on *Weber* is scheduled for April 7.

The USWA District 31 Women's Conference in Chicago February 15 spotlighted the *Weber* threat and decided on a campaign to mobilize the union against it (see page 10).

The "Fourth Annual Day in the Park for Women's Rights" in San Francisco March 10 will hear a speech on *Weber* by a USWA leader.

And the March 8 "International Women's Day Celebrating Working Women" in New York City will feature Cynthia Hawkins, a Black woman whose job depends on the USWA affirmative-action plan under attack.

By claiming the affirmative-action plan at Kaiser's Gramercy, Louisiana, plant is illegal, the *Weber* case threatens every gain the civil rights and women's movements have won.

By challenging the union's right to negotiate the affirmative-action plan with Kaiser, the *Weber* case jeopardizes all union rights. "If they deny this union or any other union the right to enter into privately bargained for programs, they're not just talking about affirmative action," USWA Civil Rights Director Frank Mont told the District 31 Women's Conference.

Putting affirmative action quotas in the USWA contract with Kaiser was a step toward putting union power on the side of the victims of discrimination. It was a step toward greater unity and strength for the entire labor movement. The *Weber* case aims to wreck that unity and pit white workers against Blacks, men against women.

Yet this attack can boomerang on the employers. The unions have the power, together with the Black and women's movements, to mount a successful campaign to overturn *Weber*.

We urge our readers to join this effort.

## No sympathy

The outcome of the scrap between the New Orleans cops and city administration is one that trade unionists and partisans of the labor movement can well afford to be indifferent to.

The cops are demanding recognition of their association, which has a charter from the Teamsters, and various improvements in wages and working conditions.

They don't deserve an ounce of sympathy.

Cops are not working people fighting against the bosses for a better life. They are agents of the bosses used to oppress working people. If they don't like the returns, that's their problem. Let them go out and get a self-respecting job.

Some people, who realize the function and role of police, think they see a progressive outcome to cops organizing and demanding recognition. Maybe it will improve their consciousness, make them more sympathetic to the plight of workers, less inclined to bust heads on a picket line or in the community.

But it doesn't work that way. Cops are paid—and highly paid when you include the graft and bribery that are a routine benefit—to preserve "law and order." That means protecting private property. It means helping to break strikes and crush the rebellions of Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans. It means brutalizing members of oppressed minorities as part of the process of "keeping them in their place."

Any cop who starts acting sympathetic with the exploited and oppressed can't remain a cop. If his conscience doesn't drive him off the force, his superiors will.

There is plenty of evidence that "unionization" can't change the function of a police force. It's well to recall that the prison guards who carried out the Attica massacre had a charter from the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. Numerous other examples can be cited.

Cops are not draftees, compelled to serve. They take the dirty job voluntarily. If, by chance, some of them don't quite realize what they're getting into, they're quickly given ample opportunity to find out. Those that choose to stay with the "finest" deserve what they get.

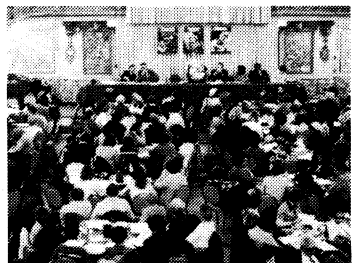
For trade-union bodies to issue charters to organizations of cops makes as much sense as issuing a charter to a union of professional scabs.

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### Women steelworkers meet

District 31 Women's Conference in Chicago decided on a campaign to defeat 'Weber' and defend affirmative action. **Page 10.**



### Malcolm X

In his last year, Malcolm grappled with problem of alliances, with white workers. Rise of working-class struggles today gives the question new urgency. **Page 14.**



### Cleveland crisis

Mayor Dennis Kucinich is campaigning for higher taxes in February 27 election. Does he represent workers? **Page 9.**

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# A history of 'abuse and deceit'

## Behind Carter's problems in Mexico

By David Frankel

Not a single agreement of any importance was announced during President Carter's February 14-16 trip to Mexico.

In itself, that is not surprising. Negotiations on such things as oil deals—one of Washington's main concerns in Mexico—are carried out by teams of experts who know what they are talking about.

Carter's job was to try to establish the right atmosphere for such negotiations by reminding Mexican President José López Portillo who was boss.

Neither Carter nor his advisers expected any back talk. They were thunderstruck when López Portillo complained about "deceit and abuse" in U.S. relations with Mexico.

The verbal thrust from López Portillo was only a pale reflection of how the Mexican people feel. Masses of people, prevented by the Mexican government from expressing their outrage (see box on this page), simply ignored Carter.

A report in the February 15 *New York Times* noted that "the visit appeared to generate little enthusiasm on the streets of Mexico City. . . . No crowds lined the routes of the motorcade, although the lampposts had portraits of the two leaders and their wives."

Similarly, the *Christian Science Monitor* reported that "the crowds were sparse everywhere for the president."

Mexico has been bullied and exploited by the United States for the past 150 years. In 1846, Washington pro-



MEXICO CITY, Feb. 7—Ten thousand protest U.S. imperialism

Militant/Maria Roth

voked a war with Mexico and stole more than half of its territory.

U.S. troops again invaded Mexico in 1917 to oppose the revolutionary forces who challenged the big landowners.

Today, Mexico's economy is dominated by U.S. corporations. Private U.S. banks hold \$11.5 billion in Mexican loans and credits. U.S. investors account for 72 percent of all direct foreign investment in Mexico. And 70 percent of all Mexican exports go to the United States, while more than 60 percent of all Mexican imports come from here.

Nor is imperialist blackmail against

Mexico a thing of the past. Washington has warned Mexico that if it joins the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, it will be subjected to reprisals in the form of cancellation of duty-free exports from the United States.

Another example is the dispute between Mexico and Washington over natural gas prices. In December 1977, the Mexican government had almost completed a 900-mile, \$1.5 billion gas pipeline to the Texas border. It was about to close a deal with six U.S. companies when the White House abruptly vetoed the agreement.

Both U.S. oil companies and the Carter administration have been complaining that the price of U.S. gas and oil is too low and must be raised to world market levels. But when Mexico tries to charge the world market price for its own petroleum products, the imperialists say it is being "unreasonable!"

"Deceit and abuse" are also evident in the racist treatment accorded Mexican immigrant workers in the United States. American capitalists want and need these workers in order to harvest much of the country's agricultural products. They are also a vital source of cheap industrial labor.

At the same time, the ruling class tries to blame the ills of its own economic system on these workers. Just as in the 1850s Irish immigrants were accused of taking jobs from "Americans," and just as in the early 1900s Italian and East European immigrants were accused of being a burden on public services, Mexican workers and their families are being scapegoated today.

Not surprisingly, the Mexican people resent this treatment.

Carter never intended to seriously deal with such questions on his trip. Most of his visit consisted of social affairs and public-relations tours.

*New York Times* correspondent Alan Riding noted in a February 15 dispatch that "apart from social occasions, the two leaders have not talked to each other in total privacy. Further, today's meeting ended 55 minutes early because, according to a Mexican spokesman, 'There were no more subjects to be dealt with.'"

The fact that López Portillo felt it necessary to make a public protest is an indication of the mood of the Mexican people. It is also another sign of the power of the Iranian revolution, which has made the oppressed everywhere bolder and more ready to stand up to the imperialist bullies in Washington.

## Thousands say, 'Carter go home!'

Three thousand people demonstrated in Mexico City February 15 to protest President Carter's visit. The protest followed one of 10,000 on February 7.

The following interview with a leader of the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT—Revolutionary Workers Party), one of the groups that called the demonstration, was obtained by the 'Militant' February 17. The PRT is the sister organization in Mexico of the Socialist Workers Party.

**Question.** Why did people demonstrate against Carter?

**Answer.** The two main questions were oil and the rights of undocumented workers.

There was a variety of demands. First was to make the negotiations between Carter and [Mexican President] López Portillo public. That—and that the government should publish its plans involving oil—was

the main focus of the PRT.

We are not in principle against any export of oil. That would be foolish. But the people have to know what is being proposed and they have to decide.

The government has not announced any rational plan for the export of oil, and nobody here wants to see Mexico become what Iran was—a strategic base for the United States.

The other demand was around the question of the undocumented workers—for their right to work in the United States.

Of course, many other issues were also raised. We also stressed the demand for political asylum to Héctor Marroquín [see pages 15-18].

**Q. Was the demonstration called by the PRT alone?**

A. Mainly by the PRT, although there were also some student groups involved.

Three thousand people took part. There would have been many more,

but the government threatened that it would not allow the demonstration, so people were afraid of violence.

They mobilized more than 10,000 cops, with riot tanks and horses, and occupied the downtown section of the city with army trucks. So we had to march uptown on the Paseo de la Reforma [one of Mexico City's main streets].

**Q. Was there any trade-union support?**

A. No. The other parties and other possible supporters pulled out when they knew the government was against the demonstration. These included the Communist Party and the Mexican Workers Party. They said it was not the right time to demonstrate. [These groups, along with the PKT, had supported the February 7 protest.]

However, the relatives of "disappeared" political prisoners did take part. They were at the head of the demonstration.

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# HANDS OFF VIETNAM!

## Peking's invasion aids Washington's drive against Indochinese revolution



Teng and Carter sign agreement at public ceremony January 31. What went unsigned and unseen lies behind Peking's invasion of Vietnam.

### By Mary-Alice Waters

The invasion of Vietnam by troops of the People's Republic of China is the bitter fruit of a counterrevolutionary deal between U.S. imperialism and the Stalinist Peking bureaucracy. It is a contribution by the Chinese regime to Washington's escalating campaign against the Vietnamese revolution.

The U.S. government was clearly not surprised by the invasion. To the contrary, it had its response fully prepared when Chinese troops crossed the Vietnam border February 17.

"We call for the immediate withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia and Chinese troops from Vietnam," said the official Carter administration spokesperson, linking the two from the outset.

An unnamed senior U.S. official openly suggested, "it was possible that Chinese troops might remain in Vietnam to be used in exchange for a withdrawal of Vietnamese forces now in Cambodia."

In his foreign policy address at Georgia Tech February 20, President Carter went even further. He suggested that Vietnam had only itself to blame for the invasion, because of its support to Kampuchean insurgents who toppled the reactionary Pol Pot regime last January. "In the last few weeks, we have seen a Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia, and, as a result, a Chinese border penetration into Vietnam." (Emphasis added.)

So the line of the U.S. ruling class is clear: Vietnam was "asking for it" by sending troops into Kampuchea. And withdrawal of those troops is the key to resolving other questions.

Top U.S. government officials have indicated repeatedly that they have been told by Peking that the invasion is limited in both time and scope.

Washington knows that the Pol Pot regime cannot be put back in place in Kampuchea. But it clearly hopes that the invasion can pressure Hanoi to begin a withdrawal and eventually come to terms with imperialism on a new regime there that the masses in Thailand and elsewhere will not want to emulate. In other words, Washington hopes it can block an extension into Kampuchea of the revolutionary mobilizations that last year led to the

overturn of capitalism in southern Vietnam.

In his February 20 column, *New York Times* Associate Editor Tom Wicker noted: "No one can say with certainty, but China probably will not be able to reverse the situation in Cambodia, where the Vietnamese already have installed a government, without a far more extensive military campaign than the one just launched. That would not only engage China in a costly war with the tough Vietnamese but sooner or later cause the Soviets to open a second front—a high price to pay for no assured gain in Cambodia."

### Teng got the message

Chinese Vice-premier Teng Hsiao-p'ing had publicly raised the possibility of an attack on Vietnam during his week-long U.S. visit last month to firm up ties with the American capitalists. He told reporters that Vietnam ought to be "punished" and "taught some necessary lessons" in retaliation for its military support to Kampuchean insurgents.

Washington's attempt to strike a pose of self-righteous "evenhandedness" toward recent events in Indochina is meant entirely for public consumption around the world. With the Peking bureaucracy desperately committed to massive trade and technological help from imperialism, it is unthinkable that it would launch a major military operation without first seeking assurances that it would not be read by Washington as inimical to imperialist interests.

The Carter administration knew of China's intentions and assured Teng last month that the operation would in no way sabotage the anticipated profitable trade. To the contrary, Teng got the message loud and clear that—off the record, of course—U.S. officials saw positive sides to the assault.

As a result of the deep antiwar sentiments of American workers, the U.S. rulers currently find themselves unable to directly intervene with military force. Events of the past several months in both Southeast Asia and Iran show that the imperialists are on the defensive. They hope to ultimately reassert their power in Indochina by streng-

thening the rightist military regime in Thailand and looking for other openings.

"... We are fully prepared to protect our vital interests wherever they may be challenged," Carter said in his Georgia Tech speech. "We are in close consultation with our friends and allies in the region, especially the states of the Association of South East Asian Nations. Their continued stability and prosperity are of great importance to us."

In the meantime, actions such as that undertaken by Peking against Vietnam advance imperialism's aims in the area, while providing Washington with the cover of "evenhandedness" and "concern for peace."

To reveal the U.S. government's actual attitude toward the Chinese invasion, however, just compare its calm reaction in recent days to the hysterical response in January to the war in Kampuchea. The U.S. government stridently condemned Hanoi for aiding the Kampuchean insurgents and declared its refusal to even discuss normalizing relations with Vietnam until all troops were withdrawn.

In stark contrast, on the very day that the Chinese invasion first hit the headlines, there were prominent stories on the same pages reporting Treasury Secretary Michael Blumenthal's visit this week to China aimed at nailing down large-scale trade deals.

*Business as usual.* Could the signals be any clearer?

Carter reaffirmed at Georgia Tech that Washington's planned trade deals with Peking would in no way be affected by the invasion of Vietnam.

Moscow's reaction to the invasion has been cautious. It issued a statement demanding "an end to the aggression" and pledged to consult with Hanoi on the matter.

The revolutionary government in Cuba condemned the reactionary Chinese move, saying, "For Vietnam, we are ready to shed even our own blood," and pointed to the Washington-Peking axis.

### Scope of invasion

According to most news sources, a reported 100,000 Chinese troops were involved in the invasion—backed up by tanks, artillery, fighter planes, and more support troops on the Chinese side of the border.

The statement released by Peking justifying the invasion brazenly called it a "counterattack to defend the country's borders." The statement added, "We don't want a single inch of Vietnamese soil."

After four days, however, Chinese government troops remained on Vietnam's soil, and there were no clear indications of Peking's immediate plans.

There is a danger that the rightist Thai military dictatorship will exploit the situation to increase its military support to remnants of Pol Pot's army still fighting along the Thai-Kampuchean border.

Last month, Washington pledged to rush extra aircraft, weapons and ammunition to the Thai government in the wake of the Kampuchean events.

The Chinese invasion also serves to encourage rightist guerrillas fighting the Pathet Lao government in Laos.

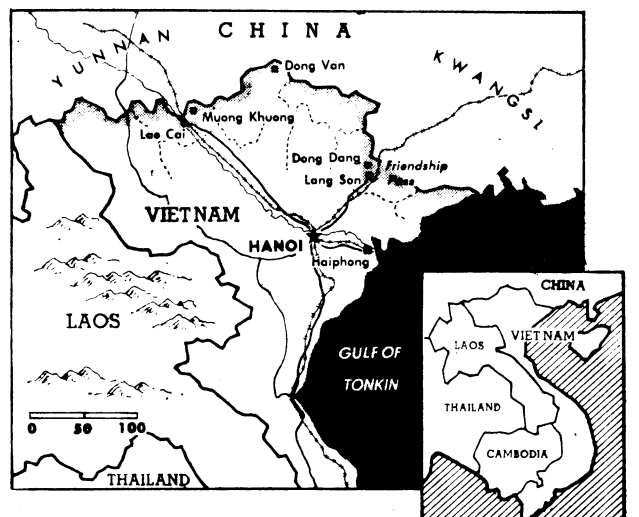
### China's counterrevolutionary moves

In trying to explain Peking's invasion of Vietnam, an article in the February 18 *New York Times* noted: "Many analysts view virtually all clashes in Indochina as proxy struggles between China and the Soviet Union."

The same article referred to another common notion—a variant on the reactionary idea that wars are caused by "human nature." Paraphrasing the views of longtime Stalinist Wilfred Burchett, who writes for the New York-based *Guardian* weekly, the *Times* conjectured that maybe "China's traditional expansionist aims have been revived. . . ."

Both of these "explanations" are wide of the mark.

As an article in last week's issue explained, revolutionary developments in southern Vietnam



Daily News



over the past year and a resulting intensification of the "imperialist-orchestrated campaign against the Vietnamese revolution provides the necessary context for understanding the Chinese government's escalating hostility toward Vietnam.

"Ever since Mao Tsetung clinked champagne glasses with Richard Nixon seven years ago, Peking has increasingly viewed the Vietnamese revolution as a destabilizing factor on its borders and an obstacle to improved trade and diplomatic ties with Washington. With the step-up of imperialism's anti-Vietnam crusade last year, Peking jumped on the bandwagon. . . .

"These same factors explain the Chinese military build-up along the Vietnamese border and Teng Hsiao-p'ing's bellicose statements during his U.S. visit.

"In return for economic favors from imperialism, Peking is deliberately lending the prestige of the Chinese revolution to Washington's anti-Vietnam campaign."

### China & Vietnam: four stages

Let's take a closer look at four stages in Peking's growing antagonism toward the Vietnamese revolution.

1. *During the Vietnam War.* The bureaucratic castes in both Moscow and Peking refused to supply adequate military assistance to Vietnam during its war to drive out the U.S. imperialists and the landlord-capitalist regime in Saigon (now Ho Chi Minh City).

This counterrevolutionary stinginess in the face of massive U.S. bombardment of Vietnam, which stemmed from the Stalinists' desire to deal with imperialism at the expense of the Indochinese struggle, was condemned by the Fourth International around the world.

In contrast to these policies of Peking and Moscow, the revolutionary government in Cuba raised the banner "Create two, three, many Vietnams!"

The Cuban government, much poorer than either the Soviet Union or China, offered to send arms and soldiers to aid the Vietnamese, as it is today doing in Africa. And Castro stated publicly, "We are for the socialist camp risking everything required for Vietnam."

The low-point in the wartime Stalinist betrayal of the Vietnamese revolution came in 1972, when first Mao and then Brezhnev welcomed Nixon to Peking and Moscow at the height of U.S. bombing of North Vietnam, and the mining of Haiphong harbor.

Despite the willingness of Moscow and Peking to stab Vietnam in the back to get imperialist help to build "socialism in one country," the combined power of the Vietnamese fighters and the antiwar movement in the United States and elsewhere nonetheless dealt a stunning blow to Washington's plans in Indochina.

In fact, it was from this position of weakness that the U.S. ruling class made a tactical shift away from its cold war policies and turned to Moscow and Peking for help in containing the revolution. Washington's goal was to salvage some presence for capitalism in Indochina.

2. *Following the 1975 defeat of the U.S.-backed Saigon regime.* The Vietnamese Stalinists in Hanoi hoped to follow in the footsteps of Peking and Moscow by achieving their own "peaceful coexistence" with Washington. U.S. imperialism, however, refused even to establish diplomatic relations and imposed a tight economic blockade.

In addition, Washington rejected Vietnam's modest demand for \$4.75 billion in economic aid to repair the damage from nearly ten years of barbaric bombing that pockmarked the countryside, ruined rice paddies, defoliated forests, and leveled major sections of Hanoi and other cities.

Imperialism's hostility toward Vietnam stiffened following the popular mobilizations in 1975 and 1976, after the decision had been made to reunify the country.

Meanwhile, however, plans for the consummation of a Washington-Peking deal moved ahead. The Peking Stalinists looked for every opportunity to prove their reliability to the imperialists. A part of the bargain was growing antagonism toward revolutionary developments in Vietnam.

### Overtake of capitalism

3. *The overturn of capitalism in southern Vietnam last year.* Faced with continuing imperialist pressure, internal economic sabotage by the remaining commercial capitalists in the south, and other pressing economic problems, the Vietnamese government last spring mobilized the urban population in Ho Chi Minh City and elsewhere to expropriate some 30,000 remaining private businesses.

These sweeping anticapitalist measures marked the consolidation of the entire country under a single planned economy—a major advance for the Indochinese revolution.

Washington, fearing that this revolutionary im-



While Moscow and Peking stabbed Vietnamese revolution in back to achieve détente with Washington, revolutionary Cuba's slogan remained 'Create two, three, many Vietnams!'

pulse could set the masses of Kampuchea, Thailand, and other Southeast Asian countries in motion, responded by tightening the screws on Vietnam even further. Peking's interest in promoting stability, not class struggle on China's borders, led it to adopt a parallel stance of deepening hostility to the Vietnamese regime.

With the eager assistance of the Chinese Stalinists, the imperialists launched an international hue and cry over the Vietnamese "boat people."

The majority of these refugees were comprised of expropriated merchants, traders, and their families. Using the fact that most of the former merchants were of Chinese national origin, Peking blasted the anticapitalist measures in Vietnam as racist, anti-Chinese moves. It urged the Chinese to flee Vietnam, raising the specter of pogroms.

The hypocrisy of this combined Washington-Peking propaganda offensive was soon exposed by the refusal of the imperialist powers to accept any substantial numbers of the refugees, whom the Vietnamese government freely allowed to emigrate.

While calling on Chinese to flee Vietnam, Peking closed its own border to them in July!

### Withdraws aid to Vietnam

The Peking bureaucracy made a further display to Washington last year by withdrawing its ambassador from Vietnam and cutting off economic aid, thereby reinforcing the imperialist embargo.

China also accelerated its troop build-up along the Vietnamese border in the months following the anticapitalist measures there. The first reports of border clashes date from these belligerent moves, not from the "wanton incursions into Chinese territory" cooked up by Peking to justify its invasion of Vietnam.

In November 1978, in response to these threats, Vietnam signed a mutual assistance pact with the Soviet Union.

There is a bitter irony to the Chinese regime's treacherous betrayal of Vietnam. It closely parallels the Kremlin's counterrevolutionary treatment of China some twenty years ago, when Khrushchev abruptly withdrew technicians and economic aid and refused to provide China with nuclear defense against a tightening imperialist military encirclement at that time.

4. *The toppling of Pol Pot.* The fourth stage, culminating in the Teng leadership's invasion, began in December and January, when Vietnamese forces aided insurgent Kampuchean forces in bringing down the tyrannical Pol Pot government in capitalist Kampuchea.

China had given substantial aid to that regime as a club against the Vietnamese revolution. And especially after last year's expropriations in Vietnam, imperialism had begun to view Kampuchea increasingly as a vital buffer against the spread of the Vietnamese revolution.

The Vietnamese rulers threw major military forces into the drive against Pol Pot's regime because they felt the tightening encirclement and the potential for eventual military probes by imperialism. With China moving closer into the embrace of Washington and making threatening moves on Vietnam's northern frontier, and with Pol Pot's army putting pressure on another of Vietnam's borders, Hanoi evidently felt the need to act quickly. It sought to establish a government in Kampuchea that would be less hell-bent on making a bloc

against Vietnam with imperialism and its right-wing Asian vassals such as the Thai regime

Having once gotten the green light from Washington, however, Peking was ready to take action against the "Asian Cuba," as the Chinese Stalinists have begun to label Vietnam.

This term is inaccurate, of course. The Cuban leadership deliberately pursues an anti-imperialist foreign policy, which is the furthest thing from the minds of the Stalinist leadership in Hanoi. Nonetheless, Peking's use of the parallel dramatizes its fear that the revolution in Vietnam will play the destabilizing role in Southeast Asia that the intervention of revolutionary Cuba's troops have played on the African continent.

### Ferment inside China

Another factor behind Peking's drive toward a deal with imperialism is the promises made to the Chinese masses over the past few years and fears of what the current ferment among Chinese workers, peasants, and youth could grow into if they are not met.

The bureaucracy hopes its services to Washington will be rewarded by speedier conclusion of economic agreements that will yield results justifying its promises.

The Chinese government's strategic commitment to its drive for modernization through peaceful coexistence with American imperialism precludes any desire by Peking to become embroiled in an extended border war with Hanoi that would drain China's resources, increase instability throughout the area, and increase pressure on the Kremlin to come to Vietnam's assistance.

But in any war, elements of misjudgment and miscalculation can accelerate beyond the control of any one of the participants.

Most dangerous of all is the cover that China's invasion provides for Washington's maneuvers to advance imperialism's strategic goal of containing and then rolling back the social conquests of the Indochinese revolution.

Unlike Washington, Peking's aim in Southeast Asia is not to restore capitalism in Vietnam or provide an opening for a massive new influx of imperialist troops into the area. Either of these would directly threaten China. Peking's aim is to preserve stability on its borders to facilitate its dealings with imperialism.

Whatever the Stalinists' aims, however, their actions in Indochina in fact contribute to the goals of imperialism and pose a danger to the Chinese workers state, as well as to Vietnam.

### Hands off Vietnam!

Defenders of the Chinese and Indochinese revolutions must demand that Peking immediately and unconditionally withdraw its troops from Vietnam, and end its counterrevolutionary complicity with Washington's drive to roll back the revolution in Southeast Asia.

We must reject Carter's blackmail, linking Chinese withdrawal from Vietnam with withdrawal of Vietnamese military support to the new Kampuchean government.

Our demands must be:

Hands off Vietnam!

Chinese troops out now!

Stop the imperialist campaign against the Vietnamese revolution!

# Iran: class polarization deepens

By David Frankel

Which class will rule Iran?

That is the question now posed by the Iranian revolution. The previous period, during which an entire nation appeared united in a common struggle against the shah, has given way to a deepening class polarization.

On one side, bourgeois forces organized around Ayatollah Khomeini and his appointees are trying to impose a stable capitalist government.

On the other, the working masses who swept aside the monarchy—and who have gained confidence in their own power—are determined to build a new society free of exploitation and tyranny.

Khomeini, who was reviled by U.S. officials and the big-business media for refusing to compromise with the shah, is now looked to by Washington as a bulwark against the masses.

Fear of the Iranian people and what they might do pervades the reports in the U.S. media and the statements by government officials.

"A revolution was spinning out of control," *Time* magazine moaned in its February 26 issue. President Carter referred to "the darker side of change" in a major foreign policy speech February 20.

"On the left wing of the Islamic movement there is already talk of abrogating international debts and

nationalizing the banks, which own 60 percent of Iranian industry," the *New York Times* complained February 12.

A front-page commentary in the February 19 issue of the Tehran daily *Kayhan* noted that "there are signs oil workers are not listening to Ayatollah Khomeini and leftist groups have an astonishing amount of influence over them."

Viewed as "out of control" by *Time* magazine and as forces of darkness by Carter, these oil workers correctly insist that the provisional government appointed by Khomeini was not elected by anybody and has no right to tell them what to do.

Meanwhile, the soldiers whose support was decisive in the overthrow of the monarchy are protesting attempts to restore the authority of reactionary commanders from the shah's officer corps.

On the following pages are interviews by *Militant* associate editor Cindy Jaquith with Iranian workers and soldiers. These make it clear that the masses are organizing committees in the factories and the barracks and are in the midst of a deep-going political ferment.

According to a report in the February 20 *New York Times*, Sadegh Ghotbzadeh, one of Khomeini's main advisers and the Ayatollah's appointee as director of the mass media, de-

nounced "rebellious elements who are trying to form workers committees and are threatening demonstrations if they are opposed," calling them "prostitutes."

Khomeini himself has said of such challenges from the workers, "If the united leadership is not accepted by all groups, I shall regard this as an uprising against the Islamic revolution. . . ."

Tough talk has also come from Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan, another Khomeini appointee. He insisted in an interview with *Newsweek*, for example, that the Communist (Tudeh) Party "is illegal according to the existing law, and we will obey that law." Bazargan's threat presumably extends to other left-wing groups as well.

Other antidemocratic moves by the Khomeini-Bazargan forces are already evident. They have so far refused to set a date for elections to a constituent assembly. They have tried to limit the choice before the masses to a capitalist "Islamic" republic.

But despite threats and bluster, *neither representatives of the Iranian national bourgeoisie such as Bazargan and Karim Sanjabi of the National Front, nor Khomeini himself, has had the confidence to engage in a real confrontation with the masses.*

Bazargan knows that he and his

ministers have little authority among the workers. They are heading the government only because it was handed to them by Khomeini.

Khomeini retains great popularity, but his authority has yet to be tested under the new circumstances. Khomeini's high standing can melt rapidly if he stands against the demands of the workers.

Moreover, the state apparatus remains in a shambles, and no reliable military force has been rebuilt by the government.

The extent of the mass pressure has been reflected in the execution of eight of the shah's top generals. After the first four were shot, Bazargan flatly declared that the executions would stop. But on February 20 four more of the shah's murderers were executed—without Bazargan being consulted.

An indication of the dismay among the imperialists at this development is their frequent references to "kangaroo courts"—a phrase that they never dreamed of applying to the genuine frame-ups, torture, or mass executions carried out under the shah.

Perhaps even more upsetting to Washington was the visit of Palestine Liberation Organization head Yasser Arafat to Tehran February 18, and the depth of solidarity displayed by the Iranian masses for the Palestinian struggle for self-determination.

Arafat's arrival—while representatives of American, British, and Israeli imperialism were streaming out of Iran—was an inspiring sign of the change wrought by the Iranian revolution.

As Arafat pointed out, the revolution in Iran "has changed completely the whole strategy and policy in this area. It has been turned upside down."

What is the road forward for the Iranian workers and peasants now that the monarchy has been overthrown?

The general strike, which had as its clear political focus the demand for an end to the monarchy, has achieved everything it could at this point. As the workers go back to their factories and as soldiers return to the barracks, what will be decisive is their ability to *hold meetings, form committees, discuss their demands, and elect their own representatives.*

Such committees—in the factories, the barracks, and the countryside—provide the framework through which the interests of the working masses can be expressed and defended.

Extended throughout the country, they can turn back the attempts to stabilize a capitalist regime appointed from above. They can organize the masses in the fight for a workers and peasants government.



SAVAK agents arrested after insurrection. Mass pressure has forced execution of some top generals.

## Battle of Doshan Tappeh

# Rebel airman tells of struggle in military

By Cindy Jaquith

TEHRAN—When a group of airmen at the Doshan Tappeh air base here decided February 9 to stand up to the shah's tanks and bullets, their cries for help were heeded immediately by the surrounding population.

But few of the thousands of people who marched to the base in solidarity that night realized that they were witnessing the beginning of the Tehran insurrection.

Nor did the courageous young airmen themselves know that the Battle of Doshan Tappeh would culminate in the overthrow of the hated Pahlavi monarchy.

Three days after the insurrection, one of those airmen told the story of that battle to the *Militant* and the French Trotskyist newspaper *Rouge*.

Asking that we not use his name, he

explained, "I want the facts of what happened here to get to the United States. We want the American people to understand we are not against them. We are against the American government."

He began by telling us about the radicalization in the air force over the past year. The deepening hatred of the shah and his U.S. military advisers began to find open expression among the homafars of the air force. These are young technicians and engineers. Their rank is roughly equivalent to sergeant in the United States.

Created by the shah thirteen years ago, the homafar branch of the air force has always borne the brunt of the officers' scorn and brutal discipline.

The radicalization of the homafars thus developed in part as a struggle for democratic rights.

About one year ago, the homafars began carrying out strikes to protest military discipline and the shah. An example is what happened at the air base in Boushehr in the southern part of Iran:

"It was from this base that planes flew over surrounding countries to display the shah's support for other regimes," the homafar told us. "One day a general slapped one of the homafars. The rest of the men went on strike for a week in response. They refused to repair the planes, grounding all flights for a week."

Then the protest moved to hunger strikes:

"Homafars, like everyone else, could no longer live under the shah's repression. We had to take action. So we would go on hunger strikes. The word would be spread through leaflets, and

everyone would refuse to eat."

The generals tried to hide these strikes from the public. Sometimes they scheduled the work day to exclude meals so there could be no strike. They were deathly afraid other soldiers and the population as a whole would be inspired further by the homafars' protests.

### Mass marches

As the marches against the shah grew to millions last fall, the homafars felt they too must publicly show their opposition to the shah. So they began to organize their own demonstrations against the monarchy.

"Homafars held marches off the base, all over the country. We condemned the shah—and later Bakhtiar—and supported Ayatollah





Ranks of Iranian armed forces have formed committees and are demanding right to elect officers, as well as freedom of speech, press, and assembly.

Khomeini. Then everyone got to know that homafars were on the side of the people."

These marches had to be built in an underground fashion on the bases. The homafars also needed support from the civilian population:

"A leaflet would appear on the base giving the time and place of the march. The homafars would gather in uniform in one spot, and civilian backers would meet at another. Then we would join forces for the demonstration."

The presence of civilians protected many of the airmen from victimization. Nevertheless, some of the homafars lost their lives.

### Jamshidieh massacre

"Military intelligence caught some people giving out leaflets. Others who had marched were identified by the generals. There were arrests.

"Shortly before the shah was forced to leave the country, he had 157 homafars executed at Tehran's Jamshidieh Air Base. Another 40 were shot later."

The Jamshidieh massacre was only reported in the bourgeois press after the shah was gone. Bakhtiar denied the shootings had ever taken place.

The event that led up to the Battle of Doshan Tappeh was the February 8 demonstration of more than 1 million in Tehran.

A contingent of 1,000 airmen and other military personnel in uniform joined the march called by Khomeini to support his newly appointed prime minister, Mehdi Bazargan. The homafars went to the demonstration as a group:

"In the morning, we put our uniforms in paper bags and went to the *majlis* [parliament building]. Behind the *majlis* was a house near Khomeini's headquarters. There we changed into our uniforms and went out on the march. Afterwards we returned to this house, changed into civilian clothes again, and went home.

"We knew there must be agents in our midst who would try to disrupt our

contingent or report people's names. So after the march, Khomeini supporters provided us with a defense squad."

### Spontaneous demonstration

The next day, February 9, the atmosphere on the air bases was extremely tense. The homafars' demonstration was intolerable to the military brass—it threatened to crack the armed forces wide open.

The airmen, however, had been inspired by the march to speak out with even greater confidence.

On the evening of February 9, at the Doshan Tappeh air base, homafar trainees, called *honarjous*, were watching a televised account of Khomeini's victorious arrival in Iran the week before. The homafars themselves do not live on the base, so they were not there.

A spontaneous pro-Khomeini demonstration broke out in the TV room. Members of the elite Royal Guards, who had been policing the air bases for several weeks, rushed into the room.

They clubbed the *honarjous* with their rifle butts and shot several. When that didn't work, they drove a tank right through the door.

The *honarjous* moved outside. They began demonstrating, shouting: "Down with the Bakhtiar government—guards go home!"

They also yelled: "*Allah-ho-akbar*"—"God is great"—the signal for help.

People began gathering at the gates of the base, especially the relatives of the *honarjous*. As the crowd grew outside the Royal Guard commanders decided to withdraw their forces from the base for the night.

### February 10 attack

Early the next morning the homafars reported for work:

"We had heard about what happened the night before. When we arrived at the gates, there were still thousands of people outside. They gave us food.

"We went inside and saw the wreckage the guards had left. We went to the

# Iranian soldiers ask, 'Where are our rights?'

The following resolution, titled, 'In protest of the appointment of air force commanders,' is being distributed at meetings and demonstrations of homafars and other soldiers.

Signed by 'a group of homafars in support of democracy in the army,' the resolution was passed by acclamation at a meeting of homafars at Technical University in Tehran February 16.

Fellow homafars,

The struggle to achieve democracy and social justice which began in our society one year ago has found reflection in the army as well. Soldiers, homafars, and others who were insulted daily by their commanders; individuals who were denied the slightest human rights such as freedom of speech, press, assembly, and the right to vote; joined with the great mass of the Iranian people to overthrow this corrupt order.

Homafars saw our interests lay in extending our hands to unite with the people to overthrow the corrupt regime and replace it with an order in the interests of all the oppressed, an order that would overcome the misery and excesses of the past.

We and other military personnel joined the huge demonstration of Ara'in [the February 8 march to support Bazargan against Bakhtiar]. Then we took part in the days of insurrection, uniting with the ranks of the people to fight the shah's guards and generals.

But unfortunately the events of the past few days have gone in a direction exactly opposite to these aims. This gives us reason to continue our struggle.

The same pawns of the old regime—those who not only pledged allegiance to the shah but also never joined us behind the barricades during the struggle—have now been appointed as our commanders, and this without the slightest consultation with us.

We must ask ourselves, why have there been so many martyrs among the homafars and soldiers? Our fellow soldiers didn't risk their lives to see the same faces back in charge.

No, we voluntarily stood side by side with the people—in the face of enemies' bullets—to struggle for social justice and democracy. But now we're returning to the same old conditions.

hospitals and saw all the heads they had busted open. We were furious.

"So we refused to work, and instead started demonstrating in the yard. After a while, a few officers and non-commissioned officers joined us.

"It was then that the Royal Guard attacked the base.

"Tanks poured toward both the north and south gates of the base.

"At the north gate they were stopped. The civilians outside blocked them, and the guards at the gate shot at them.

"But the Royal Guards got in at the south gate. They began machine-gunning indiscriminately.

"Homafars rushed to the armory to get guns. A captain was there, and he tried to keep them out. He was shot.

"We armed ourselves, and we gave guns to the civilians outside.

"At this point, everyone on the base realized that the Royal Guards were going to massacre everyone inside. Low-ranking officers and even the Green Berets [same type as in the United States] joined the homafars in repelling the attack. Women and children living on the base went after the tanks, setting one on fire.

"Between those of us inside the base and civilians shooting from rooftops outside, we drove the Royal Guards off

Where is the democracy in the army that we fought for?

Where is our right to free speech and free press?

Where is our right to assemble, to belong to a political party?

Where is our right to vote and participate in elections?

Where is our right to elect our commanders?

And finally, where is our right to organize in the army, to establish our own committees, where we can discuss and make our own decisions?

The shah's generals always told us not to interfere in politics. But this was a trick. It was used to prevent us from protesting their crimes against the people and their plundering of the nation's riches.

We must have the right to participate in politics, so we and the soldiers are not used to massacre and repress the freedom fighters. We must have the right to elect commanders we trust, not appointments of individuals over us.

It is now clear these rights won't be granted to us unless we stubbornly fight for them and organize ourselves. This is why a group of us have organized around the following demands:

1. Full democratic rights in the armed forces: freedom of speech, press, and assembly; the right to organize, to belong to political parties, to vote in elections; an end to the ban on homafars attending the universities.

2. Homafars themselves must elect their own commanders. The elections should be decided by majority vote with everyone having the right to run for office.

3. The right to form committees of homafars in every garrison to struggle for these demands.

4. Extension of all the above rights to all branches of the armed forces.

Soldiers of the army constitute the immense armed mass of the revolutionary movement. Achieving freedom for them will achieve freedom for all the armed forces.

We invite all homafars and other military personnel to join us to realize these demands. We also invite civilian militants and freedom fighters to join us. This will be another step in strengthening the bonds between us.

the base. We kept pushing them further away, block by block. At every corner, as they retreated, we built a new barricade."

Once the base was secured, the homafars elected new officers. The top officers had disappeared during the battle—except for General Rabii, the national commander of the air force. Rabii was there the whole time, observing the killing of his men from a helicopter.

But it was the Royal Guards who took the worst losses—more than half the sixty-three killed in the fighting.

The insurrection spread from Doshan Tappeh. Homafars took over a police station to get more arms for the people. They joined in the battles around the city, although not in an organized way.

It was the collapse of the army in the face of the insurrection that sealed the people's victory. An equally important factor was the unprecedented solidarity of the civilian population with the homafars when the fighting began.

Some press reports have given the mistaken impression that the main forces fighting with the airmen were the two guerrilla groups—the Islamic Mujahadeen and the Marxist-oriented Fedayeen. These guerrillas were active

*Continued on next page*



## How Tehran auto workers are organizing

The following is an interview with a strike activist at the General Motors plant outside Tehran. The 'Militant' conducted the interview on February 13. Four days later the GM strikers returned to work, along with most other workers in the city.

The GM plant is situated on Old Kary Road, the highway leading west from Tehran. This highway is a mile-long belt of factories—auto, steel, pharmaceutical, petrochemical, and other industries.

There are 2,600 production workers at the GM plant, and 600 office workers and technicians. The interview is with an office worker.

**Question.** How did the strike at GM begin?

**Answer.** First let me describe what has been happening at the plant for the last year. Long before—in fact ever since GM opened the plant—there has been deep resentment among the workers toward the management, which is American-dominated. Opposition to this domination has been at the heart of our struggle.

Management has imposed production norms—such as speedups—on the workers. The day-to-day atmosphere in the plant is extremely repressive. They hired an ex-colonel in the Iranian army to supervise discipline. He is a SAVAK agent. Time and again, strikers have been handed over to SAVAK—the secret police.

So in late January 1978, we went on strike to demand that this SAVAK be dismissed.

The strike was defeated and many workers imprisoned. The army occupied the factory.

Early in the summer we staged a sit-down strike. Again we demanded the firing of the SAVAK agent, as well as changes in management. We continued our strike until the oil workers walked off the job.

**Q.** Why did the GM strike end at this point?

**A.** The company put a lot of pressure on the workers to return. They threatened to fire us otherwise. They did however promise to pay some back wages.

But the workers continued to organize on the job. Some people put out a leaflet urging that we continue the strike to get rid of the SAVAK.

**Q.** Did you have a strike committee at this point?

### ...airman

Continued from preceding page participants, but their numbers are relatively small.

As the homafar we interviewed put it, "Everyone in Tehran was a mujahadeen during the insurrection."

### Struggle continues

Since the overthrow of the monarchy, the airmen have continued their struggle.

When Prime Minister Bazargan appointed General Mehdioun as the new air force commander, protests broke out on air bases around the country. Mehdioun, who served under the shah for forty years, is regarded as a traitor to the revolution. Bazargan was finally forced to appoint a different commander to the post.

In the demonstration against Mehdioun, airmen raised the demand that they be allowed to elect their own officers. Other democratic demands are also coming to the fore on the air bases.

The homafar explained:



Statue of shah's father is brought down day after shah was forced to flee. Iranian working class played decisive role in overthrowing monarchy.

**A.** No. All we had was a phony union—a government-controlled union.

The officials of this "union" tried to cool down the workers. But events had reached the point where the "union" had lost all authority with the workers. It was basically dissolved.

Instead, workers began talking about the need for a union of our own. One that acts in our own interest, not the company's. Such unions were illegal under the shah, of course, so we decided to start by setting up a temporary committee.

**Q.** How was the committee set up and what were its first activities?

**A.** It was elected at a meeting of both office and production workers in December.

This was at a point when the oil workers strike reached a peak. Because there was no petrol, the bosses at our plant decided to shut down. The workers viewed this as simply an

attempt to deny us wages.

We were locked out for twelve days. Since we couldn't meet in the plant, the first meeting of the committee took place at a nearby university. We invited students to attend.

The demands at the committee focused on the fact that management was stealing our money. And not only management. We knew that 10 percent of the profits went to the Pahlavi Foundation owned by the shah.

### Open the books

So the committee demanded that the company's financial records be opened. The workers pointed out that we weren't being paid, but meanwhile one of the bosses had fled the country with a lot of company money in his suitcase!

The committee also called for control of policy in the plant—no firings. It demanded the right of committee representatives to participate in management's meetings and it raised the idea of workers controlling production.

mese people's affairs.

"If the United States were to send troops to Iran, it would be to get its hands on our oil.

**Q.** What were meetings of the strike committee like?

**A.** We held them regularly. As many as 1,000 workers would participate in the discussion. But gradually the production workers lost confidence in the committee.

This was because representation on the committee was heavily weighted toward the office workers. When we elected the committee, production workers were given far fewer representatives than the office workers. This began to pose a political problem.

**Q.** Can you explain further?

**A.** The production workers felt they were denied a full voice in decision making. They felt the committee leadership was too conservative and wasn't fighting effectively for their demands.

The committee was dominated by people who worked closely with the forces around Ayatollah Khomeini. They tried to suppress discussion when production workers demanded more democracy in meetings.

For example, if someone got up and said workers were playing a special role in this revolution, the committee leaders would try to isolate him by calling him "communist."

This angered workers. They argued back that it was the workers, especially the oil workers, that had brought the shah down.

**Q.** How did GM workers participate in the insurrection? What role did the strike committee play?

**A.** People participated as individuals. One worker was killed and another was injured. The strike committee didn't communicate with us during the insurrection.

### Next steps

**Q.** What do GM workers think is the next step, now that the monarchy has been overthrown?

**A.** The biggest question on workers' minds is forming a union. First, many production workers want to see a new election of the strike committee—this time they want a majority of the delegates.

There was also discussion of forming a national auto workers union.

In my opinion, there are some other important steps as well. The defense guard established by the strike committee should be maintained. We should also continue solidarity activities with workers in other factories.

"If American soldiers are fighting for their democratic rights, as we are, we support them. We're behind anyone whose rights are being denied."

## Help us get out the truth

In recent issues we have appealed to our readers for financial help to cover the extraordinary expenses of our eyewitness coverage from Iran. Here are some of the responses:

A group of steelworkers in Los Angeles sent \$125 with this note: "We wanted to send a special contribution so as to help ensure on-the-spot coverage of the Iranian revolution. It was gratifying to us to know that while the bourgeois press just didn't have reporters on hand that the *Militant*—in its great tradition—did."

A supporter in Albany wrote: "Enclosed is a contribution. Everyone here can't wait until the next issue to read Cindy Jaquith's eyewitness

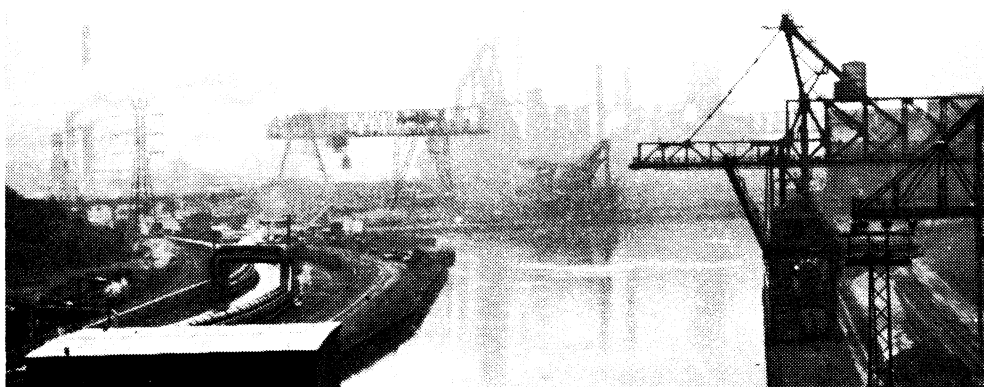
accounts of the Iranian revolution. We only wish the *Militant* came out more often.

"The distortions of the events in Iran by the capitalist press are a disgrace to the brave Iranian masses. The *Militant* is performing a great service to working people throughout the world!"

We doubt there is any other newspaper in the United States—and few anywhere in the world—where you can read accounts such as the interviews in this week's *Militant*.

To help keep it coming, please send a contribution today to: Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

## 'Cleveland workers need our own party'



Republic Steel. Cleveland corporations, with billions in assets, should pay taxes—not working people.



THABO NTWENG

Militant/Dick Roberts

DENNIS KUCINICH

By Frank Lovell

The idea that the working class should be represented in government is popular among workers. So popular that when Dennis Kucinich ran for mayor of Cleveland in 1977, he tried even harder than most Democratic Party politicians to paint himself up as the candidate of the common people.

Describing himself as an "urban populist," Kucinich told reporters last September that his election "brought about a shift in the center of power, from the major corporate interests, the banks, the utilities, the real estate trusts, to the poor and working Clevelanders."

Since his election, though, Cleveland working people haven't fared very well. Kucinich cut the city work force by nearly 15 percent in just one year.

Last fall, however, bankers and corporation heads who call the shots in Cleveland said that wasn't enough. They demanded more cutbacks, so that immediate interest payments could be made on outstanding municipal bonds. In December, the city went into default.

Now Kucinich warns that there will be major city layoffs and social service cuts unless Cleveland working people vote themselves a 50 percent payroll tax increase on February 27.

This performance should be proof positive that Kucinich is anything but prolabor. Yet many in the radical movement lend the mayor a hand in pretending to speak for working people.

In *These Times*, a social democratic

weekly, says that Kucinich "was forced to call for a vote" on the tax increase. The Communist Party's *Daily World* portrays him as a beleaguered "antimonopoly" fighter. Both hail him for his empty grandstand play of refusing to sell the tiny Municipal Light Company (see box).

### Socialist mayoral campaign

Socialist Workers Party mayoral candidate Thabo Ntweng has a different message for Cleveland workers.

Ntweng, a member of United Auto Workers Local 217, points out that there are two major social forces in Cleveland. One is the corporate power structure. The other is the working class allied with the Black community.

The corporate power is organized politically. The working class is not.

Ntweng believes the working class and its allies can and must form their own mass party, a labor party based on a fighting union movement. One of the obstacles, he says, is the false hope that a self-proclaimed "working-class champion" such as Kucinich will defeat the corporations.

Ntweng explains that all experience proves this will not and cannot happen. The working class must fight its own battles in the political arena, just as it had to battle on the economic front in the 1930s to create its own industrial unions.

### Conference of labor

When Ntweng announced his campaign on the SWP ticket in January, he called for a conference of Cleveland unions and community groups to discuss ways of solving the city's economic, social, and political problems.

His proposals are: tax corporate profits, not working people; halt the layoffs and cutbacks; desegregate the schools; declare an immediate moratorium on bank payments, force open their books and those of the city treasury for union and community inspection.

Ntweng says these ideas have gotten serious hearing on the job among workers in many unions.

Most workers don't have much confidence in Kucinich, Ntweng says, and they like the idea of a labor party. But they don't know how such a party could be created, or who would do it.

### Party of big business

In trying to make the case that Kucinich himself is a working-class candidate, his supporters in the radical movement acclaim his appointment of a number of union officials to city office.

Kucinich, for example, named former United Auto Workers official Sherwood Weissman to be city personnel director—the mayor's hatchet-man, in other words. Weissman is also Kuci-

nich's top political adviser.

But has this contributed to the political power of working people in Cleveland? No. Look at what Weissman had to say last December, when municipal unions threatened to strike against proposed layoffs.

"They're dealing with the most pro-labor administration they've ever dealt with," said the former-UAW official, "and we have no intention of tolerating the attempt by the unions to dictate political and governmental policy in violation of their collective bargaining agreements."

Kucinich has no intention of bringing the power of the unions to bear in running Cleveland. His aim is to shackle that power inside the capitalist Democratic Party. And union misleaders such as Weissman are helping him out.

Against this losing strategy, Ntweng explains that a party that truly fights for working people can only be organized by the union movement, making a clean break with the Democratic Party and its politicians.

A labor party would be entirely different from the capitalist parties, Ntweng says. It would unite the great majority of working people—Black and white, skilled and unskilled, employed and unemployed, men and women.

It could open offices and meeting halls in working-class neighborhoods—in many cases operating out of union halls.

It could help organize neighborhood committees to monitor prices; cam-

paign for well-funded, desegregated schools; bring hospitals and other health-care centers under the control of the community, in cooperation with staff people.

Some Cleveland working people tell Ntweng that they hope for something better in the future, but they want to know what they can do now.

Ntweng answers that for a start, they can vote "no" on the tax hike February 27. And in the mayoral election next November, they can vote for him and the whole SWP ticket—the only candidates campaigning for working-class solutions and political independence.

### Where real power lies

But politics is not confined to the voting booth, Ntweng stresses. Workers' action on the picket lines and in mass demonstrations against unemployment and poor housing, against high taxes for the military budget, or against nuclear power and pollution of the environment is much more productive politically than following the false advice of labor misleaders, *In These Times*, and the Communist Party by supporting a mayor who does the bidding of big business.

"The main thing," Ntweng says, "is don't expect others to look after you. Look out for yourselves."

In Ntweng's opinion, that's the only way the vast majority in our society will ever be represented in government—in Cleveland, or anywhere else.

### Cleveland votes

In the February 27 special election in Cleveland, the Socialist Workers Party is urging:

**DON'T VOTE ON ISSUE ONE**, the proposal to sell Muny Light. Whether this tiny company is retained by the city or sold to Cleveland Electric Illuminating Company will make *no difference* in electrical rates. City and state government bodies must approve CEI's rate increases and consequently have the power to turn rates down whatever happens to Muny Light. Our fire should be directed at these capitalist politicians, who are using the fraudulent "save Muny" issue to cover up their complicity with CEI's rate-raising profiteering.

**VOTE NO ON ISSUE TWO**, the proposal to raise the city payroll tax from 1 percent to 1.5 percent. Cleveland industry and banks, with billions of dollars in assets, should pay the taxes—not working people.

## Union tops back tax ripoff

By Joanna Misnik

CLEVELAND—Not a single Cleveland union has taken a position against the proposal to raise this city's regressive income tax from 1 percent to 1.5 percent.

On the contrary, the Cleveland Federation of Labor, representing area unions affiliated to the AFL-CIO, voted to endorse the tax hike. No position on the Muny Light issue was taken, reflecting the divided loyalties of officials within that body to Mayor Dennis Kucinich.

On February 7, 120 delegates to the United Auto Workers CAP (Community Action Program) Council passed resolutions supporting the tax increase and opposing the sale of Muny Light. The meeting was heated, with strong opposition to the tax hike from some of the delegates.

UAW Local 45 introduced a resolution opposing the tax increase. The resolution noted that the UAW had opposed similar tax-hike propositions in 1970 and 1974.

Local 45 President Tom Chudione, in introducing the resolution, ex-

plained that this regressive payroll tax places the burden on those least able to pay.

"Every time there is a crisis in government," he said, "the working people are the ones asked to shoulder the financial burden."

Thabo Ntweng, Socialist Workers Party mayoral candidate and a member of UAW Local 217, told the *Militant* that the UAW leadership's reactionary position on the tax issue is the consequence of its subservience to Kucinich and the Democratic Party.

"I know that there is significant opposition to the tax increase among my fellow unionists," he said. "Yet in most cases we didn't even have an opportunity to discuss what position to take in our locals. A democratic discussion would have demonstrated the real sentiment of the UAW membership."

"Our union, 60,000-strong in this area, should have brought its power to bear to beat back this attack on the living standard of all Cleveland working people."



# Women steelworkers urge action against

By Nancy Cole

CHICAGO—Nearly 400 women steelworkers meeting here February 15 decided on an action campaign to defend affirmative action and defeat the *Weber* case now before the Supreme Court.

The weather was bad, and many women had to take a day off with lost pay, but the turnout for the second annual Women's Conference of United Steelworkers District 31 was almost double that of last year's meeting. About one-third were Black women steelworkers.

The conference was an official district event, organized with the cooperation of the District 31 Women's Caucus. The presence on the speakers' platform of USWA International Secretary Lynn Williams and Civil Rights Department Director Frank Mont reflected the impact the caucus has already had.

And the exchanges between the men on the stage and the women on the floor—sometimes good-natured, more often angry—pointed to an even bigger role in the future for women in the USWA.

Contingents of women from USWA locals 2609 and 2610 in Baltimore and from Minnesota's Iron Range also attended as observers.

Women discussed and questioned union officials about on-the-job problems, industry discrimination, and their rights and role in the union. But the issue that received the most attention was Brian Weber's challenge to affirmative action.

## 'Reverse discrimination'?

USWA Secretary Williams posed the *Weber* case as the "crucial question of whether a collectively bargained program that sets aside 50 percent of craft training vacancies for minority members and women constitutes legal affirmative action or illegal reverse discrimination."

Williams explained the union's answer to the lawsuit by Weber, a white lab technician at Kaiser Aluminum's plant in Gramercy, Louisiana. Williams concluded, "How important is the case? Well, affirmative-action agreements negotiated by our union alone, most of them parallel to the one at Kaiser, cover nearly a million of our members."

In the afternoon civil rights workshop, filled to overflowing by nearly 70 conference participants, Civil Rights Director Mont debunked the lower court's findings that Kaiser never discriminated against Blacks.

Forty percent of the area's work force is Black, he said. Yet in 1974, even after pressure had been exerted, Kaiser "still had only a 15 percent minority work force, and I'm not going to even tell you the figures on the women."

Before the affirmative-action program was negotiated by the union in



Carolyn Jasin (left) said government figures show Republic Steel hasn't implemented Consent Decree. USWA Civil Rights Director Frank Mont (far right) tried to respond to string of questions on probationary firings of women.



Militant photos by Nancy Cole

1974, Blacks held only 5 out of 273 skilled craft jobs at the plant—less than 2 percent.

It wasn't just their hiring practices, he continued, "they did not permit into the crafts large segments of our total membership—white males included—unless you had the prerequisites of being a craftsman."

"So when the courts say there was no finding of discrimination, they're like Lady Justice—they have their blindfold on."

Juanita Holmes, head of the civil rights committee of Local 1010, agreed with the importance of the *Weber* case, but, she asked Mont, "what is the International doing as an awareness program? What is the International doing all over the country to tell our membership?"

Mont answered that the union had only one official organ, *Steel Labor*, and that it had run one prominent article in December.

"Anywhere I can find a gathering, anywhere I can dispatch my people, anywhere Vice-president [Leon] Lynch can go, we have talked about *Weber*," Mont said. He pointed to union support for the March 4 rally against *Weber* in New Orleans, and said he had met with branches of the NAACP on the case.

## Mobilization proposal

The workshop approved, and the entire conference later adopted, a resolution calling for the "mobilization of our entire membership to bring pressure on the Supreme Court to uphold affirmative action" and for full support and an all-out effort by local unions for a March 14 meeting on the *Weber* case called by District 31 and Gary Mayor Richard Hatcher.

An amendment passed the workshop unanimously, calling for a national march on Washington to protest *Weber*

and defend affirmative action.

Another affirmative-action issue discussed was the 1974 consent decree under which major steel companies agreed that 20 percent of new hires would be women.

Carolyn Jasin from the women's committee of Local 1033 told the civil rights workshop of the runaround she had gotten from the company, union, and government when she tried to track down figures on implementation of the decree.

Finally, after using the Freedom of Information Act, she got the statistics for the Republic Steel plant where she works. They show, she reported, that the company is not in compliance on hiring women.

"What are we going to do about it?" she asked Mont. None of the quotas for allowing women into the apprenticeship programs have been reached either.

Some of the timetables give the company until 1984 and 1986. "Why did the union agree to such timetables? Why are we waiting ten, twelve years to get women into apprenticeship programs when we need these jobs now?" Jasin asked.

She also reported that at Republic up to 75 percent of the probationary employees fired are women.

The companies' "hire-em, fire-em" policy for women—and the 520-hour probationary period itself—were among the most explosive issues at the conference.

To persistent questioners, Mont declared that the union's position is to fight—that is, file grievances—for all victims of discrimination on the job, whether they've completed the probationary period or not.

Women here, however, insisted that this is not the practice. "Why isn't the union backing us up?" a Black woman demanded.

"What's the union going to do about it? What's the International going to do about it?" asked another.

The eruption at the civil rights workshop over probationary firings elicited no satisfactory answers from union officials present, but the women at the conference did pass a resolution calling for abolishing the probationary period and for the active union defense of all workers from day of hire.

## ERA campaign

Both USWA Secretary Williams and District 31 Director James Balanoff stressed the fight for the ERA in their remarks to the conference.

Just the day before, Illinois legislators defeated a rules change proposal that would have helped clear the way for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

One of the gains since the last Women's Conference, said Williams,

was that Congress extended the ERA deadline "thanks I'm sure, at least in part, to the massive march in the capital in which a large delegation from District 31 and many other steelworkers from across the country participated" last July 9.

Even though the new deadline is three years off, he said, "the time to step up the mobilization and ratification campaign is now."

Williams went on to discuss the "similarity of goals" between the labor and women's movements. It is best illustrated, he said, by two lists—the list of twenty states with so-called right-to-work laws and the list of fifteen states that have not ratified the ERA.

"It is not a coincidence, I would suggest, that a dozen states, a full 80 percent of the unratified states, are also right-to-work states."

He then spoke of the "crucial battle" in Newport News, Virginia, where the "right to work" laws are being used as a club against shipyard workers striking for recognition of their USWA local.

Balanoff pledged that "when Brother Bruce Thrasher [USWA] director in that district, calls upon us for financial, moral, and people support, we're going to answer that call, and I know that women in our district will be in the forefront."

Later Balanoff told the conference "We have a job to go back and explain the importance of the strike in Newport News and why it's important that we as a union give full support to our brothers and sisters in Virginia."

The conference approved a resolution in support of the Newport News steelworkers' strike.

## Women confront officials

The morning part of the conference set aside a period where the steelworker delegates could ask the panel of speakers questions. There was a steady stream, with no words minced. Women were still lined up at the microphone when the session ended for lunch.

Why are the international officials opposed to an international women's department? asked one steelworker.

Women's affairs are best settled in the civil rights department, answered Williams.

"I hate to see the women separate themselves out into single-issue people," added Mont.

"I appreciated Brother Williams's speech this morning," commented Roberta Wood, cochairperson of the Women's Caucus. "I was happy to hear a speech talking about the ERA, maternity benefits . . . affirmative action. But it's funny, I never heard these things before we organized the Women's Caucus."



Militant/Nancy Cole

Turnout at District 31 Women's Conference was double that of the first conference last year.



# Weber

Far from being interested in a "single issue," Wood explained, the caucus had prompted women to become more active in their union. "We can see the role that women have in strengthening the whole union. If we can do this without a department of women's affairs, think what we could do with such a department."

Coretta Scott, a Black woman from Local 12775, asked what the international is doing to provide jobs on its staff for women and minorities. "We need a fact sheet on the progress," she suggested, "and I'm not talking about clerical jobs, but about actually representing the union."

"We're doing everything we can," Williams offered. His remark prompted laughter, boos, and hisses.

"I'm awfully uncomfortable," he managed to continue, "and I suppose that's appropriate in the minds of many of you."

## Minority women

The conference also discussed and approved resolutions on maternity benefits, abortion rights, ERA, child care, job safety, and the right to ratify union contracts.

A resolution on the oppression of minority women workers unanimously passed. "I have been in a plant now thirteen years," said Juanita Holmes. "I have seen the revolving door for minority women. I've seen us hired, and I've seen us fired. I'm so glad to see that our white sisters are rising with us in this fight."

Speakers from outside the union who addressed the conference were Rev. Willie Barrow from Operation PUSH, author and historian Barbara Wertheimer, and Joyce Miller, president of the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

As the conference was winding up several women took the microphone to make general comments. One thing that could help the next conference, suggested a Chicana, is to cut down on the long speeches at the beginning so that there would be more time for workshops and discussion.

Another woman requested a progress report from district officials at the next conference on the resolutions passed at this one. "We don't expect miracles," she said. "But we want to know what has been done."

And still another woman told the meeting that this was her first union conference of any kind, and for her it had been an "inspiration."



Militant/Nancy Cole  
USWA SECRETARY WILLIAMS: Sees 'similarity of goals' between labor and women's movements.

# New Orleans rally to defend affirmative action wins help from unions, students

By Ron Repps

NEW ORLEANS—Unionists, feminists, students, and Black community organizations are joining together here to defeat what all agree is the single most dangerous threat to affirmative action—the *Weber* case.

Brian Weber, a white lab technician for Kaiser Aluminum in Gramercy, Louisiana, is suing to overturn an affirmative-action program negotiated by the United Steelworkers.

The program set aside 50 percent of skilled job training positions at the plant for Blacks and women.

Weber maintains, and two lower courts agree, that the program discriminates against him and other white males. The case is now before the Supreme Court.

Last fall, the Committee to Overturn the Weber Decision and Defend Affirmative Action was formed. CWODA has focused its efforts on a rally planned for March 4 at the Laborers Union hall.

Activists at college campuses across New Orleans are holding programs and debates on *Weber* and affirmative action. Two recent meetings at Southern University in New Orleans, the Black state university, attracted more than 200 students. More than 90 signed CWODA's mailing list. Both meetings were sponsored by the school's junior class.

At the University of New Orleans a debate is planned February 21 on "Weber, affirmative action, and quotas." Speaking for affirmative action will be Rashaad Ali, CWODA coordinator, and Jane Van Deusen, a steelworker at Kaiser's Chalmette plant.

Brian Weber and his lawyer were asked to provide their opposing views, but both declined. So the anti-affirmative-action position will be represented by Jerry Supernaw, "a previous plaintiff in a 'reverse discrimination' case."

The student government at Xavier University, a Black Catholic school, has announced its support for the March 4 rally. And Dillard University, another Black private college, will hold a meeting on *Weber* and affirmative action, among other topics.

At Southern University in Baton Rouge, a campus-wide rally on *Weber* is scheduled for February 28.

## List of speakers

The speakers list for the March 4 rally grows daily, as new unions, organizations, and individuals join the fight against *Weber*.

At present it includes: Harold Sanderson, USWA international civil rights department; Claudia Davis, program coordinator, Louisiana Bureau for Women, Women and Employment Program; Rev. S.L. Harvey, president, Louisiana Southern Christian Leadership Conference; and Lecia Molesion, public affairs director, Louisiana Urban League.

Also, Gretchen Hollander, Louisiana director, American Civil Liberties Union; Vear Warren, junior class president at SUNO; Willie Montgomery, field representative, AFL-CIO; Rudy Gordon, first woman to be hired at the Kaiser Gramercy plant; and Rev. Avery Alexander, state representative.

Also, Kernel Gudia, union grievance committee at Kaiser Gramercy plant; Rosie Roy, state coordinator, National Organization for Women; Gus Thomas, president, New Orleans NAACP; Lena Craig Stewart, secretary-treasurer, Hotel and Motel Employees Union Local 166; and representatives from the National Association of Black Social Workers, United Teachers of New Orleans, and Louis A. Martinet Society, a state association of Black lawyers.

Cochairing the rally will be Rev. Isidore Booker, president of the West Bank Jefferson Parish NAACP and

chairperson of USWA Local 13000 Civil Rights Committee and Connie Goodley, UTNO Executive Council.

## 'Reverse discrimination' myth

One of the most important tasks of the committee is to educate the public about the issues in the *Weber* case. This is made more difficult by the coverage the news media have given *Weber*, portraying him as the "little man" fighting for his chance in life and "victimized" because he is a white male.

State Rep. Avery Alexander says he answers the charge of "reverse discrimination" by citing "the hundreds of years of discrimination . . . and the conditions as they are now. The government, industry, education, etc., are all controlled by white males. Reverse discrimination is simply a myth."

Alexander has donated the use of his New Orleans office to the committee.

Unions in the city have also aided the committee's work. The United Teachers of New Orleans put out a 5,000-piece mailing to all teachers and paraprofessionals explaining the importance of the case and announcing the March 4 rally.

Ten thousand leaflets were supplied by the Amalgamated Transit Union.

In Gramercy itself, the Black steelworkers probably understand better than anyone the importance of this fight. One Kaiser worker, a skilled carpenter, told me he was hired as a general laborer because Blacks were not allowed into the skilled trades within the plant.

Rudy Gordon, a Black woman worker at the plant, says that *Weber* "is not only hurting Blacks, he's hurting whites too."

On the prospect of *Weber* winning in the Supreme Court, she just shook her head and said, "It will put us back so far, especially the women."

# More fallout from 'Bakke' decision

By August Nimtz

At the beginning of this year, NAACP head Benjamin Hooks said that the Supreme Court's 1978 *Bakke* decision has had a "far more chilling impact than we thought it could have."

Events since the decision, he continued, have been "more disturbing than we thought they would be."

The fallout continues from that decision, which legitimized the racist notion of "reverse discrimination" against white males.

• On February 5, the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled against Black student representation on the University of North Carolina student council.

The circuit court's decision, which extends the *Bakke* ruling, held that the constitutional rights of two white students were denied because the student constitution allocated two of the eight-

teen council seats to minority students.

• A federal court in Philadelphia awarded \$31,000 to a white former official of the Department of Welfare February 2 for being a victim of "reverse discrimination."

This decision goes far beyond the *Bakke* ruling because no affirmative-action program was involved. The claimant, Richard Cleary, argued that since he, one of a few white workers in a largely Black work force, had not been promoted, then this was "proof" that he had been discriminated against.

• Also in Philadelphia, Robert Lyon and three other male professors at Temple University have taken aim at women in higher education. They filed a suit in federal district court, claiming that "less qualified" female instructors are paid more than Lyon. Like Brian

Weber, Lyon seeks to overturn affirmative-action provisions in the 1977 contract negotiations by the faculty union, the American Association of University Professors.



Militant/David Nudel

# Poll shows backing for racial equality

The Brian Webers and Allan Bakkes try to pretend their attacks on affirmative action have the support of the overwhelming majority of whites.

A recent poll confirms that this is false. Despite widespread confusion over quotas, there is more sentiment than ever among working people—including whites—for equality and against discrimination. And that includes big majority support for affirmative action.

A Harris poll released February 20 found that by 71 to 21 percent, whites agree that "after years of discrimination, it is only fair to set up special programs to make sure that women

and minorities are given every chance to have equal opportunities in employment and education."

The poll findings were part of a report by the National Conference of Christians and Jews. The poll question specified that such programs would not include "rigid quotas." The conference report seized on this fact to claim that the *Bakke* decision has made affirmative action more acceptable to whites.

The truth is that these contradictory attitudes have been around for some time.

A 1977 poll, for example, found a big majority—nearly three fourths of those questioned—opposed "extra considera-

tion" for Blacks or women. But an even bigger majority said the government should pass laws "to guarantee equal job rights" for Blacks and women.

This confusion is deliberately fostered by the government, big-business, and news media campaign to cover up on-going discrimination and pretend Blacks and women have now "made it" in American society.

One of the biggest educational tasks for defenders of affirmative action is to explain that without "extra consideration"—without quotas—there can never be genuine equality for the victims of centuries of discrimination.

# Solidarity grows for Newport

## Spirits high on picket lines

By Laura Moorhead

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—While Tenneco grooms itself for its February 22 court challenge to the Steelworkers, striking shipyard workers are looking toward February 24—when Virginia unionists will stage a rally and march here in solidarity with the strike.

In spite of a severe snowstorm in the area Sunday night, February 18—which kept Monday picket lines small—spirits were high Tuesday morning at the Sixty-eighth Street gate.

Workers walking the picket lines shouted energetically at the scabs, who skulked through the gates under the watchful eye of Virginia state troopers.

Tenneco, owner of Newport News Shipbuilding, still claims that 60 percent of the yard's nearly 18,000 production and maintenance workers are back at work. But United Steelworkers Local 8888 received benefits for more than 13,000 strikers on Monday night.

The USWA international strike fund, which pays benefits of \$30 per worker per week, presented a check for more than \$396,000 to Local 8888 President Wayne Crosby.

The shipyard workers, whose strike began January 30, are fighting for union recognition, union rights, and union wages.

On February 22 the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals in Richmond will hear arguments on Tenneco's refusal to recognize and bargain with the USWA. The arguments of the contending sides are limited to thirty minutes each, after which a three-judge panel deliberates behind closed doors.

The Steelworkers won a representation election in January 1978. After months of investigation—at Tenneco's behest—the National Labor Relations Board certified the union in October.

But the company still refused to bargain. Charging "election irregularities," Tenneco is appealing to the court to overturn the NLRB ruling.

Tenneco's belligerent stance is part of the overall anti-union offensive by big business. The employers are deathly afraid of the impact a victory for the Steelworkers—at one of the South's largest industrial work sites—



'They're walking a picket line for your benefit as well as their own,' says Newport News Labor Council president

would have on other workers throughout the low-wage South and the entire country.

Strikers lining up for their benefits Monday morning complained about inadequate and biased social services on the Tidewater peninsula. They cited understaffed offices and a thirty-day waiting period for food stamps after application.

In neighboring Hampton, steelworkers applying for food stamps had the word "Striker" written across the top of their applications.

Local merchants appear to be trying to force strikers back to work by refusing to hire them for part-time jobs.

The hostility of state and local governments is contrasted to the support strikers have received from unions that regularly service the shipyard. The Communications Workers, Seafarers, Marine Pilots, and building trades are all refusing to perform work for Tenneco while the strike is on.

Local 8888's closest ally is its sister Steelworkers Local 8417, composed of 1,200 marine designers.

The shipyard designers were forced out on strike in April 1977. Last week Local 8417 negotiators met with company representatives for the first time since July 1978.

Local 8417 unanimously rejected

Tenneco's July offer. But this is exactly the package the company put back on the table again. Union officers walked out in disgust.

Designers President Lee Johnson told the *Militant* that the company is "still trying to play the same games after all this time."

"What we're striking over is take-aways," Johnson said before entering this round of talks. "We will not give up what we had in the past. And while we haven't been striking for twenty-two months just over money, money has sure become a major subject. On average, we're \$2.50 an hour behind the rest of our industry."

"We were put out [forced on strike] for one reason," a striking designer told the *Militant*. "To show the production and maintenance people what would happen to them if they joined a union. The only way we're going back is if we all go back together."

## 'Shut down unsafe jobs'

By Shelley Kramer

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—"If you ask the union organizers, they'll probably

tell you they're most concerned about health and safety," Jerry Kelly, editor of the United Steelworkers strike bulletin, told the *Militant*.

"What we want are union safety committees to enforce OSHA [Occupational Safety and Health Administration] regulations inside the shipyard."

Kelly himself is a good example of why the union's 700 volunteer organizers inside the shipyard feel so strongly about safety. He's a twenty-six-year-old welder with six years at his job. And he's hurting.

"As I talk my jaw is killing me and my left eye hurts," he told a meeting of student strike supporters later that evening. Welding without proper protection has "burned out" his sinuses. "It wasn't until January 14 that I was actually trained in how to use a respirator—after six years welding!"

Tenneco is just as criminally negligent about asbestos regulations.

"I was hired February 2, 1973," Kelly said. "But I didn't learn until this past July that effective January 31, 1973, the company was supposed to ask every year whether I wanted a complete physical because I work with asbestos."

## Unions vow support: 'Their struggle is ours'

By John Hawkins

"These men are walking a picket line for your benefit as well as their own," wrote Ralph Edgerton, president of the Newport News Central Labor Council, "and for their morale and the effect on citizens not involved, we hope you will join us."

Edgerton's appeal to join in a February 24 demonstration of solidarity with the shipyard workers was echoed by the Virginia AFL-CIO:

"The results of our efforts will be monumental in determining the future prospects of the Virginia Labor Movement."

Despite a virtual news blackout on the strike outside Virginia, unionists across the country are beginning to get word of the Newport News struggle and are demonstrating their support for United Steelworkers Local 8888.

Three steel locals in Pittsburgh—1219 at U.S. Steel Edgar Thompson Works, 1843 at Jones and Laughlin,

and 7097 at U.S. Steel Chemical—have voted to take a stand in solidarity with their brothers and sisters in Virginia.

"Whatever help they need to win that strike, whether it's people, finances, or moral support, we'll support them," said Jim Balanoff, director of USWA District 31 (Chicago-Gary). "That fight is ours. It's important all over the nation."

At a recent meeting of USWA Local 6787 in Burns Harbor, Indiana, steelworkers adopted a resolution of support to the shipyard strikers and voted to send them monthly financial contributions for the duration of the strike.

A support resolution was also adopted at the District 31 women's conference in Chicago February 15.

USWA Local 6115 on the Mesabi Iron Range in northern Minnesota also passed a support resolution. Iron range steelworkers waged a successful 138-day strike, with the support of USWA

members nationwide, against the steel corporations in 1977.

Support is also coming in from Canada. Dave Patterson, president of USWA Local 6500, which is in the sixth month of its strike against Inco in Sudbury, Ontario, explained, "The Newport News struggle is a fight for union security, to establish the union."

"We fought this out over thirty years ago, and we know the way to do it is to go with the union."

Patterson said Local 6500 is eager to send speakers to U.S. union locals for solidarity meetings and would be honored to share the platform with Newport News strikers.

Support for the shipyard workers is growing in other unions as well. "It is hard to believe these [government] officials are still trying to impede collective bargaining with nightsticks, police dogs, armored cars, and helicopters," said United Mine Workers president Arnold Miller.

Coal miners stand behind the shipyard strikers "100 percent."

United Auto Workers Local 451 in Cleveland sent two members of its education committee to Newport News February 17.

They walked the picket line with strikers, visited the strike headquarters, and are planning to present a report to the next local meeting, complete with a slide show, to let Local 451 members know what's at stake in this strike.

Solidarity messages and requests for speakers should be addressed to USWA Local 8888, 9314 Warwick Boulevard, Newport News, Virginia 23607. Telephone: (804) 599-0480.

Representatives of USWA Local 6500 on strike against Inco in Sudbury are also available to speak. For more information write Local 6500, 92 Frood Road, Sudbury Ontario. Telephone: (705) 675-1388.



# News strikers

"I haven't had a physical since 1973. To the best of my knowledge I, as well as 15,500 other production workers, could die from cancer because the shipyard doesn't give a damn."

Shipyards are among the most dangerous workplaces. And without union resistance, Tenneco has been able to get away with murder.

Poor ventilation, poisonous chemicals, unsafe guard rails and planks, live welding cables, burning gas lines, dangerous cranes, and hazardous radiation from nuclear work are just some of the conditions that create deadly risks for Newport News workers.

Yet they have never had a safety clause in any contract. The Peninsula Shipbuilders Association, the company union, never once called for an OSHA inspection. Moreover, the PSA stood by while Tenneco threatened to fire any worker who spoke to OSHA investigators.

Willis Hayes is a twenty-nine-year veteran of the shipyard and one of the first Steelworkers organizers.

"Around 1971 a fellow in my department had his foot mashed when a cart carrying plates of steel rolled over it," Hayes told the *Militant*.

"The company clinic simply gave him pain killers; they didn't even take x-rays. His foot kept swelling, so he went to an outside doctor who rushed him to the hospital. After examining him, the doctors there decided to amputate."

But that did not end the tragic story.

"In the time that had elapsed, gangrene had spread up the worker's leg," Hayes said. "So they had to amputate again up to the knee. And then a few weeks later up to the thigh. He lived less than a year."

"The shipyard and the PSA worked together against this poor man. They wouldn't give him one penny," Hayes angrily recalled. "I argued his case but the PSA lawyer refused to help."

"Later I found out that the compensation board was trying to protect the shipyard. This was the kind of thing that made me break with the PSA."

"In my thirty-six years inside the yard I've seen lots of men hurt or killed," Edward Macklin told the *Militant*.

"I remember seeing someone electrocuted on the third rail of a crane. Then in 1954 a gangplank fell forty feet to the concrete and six men were killed. They were just hanging for their lives from the wires."

"More than 100 people pass over that gangplank every time the whistle blows. The bolts could easily be changed everyday, but things like that aren't done until after accidents happen."

What can the Steelworkers do to protect their members? "We should be able to stop an unsafe job and shut it down—without the company being able to fire us," Macklin answered. "That's the only way we'll get any protection."

## La. Tenneco oil workers strike over safety and health

By Michael Beslin

NEW ORLEANS—On February 3 the shipyard workers striking Tenneco for union recognition in Newport News, Virginia, were joined by Tenneco refinery workers in Chalmette, Louisiana.

The 385 strikers in Chalmette are members of Local 4-522 of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union (OCAW).

They are demanding the right to refuse any unsafe job without suffering reprisals. Tenneco's disregard for safety at the plant caused the death of thirteen workers two years ago in a series of explosions.

A second strike issue is the company's refusal to pay adequate overtime or to provide workers with a minimum number of hours during frequent maintenance shutdowns.

The local press and the cops are joining with Tenneco in trying to isolate and intimidate the strikers. Almost daily the press runs stories about mysterious incidents of violence allegedly committed by strikers. These charges are never backed up with evidence.

As for the cops, they're doing everything they can to provoke the pickets.

Just a few months ago, former St. Bernard Parish Sheriff Jack Rowley was indicted for accepting thousands of dollars in bribes from Tenneco.

Tenneco has also hired Crowder Industry's Texas Armed Guard Service of Houston to recruit in-plant provocateurs from Houston's skid-row area. This was revealed by the press after five of these "guards" quit, complaining of "bad conditions."

The courts are also with Tenneco. They broke OCAW's 133-day strike here in 1969 and are again ready to

impose a strikebreaking injunction at the first opportunity.

As in Newport News, local unions are coming to the support of Tenneco's workers.

Members of the St. Bernard Parish Firefighters Association are walking the picket lines. They point out that they have a special stake in OCAW's strike—they're the ones called to fight the refinery's fires.

USWA Local 13000 at Kaiser's Chalmette plant has adopted a resolution supporting the strikers.

The strikers are planning informational picket lines at Tenneco gas stations in New Orleans and the surrounding area. They deserve the support of all working people; their fight for safety is a fight to protect us all.



# Militant supporters prepare for sales drive

By Peter Seidman

Shipyard workers in the Puget Sound area gave a warm welcome to the coverage in last week's *Militant* of their striking brothers and sisters at the Newport News Shipyard in Virginia.

Seattle socialists sold forty-one papers at the Tide and Lockheed shipyards. In Tacoma, our supporters sold twenty papers at the Tacoma Boatyards.

In Newport News itself, a full-time sales team sold out of its supply of 177 papers in only three days. This team—the second to go to Newport News—was made up of socialists from Boston, Brooklyn, and Pittsburgh.

These good results underscore the growing interest among industrial workers in the *Militant's* socialist ideas—as well as its unique, eyewitness reports on such important struggles as those in Iran and Virginia.

This issue marks the opening of the winter-spring circulation drive for the *Militant* and its Spanish-language sister publication *Perspectiva Mundial*. A key goal of the drive is to reach out more and more to this increasingly receptive audience.

Branches and chapters of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance plan to sell 100,000 copies of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* during the ten-week drive.

Included with this article are the goals announced so far for the combined subscription and ten-week single-copy sales drive.

The cumulative goal includes the total of weekly sales and the national subscription blitz week taking place with sales of this issue.

A special emphasis is being placed on the sale of longer-term subs to co-workers on the job.

Socialist steelworkers in Los Angeles, for example, have already made up a list of at least fifty co-workers they think will be interested in subs.

Of course, hundreds of other ten-week introductory subs will also be sold during the week—as socialists seek new readers for the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* by canvassing door to door in working-class neighborhoods and college dormitories.

At a citywide membership meeting last weekend in Los Angeles, the SWP decided to make participation in the sales campaign a "central priority" during the next ten weeks.

New York socialists held a similar city-wide meeting February 20.

They discussed how they would participate in the sub week by sending teams throughout New York State and Connecticut.

The New York socialists also decided to mobilize all their forces for the kickoff week of the single-copy sales drive that begins March 9. They decided they would go way over their weekly goal during this national target week.

The New York SWP also resolved to follow up this big sale by taking on another challenge: to make its weekly sales goal every week of the drive.

This will mean building up consistent sales. But one Brooklyn socialist explained how these sales are also key to building the readership of the *Militant* at the giant Ford plant in Metuchen, New Jersey.

"Our experience is that selling regularly there has led to an increase in sales. What's more, some of the workers are now starting to recognize our salespeople and stopping to talk."

"That's why we intend to make this sale every week," she emphasized. "We'll do everything necessary to make it."

Our supporters in city after city indicate they feel the same way. With that attitude, the numerical goals on the accompanying chart will translate into a whole layer of worker activists reading the *Militant*—and acting on its socialist ideas—as a result of this circulation drive.

## Spring sales goals

AREA	GOAL PER WEEK		CUMULATIVE GOAL
	MILITANT	PM	
Albany	100	5	1500
Albuquerque	115	20	3000
Amherst, Ma.	15	0	150
Atlanta	145	5	2100
Baltimore	100*		1400
Birmingham	50*		700
Boston	200	25	3500
Chicago	350	50	5600
Dallas	125	20	2600
Denver	120	20	2000
Gary	75	0	1050
Indianapolis	115*		1600
Iowa City	25	0	500
Iron Range	35	0	900
Kansas City	90	5	1550
Los Angeles	320	80	5900
Louisville	100	0	1800
Miami	100	30	2300
Milwaukee	120	5	1750
Minneapolis	150	0	2500
Morgantown	125	0	2250
Newark	130	15	2000
New York City	540	60	11000
Philadelphia	225	25	3500
Phoenix	120	30	2100
Portland	100	0	1800
Pittsburgh	200*		2800
Raleigh	90	0	1750
Salt Lake City	130	5	2450
St. Louis	125	0	2100
St. Paul	100	0	1400
San Antonio	60	20	1440
San Diego	105	20	2100
San Francisco	275*		3150
San Jose	95	25	1800
Seattle	145	5	2700
Tacoma	125	0	1750
Toledo	100*		1400
Vermont	18	0	200
Washington, D.C.	230	20	3500
<b>NATIONAL GOAL</b>			<b>100,000</b>

\*Militant-PM breakdown not available. Areas not yet reporting goals: Berkeley; Cincinnati; Cleveland; Detroit; Houston; New Orleans; Oakland.



## By Omari Musa

On February 21, 1965, one of this country's foremost revolutionary leaders was assassinated at the Audubon Ballroom in Harlem.

Malcolm X was an uncompromising fighter for Black liberation, who mercilessly attacked the capitalist system as the source of Black oppression and exploitation.

Malcolm's approach was in sharp contrast to those in the Black movement and "sympathetic whites" who saw deals and maneuvers with the Democratic and Republican parties as the strategy for Black liberation.

Fundamental to Malcolm's strategy was the need to place no faith in these racist parties, but to rely on the organized strength of Black people fighting independently of and in opposition to the Democrats and Republicans.

From his break with the Nation of Islam (now called the World Community of Islam in the West) until he was gunned down, Malcolm focused his energies on developing a program and organization that would "galvanize the Black masses to become the instruments of their own liberation."

The profound development of Malcolm's ideas in that period is discussed by George Breitman in *The Last Year of Malcolm X: The Evolution of a Revolutionary*, recently re-issued by Pathfinder Press. Breitman is a former editor of the *Militant* and veteran leader of the Socialist Workers Party. Printed here are excerpts from the chapter on "Allies and Alliances"—one of the most important problems Malcolm had to grapple with.

Breitman explains both the advances and the limitations in Malcolm's thinking on whether an alliance with whites was possible or desirable. Malcolm's views were necessarily shaped by the fact that the white component of the working class was not showing much fighting spirit in those days. It was hard for him to see white workers as allies who would be forced into battle by the same capitalist class Blacks were and still are fighting.

But today that situation is changing dramatically.

## By George Breitman

While Malcolm's thinking about alliances began with non-Americans, colored and white, it also turned, in his last year, to the possibility of alliances with American whites. Malcolm's views on this possibility had not become hardened at the time of his death; they were still evolving, while he tried to think out other, more urgent problems, such as the consolidation of his own movement. He probably felt that he could afford to take his time with the alliance question because, in his view, there could not be any meaningful alliance until black militants had a strong organization of their own, able to stand on its own feet and speak for a significant number of people.

As a Black Muslim, Malcolm preached against any alliance with whites. On November 10, 1963, in one of his last Black Muslim speeches, he told a meeting in Detroit where non-Muslim Negroes were in the majority, "I know some of you all think that some of them [whites] aren't enemies. Time will tell." But he himself had begun to rethink the question before then. As he told the *Young Socialist* on January 18, 1965:

"When I was in the Black Muslim movement I spoke on many white campuses and black campuses. I knew back in 1961 and '62 that the younger generation was much different from the older, and that many students were more sincere in their analysis of the problem and their desire to see the problem solved."

When Malcolm announced his new movement at a press conference on March 12, 1964, he said:

"Whites can help us, but they can't join us. There can be no black-white unity until there is first some black unity. There can be no workers' solidarity until there is first some racial solidarity. We cannot think of uniting with others, until we have first united among ourselves."

This was not an assertion that black and white working class solidarity was unnecessary or impossible. On the contrary, it was an explanation of one of the conditions for the attainment of interracial workers' solidarity on a stable and effective foundation. In this statement Malcolm neither advocated nor rejected solidarity or alliances between white workers and black workers—what he was saying was that before such a thing could happen, the Negro people would first have to organize and unite themselves independently. *First* organize themselves in their own movement, *then* think of uniting

One sign of the changing times is the strike for union recognition by 15,000 shipyard workers in Newport News, Virginia. The work force there is just about half Black, reflecting some of the victories won by the civil rights movement over two decades.

It was Black workers who took the lead in breaking the stranglehold of a company union—in part because it wouldn't tackle race discrimination—and organizing for the United Steelworkers. They know the only guarantee for their rights is a real union that is democratic and that fights for the needs of all its members. They will have a lot to say about how their local and the Steelworkers international union should function.

Marching together with militant Blacks on the picket lines in Newport News is having an impact on the thinking of white union members as well. It will make it easier for them to understand how racism is a company ploy and why solidarity with the demands of Blacks is a necessary part of union solidarity.

Another example of the changes in the labor movement is the battle shaping up around the Weber "reverse discrimination" case.

This case attacks both the affirmative action gains of Blacks and women and the right of the United Steelworkers to negotiate contracts in the interest of all its members.

Black and white unionists, the NAACP, and National Organization for Women are beginning to organize against this threat. Under the blows of the ruling-class attack, the labor movement is being impelled toward a defense of the most oppressed.

In struggles such as these a new leadership is being born for the emancipation of both the Black nationality and the entire American working class.

Malcolm may not have foreseen it this way, but, as George Breitman remarks, we can be sure that he would have welcomed it. Malcolm's ideas and his example of uncompromising struggle will be a crucial part of the education of this new generation of class-struggle fighters making their way to center stage.

or allying with others. The implication was that any interracial alliance that might be formed later would be one between *movements*, rather than between individuals (black) on one side and organizations (white or white-controlled) on the other; when and if an alliance then took place, Negroes would have their own movement inside it and would be better able to protect their interests inside the alliance than they could as individuals.

One week later, however, Malcolm expressed a somewhat different position. We have already quoted, in the previous chapter, from their March 19, 1964, interview A.B. Spellman's question whether Malcolm intended to collaborate with labor unions, socialists and other such groups and Malcolm's reply that his movement would work with anybody sincerely interested in eliminating injustices that Negroes suffer at the hands of Uncle Sam. Later in that interview the following exchange took place:

Spellman: Can the race problem in America be solved under the existing political-economic system?

Malcom X: No.

Spellman: Well then, what is the answer?

Malcom X: It answers itself.

Spellman: Can there be any revolutionary change in America while the hostility between black and white working classes exists? Can Negroes do it alone?

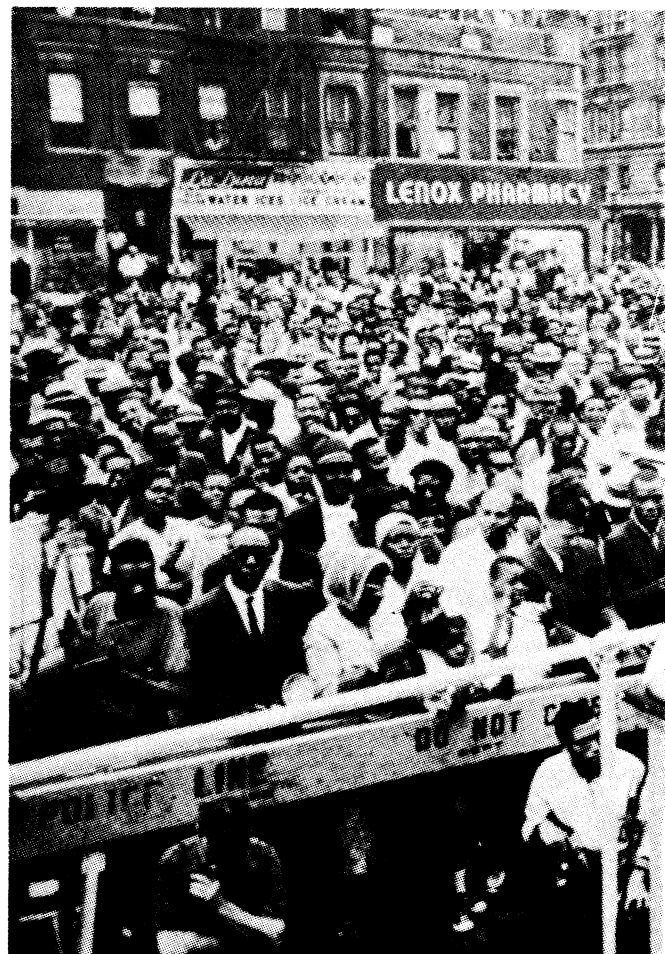
Malcolm X: Yes. They'll never do it with working class whites. The history of America is that working class whites have been just as much against not only working Negroes, but *all* Negroes, period, because all Negroes are working class within the caste system. The richest Negro is treated like a working class Negro. There never has been any good relationship between the working class Negro and the working class whites. I just don't go along with—there can be no worker solidarity until there's first some black solidarity. There can be no white/black solidarity until there's first some black solidarity. We have got to get our problems solved first and then if there's anything left to work on the white man's problems, good, but I think one of the mistakes Negroes make is this worker solidarity thing. There's no such thing—it didn't even work in Russia. Right now it was supposedly solved in Russia but as soon as they got their problems solved they fell out with China.

How explain all of this? It may help to know that the March 12 statement was very carefully formulated on paper by Malcolm and his associates. They labored over it for several days (and were quite bitter to see it ignored by virtually the whole press—



On the picket line in Newport News, Virginia. In st

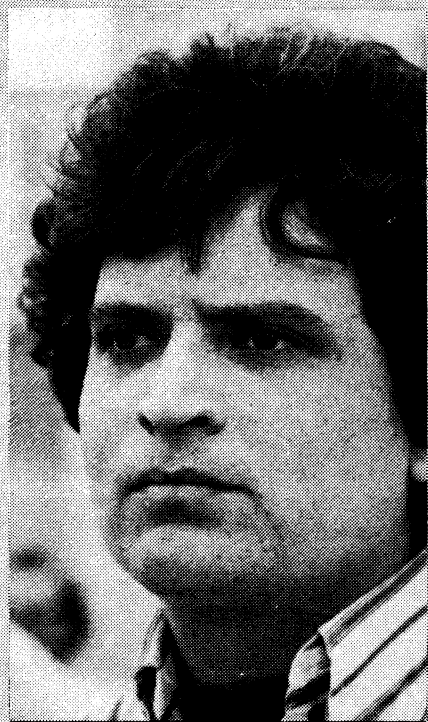
# Malcolm X & new working milit



Malcolm X speaks in Harlem, 1963

# Join emergency campaign for Hector Marroquin

## Deportation hearing set for April 3



**By Jane Roland**

Since December 1977, Héctor Marroquin has been telling his story.

He has twice traveled the length and breadth of the United States and spoken in more than ninety cities to thousands of people.

On April 3 in Houston, Texas, he will tell his story again—this time at a deportation hearing in front of an

*Jane Roland is national coordinator of the Héctor Marroquin Defense Committee.*

immigration judge. The U.S. government will try to prove that Marroquin should be deported to Mexico.

Marroquin is a twenty-five-year-old student leader and trade unionist from Mexico. He is a member of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

Marroquin has asked for asylum in this country. In 1974, he was framed up by the Mexican government on phony charges of terrorism and subversion. If deported to Mexico, he—like hundreds of other Mexican dissidents—could be kidnapped, tortured, imprisoned without charges, or even murdered. Political activists accused of "subversion" in Mexico seldom get the opportunity to prove their innocence.

Marroquin won't be alone at the hearing. Many witnesses from this country and Mexico will help him

present an airtight case to back up his request for political asylum.

Marroquin will not only prove his own innocence, he will also expose political repression in Mexico.

Amnesty International is preparing a statement on his behalf about the state of human rights in Mexico today.

Among the witnesses for Marroquin will be Rosario Piedra.

Mrs. Piedra is a founder of the Mexican Committee to Defend Political Prisoners, the Politically Persecuted, "Disappeared," and Exiled.

Before President Carter's recent trip to Mexico, she visited the United States briefly to expose the serious violations of human rights by the government there.

She presented the U.S. press with a list of 450 "disappeared" persons—that is, Mexican students, workers, and peasants who have been kidnapped by the government-backed paramilitary groups. The Mexican regime denies any knowledge of the whereabouts of the "disappeared."

Mrs. Piedra, whose own son, Jesús, was "disappeared" nearly four years ago, will testify that it would be extremely dangerous for Marroquin to return to Mexico.

In reporting on Mrs. Piedra's statements here prior to the Carter trip, the *Washington Post* wrote that Marroquin's case has become an "international cause celebre."

Other testimony and affidavits will come from torture victims and

their families from Mexico. These personal accounts will be backed up by the International League for Human Rights, which recently published a report of a fact-finding mission to Mexico describing political repression there.

### Washington's bias

Marroquin already knows that Washington is not kindly disposed toward him. In its initial ruling last December, the Immigration and Naturalization Service turned down his request for asylum. Earlier last year, the U.S. State Department had sent an advisory opinion to the INS urging that Marroquin's request be denied.

Following the December INS decision, the Héctor Marroquin Defense Committee announced an emergency support campaign, which has so far met an enthusiastic response. Defense activists must raise \$15,000 by the April hearing to cover the costs of preparing testimony, bringing in witnesses, and stepping up publicity.

The defense committee is also organizing to flood INS Director Leonel Castillo with letters and telegrams demanding asylum for Marroquin.

In Houston, the defense committee has gone full steam ahead to prepare for the upcoming hearing, which is expected to last four days. Arturo Ramírez, the defense coordinator there, has urged supporters from across the country to come to the

hearing.

"We are planning a full week of activities," Ramírez says, "including picket lines outside the federal building where the hearing will be held. Representatives will bring regular reports from the courtroom to supporters outside. And we'll give continuous briefings to the media."

"We intend to start the week with a rally featuring prominent national supporters."

The support activities in Texas will be kicked off in February and March with two speaking tours for Marroquin.

The Héctor Marroquin Defense Committee is urging supporters outside Texas to hold protest activities around the opening of the hearing. They can plan picket lines at local INS offices or send delegations to meet with local INS officials. Rallies or press conferences can be scheduled to coincide with the April 3 hearing.

Events that have already been held include a benefit Mexican dinner in Kansas City and a dance in Minneapolis; leaflet distribution at auto plants in New Jersey; and picket lines at INS offices in Detroit, New Orleans, and Ann Arbor.

In San Antonio, Texas, the defense committee has scheduled a walk-a-thon, with supporters pledging money per mile walked by each participant.

Québec supporters are distributing a French-language leaflet.

## What you can do

- **Send a protest letter or telegram.** Send it to Leonel Castillo, Director, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington, D.C. 20536. Urge your union local, organization, or student government to send a letter or telegram demanding asylum. The flood of letters to the INS lets Castillo know that thousands of people around the country have their eyes on Marroquin. Please send copies of all letters and telegrams to the Marroquin Defense Committee.

- **Help raise money.** Funds are urgently needed to cover the cost of expanding publicity and legal work. Send a contribution and urge others to do the same. Organize a benefit party, dinner, or coffee hour to help raise money.

- **Marroquin is available to speak.** Contact the defense com-

mittee for information on honoraria and scheduling.

- **Volunteer to help publicize the case in your area.** Collect signatures on petitions. Distribute material. Contact the press. Get together with other supporters, and form a defense committee, or work with the committee nearest you. The national defense committee can put you in touch with other supporters in your area.

This special, four-page emergency handout is available for distribution. Send me \_\_\_\_\_ handouts @ 2¢.

Send me \_\_\_\_\_ brochures on "The Case of Héctor Marroquin" @ 2.5¢.

Send me \_\_\_\_\_ copies of *My Story*, a pamphlet describing Marro-

quin's case in detail. 50¢; 35¢ for ten or more copies.

Send me \_\_\_\_\_ copies of *Mi Historia*, Spanish-language edition. 50¢; 35¢ for ten or more.

Send me \_\_\_\_\_ trade-union brochures @ 2¢.

Send me \_\_\_\_\_ buttons @ 50¢; 35¢ for ten or more.

Send me \_\_\_\_\_ posters @ 50¢; 25¢ for ten or more.

Send me \_\_\_\_\_ petitions.

Send me \_\_\_\_\_ appeals and endorser cards.

☐ I endorse Marroquin's appeal for asylum.

☐ I would like to come to Houston for the activities around the hearing. Send me information.

Enclosed is \$ \_\_\_\_\_ to help fund the case.

☐ I volunteer to help win asylum for Marroquin. Please send me more information.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Organization (if any) \_\_\_\_\_

Position in organization \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Phone \_\_\_\_\_

Send to Héctor Marroquin Defense Committee, P.O. Box 843 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003. Telephone: (212) 691-3587.

## Hector Marroquin Defense Committee



# Speak out

Hundreds of letters and telegrams to Immigration Director Leonel Castillo, and other statements of solidarity with Héctor Marroquín's right to asylum have been received by the defense committee from organizations, public figures, and individual supporters. Below are excerpts from some of these messages.

## Terry Herndon John Ryor

Executive Director and President, National Education Association.

The National Education Association is an organization representing about 1.8 million teachers in the United States. The 1978 Representative Assembly of the NEA, meeting in Dallas in July, reaffirmed its strong commitment to human rights by endorsing the right of Héctor Marroquín to political asylum in the United States.

In our previous letter to Vice-President Mondale and to you [Castillo], the NEA asked that Héctor Marroquín be granted political asylum because of the possibility of political reprisals if he were tried in Mexico.

## Ronald Dellums

U.S. Representative (D-Calif.)

Héctor Marroquín is accused by the Mexican government of being a terrorist—robber—an assassin. His real "crime" is that he had the moral courage, as a young teen-ager, to speak out for human rights and freedom while a student at the University of Nuevo León.

Men and women of good conscience cannot allow the bureaucratic insensitivity of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, as the willing tool of the State Department, to go unnoticed or unchallenged. We must stand up for Marroquín's rights. The projected, and imminent, action of this government, in seeking to deport him, is unwarranted, illegal—and most of all—an immoral betrayal of all that this nation committed itself to at the time of the Declaration of Independence.

## Noam Chomsky

I would like to join those who are supporting Héctor Marroquín in his effort to obtain political asylum in the U.S. and to urge people concerned with civil and human rights to lend their support financially and in other ways.

## Hugo Blanco

Member of the Peruvian Constituent Assembly.

I call on everyone who fought to defend my right to enter the United States, and who has defended my democratic liberties, to join in the struggle to defend Héctor Marroquín's right to political asylum.

We cannot permit this open violation of the most elemental human rights of a Latin American to take place in the United States, where there is so much talk about human rights.

I say this in my own name, and in the names of my fellow members of the Peruvian Constituent Assembly: Enrique Fernández, Antonio Aragón Gallegos, Javier Díez Canseco, Juan Cornejo, and Genaro Ledesma.

## Michael Meeropol Robert Meeropol

Sons of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg.

The government says Mexico has no political prisoners, it says Héctor's "crimes" are criminal. The total lack of truth in these statements does not surprise us. The charges in the government's politically motivated frame-up of our parents were criminal, not politi-



January 18, 1979, picket at Detroit office of INS to protest denial of asylum to Héctor Marroquín

Elizabeth Ziers

cal. They had the same total lack of truth. The government pays lip service to human rights, but it can't absolve itself of the crimes committed by its trained henchmen be they Mexican, Iranian or South African.

Let the government know that we will keep on shouting until the walls of the State Department start to shake. The government may not understand truth and logic, but they sure as hell will understand the growing strength of our cry. With that, Héctor and the rest of us will win a great victory.

## Ed Asner

Star, 'Lou Grant' show.

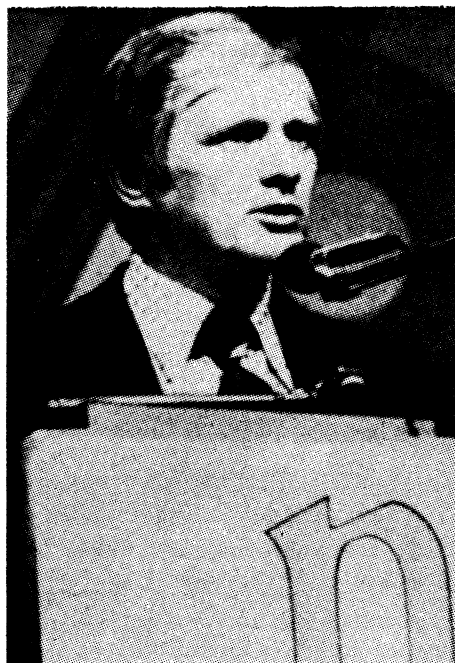
Even if Héctor Marroquín's fears were completely unfounded, hasn't this great country of ours the compassion to provide refuge for this one important individual? We simply must not risk jeopardizing his life.

## A supporter

Philadelphia.

Marroquín has dedicated his young life to justice and the rights of the oppressed.

Political asylum has been given to thousands of South Vietnamese, Cubans, and many others. It would be highly discriminatory not to apply the same view of fairness and justice to this brave young man from Mexico.



John Ryor, National Education Association president. Ryor supported Marroquín's request for support at July NEA convention, which endorsed Marroquín's right to asylum.

## Juan Rodríguez

For the Liga Internacionalista de los Trabajadores of Puerto Rico.

We protest this decision [denying asylum] which is a violation of human rights, and demand: Unconditional asylum for Héctor Marroquín, now!

## William Jewett

Wilmington, Delaware.

Regardless of the danger to Marroquín, it is clear that he desires to reside here, so why should the border be shut on him and others wishing to cross it? Government policy seems selective in whom it encourages to cross this boundary line.

Travelers to Mexico note a number of restaurants, motels, and other businesses of U.S. vintage established there. U.S. government agencies like the FBI and CIA operate in Mexico.

But in contrast to this open border policy for big business, the State Department proposes to close the border to an individual who fears for his life.

## Student Senate Temple University

Marroquín's fight is the fight of all members of the academic community for the elementary right to freedom of speech and freedom of political activity. A victory for Marroquín will be a victory for human rights everywhere.

## A supporter

Charleston, W. Va.

When I was in school I was taught that the U.S. was an island of freedom in a sea of political repression, that anyone could express any political idea without fear of reprisal.

However, there have been innumerable acts by the U.S. government that have led me to reject this description of the land in which I live. The FBI has for many years spied on citizens who dared express their disagreements with the government.

The CIA has plotted the murder of foreign leaders. These are only a few of the crimes the government has gotten away with, and now the latest crime: The attempted murder of Héctor Marroquín.

## Trinidad Sanchez, S.J.

Executive Director, Padres Asociados para Derechos Religiosos Educativos y Sociales, San Antonio, Texas.

I wish to represent PADRES in

joining our request with the many others who have requested political asylum for Héctor Marroquín.

It is obvious that Héctor does not have a father who is a millionaire and who can buy justice for one of his children, or a President who would grant him political asylum.

His only resort has been to seek the support of the community. Many have come to support him, and we join them in asking you to grant political asylum to this young man.

Mr. Castillo, this is the very type of injustice that we see handed out again and again to our Hispanic brothers and sisters, and it is our hope that it was this type of injustice your office would work toward abolishing.

## 25 bus drivers

Members, American Transportation Union, Local 694, San Antonio, Texas.

We the undersigned MTA bus drivers



UNITED STATES DE  
IMMIGRATION AND N  
WASHINGTON

January 11, 1979

Mr. Frank Rosen  
District President  
United Electrical Radio  
and Machine Workers of America  
37 South Ashland Boulevard  
Chicago, Illinois 60607

Dear Mr. Rosen:

This refers to your recent communi-  
political asylum in the United Sta

After consultation with the U.S. D  
application and supporting documen  
that Mr. Marroquin failed to estab  
membership in a particular social  
political asylum was denied by the  
San Antonio, Texas.

If expulsion proceedings are insti  
and may apply for withholding of d  
Immigration and Nationality Act ar  
of the Convention Relating to the  
proceedings, if he so desires.

Sincerely,

Robert A. Kane

Robert A. Kane  
Associate Commissioner  
Management

In response to hundreds of personal  
this page, the INS computer churns



# for asylum!

want to add our names to the growing list of unionists who support Héctor Marroquín's appeal for asylum in the U.S.

## Rev. Daniel Berrigan

On behalf of thirty members of Westside Jesuit Community, New York City.

In the name of humanity, I earnestly request political asylum for Héctor Marroquín in view of manifest danger to his life if rejected from United States.

## Philosophy Department University of Québec

Montreal, Québec.

We call upon you to give political asylum to Héctor Marroquín whose life is in danger because of your attitude.

## Michigan Student Assembly

Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Marroquín's fight is the fight of all members of the academic community for the elementary right to freedom of speech and freedom of political activity. A victory for Marroquín will be a victory for human rights everywhere.

## N.J. State Employees Assoc. Essex Chapter #4

What would the reaction of the American people have been if in 1776 the government tried to deport all our English-born revolutionary forefathers back to England while granting political asylum to King George III? Yet in 1979 President Carter's administration may well be remembered as granting a political haven for the Shah of Iran and his family, while deporting Héctor Marroquín to Mexico and freedom loving Iranian students back to Iran.

## 9 Basque women

We are nine compañeras from the Basque Country currently residing in Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic. We want to express our outrage at the denial of the most elementary human rights in the case of Héctor Marroquín.

MENT OF JUSTICE

ALIZATION SERVICE

.C. 20536

PLEASE ADDRESS REPLY TO

AND REFER TO THIS FILE NO

CO 892.88-C

ion concerning the request for  
filed by Hector Marroquin.

rtment of State and review of the  
presented, it has been concluded  
h that there is likelihood he will  
litical opinion, race, religion or  
up. Therefore, his application for  
strict Director of our office at

ed, he may be represented by counsel  
rtation under section 243(h) of the  
or the benefits of Articles 32 and 33  
tus of Refugees in the course of such

als to INS Director Castillo like ones on  
this reply.

The attack on Marroquín represents one more attack against the working class and oppressed people.

## Self Education Program Association/Salud, Educación, Política, Acción

Tracy, California.

Your refusal to grant Marroquín asylum shows us, once again, that the present administration is concerned with human rights only in so far as it is politically expedient. The infamous South Vietnamese General Nguyen Loan was allowed asylum. During the Vietnam War, this same general was photographed shooting a prisoner of war in the head. Did he have to prove that he was not guilty of this crime? We believe that Héctor Marroquín is guilty of only one thing, his concern for the problems of his people and his courage to speak out!

## A Prisoner

Kansas.

We as individuals must take a stand, and not allow oppression to prevail. It is our moral obligation to ourselves and to our country to guarantee protection of freedom and life to any individual regardless of their political beliefs. Only when we strive to protect the rights of others can we guarantee our right to be free.

## Michael Harrington

National Chair, Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee.

I support Héctor Marroquín and his struggle to avoid deportation.

## Victoria Zúñiga

Hermanas.

## Gertrude Barnstone

Democratic Party.

## Isaiah Lovings,

NAACP.

All from Houston.

We are outraged at the order for deportation for Héctor Marroquín. We demand asylum.

## Linda Malanchuk

## Marcia Dombrosky

For the Tacoma Chapter, National Organization for Women.

It is clear to us that if Marroquín is returned to Mexico, his physical well-being as well as his right to dissent will be in danger. Therefore, we call upon you not to expel this man and to grant his appeal for asylum in the United States.

## United Paper Workers International Union Local 832, Cincinnati, Ohio.

We once again join with humanitarians across the U.S. in demanding political asylum be granted now.

## Bernadette Devlin McAlisky

Belfast, Northern Ireland.

It is clear that [Héctor Marroquín] is under attack in Mexico and that Marroquín faces torture and possibly death if he returns there.

## John Conyers

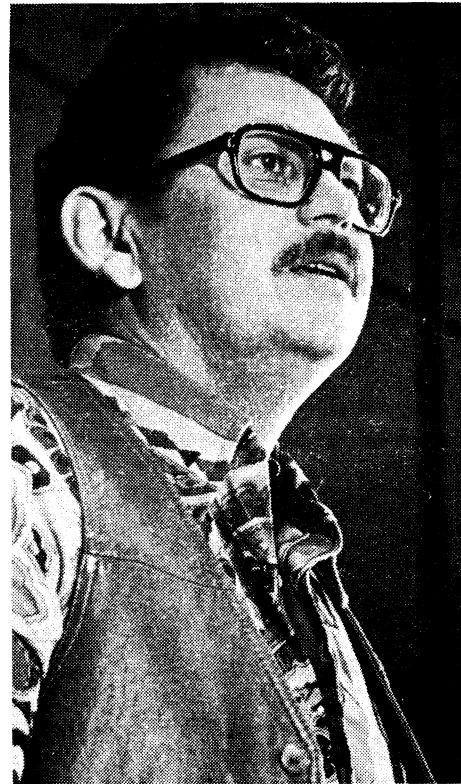
U.S. Representative (D-Mich.)

I shall do all I can to support the appeal of Héctor Marroquín for political asylum.

## Jules Feiffer

Cartoonist and author.

Our government's attempt to deport [Héctor Marroquín] is an outrageous act of cynicism and hypocrisy. It can



Harry Ring  
José Angel Gutiérrez, Zavala County Judge, has urged support for Marroquín.

only be halted by a loud, vigorous and mounting protest. The Marroquín Defense Committee has my whole-hearted support.

## New Democratic Party

St. Catharines, Ontario.

Support political asylum for Héctor Marroquín.

## A supporter

Kirkwood, Missouri.

This letter is written out of concern for Héctor Marroquín. His case worries me not only because I believe him to be a victim of police conspiracy in Mexico, but because I fear unfair treatment by courts and police in our great land of democracy. Repeatedly in recent years our democratic government has seemed to ally us with dictatorships. How I do wish our government could and would stand firmly for the human rights freedom and democracy that we talk so much about!

## Roger Baldwin

Founder of the American Civil Liberties Union.

It is clear that [Héctor Marroquín] is entitled to asylum in our country as a political refugee.

## A supporter

Hartford, Connecticut

The people [of Mexico] are so besought by poverty and unemployment that they must cross our borders as undocumented workers in a foreign land to feed their families back home. It is no wonder they are in dissent.

We Americans must do everything we can to support the Mexican people in their struggle. The first act of such support is to defend Héctor Marroquín and grant him asylum.

## Frank Jackalone

National Chairperson, United States Student Association

The United States Student Association, which represents over three million American students, protests the decision of the Immigration and Naturalization Service to reject Héctor Marroquín's request for political asylum in the United States.

## A supporter

Shartlesville, Pennsylvania.

[Denial of political asylum] was not only a great disappointment to Héctor

Marroquín, but it was also a great disappointment to us, as well as to thousands of others who believe that Héctor should receive asylum in this country.

This very day radio reports spoke of political torture in Mexico. Why will you close your mind, your ears, and your heart?

## Robert Chrisman

Publisher, 'The Black Scholar'

I express my solidarity with Héctor Marroquín's struggle to achieve political asylum in the United States.

## George Wald

Nobel Laureate, Harvard University.

From what I have learned, it might be exceedingly dangerous to return Héctor Marroquín to Mexico. I think that there is every reason to give him asylum in this country.

## A supporter

St. Louis, Missouri

Your efforts to railroad Héctor Marroquín back to Mexico are a disgrace to this country's democratic traditions, if those are honored any longer. You know what will happen if he returns to Mexico under the present regime.

Who is the real terrorist—one who is merely called such by political opponents, or one who would send someone to certain death?

## José Angel Gutiérrez

Leader, Texas Raza Unida Party.

Héctor's case cannot be tolerated by this government or the Mexican regime. Héctor Marroquín stands for the undocumented worker. Héctor Marroquín stands against government repression. Héctor Marroquín stands for a student's movement. Héctor Marroquín stands for many of us. We need to stand with the Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee.

## A supporter

Brooklyn, N.Y.

We are all immigrants or the descendants of immigrants. The presidents of the United States have been all European descendants. I recently read, Mr. Castillo, that you were a former Houston politician and the grandson of an illegal immigrant.

Mr. Marroquín has proven that he has followers from all walks of life. He could prove he can be an American citizen of much value to this country.

## Jim Grant

One of the Charlotte Three.

One of the principles upon which this country was founded happens to include freedom from political repression. True, the U.S. government has made a mockery of this principle by its treatment of its own dissident political activists such as the Charlotte 3, Wilmington 10, and the RNA 11.

But Héctor Marroquín, who is a socialist and a member of the Young Socialist Alliance, should not have to be sent back to certain death and torture in Mexico because the INS disagrees with his politics.

## Katherine L. Camp

International President, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF)

Marroquín is gaining wide support throughout the country and internationally.

On behalf of thousands of members in twenty-six countries, I urge you [Castillo] to assure that the INS will enhance justice on this continent by granting asylum to Marroquín.

# Labor supports Marroquin



## SOLIDARITY

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## WORLD OF WORK

**"I**t is neither moral or justified within international law for the United States to expel or return Hector Marroquin," says Rep. Ron Dellums (D-Calif.).

Dellums is referring to the growing support for Marroquin, a 25-year-old Mexican political refugee whom the U.S. government is trying to deport. If he is deported, Marroquin faces the strong likelihood of torture and even death at the hands of Mexican authorities.

Mexico has repressed free trade-unionism and the political liberties of students. While a student at the University of Nuevo Leon, Marroquin was ordered arrested on trumped-up charges of terrorism. Knowing that fellow students had been tortured and killed in jail, he fled to the U.S., worked as a labor organizer at a Texas Coca-Cola plant, and eventually sought formal political asylum from

the U.S. government.

The government — specifically the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS)—responded by trying to deport Marroquin back to Mexico. Since both the U.S. and Mexican governments are influenced by many of the same multinational corporations, there is a mutual interest in throttling dissent in Mexico.

Fortunately, Marroquin's case has drawn so much support from so wide a spectrum of Americans that the INS is proceeding more cautiously than before. Even more public pressure may be needed to win asylum for the young Mexican.

"Hector Marroquin apparently exists on the blind side of Jimmy Carter's selectively forthright stand on human rights," says political cartoonist Jules Feiffer. "Our government's attempt to deport him . . . can only be halted by a loud, vigorous, and mounting protest." □



HECTOR MARROQUIN

In the tradition of the great labor slogan, "An injury to one is an injury to all," growing numbers of trade unionists are supporting Héctor Marroquín's appeal for political asylum.

• The 1978 convention of the National Education Association passed a resolution of support last summer. The 10,000 NEA delegates gave Mar-

roquín a standing ovation when he spoke.

• In Chicago, Region 11 of the United Electrical Workers has endorsed and donated money to the defense effort.

• Calvin Moore, legislative director for the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, chaired a press conference for Marroquín in February. It was organized by the Council on Hemis-

pheric Affairs, a human rights group backed by the United Auto Workers; American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; National Association of Social Workers; National Education Association; Amalgamated Meat Cutters; and other unions.

• Marroquín's appeal has been publicized in the UAW's national newspaper, *Solidarity*, and has been endorsed by former UAW leader Victor Reuther and by Mike Rinaldi, president of Detroit's UAW Local 600. That local represents 30,000 workers at the giant Ford River Rouge complex and is the largest industrial union local in the country.

• In San Antonio, Texas, bus drivers circulated a petition for Marroquín to co-workers and sent it to U.S. Immigration Director Leonel Castillo. In New Jersey, defense committee supporters have leafleted several large auto plants. Auto workers in Union City, California, are working on the case. And there are many more examples.

Every trade unionist has a stake in defending Héctor Marroquín. Not only because Marroquín was a union activist himself after fleeing to this country—a Teamster—but because he is being victimized by the same frame-up techniques used against the labor movement here and abroad.

During the coal miners' strike last winter, for example, United Mine Workers members were accused of "violence" to discredit their fight against the employers' union-busting drive.

Similarly, the Mexican government falsely accused Marroquín of violence to discredit his activity as a fighter for students' rights.

In fact, it is the government of Mexico that is responsible for violence in that country—not only against students, but against union activists as well.

For example, in July 1978 police invaded the General Hospital in Mexico City to break up a sit-in by striking health-care workers. During the same month, officials arrested and kidnapped striking mine leaders from Nacoari, Sonora.

A victory for Marroquín will help expose and put an end to the torture, kidnappings, and assassinations of students, workers, and peasants by Mexican authorities. It will be a victory for all victims of brutal regimes in Latin America and around the world who seek asylum in the United States.

And it will be a victory for the labor movement in this country in its fight to defend the democratic rights of unionists and other working people inside and outside the U.S. borders.

The following is a partial list of trade-union endorsers of Héctor Marroquín's appeal for political asylum.

**Leonard Barker**  
President, United Steelworkers of America, Local 2584

**James Blackstone**  
President, USWA Local 3522, Baltimore  
**Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees**, Northern Utah Lodge, Union Pacific

**Pete Camarata**  
Teamsters for a Democratic Union

**Donald Craig**  
President, USWA Local 13

**Howard Deck**  
President, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 590, Philadelphia

**Armengol Domenech**  
United Furniture Workers Local 140, New York City

**Percy Edmond**  
Recording Secretary, USWA Local 150, San Francisco

**K.C. Ellis**  
President, Branch 2151, National Association of Letter Carriers

**Khalid Abdul Fattah**  
Organizer, International Ladies Garment Workers Union, North Carolina

**Jerry Gordon**  
International Representative, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America

**Patrick Gorman**  
Chairman of the Board, Amalgamated Meat Cutters

**Fabian Greenwell**  
President, Oil Chemical & Atomic Workers Union Local 4-16000, Baytown, Texas

**Dorothy Haener**  
International Representative, United Auto Workers Union Women's Department

**Charles Hayes**  
Executive Vice-president, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; District Director and Vice-president, Amalgamated Meat Cutters

**Leamon Hood**  
International Union Area Director, AFSCME, Atlanta

**Harry Ibsen**  
President, Communications Workers of America Local 9415, Oakland

**International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 2005**, Philadelphia

**International Moulders and Allied Workers Union Local 231**, Salt Lake City

**Walter Johnson**  
President, Department Store Employees Union, Retail Clerks International Association Local 1100, San Francisco

**Roger Klander**  
President, USWA Local 6115, Virginia, Minnesota

**Charles Leonard**  
President, USWA Local 7097, Pittsburgh

**William Lucy**  
President, CBTU; International Secretary-Treasurer, AFSCME

**Ray Majerus**  
Director, UAW Region 10

**Anthony Mazzocchi**  
Vice president, OCAW

**David McCullough**  
Vice president, UAW Local 869, Detroit

**Cliff Mezo**  
Vice President, USWA Local 1010, East Chicago

**National Education Association**

**Joe Norris**  
President, International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE) Local 1013, San Antonio

**Mike Nye**  
Business Representative, Santa Clara County Central Labor Council, California

**Antonio Orendain**  
Director, Texas Farm Workers Union

**Michael D. Parrish**  
President, Teamsters Local 265, San Francisco

**Catherine Powell**  
President, United Paper Workers International Union Local 832, Kentucky

**Mike Rinaldi**  
President, UAW Local 600, Dearborn, Michigan

**Victor Reuther**  
United Auto Workers

**Rudy Rodriguez**  
President, IUE Local 780, San Francisco

**St. Catherine's & District Labour Council**  
Ontario

**Karen Schermerhorn**  
Co-President, American Federation of Teachers, Local 2026, Philadelphia

**Service Employees International Union**  
Local 535, California

**Horace Sheffield**  
Secretary, CBTU; Assistant to the president, UAW

**Walter Snyder**  
Vice president, AFSCME District Council 37, New York

**Jack Spiegel**  
Organizer, Shoe Workers, Chicago

**R.W. Teague**  
Secretary-Treasurer, Teamsters Local 949, Houston

**Loren Thompson**  
Secretary Treasurer, Teamsters Local 315, Martinez, California

**United Electrical Radio & Machine Workers of America**, District Council 11, Illinois

**USWA Local 4208**, Salt Lake City

**Philip Vera-Cruz**  
Former Vice president, United Farm Workers Union

**Jewell White**  
President, CWA Local 5011, Joliet, Illinois; President, National Black Communications Coalition

**George Zaragoza**  
Vice President, Texas Farm Workers Union

## How you can help

### MY STORY By Héctor Marroquín



The Struggle for  
Political Asylum in the U.S.

This pamphlet, available in English and Spanish, outlines the facts of Marroquín's case and shows that he is innocent of the charges of terrorism leveled against him by the Mexican government. The price is fifty cents, or thirty-five cents a copy in orders of ten or more.

You can help save Marroquín's life by ordering and selling this pamphlet in your area.

You can also help by:

- Donating money to the defense effort;
- Circulating petitions demanding asylum for Marroquín;
- Endorsing the defense committee;
- Getting your union or other organization to endorse Marroquín's request for political asylum.

Write: Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee, P.O. Box 843, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.





Militant/John Cobey

les such as this, new leadership is being forged.

# Malcolm X rise of y-class ancy



the sole exception being *The Militant*). The section in the statement on solidarity represented something new for them—this was a problem they had not had to bother with in the Nation of Islam—and they gave it serious attention. And since it was a collective position, it may also have been a compromise between those who favored eventual working class solidarity and those who regarded it as utopian or harmful.

Malcolm's interview with Spellman, on the other hand, was unrehearsed. It may be that in answering Spellman's question Malcolm at first reverted out of habit to the position he had long held as a Black Muslim; then, half-way through, recalling the new position he had reached with his associates in the Muslim Mosque, Inc., he introduced that too; and finally, aware of the inconsistency between the first two parts, he declared "there's no such thing" as working class solidarity and never has been—so why bother talking about it?

That is only speculation, however. What can safely be said now, on the basis of the March 12 and March 19 statements, is that in the transition period, shortly after the split, Malcolm held in his mind at the same time two conflicting and unresolved views on black-white working class relations—one which denied or belittled the possibility or necessity of an alliance between them in the future, after the Negroes had first united themselves; and another, which left the question open, postponing a decision until after black unification had taken place.

Then Malcolm went to Africa in the spring of 1964, where he discussed this and related questions with people he respected. On his return he said, during the question period at a meeting on May 29, 1964:

"In my recent travels into the African countries and others, it was impressed upon me the importance of having a working unity among all peoples, black as well as white. But the only way this is going to be brought about is that the black ones have to be in unity first."

The formulation is very revealing: The importance of having a working unity was "impressed upon" him. It was not reached at his own initiative—it was impressed upon him. But he does not deny or refute the idea itself, he offers no argument against it. All he has is a condition: "the black ones have to be in unity first."

Later in the same meeting Malcolm was even more explicit:

"We will work with anyone, with any group, no matter what their color is, as long as they are genuinely interested in taking the type of steps necessary to bring an end to the injustices that black people in this country are afflicted by. No matter what their color is, no matter what their political, economic or social philosophy is, as long as their aims and objectives are in the direction of destroying the vulturous system that has been sucking the blood of black people in this country, they're all right with us."

This position Malcolm maintained to the end of his life. In the final period he only added to it. After his second trip to Africa, he discussed the relations between militant whites and militant blacks at a New York meeting on January 7, 1965:

"You have all types of people who are fed up with what's going on. You have whites who are fed up, you have blacks who are fed up. The whites who are fed up can't come uptown [to Harlem] too easily because people uptown are more fed up than anybody else, and they are so fed up it's not so easy to come uptown."

"Whereas the blacks uptown who come downtown usually are the type, you know, who almost lose their identity—they lose their soul, so to speak—so that they are not in a position to serve as a bridge between the militant whites and the militant blacks; that type can't do it. I hate to hit him like that, but it's true. He has lost his identity, he has lost his feeling, and . . . he usually has lost his contact with Harlem himself. So that he serves no purpose, he's almost rootless, he's not uptown and he's not fully downtown."

"So when the day comes when the whites who are *really* fed up—I don't mean these jive whites, who pose as liberals and who are not, but those who are fed up with what is going on—when *they* learn how to establish the proper type of communication with those uptown who are fed up, and they get some coordinated action going, you'll get some changes. You'll get some changes. And it will take both, it will take everything that you've got, it will take that."

The meaning here is unmistakable: collaboration between militant whites and militant blacks, though difficult to bring about, is necessary ("it will take both") for the achievement of meaningful change.

Around this same time, in the last weeks of Malcolm's life, Marlene Nadle had been interview-

ing him and attending his meetings. She quotes his answer to a question asked by a black nationalist in Harlem, where Malcolm ended by saying:

"I'm not going to be in anybody's straitjacket. I don't care what a person looks like or where they come from. My mind is wide open to anybody who will help get the ape off our back."

"The people that he feels can best help are the students, both black and white. But he considers all militant whites possible allies."

"He qualifies the possibility. And woven into the qualifications are the threads of the emotion running through Harlem."

"If we are going to work together, the black must take the lead in their own fight. In phase one the white led. We're going into phase two now."

"This phase will be full of rebellion and hostility. Blacks will fight whites for the right to make decisions that affect the struggle in order to arrive at their manhood and self-respect."

"The hostility is good," Malcolm said. "It's been bottled up too long. When we stop always saying yes to Mr. Charlie and turning the hate against ourselves, we will begin to be free."

"How did he plan to get white militants to work with him or even to walk into the Theresa with the kind of slings and arrows he was sending out?"

"There was the half-smile again. Then, thoughtfully stroking his new-grown beard, he said, 'We'll have to try to rectify that.'"

"He admitted that it would be difficult to get militant whites and blacks together. 'The whites can't come uptown too easily because the people aren't too friendly. The black who goes downtown loses his identity, loses his soul. He's in no position to be a bridge because he has lost his contact with Harlem. Our Negro leaders have never had contact, so they can't do it.'"

"The only person who could is someone who is completely trusted by the black community. If I were to try, I would have to be very diplomatic, because there are parts of Harlem where you don't dare mention the idea.'"

The idea could not be mentioned in parts of Harlem, but Malcolm was thinking about it. He had not yet committed himself to putting the idea into practice—other problems were too pressing—but he already was turning it over in his mind and discussing it out loud.

It is important to note that Malcolm, in these last two citations from January and February, 1965, was not discussing the class character of the white forces with whom militant blacks would probably collaborate: he was talking about "militant whites," not white workers. On the basis of his own experience and observation, he had come to believe, as Marxists believe, that Negroes need and will find dependable allies among certain whites. But, like most Americans who became radical in the 1950s and 1960s (when the labor movement remained in the grip of conservative or reactionary bureaucrats), he did not share the belief of the Marxists that the working class, including a decisive section of the white workers as well as of the black workers, will play a leading role in the alliance that will end both racism and capitalism.

Malcolm was pro-socialist in the last year of his life, but not yet a Marxist. He saw the white workers only as they were (politically immature, lacking in independence, blinded by prejudice), and not as they might or would become under different conditions. He saw and said that the capitalist world was in crisis and certain to experience stormy change, but he did not see that the American workers would be swept up in that crisis and altered by it. He pointed out that American markets were being shrunk by the advance of the world revolution, and he called attention to the strides of automation, but he did not foresee that the crises created by these factors would compel the capitalists to launch a drive against the living standards of the American workers, and that this in turn would radicalize the presently conservative American workers, including their attitudes toward the Negroes, and drive them in self-interest toward collaboration with the Negro people against their common enemy.

Malcolm did not expect such changes, or at least had not yet fitted them into his picture of the future. But it is certain that if he had lived long enough to witness such changes, or even the beginning of such changes, he would have welcomed an alliance with radicalized white workers and their organizations. As he said at the end of the transition period, "We will work with anyone, with any group, no matter what their color is, as long as they are genuinely interested in taking the type of steps necessary to bring an end to the injustices that black people in this country are afflicted by." Once he had shaken himself free of Black Muslim dogma, the thing that counted for him in alliances was their nature and goal, not the color of the skin of those who participated in them.

## Slap in the face for 'la migra'

# Az. undocumented workers win contract

By Eduardo Quintana and Josefina Otero

PHOENIX, Ariz.—Carter's border cops are not happy.

"This is absolutely a slap in the face."

"They are thumbing their noses at the laws of our country."

"It is frustrating and demoralizing to our officers to see illegals appear on television and admit they are here illegally."

Those are the disgruntled views of John Harrigan, a U.S. immigration official writing in the *Arizona Republic*.

He was responding to a unique victory by working people, the first farm union contract covering undocumented workers.

Signed January 30, the contract covers field workers at the Goldmar company's Arrowhead Ranch. Goldmar is owned by the Goldwater family whose best-known member is the right-wing senator, Barry Goldwater.

The contract was won after two years of strikes, on-the-job struggles, wide media coverage, and six months of negotiations.

The workers, most of them from Mexico, were assisted in the organizing and contract negotiations by the Maricopa County Organizing Project. Many of the MCOP people worked with the United Farm Workers when it was organizing in Arizona.

The Arrowhead Ranch produces

mainly citrus crops on about 6,000 acres in Maricopa County.

For years, the ranch has been the scene of superexploitation of the undocumented *mexicano* workers who harvest the rich crops. The speedup was terrible, wages rock bottom, and conditions unbelievable. Hundreds of workers literally slept in the field with no adequate sanitation.

Under the contract, the piecework rate on a bag of lemons went up from \$.90 a bag to \$1.13, with a further 10 percent increase scheduled for next September.

The contract also provides for creation of a health insurance plan, better housing, and an economic development plan.

Under the plan, the company will contribute ten cents for every hour worked to a fund to be used by migrant workers who may decide to return to Mexico.

The two-year contract provides for seniority and a grievance procedure, including recognition of a ranch committee democratically elected by the workers.

In an interview with the *Militant*, the victory at Arrowhead was discussed by Lupe Sanchez, executive director of MCOP.

"We had six or seven strikes in the past two years," he explained, "and this made it very unstable for the company. It came to the point where the workers were asking for a raise every two to four weeks."

"Finally, the growers got tired. They

asked for a contract in writing."

But signing of the contract has not ended the harassment of the workers by immigration agents.

"Since the contract was signed," Sanchez said, "*la migra* has raided Goldmar five times. And they beat up one of the ranch committee people."

But, he added, *la migra* has been working with the growers for the past fifteen or twenty years to break the organizing efforts of the workers. "They have not been successful," he said.

Sanchez explained the economic development plan to be administered by the central committee, composed of representatives elected from each of the ranches.

He said that it was likely that as the workers forced the wages up to a more acceptable level they would be replaced by U.S. workers. The fund will be used by workers wishing to return to Mexico.

Many of the workers, he said, have title to *ejidos*, plots of communal property, and can use the fund to buy tractors and other farm equipment so they can make a living in Mexico.

"Eventually," Sanchez said, "they envision knocking down all the fences around their *ejidos* and using the equipment to farm the land communally."

MCOP is helping other undocumented workers win similar contracts.

Right now, Sanchez said, the major target is the Blue Goose Company in Chandler, Arizona.

Several months ago, he said, the workers decided to strike against the bad conditions there. Blue Goose called in the Border Patrol. They were there two hours after the strike began, and half the strikers were deported. Others got away.

MCOP did some research and found that Blue Goose is owned by Pacific Lighting, which also happens to be the parent company of the Southern California Gas Company. This outfit is angling for a contract to buy gas from Mexico.

"We are asking people," Sanchez said, "to write letters to Mexican President López Portillo asking him if he is going to sell gas to a company that is violating the human rights of Mexican workers."

"We are also asking people," he continued, "to send telegrams to Carter asking him if he is going to enforce his human rights policy in this country in relation to undocumented workers."

The organizing drive at Blue Goose, he said, faces a big obstacle since the company got a court injunction barring any "unauthorized person" from entering its property. So MCOP has spread the word for people not to go to work there. Right now, he said, they need at least 150 workers, but have only 40.

MCOP, he added, also has people in Mexico City meeting with the unions there.

"Labor unions in Mexico," he commented, "feel a strong commitment to the undocumented workers here."

## ...Calif. lettuce strikers fight for living wage

Continued from back page  
get our goat."

They talked about the inflation and their fight for better pay. "We don't work a forty hour week," one explained. "Some people make only sixty or seventy dollars. And prices have gone up."

We got more facts from Ned Dunphy, a UFW staffer.

Most of the workers, he said, average less than \$5,000 a year.

Wage increases won in union contracts have not kept pace with inflation. That's why one of the demands in the new contract is for a cost-of-living clause, with wages adjusted four times a year.

The union is also pressing for an improved medical and pension plan.

The present pension, Dunphy explained, is a pittance. And very few

workers ever get to collect even that. The work is so backbreaking that most last at it for only five to ten years.

The growers, he said, are using President Carter's 7 percent wage guideline against the strikers.

The growers have brought in a high-priced public relations firm to promote a propaganda campaign against the union on both sides of the border.

On the Mexican side, one striker told us, this worked at the beginning.

The paper in Mexicali, the big border city across from here, began to label the strikers "communists" and "terrorists."

There are 13,000 Mexicali workers who cross the border every day to work here.

"And they told the paper," the striker said, "that they would begin to boycott it if it continued that [anti-

UFW] policy. Since that time, it has not been so bad."

Here in the United States, the propaganda pitch is to convince consumers that the strikers are responsible for the high price of lettuce. To grant the demands for a wage increase, they claim, would boost the price even higher.

This is really the big lie.

Before the strike, the price of a head of lettuce ran anywhere from thirty-nine to sixty-nine cents.

Do you know how much of that goes

to the picker? According to the growers' own figures 2.4 cents a head.

And by their own figures, they make a nickel on each one of those heads of lettuce. In other words, for every dollar they pay the field worker in wages, they make two in profits.

The *Los Angeles Times* reported February 11 that some growers make as much as \$6 million on a single lettuce harvest!

But they want the workers to continue breaking their backs for starvation wages.

## Chicano h.s. students protest

CALEXICO, Calif.—Carlos Rocha, a seventeen-year-old high school senior, knows what it's like to work in the fields. He began when he was seven, helping out when his father was too sick to work.

He is one of six brothers and sisters. All of them continue working while they go to school.

He knows the injustice of a family working so hard for so little. So he was understandably angry when notices were posted on the bulletin boards at Holtville High School to recruit student strikebreakers. Most of the students are Chicano.

Rocha organized a protest demonstration of fifty Chicano students.

Some sixty high schoolers—all anglos—did go into the struck fields. A number of them, though, were children of growers.

"They offered the students beer and other things," Rocha told the *Militant*. "They were given work permits and worked not only weekends but during school hours."

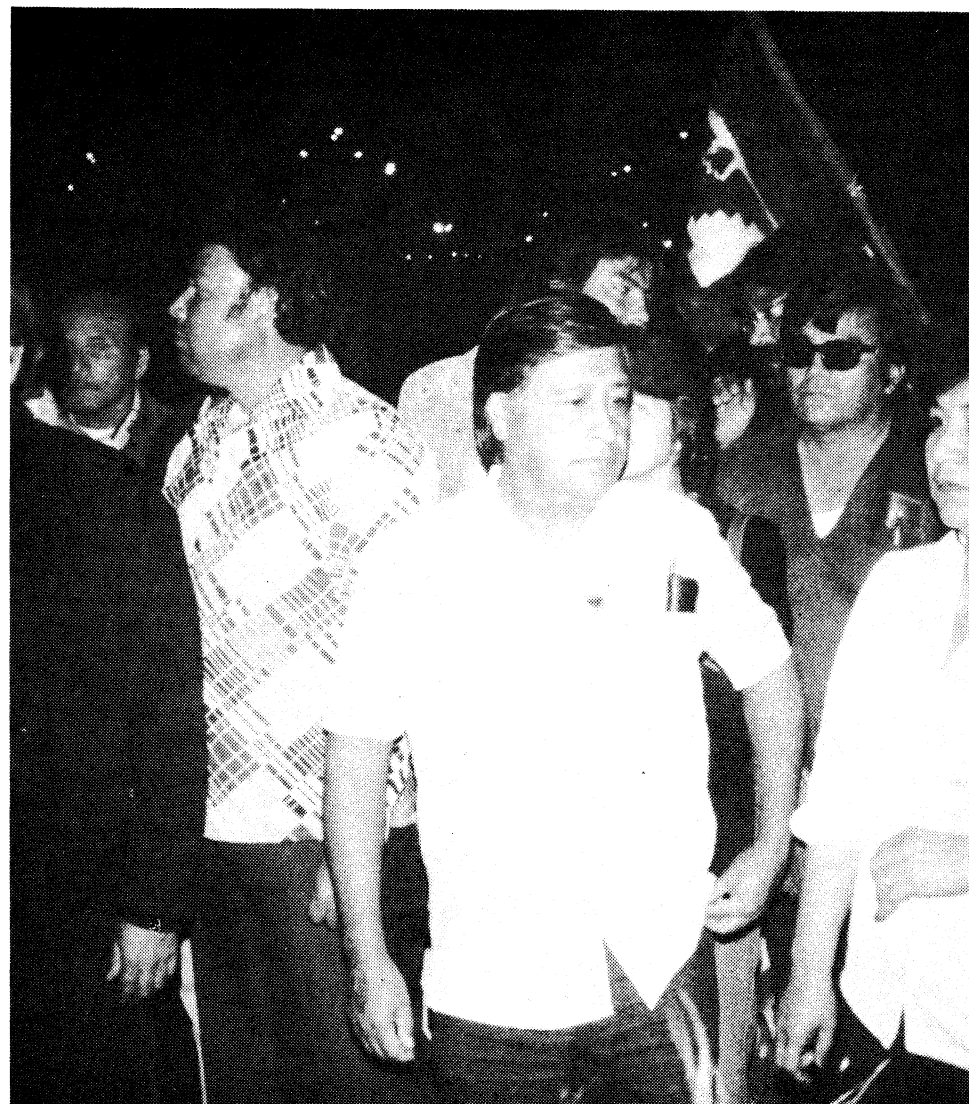
Students who participated in the protest, he said, were put down as having unexcused absences, which can lead to expulsion. The anglo strikebreakers were given excused absences.

Rocha is president of the Imperial Valley Migrant Student Council. The members are students who work in the fields locally or accompany their parents up to Salinas and other harvest areas.

With the help of the California Rural Legal Assistance, the students went to court and got an injunction against using school facilities to recruit scabs. They also succeeded in getting the penalties dismissed against the students who demonstrated.

Rocha wants to go to college and has applied for scholarships. "I want to get out of the fields," he said, "But whatever I do, I want to help *la raza*."

—C.G.  
and D.R.



César Chávez at February 11 march protesting murder of UFW striker.

Militant/Jesús Santos



## Imperialism in Africa: an eyewitness account

The following are excerpts from an interview with Maceo Dixon. Dixon, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party, recently returned from traveling through Tanzania, Zambia, Senegal, Botswana, Nigeria, and Kenya.

On February 11, Dixon began a three-month tour of the United States. He is speaking about the economic and political situation in the countries he visited and how the American people can aid the African liberation struggle.

This is the first installment of a two-part interview. This segment deals with the economic and social conditions of the African masses.

The interview was conducted by 'Militant' staff writer Osborne Hart.

**Question.** What is your impression of the living standards in the countries you toured? What effect does imperialism have on the African masses?

**Answer.** What was clear from my visit was that despite formal independence from colonialism, the majority of the African countries live under colonial conditions. Imperialist powers like the United States continue to dominate their economies. This continued exploitation has kept these countries from developing their economies in such a way as to benefit the working masses.

I was astounded by the level of poverty and destitution in every country. There is no comparison to even the most extreme conditions in the United States.

Take housing for example. There are many shanty towns. A shanty is constructed from mud, sticks, or in some areas corrugated steel. There is no electricity, no running water, no sewage system.

In some places shanty towns are very large—Nathare in Nairobi [Kenya] has a population of 10,000. In Nathare, as many as ten people live in one room. Most of the people who live there are wage workers.

The shanties I visited were not in rural areas, but part of such urban centers as Lusaka, Zambia; and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

**Q.** Are there other examples?

**A.** In Tanzania, an average of 150 children die from malnutrition every day. Tuberculosis strikes thousands each year. Leprosy affects about ten out of every thousand persons.

It's almost like living in the eighteenth or nineteenth century. On the one hand, there are jets, cars, and high-rise buildings in the major cities for foreign businessmen and the wealthy few; on the other, there is poverty, famine, and disease for the vast majority.

Three weeks before I arrived in Dakar [Senegal] there was a cholera epidemic. Many people died. When I arrived in Nairobi in December, the major headline in the newspapers was about the locust swarms over that part



Shantytown in Lagos, Nigeria.

Militant/Maceo Dixon

of Africa. The locusts were consuming about a ton and a half of grain a day.

I visited only six countries in Africa, but the conditions I described represent what the masses of people face throughout the continent.

**Q.** What is the economic situation and the degree of industrialization in the countries you toured?

**A.** Inflation is running at a rate of 30 percent in Nigeria. It is expected to reach 50 very soon.

There are shortages, especially in Zambia. I saw long lines waiting in front of stores and shops. During my stay, a shipment of soap powder arrived. I witnessed hundreds of people running down the streets with five to ten boxes of soap powder.

Rice, salt, coffee, and meats are scarce. It is a rare meal to eat chicken. And everything is extremely expensive.

Social services—like garbage pickup, mail delivery, and public transportation—are almost nonexistent.

There's little evidence of industrial development. In Tanzania, there is light industry—small mechanical parts. The Chinese are helping Tanzania develop its industry.

The working class in Nigeria is larger than all the other countries I toured. Outside South Africa and Egypt, Nigeria's population has the highest percentage of wage workers. But Nigeria is also an example of how "industrialization" under the heel of imperialism distorts and disrupts the economy. Nigeria used to export food, but since 1976 it has not even been self-sufficient. Last year it had to import some \$1.5 billion worth of food.

**Q.** How visible is U.S. imperialism?

**A.** I think when we talk about imperialism, we have to speak about more than just the United States. All the imperialist powers are in Africa and they continue trying to redivide it in their own interests. The scramble for Africa is still going on. France, Germany, Britain, and Portugal are quite prominent.

For instance, Senegal, a former French colony, is economically controlled by multinational companies.

French troops and military bases are in the country. During the Shaba [Zaire] crisis in 1978 and the year before, Senegal was a staging ground for the imperialist intervention.

Because of agreements made with France, French corporations control huge tracks of Senegalese land known as "free zones." They pay no taxes on the land and exploit Senegalese labor.

Another example of imperialist domination is the Zambian economy. Zambian copper is shipped to the United States for processing. Zambia, one of the world's largest copper mining countries, has no means of processing its own ore. Imperialism controls the resources and the processing.

That's the kind of exploitation—on many levels—going on all over Africa.

## African solidarity notes

### Minn. activists plan conference

Students and activists from twelve schools are planning to participate in the Minnesota Anti-Apartheid Conference on March 3 at the University of Minnesota, Minneapolis campus.

According to conference organizers, participants will discuss how their schools can build the April 4-11 nationwide week of anti-apartheid actions and move forward the divestment movement. The conference call originated from a January meeting of divestment activists.

Dennis Brutus, a prominent South African poet and political exile will address the plenary session. For more information call (612) 823-1259.

### U.S. consulate: Don't 'overpay' Blacks

*An American in Johannesburg* is a pamphlet distributed by the U.S. consulate. Published by the American Women's Club of Johannesburg, the pamphlet serves as a guide for employment of Black house servants by U.S. citizens in South Africa.

The *Christian Science Monitor* explains that the "president of the American Women's Club defends the publication as necessary to prevent Americans from running afoul of the system [that is, apartheid] and being taken advantage of by their household servants."

The book uses the terms "bantu" and "boy" when referring to Blacks. Bantu is a derogatory and racist term which Blacks despise.

The pamphlet also warns that servants should not be "overpaid"—it suggests \$115 per month as the minimum for a Black family of five. In fact, the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce says \$193 is the bottom line.

Those wages are for a recommended nine to ten hours a day for six and a half days a week. The president of the Women's Club pays her "boy" only eighty-six dollars a month.

Warning against excessive generosity, the head of the Women's Club says, "If you give your boy a Coke on a hot day, he'll want three the next day."

Even though the racist pamphlet is termed "unofficial," the U.S. consulate general defends it as the only guide available.

—Osborne Hart

### Dixon tour

Hear Maceo Dixon speak on "Southern Africa: The Struggle for Liberation; What Americans Can Do to Support It." The next stops on his tour are:

San Diego	Feb. 22-23
Los Angeles	24-28
Salt Lake City	Mar. 2-3
Dallas	5-6
San Antonio	7-8
Houston	9-10
New Orleans	12-13

For more information contact Viewpoint Speakers Bureau, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014, telephone (212) 242-7654.

# Socialists launch municipal campaigns

## Chicago: 'Workers like what I have to say'

By Bobbie Bagel

CHICAGO—The Democratic Party machine has been running this city for the past fifty-two years. They keep a tight rein on elections. They keep the campaign time short and in the dead of winter.

But that's not stopping Andrew Pulley's campaign for mayor. "It just means we have to work that much harder and faster to get the socialist program out," Pulley says.

So Pulley, a steelworker, gets off his shift at midnight and is out again by 6:30 a.m. picking up campaign supporters to pass out literature.

One morning recently, a reporter from a neighborhood paper came along to observe the campaign in action at the gates of U.S. Steel South Works.

It was 10 below zero that morning, not counting the wind chill. But workers coming onto the morning shift—primarily Blacks and *latinos*—stopped to take brochures and talk for a few minutes.

Pulley got their attention by introducing himself as the *socialist* candidate for mayor. He says that workers won't pay any attention if they think he's with the Democrats or Republicans.

Pulley is the only Black and only independent candidate on the ballot.

"They like what I have to say," he explained afterwards. "Especially our plan to tax the rich for the social services that we need. That makes sense to workers who have spent their lives in the mill. They just want to know how we can pull it off. That's when I explain what the Socialist Workers Party is all about."

The socialist campaign is having a real impact by hitting the issues that affect the majority of Chicago's population.

At the end of January, for example, the Chicago Transit Authority cut out service on the main train lines serving the Black community on the south and west sides. More than 500,000 community residents were left stranded. The officials blamed equipment shortages on freezing weather conditions.

Pulley issued a statement condemning this outrageous racist act by the CTA.

He called for free public transportation, with community residents making the decisions on routes and schedules. He said that union committees of transit workers—not politicians—ought to determine safety procedures and operating policies.

Pulley said the banks and corporations should foot the bill for the newly equipped modern transit system Chicago needs.

A campaign rally held February 3 at Shoe Workers Hall drew 150 people.

Campaign supporters had been selling tickets to co-workers for several weeks. One steelworker sold six in his plant. An auto worker at a west side plant bought a ticket and brought along a couple of his friends.

Featured speakers along with Pulley were Fred Halstead, author of *Out Now!*, the only firsthand history of the anti-Vietnam War movement; and Thabo Ntweng, SWP candidate for mayor of Cleveland.

Pulley summed up the spirit of the evening and of his campaign this way: "Is everything we have been talking about a hopelessly impossible dream? Is this utopian?"

"Not at all. What is utopian is the



Andrew Pulley, socialist candidate for mayor, campaigns on Chicago streetcorner

belief that working people can get any improvement in their living standards or can expect positive changes in this society from the Democratic or Republican parties, which are beholden to the capitalists.

"Brothers and sisters, I submit to you that the goal of socialism, the idea of a humane society, is the only future worth having and worth fighting for.

"Join us tonight in working toward that future!"

## San Antonio: We need a program of public works

By Mark Schneider

SAN ANTONIO—"My name is Andrea Doorack. I'm an assembly line worker at Friederich's Refrigeration and a member of the International Union of Electrical Workers. I'm the Socialist Workers candidate for mayor, and I'd like you to consider voting socialist."

That's the way Andrea Doorack greeted bus drivers inside the VIA Transit garage at 5 a.m. here February 8.

Doorack was accompanied by Dave Salner, a bus driver and member of Amalgamated Transit Union Local 694. Salner is the socialist candidate for city council in District 9.

The socialist candidates explained to transit workers their opposition to any cutbacks in the municipal work force. Last summer a sanitation workers' strike for a small pay increase was brutally smashed by the city council, which fired about half the workers.

With this victory under their belts, Mayor Lila Cockrell and the city council are threatening to reduce the municipal work force by 1,000 over the next two years.

Doorack talked about the fact that San Antonio suffers above-average unemployment and some of the lowest wages in the country. There is no drainage in the Chicano and Black neighborhoods, and the streets are in constant disrepair because of flooding.

"And yet the mayor and city council are talking about cutbacks! No, we need the opposite—a crash program of public works to solve this city's crisis

of inadequate housing, child care, medical facilities, drainage, and education."

The socialist campaign was launched at a rally February 9. Doorack and Salner were joined by Sylvia López, a student at St. Mary's University and the socialist candidate for city council in District 1.

San Antonio is officially 52 percent Chicano. "While the city council has a Chicano majority and one Black," López told the rally, "we can now see that simply changing the color of the council is not enough. In fact, it's the most 'radical' members of the council, Bernardo Euseste and Rudy Ortiz, who have come to the fore as the budget-cutters and program-slashers."

"The Chicano Democrats are proving to be no more effective in stopping cutbacks than Black Democrats who have been mayors or won city council majorities in other cities. To hold the line against cutbacks, we will need an alliance between an aroused labor movement and its allies among the organizations of Chicanos, Blacks, women, and students."

Doorack explained to the rally that the problems facing San Antonio were national in scope.

"The biggest industry in this city, by far, is the military. It produces nothing of value, and its land is untaxed. Our five sprawling military bases are really an albatross around the city's neck. The only way forward for this city is to transform the military bases into productive factories, farmlands, schools, and hospitals."

"But that can take place only by transforming the whole economy from a profit-oriented and war economy to a planned economy that puts human needs first. That's what we mean when we talk about socialism. And the American labor movement and its allies have the power to bring that about."

## Dallas: 'Boom town' only for big business

By Chris Horner and Carole Lesnick

DALLAS—Democrats and Republicans have had a monopoly on every

Dallas City Council election. Until now.

The Socialist Workers Party is fielding candidates for the April 7 election; candidates who are working people and activists in the social movements that can change the face of this city.

In Texas, where "right to work" laws severely limit the rights of workers to organize, the SWP is running a 100 percent union slate.

Gretchen Jarvis, SWP candidate for mayor, is a twenty-eight-year-old teacher and a member of the National Education Association. One of the best-known feminists in Dallas, and a leader and board member of the Dallas County National Organization for Women, Jarvis joined the Socialist Workers Party only a few months ago.

Jarvis met members of the SWP who were active in her NOW chapter. She worked closely with them on building the July 9 ERA march in Washington, D.C., for the Equal Rights Amendment. She became more and more interested in socialist ideas.

The *Militant* newspaper, she says, is what really won her over.

Jarvis says that activists in the Dallas women's and gay movements are already excited about her campaign. Several have volunteered to work on the campaign.

Jarvis kicked off her campaign in late January at a NOW picket line commemorating the sixth anniversary of the Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion.

In a statement handed to the news media and to other pickets, she blasted the ban on Medicaid abortions. "Safe, legal abortions have been added to the list of 'luxuries' that wealthy people can afford and poor people can't," she stated.

Jarvis hopes to use her campaign to explode the myth of the "sun-belt." As a longtime resident of the region, she knows that "boom town" Dallas is no more free from social crises and urban decay than New York or Cleveland.

In fact, Dallas is a "boom town" only for big corporations, 200 of which moved here from other parts of the country just last year to take advantage of the good "business climate": a work force that is only 8 percent unionized, low wages, low corporate taxes, and meager social services.

Last year \$635 million was spent in the Dallas area on defense contracts, compared to only \$35 million on health, education, and welfare combined.

The same day that Gretchen Jarvis was marching on the NOW picket line, Bob Cantrick, a thirty-four-year-old machinist in the oil tool industry and SWP candidate for City Council Place 9, was traveling to Austin, the state capital.

He and more than thirty activists from the Armadillo Coalition, a north Texas Antinuclear group, joined 500 others at a rally pressing for a state ban on nuclear waste transportation and storage of nuclear material.

The SWP candidate for City Council Place 10 is Melvin Chappell. Chappell, a twenty-four-year-old Black steelworker, has been active in the anti-racist movement since he was a high school student.

Chappell thinks the labor movement ought to take on big social issues, such as the threat to affirmative action posed by the Weber case, or the anti-apartheid movement, or the fight to win the ERA.

On the job at the Austin Steel Company, he talks to other unionists about these campaigns. "I tell them that what we need in America today is a fighting, democratic labor movement," Chappell says.

"I say that what we need is a labor party, our own party based on the strength of our unions. The more most of them think about it, the better they like the idea."



## 'We don't want to suffer anymore'

# Chinese peasants demand political rights



Peasants demonstrate in Peking for human rights and socialist democracy

### By Leslie Evans

The third anniversary of the death of Premier Chou En-lai on January 8 was taken as an opportunity by a number of China's newly formed dissident groups to direct some sharp demands at the party leaders in Peking.

Highlights of the week included the formation of a group called the Human Rights Alliance, which pasted up a nineteen-point program at Peking's Democracy Wall challenging a wide range of bureaucratic abuses; and marches and sit-ins by groups of peasants demanding democratic rights and more food.

Small demonstrations for civil liberties or to correct particular abuses have become fairly common in some of China's major cities since the government announced in November that it would permit the public airing of grievances. Peking's Tien An Men Square and the nearby Democracy Wall have become the national center for such protests, but they have appeared elsewhere. The January 2 *Le Monde*, for example, reported that a woman worker in a Shanghai silk factory was wounded by police gunfire on December 29 in a clash between workers and police during a workers' demonstration protesting the pace of work and calling for higher pay.

Before dawn on Saturday, January 6, the first poster of the Human Rights Alliance was put up at the Democracy Wall in Peking. This was the first of the political wall posters that has been signed with real names—the seven authors boldly announced their names and promised to appear on January 8 for a public meeting to debate the content of their program. Some of the nineteen points, as summarized by Western correspondents in Peking, included:

- For the release of all political prisoners.
- For the right of dissent for Communist Party members.
- For the removal of Mao's body

from its mausoleum, where it stands as an example of "feudal idolatry."

- For the right to elect all state and party leaders.
- For the right of opposition parties to have voice and to be elected to the National People's Congress.
- For provisions of the constitution to be enforced.
- For publication of the state budget and of statistics for all areas of Chinese economic and social life.
- For an end to secret government meetings and for the right of citizens to attend sessions of the National People's Congress.
- For an end to duplicitous propaganda.
- For a study of Western democracy and culture as well as science and technology.
- For the right to enter foreign embassies; meet foreign correspondents; receive foreign books and magazines; and to publish abroad.
- For the abolition of the system of lifetime assignment to work units.
- For freedom of travel, employment, dress, and personal decisions in family planning.
- For unemployment insurance, a guaranteed minimum grain ration for all peasants, and an end to the forcible sending of urban youth to the countryside.
- For immediate abolition of the secret police.
- For an end to the "terrible hovels some poor people live in with three generations in one room . . . grown boys and girls should not have to live in the same room."
- For a reconciliation with the Soviet Union. "The Sino-Soviet split in ideology has already lost its objective base. The citizens demand a relaxation in the attacks on revisionism. The Soviet Union is a socialist country and the Soviet people are a great people. China and the United States are now friends. China and Japan are now friends. The people of China would like

to be friends with the Soviet Union. We demand a beginning of talks with the Soviet government." (Toronto *Globe & Mail*, January 6; *Los Angeles Times*, January 7; *Christian Science Monitor*, January 8.)

### Two workers

John Fraser of the Toronto *Globe & Mail* met with two of the authors of this remarkable document following their appearance at the Democracy Wall on January 8:

The two were both workers. They had spent the morning at Hsi Tan [the street where the Democracy Wall is located] debating their poster with Chinese and had had a warm, enthusiastic reception. There were some criticisms of certain points in the poster, but its over-all objectives received wide support from several hundred people. [*Globe & Mail*, January 8.]

According to another Chinese who was present and later interviewed by Fraser, the criticisms did not focus on the Human Rights Alliance's antibureaucratic positions but on their proposal to defuse tensions with the USSR. The dissidents replied that they did not advocate imitating the Russian system in China.

The Human Rights Alliance was only one of several groups at the Democracy Wall and in Tien An Men Square on January 8. The more or less official celebrations for Chou En-lai had brought tens of thousands of people to Tien An Men. One unofficial group called the Enlightenment Society, which had appealed to President Carter to make a statement on behalf of human rights in China, circulated in the crowd selling printed pamphlets of its statements for 30 cents each.

The most dramatic incident at the square was a march by some 200 peasants from provinces all over China, joined by more than a thousand Peking citizens, behind banners reading "We don't want hunger. We don't want to suffer any more. We want human rights and democracy" (*New York Times*, January 9).

No one knows exactly how many of these refugees from the countryside are now in Peking. They have been arriving in Peking singly and in small groups from all parts of China since late last year, with larger numbers coming for the Chou En-lai anniversary. One of the demonstrators told Western reporters that there are 20,000 such displaced peasants in Peking (Reuters, January 14), although Agence France-Presse gave its estimate of 1,000 (January 14).

### 400 to 500 marched

On January 11, Fox Butterfield wrote from Peking:

This week in Peking . . . 400 to 500 people dressed in the patched, faded garb of peasants marched for three days around Tien An Men Square to protest shortages of food and demand human rights in China. The people, who appeared to come from virtually all of China's 29 province-level units, including Tibet, said they did not want to overthrow the Government but simply to obtain redress against insensitive local officials.

The marchers slept at night in the Peking railroad station or other public buildings with no official interference. They said they had come to Peking by hitching rides on trucks or walking since they did not have travel permits to take trains. [*New York Times*, January 14.]

On January 14, some 200 of these peasant demonstrators staged a protest outside the leadership compound at Chungnanhai, where Hua Kuo-feng and the rest of the top party officials live. The protesters demanded a brief interview with either Hua or Teng Hsiao-p'ing. The scene was described by the correspondents of the Toronto *Globe & Mail*:

Their ranks were joined yesterday by other disaffected people from Peking itself, as well as a large group of interested onlookers. By the time everyone reached Chung Nan Hai, the crowd consisted of more than 2,000 people and it took at least 100 soldiers from the People's Liberation

Continued on page 25

## Mass pressure forces Italian Stalinists to stop supporting government

By Gerry Foley

The Italian Communist Party's announcement January 26 that it was withdrawing its support from the government of Premier Giulio Andreotti came as no surprise. The CP leadership had clearly been moving in this direction since mid-1978.

Discontent with the CP's defense of the government's austerity policies was building up to an explosive point. In the May regional elections, the party suffered its sharpest decline in votes since the time of the Hungarian revolution. In the Campania region, for example, which includes Naples, the CP vote dropped from 42% in the 1976 legislative elections to 24%. The party also suffered losses in a number of northern industrial cities.

In June, the vote in the referendums on the repressive Reale Law and the law granting governmental financing to political parties, both of which were supported by the CP, showed that the party was losing control over growing sections of its supporters.

According to a poll cited in the February 5 issue of *Der Spiegel*, opposition among the ranks of the CP to the overtly class-collaborationist policy of "historic compromise" rose from 20% in 1976 to 30% in 1978. The West German magazine also noted admissions by the party leaders that the CP was facing an absolute decline in membership.

The CP has reportedly been losing members rapidly, particularly among the youth, who have been especially hard hit by the economic crisis and austerity policy. About 70% of the country's 1.6 million unemployed are under thirty.

Moreover, a number of press reports have cited polls showing that if elections were held now, the CP vote would drop by 10%.

When they found themselves unable to hold back a wave of strikes in November, in particular a militant strike of hospital workers, the CP

union leaders began to show signs of panic.

The three main labor confederations, including the CP-led General Confederation of Labor, issued a joint statement saying: "The whole body of public workers, beginning with the hospital workers, has become uncontrollable. If the government does not do something, we are going to have to resort to a general strike."

In early 1978, the CP union leaders endorsed the government's austerity plan. By the end of the year, they were forced to come out in opposition to the plan's provisions for cuts in social benefits and for ending the sliding scale of wages.

Specifically, the timing of the CP's withdrawal from the governmental majority was dictated by three factors. The new austerity plan drawn up by Andreotti's finance ministry was unveiled in mid-January. A broad conference of delegates of local units of the CP is scheduled for late March. And new contract negotiations are opening up for unions representing eight million workers. Big struggles are obviously brewing.

In the December 14 *Washington Post*, Claire Sterling wrote that the unions were "not only demanding shorter hours and higher pay—not to mention prodigal sums the state doesn't have for improved medical care, pensions, education and public investment—but plotting a hair-raising course of strikes and slow-downs to prove they mean it."

In bringing down the Andreotti government, the CP did not change its basic policy of collaboration with the Christian Democrats. But the fact that it was forced to make this maneuver indicates a much more fundamental shift—in the Italian working class as a whole. The CP can no longer keep the workers from going on a counteroffensive against the cuts in their standard of living.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor



Communist Party's electoral gains raised high hopes among Italian workers. But Stalinists have supported capitalist austerity drive.

## World news notes

### Spanish state steps up repression . . .

In response to growing militancy among Spanish workers, the government of Adolfo Suarez is stepping up its drive against workers' struggles—and especially against the struggle of the Basque people for self-determination.

In late January 5,000 cops were mobilized in Madrid. Another 2,800 more were sent into Euskadi, the Basque country.

Roberto Conesa, who served as an "anti-terrorist expert" during Franco's fascist reign, was also sent to Euskadi, accompanied by sixty members of an elite "anti-terrorist force."

Suarez has also sought and gained the support of the French government for his moves against Basque freedom fighters. On January 30, French police detained twenty-three Basques, whom they claimed were members of the Basque nationalist organization ETA. Seven of the twenty-three were deported to Spain.

The next day Maria Dolores González Catarin, whom the cops claim is a leader of the ETA, was arrested in France.

All these arrests were made under a new policy announced by the French government barring refugee status for political exiles from Spain.

The Spanish state's moves came just before the opening of the election campaign for 350 members of the Congress and 208 members of the Senate. The moves also came at a time of worker unrest.

Contract negotiations are going on for 3.8 million workers. The government is trying to limit wage increases to 12.5 percent. But, as the *Christian Science Monitor* reported in its February 8 issue, "one fact is more revealing than the demands: some workers—for example domestic gas suppliers, air-traffic controllers and steel workers—are holding wildcat strikes against the recommendations of the country's two principal Communist and socialist unions."

### . . . and in France

Meanwhile, the French government is experiencing troubles of its own.

Last year the government unveiled an economic plan that aimed to raise unemployment to make French industry "more competitive."

*Christian Science Monitor* correspondent Jim Browning reported in the February 16 issue on the response of French workers:

"In the steel town of Longwy, in Lorraine, workers recently sacked the offices of the 'sous-prefect,' who represents the central government in the region. Later they blocked a railroad line by dumping 1,500 tons of iron ore on the tracks."

Much of the workers' anger has centered on the steel industry. The government plan calls on steel companies to close plants and lay off 21,000 workers, nearly a quarter of the steel labor force.

That the strikes and demonstrations are shaking a few spines among the employing class was confirmed recently by one Gaullist parliamentarian, who said, "What strikes me is to feel the deep movement below the surface of French society, comparable to that which led to May '68. You have the impression that a great mutation is taking place. . . . This old population is changing."

### Callaghan 'announces' 'concordat'

With great fanfare, British Prime Minister James Callaghan announced February 14 that a "concordat" had been agreed to with the Trades Union Congress, the country's major union federation. The agreement says that TUC will work toward an annual inflation rate of no more than 5 percent within three years.

In reality, British workers have been fighting simply to bring their wages up closer to spiraling prices. The "concordat" signals the willingness of union tops to try to squelch these struggles. Whether they can succeed is another question.

So far, Callaghan's attempt to impose a 5 percent wage limit on British workers has failed dismally. The massive wave of strikes that has swept the country during the past several months has prevented the Labour Party government from carrying out its intended austerity program in the interests of British capitalism.

On February 9 negotiators for the water and sewage workers agreed on a pay increase of nearly 16 percent. The government has been trying to impose a ceiling of 8.8 percent on wage raises for public workers.

Although some of the strikers have returned to work with substantial pay boosts, others are still holding out.

The *Economist* magazine, Britain's most prestigious financial weekly, explained in its February 17 issue what the British rulers fear. "With a going rate for pay rises of around 15%, inflation will be approaching 12% by the autumn, when the next wage round begins. Unions will be looking for at least 18% pay rises in 1979-80 to keep pace with inflation. . . ."

—Peter Archer



# ...China

Continued from page 23

Army to keep firm but friendly order. . . .

The sight of the peasants visibly affected many Chinese and foreigners. They were among the poorest-looking people anyone had ever seen in China. One man carried his handicapped wife on his back throughout the entire hour-long march on the coldest day so far this winter. Another peasant who had spent 15 days travelling from his home town near Shanghai (1,000 miles away), talked to Western journalists. He said his name was Hsu Yu-shan of Chingchiang in Jiangsu Province.

Hsu said he was 62 and he and his wife have three children. Fifteen years ago, his family was forced to return to the countryside when widespread famine brought chaos to many Chinese cities. He said that their lives had been miserable ever since. In his town, people have to subsist on one jin



**TENG HSIAO P'ING:** May have to tolerate some dissent rather than risk open confrontation with masses.

of rice (about one pound) a day or one jin of mantou (Chinese bread). In addition to this basic food allotment, Hsu added, peasants could get a few poor-quality vegetables and on a lucky day a few scraps of pork. The most cash he had ever earned in a month was six Mao (about forty cents). [January 15.]

The party leaders refused to meet with the demonstrators, and for the time being the peasant demonstrations came to an end, with some of the protesters beginning the long trip home.

The local advocates of democracy, however, have continued their campaign. One of their tactics has been to make contact with foreign newspaper reporters, as a means of circulating their message and putting pressure on

their own government. Fox Butterfield, longtime *New York Times* Hong Kong correspondent, commented on his two weeks in Peking at the beginning of the year on the occasion of the restoration of diplomatic relations between China and the U.S.:

Before, no foreigner had met a Chinese dissident. Now practically everyone has, and some Chinese students have begun calling newsmen up at all hours of the night with tips on the latest poster. [*New York Times*, January 21.]

On January 23, the Human Rights Alliance put up a ten-page poster warning the citizens of Peking that they expected a crackdown from Peking's new mayor, Lin Hu-chia, who had made a speech claiming that "some enemies have smuggled themselves into the good forces," and disparaging "underground" groups and periodicals. The Human Rights Alliance countered by denying that the various human rights groups or their publications have been underground, saying that all the various publications had been posted on wall and that members of the alliance had appeared in public to defend their views.

According to Reuters, on January 29 several hundred people held a rally at Peking's Democracy Wall in defense of the leaders of six different civil liberties groups that have declared their intention to fight for free speech.

Thus far the government has made no move against the dissidents. One consideration is certainly Teng Hsiao-p'ing's visit to the United States—a wave of arrests in China at this moment would provide grist for the right-wing American press. But another, possibly more weighty, consideration is the mood of the people of China.

In an unusual move, the Chinese authorities permitted *Teng Hsiang* (Trends), a Hong Kong pro-Peking magazine, to take an official public opinion poll of Peking citizens. *Teng Hsiang's* reporters claim to have interviewed members of an agricultural people's commune, a military unit, and hospital workers. They report that 76 percent of those questioned felt that constitutional rights have not been respected in China. In addition, 88 percent said they are "dissatisfied" with the present cultural life. Complaints were particularly strong over restrictions on the right to travel abroad and the prohibition on emigration.

Teng and Hua may have decided that for the moment it is less risky to tolerate the open organization by the dissidents than to provoke a reaction from China's "silent majority."

From *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*

# Why Peruvian general strike failed

The following interview with Peruvian Trotskyist leader Hugo Blanco of the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT) was obtained by telephone January 15.

**Question.** Can you describe the situation in Peru during and after the general strike, and give us your opinion on the results of the strike?

**Answer.** The strike was weak from the outset. Only 30 to 40 percent of the workers struck on the first day, and participation fell off even more on the second day. The CGTP<sup>1</sup> then decided to suspend the strike.

There are a number of conjunctural reasons for the insufficient development of the strike. The government was very well prepared to confront it, both politically and with repression.

The strike was called against a series of economic measures decreed by the government. But the regime partially withdrew the measures. It ordered a wage increase, and although this did not meet the needs of the workers it did demobilize them, because it appeared as if the demands of the strike were being granted. It was a different thing from previous situations to prepare and carry out a strike under these conditions.

The political preparation of the action also left much to be desired, owing to the year-end holidays. January is a bad month in this respect.

An internal factor should be mentioned that greatly affected the organization of the strike from the beginning—the sectarianism of the Stalinists who control the leadership of the CGTP. In fact, in contrast to the July 1977 general strike, no joint leadership was formed among all those supporting the strike. This time the Communist Party refused to coordinate activity with anyone who was not in total agreement with its positions. So the class-struggle unions of Lima and the tendencies linked to forces to the CP's left were excluded from the outset. No factory assemblies or other kinds of actions were carried out to prepare for the strike.

**Q. What about the repression?**

A. The government, on the other hand, was very well prepared. Long before the announced date of the strike, it launched a big campaign of intimidation, unprecedented in earlier strikes. Lima and other cities were totally militarized. Tanks, armored vehicles, and soldiers appeared, while at the same time a propaganda offensive was conducted on radio and television and in the press, warning that the repressive forces had "license to kill." The people are not suicidal, so they were intimidated.

Small mobilizations did take place on the first day; for example, in Comas on the north side of Lima and elsewhere. But on the second day there was little activity in support of the strike. Also, hundreds of persons were jailed before the strike. The majority of them have now been released, but forty-four are still being held by State Security.

**Q. How did this repression affect the movement?**

A. On this occasion we have really

seen the enormous pressure that the economic recession is putting on the working class, with a whole series of consequences. The firings of tens of hundreds of leaders in the factories and the workers movement has had a big impact. The workers fear unemployment, and they feel that the stockpiles the bosses maintain enable them to withstand the effects of a strike. That is why many workers did not strike.

**Q. What attitude did the Constituent Assembly take toward the strike?**

A. The left deputies supported it, of course. They rejected the repressive measures launched by the government.

But the APRA<sup>2</sup> behaved worse than ever, and supported the military's measures to the hilt. The APRA voted down the motion presented against the suspension of constitutional guarantees and in support of the general strike. The left deputies walked out of that session of the assembly—the UDP, FOCEP, CP, both factions of the PSR,<sup>3</sup> and the Christian Democrats. The APRA proposed "secret sessions" of the assembly, but all that was discussed in those was the measures the government was preparing against the strike, and these were known to all. Also, the "danger of war between Chile and Peru"—a typical diversionary tactic.

**Q. What is the present situation?**

A. The APRA says elections for a new government will be held in October. The dictatorship also says this—it wants to go through with the transfer of government it has agreed upon with the bourgeoisie. The regime will try to maintain its "image" by holding the elections, but it will continue to harass all activity by the left. That is why they have decreed a "state of emergency"—an excuse for detentions and attacks on the workers.

**Q. What is the PRT's situation?**

A. Our party took part in the strike, and made its presence felt. Where we could, we worked jointly with the POMR,<sup>4</sup> another Trotskyist group, to organize and support the general strike.

We have struggled to make the FOCEP function in an organized way, and this is now being done. There is an executive committee that has begun to hold discussions and set some tasks. But the election campaign must still be discussed and planned. This will be an important opportunity to confront the bourgeoisie's maneuvers to demobilize the workers movement.

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Insurgent Masses Take Tehran

1. Confederación General de Trabajadores del Perú (General Confederation of Peruvian Workers), the main union federation in Peru.

2. Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana (American People's Revolutionary Alliance). Peru's main bourgeois party. The APRA holds the largest number of votes in the Constituent Assembly.

3. UDP—Unidad Democrático-Popular (Democratic People's Unity), a bloc of Maoist and centrist parties; FOCEP—Frente Obrero, Campesino, Estudiantil, y Popular (Workers, Peasants, Students, and People's Front), a bloc of Trotskyist parties and independent socialists to which the PRT belongs; PSR—Partido Socialista Revolucionario (Revolutionary Socialist Party). One of the PSR's public factions is led by bourgeois-nationalist ex-military officers; the other is a centrist grouping.

4. Partido Obrero Marxista Revolucionario (Revolutionary Marxist Workers Party).

# U.S. admits 'instances' of torture by Israel

By David Frankel

Howls of outrage from the Israeli government and its supporters have greeted the State Department's 1979 report on human rights.

At issue is the State Department's mealy-mouthed admission that "the accumulation of reports, some from credible sources, makes it appear that instances of mistreatment [of Palestinians in Israeli-occupied territories] have occurred."

Israeli Justice Minister Shmuel Tamir declared February 8 that such charges are an intentional attempt "to smear our country and way of life" on behalf of "murderers."

Israeli Foreign Ministry sources, according to the February 8 *New York Times*, discounted charges of torture in Israeli jails with the racist argument that the information was based on "interviews with Arabs." These "sources" failed to explain how such charges can be investigated without interviewing the victims.

Meanwhile, the *Times* itself sprang to the defense of the Zionist regime. A February 9 editorial hailed Israeli treatment of Palestinians as "exemplary."

### Blow to Zionist image

It is not surprising that the reaction has been so strong. Although the overall State Department document is a whitewash of the Israeli record, the fact that the U.S. government has called any attention at all to the use of torture in Israel is a significant blow to the image of the Zionist state.

As the State Department report admitted, substantial evidence of the use of torture by the Israeli government is available. In April 1970, for example, Amnesty International published "with the greatest reluctance" its finding of "prima facie evidence of the serious mistreatment of Arab prisoners under interrogation in Israel."

Noting that "we have in our possession very extensive material to support the assumption that torture does in fact occur," Amnesty Executive Committee member Arne Haaland stated: "We have rarely—if ever—had such reliable material on which to base the establishment of the fact in relation to torture taking place—or not taking place—in a particular country."

Unlike the Cuban government, which allowed Amnesty representatives to carry out a thorough investigation of the treatment of prisoners there last year, Israel has consistently refused to allow such an investigation.

A detailed summary of Israeli human rights violations is contained in the "Report of the National Lawyers Guild 1977 Middle East Delegation." (For copies, send \$4.50 to Guild Report, P.O. Box 14023, Washington, D.C. 20044.)

## Who do you believe?

"The reaction is total denial. There is no maltreatment of prisoners in Israel and there never has been torture of prisoners in Israel."

Israeli Embassy official replying February 9 to charges of torture.

"... Such a commission is unnecessary."

Jerrold Schecter, press secretary to Zbigniew Brzezinski, replying to an appeal by the Palestine Human Rights Campaign for a commission of inquiry to investigate charges of torture in Israel.

"... The conclusion seems unavoidable that abuses in the past, directed against Arab detainees, have had a brutalizing effect on the

conduct of law enforcement agencies, and strong counter-measures by your government are clearly a matter of great urgency, especially now that relevant authorities, including the Minister of Police and the courts, have admitted that 'unnecessary force' had in at least some cases been used during interrogation. Amnesty International therefore respectfully repeats its request for an independent inquiry into all aspects of this problem."

Letter of October 12, 1976, reprinted in "Monthly Bulletin of Amnesty International Campaign for the Abolition of Torture," November 1976, p. 1. The Israeli government has not bothered to reply to such appeals from Amnesty International.

While the State Department report admitted "instances of mistreatment" of Palestinian prisoners, it was generally laudatory toward the Israeli regime. Some of its more glaring inaccuracies should be pointed out.

- The report claims that within Israel's pre-1967 borders, "law enforcement is carried out without the excessive use of force."

Not when Palestinians are concerned.

For example, on April 4, 1977, I visited the village of Jatt, Israel. The entire village was on strike to protest Israeli "law enforcement."

Five days earlier, elementary- and middle-school students had taken to the streets to protest the arrest of seven young villagers. The seven had committed no crime. They were taken into custody because Israeli police feared they might organize protests to commemorate the murder of six unarmed demonstrators the year before during protests over the government's expropriation of Arab land.

Israeli authorities responded to the student protests in Jatt—a village of 4,000 persons—by sending troops, armed personnel carriers, and a heli-

copter to deal with the "uprising."

People were beaten in the streets. When Israeli troops were not able to find people in the streets, they broke into houses and beat people there. About twenty people were hospitalized.

Nor was the brutality in Jatt an isolated case. Three thousand people gathered in the Palestinian village of Majd al-Kurum December 17, 1977, to protest a racist rampage by Israeli police the previous month that left one villager dead and dozens injured.

An article by Yehoshua Gilboa in the November 11, 1977, issue of the Israeli daily *Haaretz*, described how police "broke into the houses [and] smashed the glassware in the flats, the lamps and the television sets. They broke electric equipment and furniture and even spoiled food."

Gilboa summed up his reaction by saying, "Something in the atmosphere reminded me of stories about pogroms in houses of Jews in Tsarist Russia."

### A democratic society?

- According to the State Department report, "Preventive detention is legal but is virtually never practiced" in Israel.

In fact, the British colonial regulations that permit preventive detention were used January 26 against six Arab students who were accused of issuing a leaflet stating their political solidarity with the Palestine Liberation Organization.

- "Israelis of all faiths and ethnic groups continue to enjoy freedom of religion, expression and assembly," is another claim made by the State Department.

Is it freedom of expression when Palestinian students are placed under house arrest for distributing a leaflet the government doesn't like?

Are the students of Jatt really assured of their freedom of assembly? Were the six demonstrators killed by police on March 30, 1976?

- Finally, the State Department asserts that "both the Hebrew and Arabic press are free . . . although all newspapers are subject to censorship on security and military matters."

This is a lie. The censorship is political, not military. For example, censors

have frequently approved Hebrew-language articles for *Matzpen-Marxist*, the newspaper of the Israeli Trotskyists in the Revolutionary Communist League, while rejecting translations of the same articles in Arabic.

Arab newspapers in East Jerusalem are also frequently forbidden to report news of Palestinian protests and political meetings.

In light of the State Department's whitewash of the Israeli regime, its admission that there have been "instances" of torture is particularly convincing.

## Fired for reporting on human rights

Alexandra U. Johnson, a junior foreign service officer in the U.S. consulate in Jerusalem, took President Carter's human rights rhetoric seriously. Although she was a supporter of the Israeli state when she arrived in Jerusalem, she was unable to ignore the repeated accounts of torture told to her by Palestinians applying for visas to leave Israel.

"I got the feeling that rather than being exposed to a series of aberrant instances, I was in a way taking a sample from a pattern or a system," she told the *New York Times*.

Johnson reported her findings to the State Department, which claimed it was unable to substantiate them. Last month, the State Department refused to grant her tenure after her six-year probationary period was over.

"It is my own belief that I was fired because of my human rights reporting," says Johnson.

Meanwhile, Israeli officials have begun spreading reports that Johnson was not given tenure because she is mentally unbalanced. Even the State Department had to brand that slander as "a slimy lie."

—D.F.



Ashkelon Prison: Israeli regime is trying to hide what goes on behind the walls

Militant/David Frankel



# In Review

## Triangle Factory massacre

The Triangle Factory Fire Scandal. *Alan Landsbury Productions. Starring Tovah Feldshuh and Tom Bosley. NBC television film shown January 30, 1979.*

NBC's dramatization *The Triangle Factory Fire Scandal* was a nostalgic story of old New York; of young immigrant women and men, their struggles to survive, their romances, their dreams of success in American where, as one of them put it, "We can be anything we want."

The fire was portrayed as a terrible tragedy that provided an insight into the diverse ethnic and

So when the crowds of people gathered on that day in March to watch with horror the young women throwing themselves from tenth-story windows to keep from burning to death, there was anger as well as sorrow. At one public protest meeting, Rose Schneiderman, a leader of the union, told the crowd:

"I would be a traitor to these poor, burned bodies if I came here to talk good fellowship. . . . Too much blood has been spilled. I know from my own experience it is up to the working people to save themselves. The only way they can save themselves is by a strong working-class movement."

On April 5, the ILGWU held a funeral procession for seven victims of the fire who had never been identified. One hundred twenty thousand men, women, and children marched in silence through the pouring rain to mourn their dead. Some 400,000 lined Fifth Avenue to watch.

Although the owners of the Triangle Shirtwaist Company were tried and acquitted of any responsibility for the fire, the tragedy gave an impetus to the struggle for factory inspection laws and workmen's compensation, and to the building of the ILGWU.

The story of the Triangle fire, where so many of our sisters died at the hands of the bosses' greed, is told in *We Were There* by Barbara Wertheimer (New York, Pantheon Books, 1977). It is a part of our own heritage as workers, as women, and as trade unionists.

The lessons of their experience stay with us today. At the International Women's Day March in

New York City on March 12, 1977, a banner was unfurled from the arch at Washington Square in tribute to those victims:

"It is up to the working people to save themselves. The only way they can save themselves is by a strong working-class movement."

—Lee Martindale

## Television

religious traditions the workers carried with them from the old country, and the day-to-day dramas of their adjustment to their new home.

But that fire in the Triangle Shirtwaist Company on March 25, 1911, which claimed the lives of 146 workers, most of them women, is part of another story, too, which the NBC program barely touched on. It is the story of the fight of these young immigrant workers for decent wages and working conditions and a measure of human dignity in the sweatshops of the "land of opportunity."

Primitive as the conditions might have looked when NBC portrayed them, the actual sweatshops of that time were much worse. Hours ranged seasonally from eleven to thirteen a day, six or seven days a week. Children eight and nine years old worked these hours for wages as low as \$1.50 a week. Most of the women made less than \$6.00 a week.

The Triangle Company is notorious for more than the fatal fire—in 1909 its lockout of 150 women who belonged to the fledgling International Ladies Garment Workers Union led to a long, bitter strike that culminated in a general strike of the garment trades involving 20,000 workers from roughly 500 shops. After three months of struggle against mass arrests, beatings by thugs, and arbitrary treatment by the courts, more than 300 shops went back with union contracts—but not the Triangle workers, who were unable to crack the resistance of the bosses and their police and judicial allies. The demands they did not win included adequate fire protection and escape routes.

## The Great Labor Uprising of 1877

by Philip S. Foner

288 pages, \$3.95 paper, \$12.00 cloth

A Monad Press book distributed by  
Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street,  
New York, New York 10014

## 'Bread and Chocolate'

*Bread and Chocolate. Produced by Maurizio Lodi-Fe for Verona Film Produzione. Starring Nino Manfredi and Anna Karina.*

*Bread and Chocolate*, a 1973 Italian film that was recently released in this country, is one of the finest films to be shown here in a very long time. It should do for its director, Franco Brusati, and its star

## Film

actor, Nino Manfredi, what *Love and Anarchy* did for Lina Wertmüller and Giancarlo Giannini.

The film is concerned with Nino, an Italian immigrant worker who has been three years in Switzerland, intent on obtaining a permanent residence permit so that he can send for his family and give his son a good start in life. Nino is voluble, outgoing, warm-hearted, and sunny-dispositioned, an engaging and yet a rather clownish man, who is always having funny mishaps.

At the beginning of the film we see him in a beautifully kept park on his Sunday afternoon off. The comfortable Swiss burghers are there, enjoying their baskets of luscious fruit and whipped-cream cakes and listening to classical music. They glance irritably at him as he sits under a tree, crunching

away at the hero sandwich he has taken out of his pocket.

He is somewhat abashed, but a moment later is telling a severe-looking governess minding a child how much he loves Switzerland, its natural beauty, and its clean air. Its people are not really cold, he tells her, just civilized in their behavior. But she will have nothing to do with him.

Even the child, with whom Nino seeks to play soccer, disregards him. This, we perceive in the course of the film, is how the 2 million immigrants doing the dirty work in a country of 5 million native-born are treated—when they do not encounter more overt hostility.

Nino is competing with another immigrant worker, a Turk, for a job as waiter in a posh hotel. The job would mean a permanent residence permit. The headwaiter and the manager look critically upon them as each strives with comic desperation to give the best service to the guests, the wealthy from the United States, England, and other countries.

The sumptuous dining of the guests contrasts with the hungry eagerness for the job of serving them of the competing workers. It is the contrast suggested by the title of the film, the contrast of the hero bread that is the staple food of Italian workers and the Swiss chocolate that is famous everywhere as a fine sweet, the contrast between one of the most exploited sections of the international working class and the capitalists of the advanced countries.

Through a series of comical accidents Nino loses his job, his work permit and his painfully accumulated savings. He asks a friend to smuggle him into a workers barracks, which his friend does even though it means risking his own work permit. At a show the workers put on to laugh at their own

situation, Nino perceives in a flash that they are laughing at their humiliation when they should be angry.

Then there is an abrupt shift in the tone of the film that comes as a shock to the audience and is highly effective. Nino gets a job in which his fellow-workers are also without permits, a job that is a horror—a mechanized chicken-slaughtering operation in an isolated rural area, in which the workers get paid according to the number of chickens they slaughter. They live in a chicken coop that has been converted into a barracks, where they have to walk about doubled up.

Dehumanized and rendered brutishly moronic by their life, they indulge in raucous laughter as they imitate the gait and flapping wings of chickens. The grotesqueness of their behavior is now not comic but searingly painful. It is a great scene.

Also poignant is the scene in which they look out upon the owner's elegant children and their friends as they come riding on horseback and engage in nude bathing in a stream amid pastoral surroundings. It is as if the workers are looking upon creatures of another world.

Nino regards his companions and asks himself whether foreigners think of him as being like them, whether they consider all Italians to be moronic clowns. Half-crazed, he dyes his hair and moustache blond and seeks to deny that he is Italian. But his pride does not permit him to keep up the pretense. He almost returns to impoverished Naples, but he finds that he cannot go home again.

Torn within himself and searching for his identity, the immigrant worker who had thought to build a better life is now homeless. From a comic character he has become a tragic figure.

—Paul Seigel



Boardman Robinson/New York Tribune

## Quote unquote

"Today Iran, tomorrow Palestine."  
—Yasser Arafat, *Palestine Liberation Organization leader, in Tehran February 18.*

### 'RADIATION IS NOT GOOD FOR YOU'

That was the profound conclusion of Environmental Protection Agency representative Paul Smith after an abandoned uranium dump was found underneath a Denver brick and tile plant.

The thousands of tons of radioactive waste underneath the brickyard emit more than three times the level of radioactivity that the federal government says is safe. And the government-approved level is much too high to begin with.

Similar radioactive dumps are believed to exist in several other locations in Denver, in other Colorado towns, and in Chicago and Utah.

Harold Sudmeyer, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Denver, told the *Militant*, "Already they are saying that radioactivity from this site could have affected Denver's water supply. And what about the homes built with bricks and tiles from this company?"

"The government has to do whatever is necessary to clean

By Robin Trilling

ROSEMONT, Ill.—Despite subzero temperatures and falling snow, 2,500 people participated in the February 18 picket line and rally against the "Defense Technology '79" exhibit here—called the "Death Exposition" by protesters.

Called together by the Chicago Mobilization for Survival, the demonstrators came from Michigan, Indiana, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Missouri, Iowa, and Nebraska, as well as Illinois.

Chanting, "Go home!" and "No nukes," protesters carried banners such as: "Money for jobs, not one cent for war," "Stop the arms race," and "No nukes."

up this hazard, including compensating the brickyard workers for any disruption of their employment. And the government should stop creating similar dangers with its nuclear power and nuclear weapons programs. That means shutting down all the nukes now."

### UNION-BUSTING IN N.Y.—I

On February 13, New York City's labor-hating Mayor Koch rejected for the second time a contract with the city's United Federation of Teachers

## 'Death Exposition '79'

Groups supporting the picket line included Grey Panthers, Veterans for Peace, Women for Peace, Socialist Workers Party, and the United Shoe Workers Union. About 300 college and high school students were at the action, along with trade unionists from District 31 of the Steelworkers union and auto workers from UAW Region 4.

Speakers at the rally included Robert Aldrich, formerly of Lockheed, who designed the Trident missile.

Police arrested five protesters at the February 18 action, and thirteen more at a picket line the following day.



that was supposed to have gone into effect five months ago.

Koch originally complained that the wages and benefits negotiated under the teachers contract would exceed the 4 percent average allowed other municipal unions. Now he is trying to weaken the union by dividing teachers from paraprofessionals.

While saying that he will honor the pay increases won by the union's 49,000 teachers ("increases" that really amount to wage cuts because they are less than the rate of inflation), Koch is refusing to go along with the contract provisions affecting the school system's 10,000 paraprofessionals.

### UNION-BUSTING—II

Defying two court injunctions, 2,200 striking New York City school-bus drivers vowed February 19 to risk jail and fines rather than return to work.

The drivers, who transport some 133,000 children, went on strike February 15. Their strike was provoked by the board of education, which is demanding what it calls "reforms" in their contract—the right to replace full-time with part-time drivers, and the elimination of contract provisions guaranteeing drivers parity in wages, benefits, working conditions, and seniority rights with New York Transit Authority drivers.

A lawyer for one of the private companies employing the drivers summed up the issues behind the strike by saying, "The board of education wants to delete [contract] provisions that, you know full well, will kill that union."

After more than four years of closing down schools and gutting educational programs, the board of education had the gall to accuse the drivers of having "left our youngsters out in the cold."

Meanwhile, New York City schoolchildren may really be in the cold if the city government continues to stall in talks with maintenance workers and custodial firemen who, among other things, stoke the furnaces that heat the schools.

These workers, who have been without a contract since last June 30, are scheduled to walk off the job February 21.

### S.F. WOMEN ORGANIZE RALLY

A coalition representing fifteen labor unions and women's organizations in the San Francisco Bay Area is building the Fourth Annual Day in the Park for Women's Rights. The event is scheduled to begin at noon, March 10, in Golden Gate Park, San Francisco.

The Day in the Park is traditionally held to commemorate International Women's Day. Although this year's rally will encompass a range of issues including reproductive rights, education and child care, and women in the labor force, the major focus will be on the

### Equal Rights Amendment.

Jeannine Whitlow, chairperson of the United Steelworkers Sub-district 3 Civil Rights Committee, will speak on the Weber case.

Some of the groups participating in the coalition are Women Organized for Employment; Retail Clerks Union Local 1100; National Organization for Women chapters from San Francisco, San Jose, and the East Bay; Office and Professional Employees Local 3; the Women's Alcohol Coalition; and Union Wage.

Labor endorsements and contributions have come from the San Francisco Labor Council, Teamsters, Painters, Typographical Union, East Bay Coalition of Labor Union Women, and others.

### THE 'MILITANT' GETS AROUND

The *Workers Voice*, published in Hamilton, Bermuda, picked up part of Dick Roberts's article on "Who owns the railroads?" in its February 2 issue. The article, commented the *Workers Voice*, "should be of interest to our readers, as it demonstrates how a handful of wealthy families may dominate the economy, even of a country the size of the United States of America."

### GOP VS. CUBA BLOCKADE?

The Republican National Committee complained February 12 that the Cuban government made between \$1,500 and \$2,000 on each of 4,000 visits to Cuba in January. Calling this "an exorbitant amount," the Republican statement said that the Cubans channel all tours through a Panamanian corporation that they control, and that visitors would pay less if U.S. airlines were permitted to compete for the traffic.

Not mentioned in the Republican statement is the fact that it is the U.S. government—not the Cubans—which refuses to let U.S. airlines land in Cuba.

If they are really so worried about the price of trips to Cuba, let them lift the criminal economic blockade that has been maintained by Washington for the past seventeen years.

### 'RIGHT TO LIFERS' DISRUPT MEETING

A "summit meeting" of pro- and anti-abortion groups ended in tears February 15, when three anti-abortionists stepped in front of television cameras

## Hansen publishing fund

As of February 20, \$14,675 has been pledged or collected to begin publication of Joseph Hansen's writings on revolutionary strategy in Latin America, the workers and farmers government, and other topics in Marxist politics and theory.

The \$20,000 Joseph Hansen Publishing Fund was launched following Hansen's death in January. It is sponsored by prominent figures inside and outside the Trotskyist movement around the world.

Meetings to honor Hansen's contributions to the revolutionary movement and raise money for the fund have been held in New York, the San Francisco Bay Area, Los Angeles, Cleveland, and elsewhere. Future issues of the *Militant* will

feature excerpts from the speech by longtime Socialist Workers Party leader Farrell Dobbs at the Bay Area meeting, along with reports on meetings in Toronto and Detroit.

To do your part to make Hansen's valuable writings accessible to today's generation of revolutionary-minded fighters, clip out the coupon below and send it to: **Joseph Hansen Publishing Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York, 10014.**

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# What's Going On

## ARIZONA PHOENIX

**ATTACKS ON ARIZONA UNIONS.** Speakers from Construction Workers Local 383 and Wilson Classroom Teachers Association. Fri., Mar. 2, 8 p.m. 1243 E. McDowell. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (602) 255-0450.

**THE WEBER CASE: ATTACK ON AFFIRMATIVE ACTION.** Speakers: Maclovio Barraza, Subdistrict director of United Steelworkers; Roy Santa Cruz, staff member, USWA; Lou Schlessinger, member of USWA Local 3937. Fri., Mar. 9, 8 p.m. 1243 E. McDowell. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (602) 255-0405.

## CALIFORNIA LOS ANGELES

**REVOLUTION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA: AN EYEWITNESS REPORT.**

Speaker, Maceo Dixon, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Sun., Feb. 25, 7 p.m. Channing Hall, 2936 W. 8th St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 482-1820.

## GEORGIA ATLANTA

**WEBER CASE: NEW THREAT TO AFFIRMATIVE ACTION.** Speakers: Jeannine Stake, member of United Transportation Union; others. Fri., Mar. 2, 8 p.m. 509 Peachtree NE. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 812-7229.

## ILLINOIS CHICAGO

**VIETNAM, CAMBODIA, CHINA: WHAT IS HAPPENING AND WHY?** Speakers to be announced. Sun., Mar. 4, 7:30 p.m. Blackstone Hotel Gold Room, Michigan & Balboa. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant For-

um. For more information call (312) 939-0737.

## MINNESOTA

**MESABI IRON RANGE THE IWW & IRON RANGE LABOR HISTORY.** Speakers: Donald Winter, Ilona Gersh, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Mar. 4, 7 p.m. Northern Electric Co-op Association, 1500 16th St. S., Virginia. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (218) 749-6327.

## NEW YORK

**LOWER MANHATTAN WHAT'S BEHIND U.S.-CHINA HONEYMOON?** Speaker: Les Evans, author of 'China After Mao.' Fri., Mar. 2, 8 p.m. 108 E. 16th St. 2nd fl. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 982-8214.

## OHIO CINCINNATI

**WHY FARMERS ARE DEMONSTRATING.** Speaker: Steve Diehl, member of the United Steelworkers. Sun., Feb. 25, 4 p.m. 970 E. McMillan (Peebles Corner area). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (513) 751-2636.

## PENNSYLVANIA PHILADELPHIA

**CHINA & VIETNAM: WHAT'S BEHIND THE WAR.** Speaker: Steve Clark, editor of the 'Militant.' Sun., Mar. 4, 2 p.m. 5811 N. Broad St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) 927-4747.

## PITTSBURGH

**FILM: MALCOLM X.** Fri., Mar. 2, 8 p.m. 1210 E. Carson. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (412) 488-7000.

## UTAH

**SALT LAKE CITY THE WEBER CASE: THREAT TO AFFIRMATIVE ACTION.** Speakers: Andrea Sitetch, member of Salt Lake NOW chapter; Manuel Romero, member of Salt Lake Chapter of SOCIO; Ken Morgan Steelworkers Local 4208 and member of SWP. Sun., Feb. 25, 7 p.m. 677 S. 7th East. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

**SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN KICKOFF RALLY.** Speakers: Maceo Dixon, Socialist Workers Party National Committee; Pam Burchett, 1979 SWP candidate for mayor of Salt Lake City and member of Steelworkers Local 4208. Sat., Mar. 3, 7 p.m. social hour; 8 p.m. rally; 9 p.m. party. 677 S. 7th East. Donation: \$2 for social hour and rally. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (801) 355-1124.



and unwrapped baby blankets to display what they claimed were human fetuses.

The meeting was originally proposed by Eleanor Smeal, president of the National Organization for Women, as a way to begin resolving the controversy around the issue of abortion.

But in order to get the anti-abortion groups to attend, conference organizers had to agree not to discuss abortion! The meeting was restricted to looking for areas of agreement on other birth-control-related matters. Even so, major national anti-abortion groups refused to attend.

According to representatives of both sides, the result of the "amicable" and "productive" five-hour session was consensus on "the need for expanded reproductive education by parents, schools and religious groups."

But any idea that the abortion issue would simply go away was presumably dispelled by the baby-blanket women.

As if to reinforce the point, an anti-abortion arsonist torched an abortion clinic on Long Island the same afternoon, jeopardizing the lives of fifty patients and staff members and engulfing the building in flames.

## Milwaukee desegregation victory

By Tony Prince

MILWAUKEE — The Black community here won a big victory February 8 when Federal Judge John Reynolds ordered the Milwaukee School Board to desegregate its schools on a city-wide basis.

Noting that the school board had helped to reinforce racist attitudes, Reynolds said in his decision: "Had the defendants operated the school system in a racially neutral manner, Milwaukeeans would have received a different message—that a governmental institution was approving equal treatment of Blacks and whites. . . ."

Among the examples of racist practices that Reynolds cited was the board's policy of "intact busing," whereby Black students bused to white schools

would be kept in segregated classes.

School Board President Anthony Busalacchi has been a leading opponent of busing in Milwaukee for several years. He and his supporters claimed that segregation in the schools was solely due to segregated housing.

But the judge found that school boundaries were changed to maintain separate-and-unequal education.

Reynolds had originally ordered Milwaukee's schools desegregated in a January 1976 ruling. But a June 1977 U.S. Supreme Court decision forced a review of the earlier ruling.

The fact that the February 8 decision was as strong as the first one, if not stronger, is a blow to the racist forces that have been fighting against desegregation.



Militant/Mary Jo Hendrickson

# The Great Society

Harry Ring



**'Militant' subscription, anyone?—**"The Western veneer cracked everywhere as Iran reverted to its past, to what it had always been . . . a deeply religious nation, profoundly suspicious of outsiders and passionately devoted to Oriental political intrigue."—A February 12 sample of *New York Times* analysis on Iran.

**We'll try—**News item: "Don't be surprised if meat prices don't come down, advises the National Live Stock and Meat Board."

**The sporting life—**In our day, sports were promoted as great for America because they helped build a sound mind in sound body. Charles Neimas, commissioner of the intercollegiate Big Eight Conference, puts it a bit differently. He sees three virtues in college sports: "Win, women, and money."

**How concerned can you get?—**The National Restaurant Association said that in response to dietary concerns of customers, restaurants were reducing the size of their portions. It would, of course, be too much to ask that they address themselves to their customers' inflationary concerns by reducing prices.

**Just the good book—**Officials of the Worldwide Church of God racked up expenses of \$1.7 million in a single year,

including global travel, plush hotels and restaurants, and expensive gifts for assorted dignitaries. A spokesperson explained, somewhat huffily, that the church is not a commercial enterprise, that is constrained to show a profit or pay dividends.

**That's a comfort—**A study jointly conducted by four federal agencies concluded that "most substances do not cause cancer."

**A roof over her head—**Among other things, Nelson Rockefeller left his widow two Fifth Avenue cooperative apartments, a country estate featuring a Japanese-style house, a restored Dutch farmhouse and a lodge, plus an ocean-front home in Seal Harbor, Maine.

**Social science department—**A federal study established that people on food stamps tend to buy cheaper cuts of meat and eat out less.

**Inflation fighters at work—**The president's Council on Wage and Price Stability asked for funding to double its staff. Of the 133 added employees, two-thirds will be paid \$32,400 a year or more.

## Union Talk

### Against sexual harassment

Following are major excerpts from a resolution adopted by the November 1978 convention of the British Columbia Federation of Labor. More than 1,000 delegates, representing a quarter of a million Canadian workers, were present. The resolution was submitted by the federation's Women's Rights Committee.

Sexual harassment is difficult to define. It may range from sexual innuendo made at inappropriate times, perhaps in the guise of humour, to coerced sexual relations.

Harassment at its extreme occurs when a male in a position to control, influence, or affect a woman's job or career uses his authority and power to coerce the woman into sexual relations, or to punish her refusal.

Because the male is in a position of authority, as a supervisor, a woman, therefore, may be at great risk if she objects to the behavior or resists the overtures. It is this context which underlies the gravity of the problem of sexual harassment.

A woman cannot freely choose to say yes or no to such sexual advances. The fear of reprisal looms formidably for many women when deciding how to react to sexual harassment. To refuse sexual demands may mean jeopardizing her future or her career. In the case of working women, the decision to simply quit a job is a luxury she may not be able to afford.

Like rape, sexual harassment has been a hidden problem, treated as a joke, or blamed on the victim herself. Because of a long history of silence on the subject, many women feel uncomfortable, embarrassed, or ashamed when they talk about personal incidents of harassment. They are afraid that it will reflect badly on their character, or that they will be seen as somehow inviting the propositions.

When women do speak out they are often ignored, discredited or accused of

"misunderstanding" their superior's intentions. A study conducted on this subject in 1975, showed that in 50 percent of the cases where complaints were registered no action was taken. In one third of those cases where the complaints were filed, negative repercussions resulted.

Many of these women are organized and we have a responsibility to protect them from this very real threat to their livelihood. Unfortunately, in many instances they do not believe that anything can be done or that the union would be willing to protect them. The labour movement must clearly demonstrate that it is not prepared to allow any of its members to be intimidated or coerced. To this end the Women's Committee makes the following recommendations:

#### Internally

—affiliates should adopt policies opposing sexual harassment.

—stewards and officers should be trained to deal with this type of problem in an effective manner.

—the membership must be advised that the union is opposed to sexual harassment and that union officers and stewards are trained to handle the problem.

#### Externally

—negotiate language in collective agreements to provide protection against sexual harassment.

—develop a separate grievance procedure if necessary for these complaints to ensure protection for the members.

—insist that the employer issue a statement prohibiting sexual harassment on the job and post this on bulletin boards.

—issue a pamphlet advising women of their rights and warning male supervisors of the repercussions of incidents of this nature.

Sexual harassment is not a joke. It's an issue that will not go away. The labour movement must recognize the seriousness of the problem and effectively represent our members who are its victims.

## Trotsky on Mexican oil

President Carter's trip to Mexico highlighted the direct hand the U.S. government is forced to take in negotiations over Mexican oil. Part of Washington's problem is that instead of being owned by foreign corporations, all Mexican oil is nationalized. This action was taken in March 1938 by President Lazaro Cardenas.

Nationalization of foreign oil holdings provoked an imperialist campaign against Mexico. The following article is abridged from a reply to his campaign by Leon Trotsky, who was then in exile in Mexico City. Together with Lenin, Trotsky was one of the central leaders of the Russian revolution. The original article appeared in the June 25, 1938, issue of the 'Socialist Appeal,' as the 'Militant' was then known.

The international campaign which imperialist circles are waging over the expropriation of Mexican oil enterprises by the Mexican government has been distinguished by all the features of imperialism's propagandistic bacchanalias—combining impudence, deceitfulness, speculation in ignorance, with cocksureness in its own impunity.

The signal for this campaign was given by the British government when it declared a boycott of Mexican oil. Great Britain was until recently the largest consumer of Mexican oil; naturally not out of sympathy for the Mexican people, but out of consideration for her own advantage.

Heaviest consumer of oil in Great Britain itself is the state, with its gigantic navy and rapidly growing air force. A boycott of Mexican oil by the British government signifies, therefore, a simultaneous boycott not only of British industry but also of national defense. Mr. Chamberlain's government has shown with unusual frankness that the profits of Britain's capitalist robbers loom above state interests themselves.

In order to compromise the expropriation in the eyes of bourgeois public opinion, they represent it as a "Communist" measure. Historical ignorance combines here with conscious deceit. Semicolonial Mexico is fighting for its national independence, political and economic. This is the basic meaning of the Mexican revolution at this stage. The oil magnates are not rank-and-file capitalists, not ordinary bourgeoisie. Having seized the richest natural resources of a foreign country, standing on their billions and supported by the military and diplomatic forces of their metropolis, they strive to establish in the subjugated country a regime of imperialistic feudalism, subordinating to themselves legislation, jurisprudence, and administration. Under these conditions expropriation is the only effective means of safeguarding national independence and the elementary conditions of democracy.

The Mexican revolution is now carrying out the same work as, for instance, the United States of America accomplished in three-quarters of a century, beginning with the Revolutionary War for independence and finishing with the Civil War for the abolition of slavery and for national unification. The British government not only did everything at the end of the eighteenth century to retain the United States under the status of a colony, but later, in the years of the Civil War, supported the slaveholders of the South against the abolitionists of the North.

The world press, in particular the French, preposterous as it may seem, continues to drag my name into the question of the expropriation of the oil industry.

Two aims are pursued in interjecting my name. First, the organizers of the campaign wish to impart to the expropriation a "Bolshevik" coloration. Second, they are attempting to strike a blow at the national self-respect of Mexico. The imperialists are endeavoring to represent the affair as if Mexico's statesmen were incapable of determining their own road. A wretched and ignoble hereditary slaveholders' psychology!

The French weekly *Marianne*, a notorious organ of the French People's Front, even asserts that on the oil question the government of General Cardenas acted not only as one with Trotsky but also . . . in the interests of Hitler. It is a question, you see, of depriving the great-hearted "democracies" of oil in case of war and, contrariwise, of supplying Germany and other fascist nations.

But then the "democracies" possess a simple way of paralyzing this "fascist" plot: let them buy Mexican oil, once more Mexican oil, and again Mexican oil! To every honest and sensible person it is now beyond all doubt that if Mexico should find itself forced to sell liquid gold to fascist countries, the responsibility for this act would fall fully and completely upon the governments of the imperialist "democracies."

Without succumbing to illusions and without fear of slander, the advanced workers will completely support the Mexican people in their struggle against the imperialists. The expropriation of oil is neither socialism nor communism. But it is a highly progressive measure of national self-defense.

The international proletariat has no reason to identify its program with the program of the Mexican government. Without giving up its own identity, every honest working class organization of the entire world, and first of all in Great Britain, is duty-bound to take an irreconcilable position against the imperialist robbers. The cause of Mexico, like the cause of Spain, like the cause of China, is the cause of the international working class.

### Radical Economists

The West Coast conference of the Union of Radical Political Economists met at Riverside, California, February 2-4. One of the best-attended sessions of the weekend was a dialogue between Stephanie Coontz, professor of history at Evergreen College and a member of the Socialist Workers Party, and Stanley Aronowitz, professor of comparative culture at the University of California at Irvine and member of the New American Movement.

The two debated the topic "America's Road to Socialism" before an audience of 150.

Coontz argued that the key element in any revolutionary struggle will be the industrial workers.

She called for a clear rejection of programmatic collaboration with bourgeois parties, countering arguments that a "rightward shift" in America required coalition with bourgeois liberals. "The issues are clearer today, and polarization has occurred," Coontz said. She pointed to evidence that working people are becoming more militant.

Aronowitz put forward an entirely different perspective. He argued that American capitalism had successfully separated economic and political spheres for workers and that the mood of workers may be economically radical but remains fundamentally nonpolitical.

"We have no brief for the Democratic Party," he added. "But the issue is not whether we make formal alliances with the Democratic or Republican parties. It is whether any section of the labor movement, even the labor bureaucracy, any section of the academic liberal community or the public administration that is liberal and concerned, is prepared to undertake a principled struggle for their own services. We will join them."

In rebuttal, Coontz declared that the perspective of a long period of political quiescence in the working class was tantamount to denying the importance of the economic analysis of capitalism's crisis. She declared that the left should take as a top priority the task of fostering a political break with the parties of the employing class.

Mary Malloy  
Riverside, California

### Anti-abortion march

After receiving the disgusting news of the January 22 "compulsory pregnancy" march of 60,000, I hoped to read an analysis of it in the *Militant*. I'm disappointed that so far the only mention of this march has been a passing reference in the "Women In Revolt" column.

An event of this size shouldn't be ignored. A mobilization like this one is demoralizing to pro-choice forces and others fighting oppression. A *Militant* article could place the march in its historical context and explain why it was not a sign of a supposed rightward drift. And

it could help show us how to effectively fight against this type of action.

The *Militant* could explain any real significance of the march and describe important details, like the composition (race, age, income brackets) of the marchers, and how they were funded.

Only the *Militant* can adequately provide the type of coverage we pro-choice people need to help counter the lies of the anti-abortionists.

Millie Phillips  
Phoenix, Arizona

### Woman behind bars

I have read the *Militant* and find the articles very interesting. I am very interested in the struggles within and outside of this country.

Since I am not financially able to pay for a subscription, would you please send it free of charge. I promise to keep up with all the events that are taking place.

Being in prison will strengthen my head in the right direction, and that's why I need the *Militant*.

A prisoner  
Kentucky

### Change of taste

Please discontinue my subscription. Although I think the world needs folks like you, on the whole I find your newspaper too dogmatic and overstated in its politics. In *These Times* better suits my tastes, and thus I switch my subscription to them.

Alma Blount  
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

### Con Ed ripoff

A January 30 meeting at the World Trade Center in New York City, called by the Public Service Commission to mollify opposition to the latest Con Edison rate hikes (\$228 million), turned into a shouting match.

While Commissioner Karen Burstein tried to confine the public protest within this special meeting "designed only for people to make specific comments on specific points in the rate-making recommendation and not for criticism of either Con Ed or the PSC," the complaints of the residents of Westchester County were more to the point.

Con Ed bills that were \$40.52 in 1970 are now \$138.21, reported a senior citizen. He added that we have to choose between eating and heating.

Others repeatedly charged Con Ed with lack of concern, being greedy, and with starving the people. When Con Ed's lawyer rose to defend the monopoly, he was met with shouts of "ripoff artist."

The PSC administrative judges admitted that their decision in favor of the \$228 million increase would "pose a hardship."

But in addition to being good economics for Con Ed, they offered a further sociological

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# Learning About Socialism

## Learning from Malcolm X

justification, which revealed the kind of thinking behind the austerity program of some sections of the ruling rich:

"The root problem may be that our society's conception of social justice is unworkable in tandem with its economic structure. If a day of reckoning is inevitable, perhaps its coming should be hastened rather than retarded so that we can proceed with our next experiment in civilization."

Let us be prepared in time to make sure we are not on the receiving end of their "experiment."

Howard Mayhew  
Preston Hollow, New York

### On 'Militant' priorities

I would like to express a concern I have about the priorities a revolutionary newspaper should set for itself.

I feel that the articles relating to the arts and other cultural endeavors are interesting but not essential. The class struggle has begun to accelerate around the world. I feel that since we must cut back to fewer pages in our excellent publication, it should be the nonessential category of articles that should be left out.

I would be the last to say that revolutionaries take no interest in these subjects, but we are still not at the point that we have the resources to spend so much of newsprint space on these subjects when there is so much current ferment of the working class to report on.

A.R.Y.  
Houston, Texas

### Probing analysis

I have thoroughly enjoyed reading the *Militant*. It is providing an analysis of events that is educational and probing for me at this point in my life.

Keep up the good work!  
Tom Jaax  
Marathon, Wisconsin

### Thank the lord for lunch

About November the Dodge Truck Assembly plant in Detroit started a "Friday night chapel service" for employees. Now instead of going to lunch, we can all go praise the lord for a half hour and, I suppose, be inspired to produce even more trucks.

The chapel services are held in the company's "Labor Relations Office," which is where they usually take people to be written up or fired.

Tom Smith  
Detroit, Michigan

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.

In *State and Revolution*, Lenin, the central leader of the Bolshevik Party and of the October 1917 revolution in Russia, wrote: "During the lifetime of great revolutionaries, the oppressing classes have visited relentless persecution on them and received their teaching with the most savage hostility . . . hatred . . . lies, and slanders."

While the Bolshevik leader was writing about Karl Marx, these words are also appropriate for Malcolm X.

This outstanding American revolutionist dedicated his life to fighting racism and forging a powerful and independent Black movement.

Capitalist politicians and journalists used lies and distortions to combat him. He was accused of advocating "reverse racism" because of the ruthless way he exposed the racism of this society; of being "ultra-reactionary" because he saw through the liberal politicians; of "advocating violence" because he favored the right of self-defense; and of "preaching hatred" because he inspired people to make no compromises with injustice.

The attacks on Malcolm X became even more frenzied when he began to say things like, "You can't have capitalism without racism," and "Show me a capitalist and I'll show you a bloodsucker."

Malcolm X was an example of Black pride and strength—"our Black prince," the actor Ossie Davis called him—who escaped from the traps capitalist society sets for Black youth (slums, drugs, prison) to become a liberation fighter. How he did it is well described in his autobiography.

He was cut down fourteen years ago at a meeting of the Organization of Afro-American Unity, the organization he founded after breaking with the Nation of Islam (now World Community of Islam).

The facts about the suspicious role of the FBI, CIA, and New York cops in Malcolm's murder are discussed in *The Assassination of Malcolm X*, by George Breitman, Herman Porter, and Baxter Smith.

The Socialist Workers Party did what it could to counter the capitalist slander campaign against Malcolm. The *Militant* was the only radical newspaper that consistently printed Malcolm's speeches and explained what he was saying and doing both before and after his break with the Nation of Islam.

The reason for the SWP's high regard for Malcolm can be found by studying his ideas.

Writings by and about Malcolm X are among the best-selling books and pamphlets offered by Pathfinder Press. These include the works already mentioned, as well as *Malcolm X Speaks* and *By Any Means Necessary*, two collections of speeches and interviews edited by George Breitman. Among other speeches in these books are the

talks Malcolm gave at the Militant Labor Forum in New York in 1964 and 1965.

One thing that stands out in these works is Malcolm's internationalism. In an interview with Jack Barnes and Barry Sheppard, at that time leaders of the Young Socialist Alliance, Malcolm declared:

"You can't separate the militancy that's displayed on the African continent from the militancy that's displayed right here among American blacks. . . . You can't separate the African revolution from the mood of the black man in America" (*By Any Means Necessary*).

Today's generation of militants, organizing the campaign to break all U.S. ties with the racist regime of South Africa, can see how right Malcolm was.

Another example of his internationalism is provided in "Message to the Grass Roots" (*Malcolm X Speaks*) where he says: "The black revolution is worldwide in scope and in nature. The black revolution is sweeping Asia, is sweeping Africa, is rearing its head in Latin America. The Cuban Revolution—that's a revolution. They overturned the system."

As you read and study Malcolm, it becomes clear that he was not just a fighter, but a considerate and responsible leader and educator. He always sought to impart what he learned to all he could reach.

This is illustrated in *Malcolm X on Afro-American History*, another Pathfinder Press publication. His remarks in one section there could appropriately be placed in the advertisements on the current exhibit on King Tutankhamen and the artifacts of ancient Egyptian society: "The Egyptian civilization . . . was a black civilization. It was along the banks of the Nile which runs through the heart of Africa. . . . In that day, the black man in Egypt was wearing silk, sharp as a tack, brothers. And those people up in Europe didn't know what cloth was."

Since its initial publication by Pathfinder in 1967, more than 100,000 copies of this book have been printed.

In reading Malcolm, you will find that it was his conviction that full social, economic, and political equality for Blacks could not be won short of a fundamental transformation of society.

Constantly seeking to unite the oppressed and exploited masses, and encouraging militant struggle as opposed to dependence on the capitalist parties, Malcolm stood in stark contrast to other Black leaders, then and now.

The assassins who cut him down were not able to kill his revolutionary outlook, his words and thoughts. They are available for today's generation of militants in his writings. You can get them by stopping off at a Pathfinder book store in your area (see directory below) or writing to Pathfinder Press.

—Paul Montauk

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**OHIO:** Athens: YSA, c/o Balar Center, Ohio Univer-

sity. Zip: 45701. Tel: (614) 594-7497. Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 970 E. McMillan. Zip: 45206. Tel: (513) 751-2636. Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 13002 Kinsman Rd. Zip: 44120. Tel: (216) 991-5030. Columbus: YSA, Box 106 Ohio Union, Rm. 308, Ohio State Univ., 1739 N. High St. Zip: 43210. Tel: (614) 291-8985. Kent: YSA, Student Center Box 41, Kent State University. Zip: 44242. Tel: (216) 678-5974. Toledo: SWP, YSA, 2507 Collingwood Blvd. Zip: 43610. Tel: (419) 242-9743.

**OREGON:** Portland: SWP, YSA, 711 NW Everett. Zip: 97209. Tel: (503) 222-7225.

**PENNSYLVANIA:** Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16412. Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, 5811 N. Broad St. Zip: 19138. Tel: (215) 927-4747 or 927-4748. Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, 1210 E. Carson St. Zip: 15203. Tel: (412) 488-7000. 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. Zip: 84102. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

**WASHINGTON, D.C.:** SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699.

**WASHINGTON:** Olympia: YSA, The Evergreen State College Library, Rm 3208. Zip: 98505. Tel: (206) 943-3089. Seattle: SWP, YSA, 4868 Rainier Ave., South Seattle. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330. Tacoma: SWP, 1306 S. K St. Zip: 98405. Tel: (206) 627-0432.

**WEST VIRGINIA:** Morgantown: SWP, YSA, 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.

## Calif. lettuce strikers fight for living wage

By Catarino Garza and Della Rossa

CALEXICO, Calif.—Striking lettuce workers not on picket duty cluster in front of the United Farm Workers headquarters on Imperial Avenue here, just a few blocks from the Mexican border.

They are talking angrily about the cops being brought in from other areas to help protect the scabs and harass the pickets.

"Who pays the police?" one worker asks.

Another answers, "Taxes."

"I pay taxes," the first responds. "That's what I tell them. And I ask them why they don't act justly."

"It seems," he adds, "that some people pay the taxes, and others get the benefit."

The workers have good reason to be angry. Last week one of their members, Rufino Contreras, was shot dead when he entered a field to persuade scabs to quit.

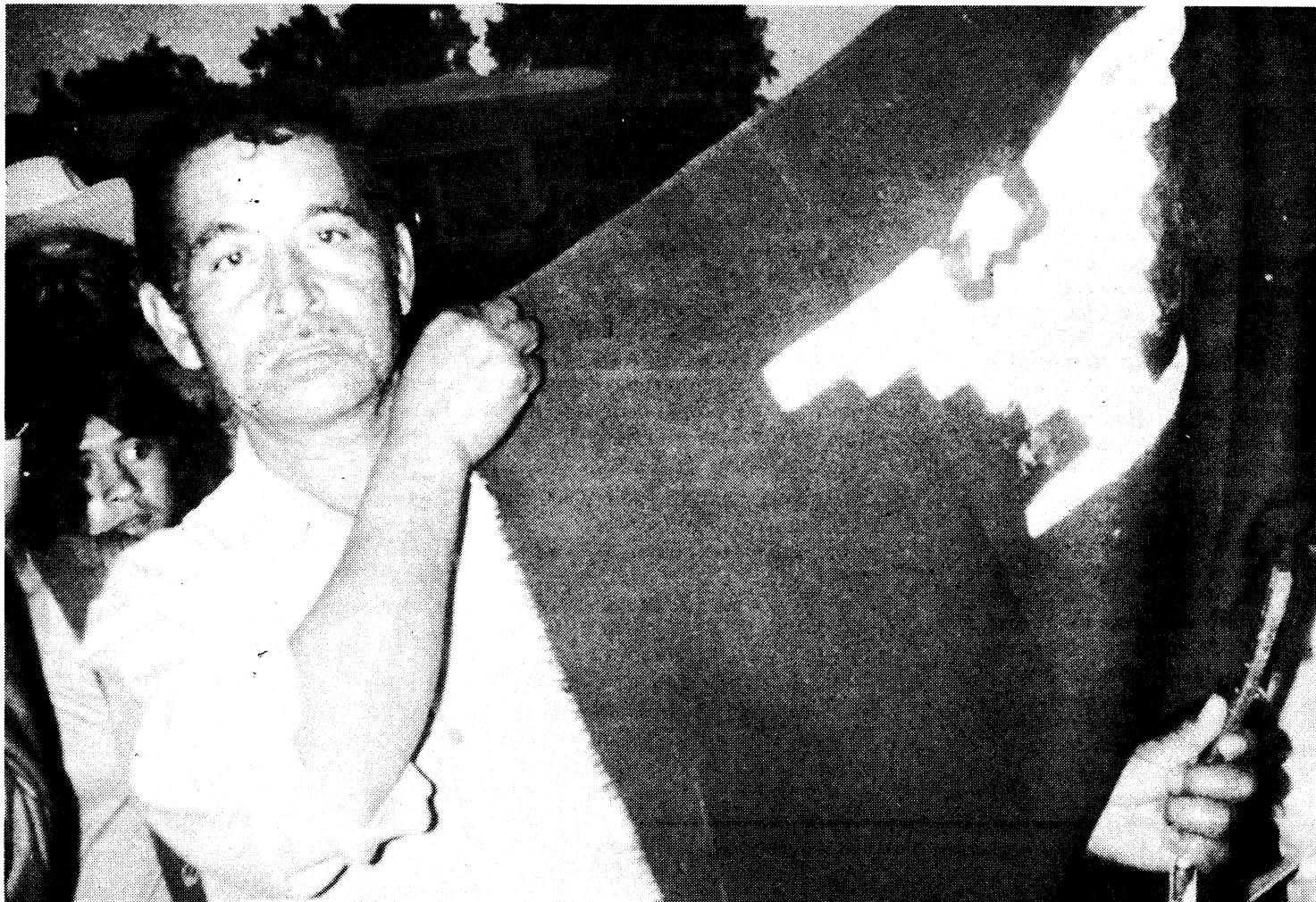
Three foremen were arrested as suspects in the murder. The usual bail on a murder charge in this county is \$250,000. But two of these strikebreakers were released on bail of \$7,000. The third, who has two arrest warrants outstanding against him in another county, was let free for \$8,500.

UFW members, on the other hand, have been hit with bail up to \$5,000 for such minor charges as rock-throwing or trespassing.

The union has struck ten of the twenty-eight growers it holds contracts with here in the Imperial Valley. When the contracts expired December 31, the union demanded that the minimum wage be raised from \$3.70 an hour to \$5.25.

After weeks of stalling, the growers have begun negotiating with the union.

One lawyer for the growers told reporters February 18 that he doubted



Co-worker of Rufino Contreras protests his murder

Militant/Jesús Santos

an agreement would be reached during the coming week. The two parties, he said, are still far apart on wages and other contract issues.

He noted that harvest time is practically over here in the Imperial Valley, and the struck growers can no longer recoup their losses, which he said run in the millions.

The issue, he said, will probably be settled when lettuce harvesting begins soon up north in the Salinas area.

Many of the growers operate in both regions. The union has not said what action it is considering if contracts are not agreed to before the Salinas harvest begins.

Here the strike, involving more than 4,000 workers, has been solid, and the growers have had no real success with their attempts at strikebreaking.

We talked with the workers on picket duty at one of the ranches. They were gathered on the roadside, their union

banner waving.

Women had brought their children, and preparations were under way for a makeshift community meal. Older women sat along the road with their knitting.

They pointed to the few scabs in the fields, mainly anglo students and housewives.

The scabs can't really do the work, the strikers explain. "They just want to

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## Crystal City fights move to void elections

By Miguel Pendás

CRYSTAL CITY, Tex.—A district judge has voided last November's Zavala County elections in which the Raza Unida Party made a clean sweep. He also found County Judge José Angel Gutiérrez, a prominent RUP leader, and two others guilty of contempt.

Judge Troy Williams made several significant concessions, however, apparently feeling the need to placate deep-going community anger.

He allowed the Raza Unida winners to remain in office pending appeal of his ruling. And he declined to impose sentence on Judge Gutiérrez, County Commissioner Alejandro Perez, and Perez's attorney Alonzo Villarreal, the victims of his contempt ruling.

He also permitted expiration of a court order freezing county funds, thereby enabling the Raza Unida administration to function.

A throng of 800 angry, placard-bearing Chicanos had massed at the Crystal City courthouse for the hearing and 2,000 participated in a rally that night.

The community was particularly

incensed since the election irregularities used to justify voiding the elections had been committed not by Raza Unida, but by the losing Democrats!

The backing off by Judge Williams was characterized by Judge Gutiérrez as a victory for the RUP.

He told the *Militant* that earlier the judge had made it plain he was considering removing the Raza Unida county commissioners pending a new election and jailing of Gutiérrez, Perez and Villarreal for contempt. Gutiérrez also said there is a solid legal basis for winning reversal of the judge's order in the appeals process.

Gutiérrez attributed the judge's retreat to the community outpouring.

In the election, the RUP had returned Judge Gutiérrez to office, elected several other county officials, and won a three-to-two majority on the county commission.

The Democrats then moved to steal back the RUP victory.

At a rump meeting of the outgoing county commission, on which they had a majority, the Democrats appointed a committee of three Democrats to recount the one commission election

where the Democratic contender had come within 5 percent of the RUP winner. To the surprise of no one, they declared the defeated Democrat the winner.

But they could conduct only one such "re-count" since Texas law provides that a re-count can be requested only if the winner's margin is 5 percent or less. All the other Democrats had lost by substantial margins. So they claimed fraud.

There were charges that "aliens" had voted and that various other offenses had been committed. But even with these challenges, the Democrats couldn't come up with enough to change the outcome. So the judge accepted testimony regarding election records that had been misplaced.

This provided the basis for the February 9 ruling voiding the election.

The most astonishing thing about this is that the election material was misplaced not by a Raza Unida person, but by a Democrat. No fraud on the part of Raza Unida was ever proven.

However, in the process of trying to drag Raza Unida through the mud, the Democrats fell into the puddle them-

selves. For example, during the canvass, a Democrat was found slipping an extra 100 votes into the column of one of his party's nominees.

Judge Gutiérrez commented, "This opens a precedent. You can invalidate an election you lost by committing fraud yourself."

"Three times," he said, "the Democrats got their spoon into the *menudo*. The only time we touched the ballots was when we voted."

The attempt to void the election, Gutiérrez told the *Militant*, is part of an "orchestrated effort by officials of the Democratic Party to administer death-blows to the center of power of the RUP."

His assertion is given added credence by the long-standing efforts of the state Democratic administration to smear and slander Raza Unida, coupled with the persistent but futile efforts to establish evidence of fraud by the Raza Unida administration here in Crystal City.

At the mass rally, Gutiérrez summed up the mood of the crowd when he declared, "You put us in. Only you can take us out."