

THE MILITANT

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

US war drive: root of Indochina fighting

American imperialism is posing as a sideline observer of Peking's invasion of Vietnam—distressed by the bloodshed and upheaval, loathe to become involved, anxious to help bring peace.

The American people are deeply suspicious of this pose. And rightly so.

With the Pentagon pouring war supplies into Thailand and with a U.S. naval fleet—including the aircraft carrier

conveyed a message from President Carter urging that Peking withdraw its forces from Vietnam "as quickly as possible."

Such hypocritical statements are reminiscent of those issued by Washington during the South African invasion of Angola in 1975 and the Somalian invasion of Ethiopia in 1977. In both cases, Washington urged the invaders on while claiming to deplore their action.

The Economist, one of the authoritative voices of British finance capital, pointed out in its February 24 issue that Carter's stand "is about as close as a nominally neutral observer can get to wishing China luck."

Adding its vote of approval to Carter's policy, *The Economist* noted that if Peking's invasion succeeds, "it will have helped to make the world a slightly stabler place."

The truth is that *the responsibility for*

the bloodbath in Indochina falls squarely on Washington.

U.S. imperialism has never given up its drive to contain and wear down the Vietnamese revolution—to make Indochina "a slightly stabler place" for capitalism.

The overthrow of the reactionary Pol Pot regime in Kampuchea (Cambodia) in January was a heavy blow to Washington's attempts to exert economic and military pressure against Vietnam. The imperialists fear that the overturn of capitalism—carried out in southern Vietnam in 1978—will be a destabilizing factor that may spread to Kampuchea and beyond.

Carter responded by increasing military aid to the dictatorship in Thailand and—through the Thai dictatorship—to rightist guerrilla forces fighting the new government in Kampuchea and the Pathet Lao government in Laos.

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An editorial

Constellation—recently sent to patrol off the Vietnamese coast, the charade is wearing thin.

On February 27, with 200,000 Chinese troops engaged in the Vietnam invasion, U.S. Treasury Secretary W. Michael Blumenthal spent the day in Peking discussing a trade treaty with Chinese officials.

For the record, Blumenthal said he



Earl Dotter

**WOMEN
FIGHT FOR
COAL JOBS**

—PAGE 12

Iranian revolution enters new stage

Workers form committees to run industry



Militant/Cindy Jaquith

Tehran. Victory of Insurrection has given new impetus to demands of toiling masses. For on-the-scene report, see pages 8-11.

Carter's 'oil crisis' hoax

The White House is pulling out all the stops to make it look like the revolution in Iran necessitates sharp increases in energy prices. At a news conference February 28, President Carter said he would ask Congress for power to ration gasoline and impose other "emergency" measures in the event of a severe gasoline shortage.

Such measures would include turning down the heat in schools and other public buildings, he said. Blaming what he called the "Iranian disruption" of energy supplies, Carter warned that if enacted, his program would also mean higher unemployment.

Carter is trying to set the stage for deregulating domestic oil prices, claiming "we can't depend on foreign oil."

As Fred Singer, former deputy assistant secretary of the interior, explained in the February 24 *New Republic*, the White House objectives also involve "slowing down environmental regulations on coal burning, and delaying the phase-out of lead additives in gasoline."

Do we really face an energy shortage? Are the Iranian oil workers, who led the fight to overthrow Carter's shah, to blame? Are higher gasoline prices, colder winters, fewer jobs, and more pollution inevitable?

Let's look at the facts:

Even highly influential business sources reject the notion that Iranian oil cutbacks have caused a global shortage. In an editorial March 5, *Business Week* talked about a "relatively small shortfall in oil supplies" and accused the Carter administration of "doomsday forecasting."

Much attention has been focused on the crude-oil price increases that have been announced in various OPEC nations. Abu Dhabi initiated the price increases February 15 with a 7 percent raise. This was followed by comparable price hikes in Qatar, Libya, Venezuela, and Kuwait.

Yet these price rises are small compared to the sky rocketing *spot price* of crude oil. Much oil is traded in long-term contracts. The spot price refers to oil sold on the open market.

Israel and South Africa in particular are driving up the spot price. When the shah was in power, he guaranteed the repressive regimes in both countries most of their oil. Now they are seeking it on the open market, because the

Iranian oil workers, in solidarity with the Palestinian and Black African masses, cut off oil to the two countries.

"More aggressively than any other country, South Africa is out shopping for oil," *Business Week* reported March 5. "It is buying on the spot markets and paying nearly \$26 per bbl. [barrel], as much as \$12 per bbl. more than listed prices, to offset its loss of Iranian crude."

The OPEC countries are trying to get a small share of the profits arising from the wide spread between their quotes of about \$14 a barrel and the much higher spot prices. A 7 percent increase above \$14 a barrel, for example, would bring the price to \$14.98—still far short of a \$26 spot price.

It is the big international oil trusts, which market oil worldwide, that stand to reap vast profits from this price spread.

The energy trusts are hoarding oil in order to sell it to the highest bidders abroad now, or to sell it in this country after prices have substantially increased. *Business Week* reported that a Shell Oil tanker that had already started to unload in a U.S. port in the Gulf of Mexico was turned around to bring half its cargo to South Africa—where the prices had gone much higher.

Diverting or hoarding oil, in turn, all the more drives up the domestic-crude prices.

Meanwhile another form of hoarding is also taking place. The oil companies are refusing to produce domestic oil and sell it at controlled prices below the spiraling world-price levels. They especially don't want to sell it now if they figure Carter will be successful in deregulating domestic prices later on.

Value Line, a Wall Street guide to investment, admitted February 23: "The U.S. will not run out of oil. There is more than enough 'old oil' sitting in the ground that the oil companies refuse to sell at \$6 a barrel."

In *New Republic* Fred Singer pointed out what happened in the 1973-74 oil crisis: "It is also a documented fact that US oil stocks were greater at the end of the Arab embargo, in April 1974, than they were during the height of the embargo. Stocks were also considerably higher during the embargo than they were a year earlier."

If the books of the energy trusts were pried open today, we would undoubtedly find proof that the same "oil crisis" fraud is being perpetrated right now.

In Iran, committees of oil workers are al-

ready demanding the right to open all the records of the industry. They want to see the secret contracts cooked up between the shah and imperialist energy corporations to find out where the oil is going and who is reaping the profits.

American working people should follow their example.

Ballot law victory

Former Democratic machine hack Jane Byrne defeated present machine Mayor Michael Bilandic in Chicago's primary election February 27.

While this family feud stole the headlines, the real advance for Chicago voters occurred several days earlier when the U.S. Supreme Court unanimously upheld a decision lowering Chicago's signature requirement for putting independent candidates on the ballot.

The high-court ruling upheld a lower court decision that struck down an Illinois law requiring independent or third party candidates for local offices to obtain signatures equal to 5 percent of the number of votes in the last election.

While this meant at least 35,000 signatures in Chicago, only 25,000 were required for independent candidates in statewide elections.

The Socialist Workers Party mounted a legal challenge to the undemocratic law in 1977. A district court proposed 20,000 signatures for Chicago races, and an appeals court agreed on the grounds that the higher requirement violated the Fourteenth Amendment's equal protection clause.

Attorney Ron Reosti, who represented the SWP in the case, believes the Supreme Court's ruling is "an important victory in the fight for democratic election laws." The fact that it was unanimous and that "the court used the most rigorous legal test it could" in declaring the law unconstitutional, says Reosti, will aid efforts to overturn other undemocratic election laws.

Across the country, in every state, laws written by Democrats and Republicans help tighten the stranglehold these two big-business-controlled parties have over the political process.

Every time there is a victory against undemocratic election laws, it's a victory not only for the Socialist Workers Party and for other smaller parties that run election campaigns. It's also a step that can make it easier for the labor movement to nominate and run candidates who would truly represent working people.

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One million unionists struck to protest austerity plan. At right, workers rally at Eiffel Tower. **Page 23.**



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Price surge proves Carter's guidelines a fraud

Meany fiddles while workers get burned

By Nancy Cole

The government's Consumer Price Index jumped 0.9 percent in January for a whopping 12 percent yearly inflation rate.

Food, medical care, and gasoline—the essentials, in other words—led the way, reported the Labor Department February 23.

Purchasing power for an average worker with three dependents dropped another 0.1 percent.

"For the next several months, I believe we will experience large price increases," predicted Barry Bosworth, director of President Carter's Council on Wage and Price Stability.

The January price report came about a month after Carter's chief "inflation fighter," Alfred Kahn, told Congress that the administration was "simply amazed" at how well the wage and price guideline plan is going.

And sure enough, Bosworth qualified the January price surge report with assurances that it was *not* due to companies ignoring the price guide-



lines. On the contrary, he contended, they are complying.

It just proves what a patent fraud Carter's wage and price guidelines are to begin with.

The plan is considered to be "working" as long as wage increases for working people are held well below the inflation rate. No matter that prices are soaring, throwing real wages into a dive.

When Carter announced his grand Phase II "anti-inflation" plan last October, it was dressed up as "equality of sacrifice."

Working people were to limit wage increases to 7 percent or less. And employers were to keep price hikes down to what was first declared as 5.75 percent, then explained as closer to 9.5 percent, and revised even higher since then.

Thus far, these "voluntary" controls have worked well for big business.

The formula for "acceptable" price increases has so many loopholes, exemptions, and complicated equations

that Carter can claim employers are complying at the same time that prices are taking record jumps!

The wage guidelines are also going well for the bosses. A recent survey of 634 big companies, reported the *Wall Street Journal*, found 73 percent have already cut their payroll budgets, lopping off millions allocated earlier for wage raises.

One unnamed industrial-relations vice-president told the *Journal*, "We can wrap ourselves in the flag and get a little more leverage at the bargaining table."

That was borne out when negotiators for the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union sat down in January for the first national contract talks of the year.

They left with a wage agreement that union and industry officials alike admit would have been 2 percent higher but for the guidelines.

In local contract disputes across the country since then, unionists have

Continued on page 16

Goons attack Newark anticutback activist

By Rich Ariza

NEWARK—A Black high school leader in the fight against proposed school cutbacks here was the target of an attempted armed assault February 20.

Leon Grauer, fifteen, had just escorted his sister to her home after both had attended a school protest meeting.

As he waited at the corner for a bus, a car drew up and one of two men in it pointed at him.

After parking the car the two men approached him, one on each side. Grauer recognized them as members of the political machine of the mayor of Newark.

One brandished an ice pick. They came at him shouting, "You're that little commie from that commie group!"

As Grauer fled the attack, three more men came from around the corner and tried to intercept him.

Grauer succeeded in eluding them and made his way back to his sister's home, where he called the police.

At the bus stop, they found the car driven by the two assailants. The police impounded the car and through its registration identified the owner, a man named Irving Davis.

The police said they spoke to Davis by phone and he admitted the car was his. But he asserted he had been alone in the car and denied that the attack had occurred.

Davis refused, police said, to come in for identification.

Grauer demanded a warrant be issued. The cops refused.

Instead, a summons was issued, according to which Davis is to appear in municipal court March 9. A judge will then determine further action.

Grauer was able to identify the attackers because one was among a group of Mayor Gibson's underlings who had threatened him and others at a public meeting on the school cutback plan.

Grauer is a student at Arts High School and an active member of the Young Socialist Alliance. He is one of the central leaders of student opposition to a "program modification plan" that would cripple the educational system by eliminating 1,100 school employees.

Mayor Gibson and the school board, which he dominates, have been trying to put the plan through in the face of deepgoing public opposition.

School employees, parents, and students have conducted demonstrations, pickets, boycotts, and walkouts. This protest activity has also generated a movement to recall Gibson.

Grauer has been in the center of the protests. He led several walkouts at his school, as well as some student demonstrations at city hall.

As a student representative, Grauer has spoken at board of education meet-

ings, before the Newark Teachers Union, and at numerous community meetings.

As a result, he has received a lot of media coverage ranging from newspaper articles to TV and radio broadcasts and appearances on TV talk shows.

This made him a special target for harassment by members of Gibson's machine. He has received unjustified penalties at school. Several teachers told him that it had been suggested by members of the city administration that they "keep an eye on Leon."

At board of education meetings, he has been hassled and threatened by security guards and representatives of various pro-cutback groups, including the Gibson Civic Association, which is composed mainly of municipal jobholders beholden to the mayor.

At a February 16 public information meeting at Symphony Hall, Grauer was surrounded by a group of men, including members of the Gibson Civic Association who shouted obscenities at him and threatened him with violence.

One of these was the man who came at him with an ice pick four days later.

Demands for police action against the assailants are being pressed.

The attack on Grauer has been condemned by both the Newark Teachers Union and the Newark Teachers Association, as well as the Black student organization at Rutgers University.

Letters and telegrams of protest to



Militant/Juan Rodriguez
Leon Grauer (left) selling the 'Young Socialist.'

Mayor Kenneth Gibson, City Hall, Newark, New Jersey, are being urged.

A fact sheet giving more detailed information can be obtained from the Young Socialist Alliance, 11-A Central Avenue, Newark, New Jersey 07102.

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**NEXT
WEEK**

ON-THE-SPOT REPORTS of union solidarity rallies with Newport News strikers and against Brian Weber's 'reverse discrimination' attack on affirmative action.

drawal from Kampuchea.

2) Announce that the promise of socialism has been shown to be false. This theme was proclaimed in a gloating *New York Times* editorial February 19, "The Red Brotherhood at War." It asserted that the idea that the source of war is capitalism has been shattered. The cause of conflict, the *Times* asserts, is "ugly nationalism."

3) Proclaim that U.S. forces can play a progressive role in helping to maintain world peace. The February 21 *Wall Street Journal* laid this out frankly to its capitalist audience:

"The spiral into disorder can be averted only if the U.S. starts to assert itself once again. This does not mean sending the Marines to settle every quarrel in the world. It does mean building the kind of military force we are likely to need in the evolving world, refusing to make unnecessary diplomatic concessions, asserting our rights unapologetically and keeping our promises to allies."

"But first," the *Journal* concludes, "we need to digest the lesson of the current fighting in Indochina: That American power is not the root of evil in the world; that it is more likely to be a force for good."

The U.S. ruling class has suffered a reversal in the relationship of class forces over the past four years. But it knows where its interests lie—in the United States, in Indochina, and around the world. Armed to the teeth, it is acting forcefully to promote those interests.

For those who seek to advance the interests of the working masses in Southeast Asia and throughout the world, the response called for should be clear.

Our spotlight must be on the real source of the war—Washington and its imperialist allies.

Test of war

This has not been the response, however, of the petty-bourgeois radical currents in the United States. By and large they have collapsed before the test of war, swallowing the imperialist line on Indochina.

Thus the social-democratic weekly *In These Times* declares that "socialists

can no longer assume that socialism automatically brings enduring peace." In fact, today "the most salient conflicts in world politics involve those among communists and socialists."

The *Guardian*, once strictly Maoist, but now adrift, finds itself agreeing with Carter that American imperialism "is not directly involved" in Indochina! It joins the U.S.-led chorus, linking Vietnamese withdrawal from Kampuchea with Chinese withdrawal from Vietnam.

These publications give credence to the slander that socialism or the nationalism of oppressed peoples—not U.S. imperialism—is responsible for the conflict.

They ignore the facts about Indochina. And they deny the even more basic truth that imperialism is compelled by its very nature to try to recoup its losses in Indochina by any means it can.

As the most powerful economic and military power on earth, U.S. imperialism is never a passive spectator—much less an innocent bystander—at major world events. U.S. capital is driven by its own thirst for profits to expand into every nook and cranny in the world. In doing that it must continually resort to military force, military threats, and war.

The Communist Party USA's position, although somewhat different from the *Guardian* and *In These Times*, is just as reactionary. For the pro-Moscow Stalinists this is an occasion for hysterical tirades against China.

By marching on the Chinese mission to the U.N. and centering its fire on China, the CP plays into Washington's attempt to portray the conflict as simply a fight among Asian Communists. The ongoing offensive against the world working class by American imperialism is played down.

The latest version of Washington's anticommunist crusade must be exposed and condemned for what it is. Those who want to aid the Vietnamese revolution, which is once more fighting for its life, should focus our demands on the U.S. government.

Our slogans are Hands off Vietnam! Stop the imperialist campaign against the Vietnamese revolution!

Within that framework we demand: Chinese troops out of Vietnam now! And we call upon the Soviet Union to

give the Vietnamese whatever military supplies they need—with no strings attached.

The wrong address

NEW YORK—More than 1,000 people turned out February 24 for a demonstration at the Chinese mission to the United Nations. The action provided a textbook example of how to reinforce Carter's imperialist propaganda while claiming to oppose it.

Built mainly by the Communist Party and its supporters, the demonstration was sponsored by the U.S. Peace Council. Its leaflet warned of "the risk of direct U.S. involvement" in Indochina.

"Risk of direct U.S. involvement"? There's a coverup worthy of a State Department press release!

Carter is the one who urged Peking on against Vietnam in the first place. By attacking Vietnam, the Peking Stalinists are acting in the interests of American imperialism, which has promised them economic and diplomatic concessions in return.

Demonstrating at the Chinese mission—instead of at the White House or other U.S. government symbols—contributes to the phony picture of Carter and his aides as a group of pacifist innocents bedeviled by "warring Asian communist nations."

Some speakers followed this chauvinist line right to the end.

"Imperialist attacks from Peking are just as bad as U.S. imperialism," said CP leader Michael Meyerson, who is chairperson of the Peace Council.

James Steele, speaking for the Communist Party, declared: "We must say to the U.S.: No business as usual! No trade, no diplomatic relations with the Maoist aggressors!"

Calling for demonstrations around this theme, Steele concluded: "Our dollars should not finance China's inevitable war against the world!"

Such ranting verges on the "yellow peril" rhetoric used by Washington at the height of the cold war.

According to the pro-Moscow Stalinists, the real danger of war comes from China. They call on U.S. imperialism to combat this mythical war danger by reinstating its blockade of China!

The Communist Party covers up for U.S. imperialism's offensive against the working people of the world—including against the Vietnamese revolution.

The CP does not object to collaboration with the imperialists at the expense of the workers' interests—it merely seeks to advance Washington's collaboration with Moscow as opposed to Peking.

While appealing to "peacemaker" Carter, the CP didn't say a word about Moscow's obligation to provide Vietnam with all the military and economic aid it needs to repel any imperialist-backed attacks.

Others at the demonstration tried to differentiate themselves from the pro-Moscow Stalinists by calling for the Soviet government to open a "second front" against China. But this demand is no less reactionary.

Fighting on the USSR-China border would merely add fuel to the imperialist propaganda campaign to portray socialism as the cause of war. Instead of helping the Vietnamese defend themselves, it would weaken the Chinese workers state and expose China to greater danger from imperialism.

Our demand on the Soviet Union is not to attack China but to defend Vietnam.

Defenders of the Vietnamese revolution must not give an inch to the chauvinist hysteria being orchestrated from Washington.

Our fire must be directed at the real threat to world peace and the real instigator of the conflict in Indochina—U.S. imperialism.

'Truth is always revolutionary'

Militant sales drive will combat press lies

By Peter Seidman

The *Militant* has something different to say about what's happening in Indochina.

Different from the big-business media. Different from the many radical papers that have lost their class bearings and let the Washington warmakers off the hook.

The burning need to get out the truth about Indochina adds to the importance of the drive by members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance to sell 100,000 copies of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* during the next ten weeks.

Taking our publications to thousands of working people is the best way to counter the attempts of the big-business media to discredit socialism.

A particularly brazen example of this media flim-flam appeared in a February 23 *New York Times* dispatch by Henry Kamm from Bangkok, Thailand.

Kamm complains that neither the Chinese nor Vietnamese government feels "an obligation to tell their own people or the world what they are doing and what is being done to them."

"Their broadcasts and printed publications conform staunchly to the Leninist idea," Kamm claims, "that news is a branch of agitation and propaganda, designed not to inform but to advance a government's political goals. . . ."

"Covering' the war between the two Communist powers is therefore impossible," Kamm asserts, "by the standards to which the Western public has become accustomed."

What "standards" is Kamm talking about?

Does he mean the *New York Times*'s cover-up of the U.S. invasion of Cuba at the Bay of Pigs in 1961?

Or is Kamm talking about his paper's attempt to depict the revolutionary upsurge in Iran today as the work of crazed Muslim religious fanatics seeking to turn their country back to the eleventh century?



Ten-week drive to sell 100,000 copies of *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* begins with next week's issue.

Or maybe Kamm is referring to the *Times*'s virtual blackout of the strike by more than 15,000 shipyard workers in Newport News, Virginia?

The *New York Times* boasts that it carries "all the news that's fit to print." But Leon Trotsky, who along with Lenin was the central leader of the Russian

revolution of 1917, explained that newspapers like the *Times* "speak the truth on all unimportant and inconsequential occasions, so that they can deceive the public with all the requisite authority when necessary."

The *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* do have a genuinely "Leninist idea" of our obligation to our readers. What is it?

Here's how Trotsky described it in a 1929 letter to *La Verité*, a sister publication of the *Militant* in France at that time.

"We must above all tell what is what," Trotsky wrote. "Not to distort, nor to select tendentiously, not to gloss over, not to sweeten, but to say honestly what is what."

"The policy of Communism can only gain by presenting the truth in all its clarity. Falsehood can serve to save false authority but not to educate the masses. It is truth that the workers need as an instrument of revolutionary action."

"Your weekly calls itself *Verité* (Truth). This word has been abused a good deal, like so many others. Nevertheless, it is a fine and honest name."

"Truth is always revolutionary. To present the truth about their situation to the oppressed is to open the road of the revolution to them. To tell the truth about the leaders is to fatally undermine the bases of their power. To tell the truth about the reformist bureaucracy is to ruin them in the minds of the workers. . . ."

"There is the task of your weekly."

What was true in 1929 is all the more so today—when the *Militant* is finding an increasingly receptive audience for the truth among the industrial working class and its allies.

That's the spirit hundreds of our supporters will take with them next weekend when they kick off the first week of our national circulation drive.

Vietnam invasion a risky move

Peking regime faces growing discontent

By Leslie Evans

On February 20 the Peking government banned all public gatherings, demonstrations, or wall posters discussing China's invasion of Vietnam. This was a crude announcement that the regime's effusive demagogic promises of democratic reform do not include the right to question basic government policies and actions.

It was also an admission that the Teng Hsiao-p'ing leadership does not expect the war to be popular and does not want to be placed in the position of having to publicly argue with oppositionists on this issue.

The Chinese bureaucracy's decision to invade Vietnam could have far-ranging repercussions on domestic politics at this time. It highlights the real content of the regime's promised drive toward the industrialization of China: it is to be paid for by extending the Chinese government's previous services to American imperialism.

To demonstrate their reliability as an agent of counterrevolution throughout Southeast Asia, Peking is willing to do what Washington today cannot attempt—to militarily "punish" the workers and peasants of Vietnam for overturning capitalist property relations in the southern part of the country last year, and for resisting imperialism's drive to contain and eventually roll back the socialist revolution in Indochina.

Rise of dissent

In the six months prior to the war's outbreak, there has been a steady rise in dissent and protest actions among more and more diverse sectors of the population. Thus the invasion of Vietnam comes at a time when it will be difficult if not impossible to suppress widespread discussion on its consequences within China.

Mao's successors have sought to counter mass discontent by promises both of democratic reform and of substantial economic concessions to the masses.

The post-Mao government's tactical retreat before the mood of the masses has had a dual effect. It has won Teng and Company a certain amount of popularity, but this popularity is based

Peking wall poster says: Withdraw now!

A wall poster opposing China's invasion of Vietnam was pasted up on Peking's "Democracy Wall" February 23, according to a report in the Tokyo daily *Yomiuri Shim-bun*.

The poster asserted that "Chinese forces should immediately, unconditionally withdraw to within Chinese territory, and fend off any enemy attacks from there."

It was a "small character poster," written in pen on six sheets of notebook paper and signed by "a member of a state construction crew."

The poster also insisted that "from now on, in any case where the armed forces of our country engage in fighting outside the country, the purpose, scale, and duration of the operation should always, without fail, be reported to the standing committee of the All People's Congress for discussion and a decision, so that civilian control [of the armed forces] is maintained."

Authorities in Peking have forbidden any public discussion on the invasion of Vietnam. The poster was torn down within a day.



Chinese troops moving toward Vietnam. Stalinist regime in Peking has tried to suppress discussion of its Vietnam adventure, but it may yet face broad dissent on this issue too.

on promises that the ruling bureaucratic caste cannot ultimately fulfill without jeopardizing its very existence. Some sectors of the population are already becoming impatient with the pace of the changes they are expecting.

The public formation of the present dissident groups dates only to the appearance of Peking's "Democracy Wall" in November 1978. Beginning with anonymous wall posters in November, by the end of January there were at least seven different human rights groups in Peking, most of which publish mimeographed newspapers or magazines.

These seven groups cosponsored a demonstration of some 500 at Democracy Wall on January 29 protesting threats by the Peking municipal government to take reprisals against them.

'Human Rights Alliance'

Of these groups, the Human Rights Alliance is at present the best known. It is the only group thus far to take the bold step of signing the full names of its leaders to its journal and to hold public meetings in its own name, thus exposing its members to possible arrest.

It has published a nineteen-point program that contains many deepgoing antibureaucratic demands, including a call for the immediate release of all political prisoners, for free elections with the right to form opposition parties, for the abolition of the secret police, for an end to censorship, for freedom of travel, for a minimum grain ration for the peasantry, and for a reconciliation with the Soviet Union.

"The Sino-Soviet split in ideology has already lost its objective base," the program states. "The Soviet Union is a socialist country. . . ."

Poor peasants demonstrate

Beginning in late November, when news spread through China of the Democracy Wall, a number of poor peasants, often from distant provinces, walked away from their fields and set out for Peking to present their grievances to the government.

By the time of the semiofficial

mourning ceremonies for China's late Premier Chou En-lai in the first week of January, many hundreds or even a few thousand of these people had made their way to Peking, and 500 took part in marches in Tien An Men Square for three days, requesting food and clothes.

On January 14 and 21, some 200 gathered outside of the Chungnanhai leadership compound where Communist Party Chairman Hua Kuo-feng and Vice-premier Teng Hsiao-p'ing live, asking for a meeting with the party leaders to present their complaints (this was refused).

The peasants, whose numbers had by this time grown to some thousands, were living in the streets or camped in the city's railroad station. The local dissident groups immediately sought common cause with the peasant protesters and sought to join their demonstrations and to help them find food and shelter. This effort was met with alarm from the government, which retaliated on January 17 by arresting Fu Yue-hua, a thirty-two-year-old woman worker and human-rights activist.

January 27 was the eve of the Chinese New Year. That night Hua Kuo-feng held a New Year's party that was the most lavish extravaganza staged in Peking since before the Cultural Revolution. Some 30,000 bureaucrats took over the Great Hall of the People for a night of feasting, drinking, ballroom dancing, and card playing.

Outside in the subfreezing weather, 150 peasants stood with banners reading, "In the name of Chairman Hua and Chairman Mao, we want equality," "We want to eat," and "We want clothes."

This proved to be more than the smug bureaucrats could tolerate. As the guests began to leave, troops moved on the peasants, dispersing them and arresting several of their leaders.

On January 31, wall posters signed by friends of those arrested said that two of the peasant organizers of the demonstration had been sentenced to five years in prison.

The most dramatic protests have

been those of the "rusticated" youth, who were sent to the countryside by the millions since 1968. They have staged strikes and demonstrations in Yunnan province, and in the cities of Peking, Shanghai, Hanchow, and Sian.

Shanghai protest

In Shanghai, former city residents who are now assigned to state farms in the countryside began demonstrations of up to 3,000 in December demanding urban jobs and housing. This was kept out of the Chinese press until February 5, when more than 1,000 of these youths went on a rampage, stopping car and train traffic, breaking store windows, and besieging government officials with their demands.

The protesters staged a sit-in at the Shanghai Municipal Employment Bureau and refused to let the staff leave. They occupied an electrical store demanding bullhorns for use in holding street meetings. And, according to the official press, they cut the power lines for the Shanghai trolley system and occupied the railroad yards, stopping the trains for twelve hours and stranding 80,000 passengers. (*Hsinhua*, February 10 and 14.)

The Shanghai youth protests provoked the government into lifting the lid on news of a still larger protest action that had occurred in the early winter in Yunnan province and been kept secret by the official press.

Yunnan strike

On December 27, some twenty-eight Chinese farm workers arrived in Peking's Tien An Men Square and handed out leaflets saying that they represented 50,000 farm workers who had been on strike since December 9. They vowed to remain in the square until they had met with top government officials.

The Yunnan strikers were also deported urban residents, many of whom had been in the countryside for more than ten years. Their main demand was for the right to return to their former homes.

Peking has now revealed that it sent one of its top officials, Vice-premier Wang Chen, to meet personally with the strikers. Wang invoked his own persecution by the government during the Cultural Revolution in order to try to win the confidence of the workers. He refused to grant their central demand, but he did come up with an offer of a special fund of US\$4.25 million to build new housing for them.

Publicizing this event as a model suggests in itself that the government feels weak and on the defensive before the expectations of the Chinese people. After all, while it is true that compared to the intransigence of the Shanghai rioters the Yunnan strikers seemed prepared for moderation and compromise, it was still an example of workers taking direct strike action against the government and winning an improvement in their conditions by doing so.

Teng's predicament

Teng Hsiao-p'ing expects to be paid for his performance in Vietnam by a large and rapid infusion of American loans and grants, which will permit him to hold up in front of the Chinese people tangible evidence that his regime can bring them prosperity.

But if Yunnan is any indication, sectors of the Chinese workers and peasants are already too impatient to simply wait until the government decides to improve their conditions; they are beginning to try to assert their own interests.

An offensive border war by this regime, against a people few Chinese workers and peasants feel are a threat, could add dangerously to the regime's unpopularity.

From *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*

Rhodesia extends terror bombing to Angola

By Ernest Harsch

Beginning early on the morning of February 26, Rhodesian warplanes flew 1,000 miles to bomb Zimbabwean guerrilla camps located in Angola.

It marked the first time the racist Rhodesian regime has extended its terrorist raids to Angola, further widening the conflict in southern Africa.

This brazen new attack on a Black African country was obviously encouraged by the American and British imperialists' complete silence on Ian Smith's bombing raids a few days earlier against Zambia and Mozambique, leaving hundreds dead and wounded. The silence in Washington and London was equivalent to a green light to go further. The imperialists had likewise made clear their virulent opposition to the Zimbabwean freedom struggle when they seized on the recent downing of an Air Rhodesia airliner to issue a series of shameless and cynical tirades against the liberation movement.

The Carter administration in Washington said: "We cannot state too strongly how deeply we deplore and condemn this latest unwarranted act of violence against innocent civilians in Rhodesia." The *Christian Science Monitor*, in a February 15 editorial, called the shooting down of the plane "an act of barbarism."

The London Foreign Office declared that the government of Prime Minister James Callaghan was "horrified by

this senseless act."

The hypocrisy of these protectors of "Western civilization," a shining outpost of which is the racist garrison state of Rhodesia, knows no bounds.

When did they condemn Smith's imposition of martial law over 85 percent of the country?

Where was their sense of "horror" when Smith forcibly evicted more than 1 million Africans from their homes?

How loudly did they deplore "violence against innocent civilians" while the Rhodesian forces murdered some 10,000 Blacks over the past six to seven years?

At a news conference in Lusaka, Zambia, February 14, Joshua Nkomo, the leader of the Zimbabwean African People's Union (ZAPU), correctly pointed to the racist core of Carter's and Callaghan's responses. Smith's victims "are dark," Nkomo said. That is why "there is no question of human rights" involved when the white supremacists carry out a massacre.

On February 17 Rhodesian jet fighters struck at ZAPU camps near the Zambian town of Livingstone. By February 23, the bombers had moved northward, to within just twenty-two miles of Lusaka itself. Witnesses reported that the attacks against the Nampundwe camp, which houses up to 14,000 Zimbabwean refugees, left hundreds of casualties.

The Smith regime announced February 19 that its planes had also bombed



1976 raids into Mozambique by Rhodesian ground forces left hundreds dead

the town of Chimoio, in Mozambique. It claimed that a "guerrilla complex" of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), led by Robert Mugabe, was located in the town.

Over the past two and a half years, the Smith regime has acknowledged about twenty major assaults against Zimbabwean camps in Zambia and Mozambique. In just one of them in October 1978, some 1,500 Zimbabwean refugees and freedom fighters were reported to have been massacred near Lusaka.

The recent attacks are partially in preparation for Smith's April 20 "elections" to a new parliament, which he says will lead to "majority rule."

The elections are a product of the "internal settlement" Smith reached last year with three prominent Black figures. Under that agreement, whites are to retain 28 percent of the parliament seats and cabinet posts, and are to have constitutionally guaranteed

protection from expropriation of their property. The white-dominated army, police, and civil service are to be maintained for years.

The Patriotic Front, composed of ZAPU and ZANU, has rejected the settlement as an effort to perpetuate white supremacy and has called on Zimbabweans to continue struggling against the Smith regime.

How democratic the elections will be has been indicated by Smith's preparations for them. All military leaves and deferments have been canceled for the election period. The balloting itself will be staggered over as many as ten days, to allow large concentrations of troops to move from one polling area to another to force as many Africans to vote as possible.

Even with such large-scale intimidation, Smith is not too optimistic on the voter response. He said in early February that he would be satisfied with a Black turnout of 20 percent.

From *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*

African solidarity notes

WVU students: 'Open the books, Divest now'

Forty people rallied outside the West Virginia University (WVU) Foundation meeting February 17.

Sponsored by the WVU Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa, the demonstration coincided with the board of directors meeting on South Africa investment policy.

Students demanded that the meeting be open to the public; that the directors disclose the school's financial holdings; and that they divest their \$2.6 million holdings in U.S. corporations doing business in South Africa. One coalition representative was allowed to address the directors.

Three days later, the foundation announced that it would make public a listing of the most recent investments, but that it had no intention of divesting. On the contrary, the directors said, they will continue to "seek sound investments" that yield "maximum returns."

The WVU coalition has challenged the foundation to a public debate as part of a teach-in on apartheid and divestment April 6-7.

Plans for anti-apartheid week

As part of the April 4-11 national week of anti-apartheid actions, students across the country are preparing activities.

Students at **Oberlin College** in Ohio plan educationals on apartheid for the April week, which will be highlighted by a picket of the board of trustees.

The **State University of New York (SUNY)** Student Association and student groups throughout the sixty-four-campus system will host a "Statewide Conference on Apartheid and Divestment" March 10. Activists from around the state will meet at the SUNY Albany campus to discuss apartheid, SUNY's \$7 million investments in South Africa, and an April 3 demonstration. For more information, call Student Association of SUNY (518) 465-2406.

The **Martin Luther King Coalition**, the **South African Students Union**, and the **Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa** at the **University of Massachusetts at Amherst** will co-sponsor a week of anti-apartheid activities. An April 4 memorial meeting on the anniversary of the death of Martin Luther King, Jr., will begin this week.

The **South African Planning Committee at Princeton University** will sponsor a conference on April 6-8.

N.Y. teach-in

The **New York Committee to Oppose Bank Loans to South Africa (COBLSA)** sponsored a one day teach-in at **Columbia University** February 24.

More than 200 gathered to hear speakers outline how New York banks prop up the racist regime in South Africa with loans.

COBLSA plans a picket of a **New York City bank** on April 11. For more information call (212) 865-8972.

—Osborne Hart

Anti-apartheid meeting draws 150 in Phila.

By Jack Garfield

PHILADELPHIA—"U.S. Out of Southern Africa Now!" "Divest Now!" These were the slogans of 150 anti-apartheid activists who attended a one-day organizing conference here on February 17.

The gathering set in motion coordinated campus efforts to build the April 4-11 national week of actions against U.S. support to the racist regimes in southern Africa. The week of actions was called by the **North East Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa** last fall at a conference of more than 1,400 activists.

The **Delaware Valley Anti-apartheid Coordinating Committee** sponsored the conference. DVACC is a coalition of campus divestment groups.

Representatives from thirteen colleges and high schools in Pennsylvania, Delaware, and New Jersey attended the event. They voted to link their campus activities for the April week to an anti-apartheid picket line April 6 at the **Provident Bank of Philadelphia**, which loans funds to the South African government.

Divestment committees from **Temple University**, **University of Delaware**, **Swarthmore College**, **Bryn-Mawr**, **Harvard College**, and the **University of Pennsylvania** reported on their progress.

Tatatfona Mahoso, a member of the **Zimbabwe African People's Union** and the **Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe**, urged the participants to educate the Ameri-

can people that "U.S. corporations can never liberate the people of Africa."

Mahoso also urged the gathering not to be taken in by Carter's anti-Cuba campaign. "The Carter administration is trying to scapegoat Cuba," he said. He told the crowd that the liberation fighters have a duty to accept aid from anywhere it is available.

Matt Herreshoff, a member of DVACC's steering committee, said, "The conference was a big step forward for the anti-apartheid and divestment movement here."

Endorsers of the conference included **District 1 of the United Electrical Workers union**; **Bernard Dinkin**, education director of the **Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union**; **Gary Kapanowski**, president of **American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1723**; **Howard Deck**, president of **AFSCME Local 590**; and the **Women's International League for Peace and Freedom**.

Other endorsers were the **National Anti-imperialist Movement in Solidarity with African Liberation**, **National Lawyers Guild**, **National Conference of Black Lawyers**, **American Friends Service Committee**, and historian **Philip Foner**.

Among the organizations participating were the **South Africa Catalyst Project**, **Revolutionary Student Brigade**, **International Socialist Organization**, **Socialist Party**, **Socialist Workers Party**, **Young Socialist Alliance**, and the **Workers Viewpoint Organization**.

Iran: workers form committees



Militant/Cindy Jaquith

Workers demonstrating in Tehran shortly before insurrection. Confident of their power, they are now demanding the right to control industry.

By Cindy Jaquith

TEHRAN—The Iranian revolution has entered a new stage. A deep confrontation is unfolding between workers committees in the oil fields, factories, and offices and the capitalist government headed by Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan.

On February 17, after an appeal by Ayatollah Khomeini, the great majority of workers, students, and shopkeepers ended their months-long general strike and shutdown. But the return to the workplace and schools has not demobilized the struggle. Just the reverse. The Iranian people are now taking confident steps forward to organize themselves to fight for their demands.

They are not waiting for any government—or any individual leader—to carry out the tasks of reconstructing Iranian society for them. Instead, democratically elected workers committees have burst onto the political scene—to the alarm of the Bazargan government and imperialism.

“... Nearly every ministry, bank,

office or factory has a workers' committee that must pass on almost every order if it is to have a chance of being carried out,” wrote Nicholas Gage in the February 24 *New York Times*. Rank-and-file airmen and soldiers are demanding the same right to organize in the army, as are students, and others.

Debate grips nation

The entire country is now gripped by a debate—and a struggle—over how to move forward and the interrelated question of democracy—who will decide the fate of the nation?

This debate encompasses far-reaching revolutionary questions: should workers elect their own committees to run the factories? Should rank-and-file soldiers set up their own committees and elect their own officers? Do the oppressed nationalities—the Kurds, Azerbaijanis, and Baluchis—have the right to self-determination? Should women organize to win their rights?

Each of these questions points inexorably to the biggest question of all: who should decide the new govern-

ment? Should a regime be imposed on the people by leaders they never elected? Or should democratically elected representatives of the workers, peasants, oppressed nationalities—the exploited masses of Iran—become the new government?

The nationwide ferment over these issues has sent Khomeini's newly appointed government into a tailspin. Bazargan found himself suddenly in office February 12 through an insurrection he neither led nor controlled. Because this was an insurrection from below, capping one of the greatest mass mobilizations and general strikes in history—not a coup from the top—the revolutionary upsurge has been all the more difficult to tame.

On February 14 a grim-faced Bazargan went before the television cameras to explain why he could not meet the demands of the people. Acknowledging that he was besieged by a “flood of revolutionary expectations,” the prime minister pleaded for patience. “Just because you were able to topple the shah in three days, please don't think I can move as quickly on your demands,” he said.

In point of fact, since taking office, the new government has carried out no social or democratic reforms. In line with the wishes of the bankers, businessmen, and landlords his government is responsible to, Bazargan has been preoccupied with trying to restore capitalist law and order.

The workers, on the other hand, returned to the job with the opposite goal in mind. Their attitude is: “We've gotten rid of the shah and his U.S. advisers. So now the factories belong to us. We will run them from now on, through our own democratically elected bodies.”

Oil workers

This is the spirit among the oil workers, whose combativity in a strategic industry has thrust them into the vanguard of the revolution.

Initially Bazargan congratulated himself when most of the oil workers returned to the job. But the backslapping proved short-lived. The workers used the fact that they were all back together again to revive and reorganize their struggle.

The same “problem” runs throughout Iran's industry. As Deputy Prime Minister Abbas Amir Entezam complained, “Despite the Ayatollah's commands, none of the major industries in the country are functioning, because workers spend all their time holding political meetings.”

In the oil fields, as elsewhere, the political thrust of these meetings is the fight for workers' control of the factories. An example is the series of demands raised by a group called the Progressive Workers and Employees of the Oil Industry, in Abadan. According to the February 20 *Kayhan International*, this group calls for the rehiring of all fired workers; cancellation of agreements with foreign capitalists who have robbed Iran's oil resources; opening up the books of the industry to examine current contracts with foreign corporations; and an end to discrimination against production workers and women workers.

To accomplish these tasks the workers have to run the industry. This has led to fights to elect factory committees and to oust the old employers. At one assembly of oil workers shortly after the insurrection, for instance, the participants voted to fire eleven corrupt managers.

The pattern is being repeated throughout the country. Workers at the Ardo factory in Tehran recently sent a letter to the newspapers outlining their demands: control over production; rehiring of fired workers; and better food and housing allowances.

And at Mehrabad Airport outside the city, the workers committee refused to allow airlifts of foreign nationals to take off until it had met and discussed the matter. Not even a letter signed by Bazargan demanding swift passage for the planes produced action. They let the planes leave after they organized the security to ensure that Iranian agents of the old regime could not escape on these flights.

Bazargan denounces soviets

By February 19, Bazargan was compelled to again go on television, this time to polemicize against the spectre of “soviets” haunting his regime. His speech reflected the fear that the Iranian workers would follow the example set by their Russian sisters and brothers in 1917.

It's all right if workers form committees that play a “consultative role” in decision-making, Bazargan said. But there is a “dangerous logic” if the workers begin thinking they should elect their own leadership—either at the factory level or higher.

After all, he explained, if workers elect representatives to run the factories, why not elect representatives to run the cities? And if workers are to decide who runs the cities, why not elect the representatives that run the provinces and the central government

NEW YORK-NORTHERN NEW JERSEY

Revolution in Iran

- Eyewitness report of February insurrection
- The road forward for the toiling masses

Speakers:

Barry Sheppard

National Committee, Socialist Workers Party



Cindy Jaquith

Associate editor of the 'Militant'

Sunday, March 4, 1 p.m.
P.S. 41 auditorium, 116 W. 11th St. (off 6th Ave.), New York City
Donation: \$2, Ausp: Militant Forum

to run factories and offices

as well? For that matter, why not elect the leader of the revolution itself?

"Ah, but this cannot be," Bazargan insisted, "for we already have our national leader—Imam Khomeini." And he is not subject to election—in the capitalist book of rules.

No society can be run from the bottom up, through democratically elected councils or soviets, the prime minister insisted.

The next night another glum-faced representative of the government appeared on television to lecture viewers on workers' control of industry. "The workers want to control the factories, what is produced and how," he complained. "But this is against all laws of commerce and capitalism. In fact, it is the exact opposite of our system."

Instead of their own elected committees, the official continued, workers should dutifully accept the factory delegates Khomeini has appointed for them and respect what these appointees order them to do.

Dissension in armed forces

Just as the workers refuse to kowtow to orders from above, so do the rank-and-file soldiers, particularly the *homafars*, the young skilled workers or technicians in the air force. Having risked their lives before the shah's tanks and machine guns in the battle that sparked the February 9-12 insurrection, the *homafars* were outraged when Bazargan turned loyalist and appointed an old shah loyalist to be the new air force commander.

The appointment of Gen. Saeed Mehdioun led to a series of demonstrations by airmen February 15-17 in Tehran.

These were the first street actions against the new government's policies. In other parts of the country, airmen went on strike.

Students, other soldiers, and their relatives joined in the *homafars'* actions, which denounced not only Mehdioun but the whole series of hated generals Bazargan had installed in power. Perhaps the most blatant appointment was that of Mohammed Ali Nowruzi to be the new chief of the national police. Nowruzi was closely associated with SAVAK and its efforts to crush anti-shah guerrillas.

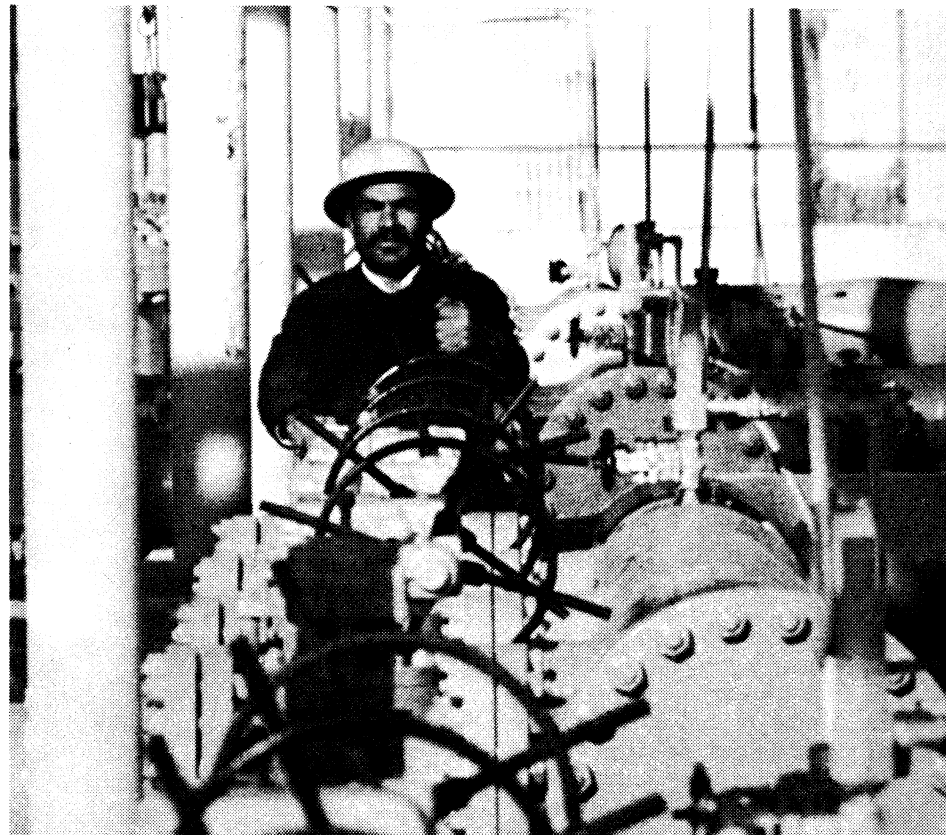
It was only a matter of days before Bazargan was forced to retract his appointments of four top generals and replace them with figures whose records were less tarnished. Both Mehdioun and Nowruzi, along with the proposed heads of the navy and state police, were cashiered in the face of mounting protests.

Axing Mehdioun was not enough to stifle dissent in the Air Force, however. First of all, the airmen are demanding the right to elect their own officers, not to have them appointed.

Moreover, the struggle for democracy in the armed forces has expanded to include other demands: the right to freedom of speech and of the press; the right to organize committees on the bases; the right to vote and to join political parties.

Airmen are also demanding an end to the domination of the U.S. military advisers. They call for keeping the civilian population armed.

This program of struggle is having an impact throughout the armed forces, posing a grave problem for the



Abadan oil fields. Workers here want to open company books and throw out old management.

government as it seeks to reconstruct an army that they can use against the rebellious workers, peasants, and oppressed nationalities.

Rebuilding the army

During the insurrection, the combat ability and discipline of the old army disintegrated. The process was uneven around the country, however. In Tehran the elite Royal Guards took heavy casualties in the fighting, while the ground troops were evacuated from the city and sent home. The garrisons were then invaded by the revolutionary forces, who seized huge quantities of arms.

As the insurrection spread to other parts of the country, however, some of the generals were more prepared to keep their forces intact. In the oil field city of Ahwaz, for example, the military commanders surrendered to Khomeini before real battles began, thus avoiding a repetition of the rout in Tehran.

On February 19, the troops were recalled to their bases by the government. Only about 50 percent—by official estimates—returned, and far fewer in Tehran.

The government also put the police back on the streets, for the first time in months. But only the traffic cops appeared, and they had to wear Kho-

meini armbands for protection.

In response to demands for a popular militia, a National Guard has been set up in an attempt to absorb the thousands of youths who have arms and had been functioning on the streets independently of the government. Sensitive to the hatred of generals, the government announced the Guard has only "provisional supervisors"—all colonels.

Nine of the most despised military commanders—such as Monir Taheri, charged with setting the Abadan theater fire that burned hundreds of people alive last September—have been executed. More than 108 generals have been retired.

It remains to be seen, however, if this will satisfy the demand of the people for the trial and punishment of those who committed the most monstrous crimes during the shah's rule. The government clearly wants to avoid public trials and the revelations this could bring. The nine executions, for example, took place without announcement, after brief secret trials by "Islamic courts."

U.S. advisers back?

What relationship the new army will have with U.S. military advisers is another open question.

Continued on next page



Airmen opened battle that brought down monarchy. They are pressing forward for right to organize in armed forces.

What Iranian Trotskyists are calling for

TEHRAN—The Iranian masses overthrew the shah and his hated regime in one of the most powerful and sustained mass mobilizations in history. In the deepening revolutionary situation subsequent to the February 9-12 insurrectionary uprising, the following are among the main points being raised by the Iranian Hezb-e Kargar-e Sosialist (Socialist Workers Party—Iranian section of the Fourth International):

- For the development, extension, and coordination of the democratic committees of the toiling masses in the factories and offices, in the armed forces, and in the neighborhoods.

The committees should be run completely democratically, elected by the toilers and soldiers, and with all political parties and viewpoints given equal rights.

The objective is the formation of broadly based councils or soviets of workers', soldiers', and toilers' delegates to fight for the needs, interests, and rights of the masses.

- For workers' control of the factories and offices through the workers committees. Open the books of the enterprises to the workers committees and public. Immediate expropriation of the properties of the shah and the royal family, and of the imperialists. Expropriation of the banks, oil industry, and other key branches of the economy.

- Build the alliance between the workers and peasants. Land, cheap credit, adequate machines and fertilizers, and guaranteed markets for the peasants. Access to adequate irrigation.

- Against the attempts of the capitalist government to rebuild the

old army, the rank-and-file soldiers committees should elect all officers and forge links with the workers committees and armed civilians to build an armed force under the control of the soldiers and toilers committees.

- Against the attempts of the government and the Islamic Revolutionary Committee to impose censorship and restrict democratic rights. The workers, soldiers, and toilers committees serve as the only guarantee of the protection and extension of democracy.

- Key democratic rights that must be fought for now are freedom of religion and the separation of church and state, equal rights for women, and for the right to self-determination for the oppressed nationalities, including the Kurds,

Azerbaijanis, and Baluchis.

- No imposition of a government or of a constitution from above. For the immediate convocation of a freely elected, sovereign constituent assembly to decide these and other questions facing the masses.

- No capitalist government can meet the demands and needs of the toiling masses; the opposite is the case. For a workers and peasants republic, a government based on broad, democratic councils of the workers, soldiers, and toilers.

- For the defense of all the conquests of the revolution against domestic reaction and imperialism.

- Workers and toilers of the world: Come to the aid of the Iranian revolution by demanding that the imperialists keep their hands off Iran!

...revolution deepens in Iran

Continued from preceding page

On February 20 Gen. Mohammed Vali Qarani, the new chief of staff of the armed forces, suggested American military advisers be invited back to Iran soon. He also said the government would probably live up to an agreement made by the shah to never release American-made weapons to other semicolonial countries or to national liberation movements.

This includes the Palestine Liberation Organization, Qarani emphasized. His statement pointedly coincided with the tour of Iran by PLO leader Yasser Arafat, who received a hero's welcome from the Iranian people. During his visit, Arafat warned the masses in a speech in Mashad that their revolution "is not finished" and that U.S. imperialism remains a major threat throughout the Middle East.

Kurdish struggle

Although the armed forces are still in a shambles, the government is seriously threatening to militarily suppress another explosive challenge to its rule, the liberation movement in Kurdistan. Media reports from this province—while scanty and often contradictory—confirm that battles between armed Kurdish youths and guerrillas on one side, and the army and police on the other, have continued since the insurrection. Many Kurds have been killed.

One report said that a representative of the central government sent to Kurdistan to be part of the new government there was arrested by the people. Another representative reportedly was shot on arrival.

Khomeini has meanwhile lashed out at the Kurdish national struggle, with a hostility scarcely distinguishable from the shah. Branding the Kurdish resistance "divisive," he said February 19, "I will not tolerate this uncultured behavior. I shall regard this as an uprising against the Islamic revolution."

Khomeini's charges slander the Kurdish people, who along with the Azerbaijanis and Baluchis, the other largest oppressed nationalities, have historically played a vanguard role in the Iran revolution. They suffered some of the highest casualties of the last year's battles. Joining together with the rest of the country's population to overthrow the shah, these nationalities also raised their own democratic demands: for the right to use their own language, observe their own culture, and for their own autonomous governments.

Nothing could be more "divisive" or "antirevolutionary" in Iran today than to deny these rights. The Kurds, Azerbaijanis, Baluchis, Arabs, and other oppressed national groups represent 60 percent of the country's population. A firm alliance between them and the



February 23 rally in Tehran, organized by Fedayeen and others, protested government attacks on democracy.

rest of the working class—based on the right of the oppressed peoples to self-determination—is crucial to preserving and extending the revolution.

A weakness of the revolution is the lack of organization among the peasantry. Sections of the peasantry participated in the mass demonstrations against the shah's regime and took action to eliminate representatives of that regime in the villages. There have been some seizures of farm equipment and animals from landlords.

But to win the peasantry, the revolution will have to meet its social demands—for land, better credit and marketing conditions, and so on. The Bazargan government is opposed to these demands, and Khomeini has issued warnings against the expropriations some peasants have carried out. It will take a revolutionary working-class leadership to champion such a deepgoing agrarian revolution.

The Bazargan government has also resorted to censorship in the media in a desperate attempt to bring the country under its control. Like its other attacks on democratic rights, this has met with anger.

The protests began when Bazargan appointed Sadeq Ghotbzadeh to run the media. Prior to this, the radio and television workers, who had liberated their stations from the marital law authorities, made their air waves available to all political groups. Detailed news was offered for the first time in years. Exposés were run on SAVAK, the prisons, and other features of the degenerate old regime. The radio and television became organization centers in the last hours of the insurrection, alerting the population to areas of the city in need of armed reinforcements or hospitals in need of blood donations.

Once Ghotbzadeh arrived on the scene, however, the iron fist of censorship was back. No more political statements from organizations—of the left in particular—were read. The news became dry and vague, filled with official government statements.

There was a rebellion among the television workers, who threatened to strike if the censorship continued.

Even the *Tehran Journal*, which is generally pro-Khomeini, felt obliged to speak out. In an editorial on February 18, the *Journal* said: "The way Ghotbzadeh runs the station, you'd think he was an old hand, except that his censorship is far worse than the old: 'No reds under the camera here, please, this is an Islamic station. . . .'"

The *Journal* mocked Ghotbzadeh's claim to represent the cultural interests of the "barefoot proletariat." "Someone should tell him that the proletariat is yawning as widely as everyone else at his revolutionary broadcasts," the editors wrote.

For open debate

In closing they called for an open political debate on television and radio: "How about a discussion or two on where we go from here? Isn't it time for all Iranians, who actually fought most of the revolution while Ghotbzadeh was sitting in Paris, to join in the great debate about the future of our country and this includes the leftists, who in a democracy are just as entitled to a voice as anyone else."

These protests forced the government to back down part way. It established a council to monitor the media, which includes Ghotbzadeh and other government appointees but also has representatives from the television and radio workers, and writers and lawyers associated with the fight against the shah's censorship.

The result has been a compromise, with lectures by mullahs broadcast side by side with some fine examples of revolutionary journalism.

Demonstrations banned

The other most serious invasion of civil liberties has been a ban on public demonstrations issued by Khomeini. On February 17, armed supporters of the Ayatollah ringed a demonstration of *homafars* and other soldiers and their families opposed to Bazargan's

military appointments. There were no incidents, but the government went on a big campaign to intimidate people from joining the airmen. The radio announced the morning of the action that participants were "betrayers of the revolution." And in the midst of the rally, a soundtrack from Khomeini's Islamic Revolutionary Committee disrupted the speeches, urging people to get off the streets and go to work. But the crowd, about 5,000, held its ground.

A week later, Khomeini made his sharpest attack on democratic rights to date by banning a planned march by the *Fedayeen* guerrilla group. First he made a provocative speech calling on his own armed supporters to "take their posts" against an unnamed "enemy." The next day he named the enemy as the *Fedayeen*, whom he called "antirevolutionary."

Faced with the possibility of a violent confrontation, the *Fedayeen* canceled the march and held a public meeting at Tehran University, together with other forces, including the Iranian Socialist Workers Party. More than 100,000 people turned out in a massive show of defiance for Khomeini's antidemocratic policies.

This meeting was an important test of the relationship of forces between the masses and the government. It underscored the fact that the government is in no position today to launch a real crackdown on the people.

While the government is reconstructing a new state apparatus, the question of its authority is still undecided. Thus far, it has been unable to effectively block the deepening demands for democracy in all spheres and the interrelated social and economic demands raised by the masses.

Under pressure, Khomeini was forced February 19 to issue a statement declaring people's right to disagree with his government. "Mistakes must be pointed out and criticized," he said. "I never said you should accept mistakes by decision-makers. . . . In speech, in writing, in journalism, there is perfect freedom."

The very next day, however, he launched his diatribe against the *Fedayeen*.

Bazargan has also made contradictory statements. At one point he declared the Stalinist Tudeh Party "illegal," but later turned around and said that "communists" could serve in the government if elected.

Elections?

It is understandable in this situation that Bazargan is reluctant to make any decisive moves toward elections of a new government and will do everything he can to avoid a freely elected sovereign constituent assembly. Some trial balloons have been floated: A referendum on "Do you want a monarchy or an Islamic republic?"; another possible referendum on a draft constitution, which no one but the government has thus far seen; or vague promises of elections for a constituent assembly that would rubber-stamp such a constitution.

The provisional government would far prefer, however, to stabilize itself before putting anything up to a vote.

The immediate problem is that the

Iranian women to celebrate March 8

TEHRAN—Iranian women will celebrate International Women's Day at a rally here March 8. The public meeting is being organized by the Ad Hoc International Women's Day Committee of Iran.

A broad list of speakers will discuss the role of women in the revolution and their fight for full economic, social, and political equality.



BAZARGAN: Trying to hold back 'flood of revolutionary expectations'



Militant/Cindy Jaquith

Neighborhood defense committee in Tehran. New government is moving to replace these bodies with units under its own control.

Bazargan government has little credibility. It lacks both authority among the people and the enforcement powers of a disciplined army.

As a result Khomeini—either in his own name or in the name of his Islamic Revolutionary Committee—has taken responsibility for all the major steps of the new regime. Because of his uncompromising stand against the shah throughout his exile and upon his return to Iran—while members of his newly appointed cabinet wavered on the monarchy—Khomeini earned the respect of the Iranian masses. The new regime is now banking on his past record to bring those same masses into line.

Thus it was Khomeini, not Bazargan, who called on civilians to turn in their arms after the insurrection, telling the masses it was a "sin" to hold onto their guns. It was Khomeini who ordered the banning of demonstrations. And it is Khomeini who has launched the sharpest attacks on those advocating democratic rights, labeling them "antirevolutionary."

However, by using his authority to

try to enforce unpopular measures, Khomeini is also beginning to use it up.

Revolutionary Committee

Wherever possible, Khomeini has sought to use the Islamic Revolutionary Committee to absorb the independent committees that have sprung up, or to take over the leadership of these committees where necessary.

No one knows who is on the Islamic Revolutionary Committee, which has been centered in Tehran. Its meetings are secret. Similar committees have been set up in the other major cities, where they appear to play the same role of directing the local government.

Now the strikes are over, but the factory committees have been revived, the Islamic Revolutionary Committee tried to appoint the leadership of these bodies over the heads of the workers. This has brought the demand for elected factory committees to the fore.

During Khomeini's exile, the workers had some bitter experiences with orders imposed from above. Spokespersons for the Ayatollah within Iran

established a Strike Coordinating Committee, which really functioned more like a strikebreaking committee. It sought to get the oil workers to end their strike but met resistance. It succeeded in convincing the postal workers and dock workers to go back to work, but the workers had misgivings. The postal workers, for example, carried out a slowdown after returning to work and continued their political meetings on the job.

Representatives speaking in Khomeini's name also functioned in the other strike committees. They were usually the higher-paid employees—technicians, office workers, or engineers. Their undemocratic practices were resented by the lower-paid workers.

Neighborhood committees

The Islamic Revolutionary Committee has also tried to bring under control the popular committees that carry out neighborhood defense.

Before the insurrection, neighborhood committees arose in areas like south Tehran, a poor working-class

section. These committees, which functioned out of the mosques, distributed supplies made scarce by the general strike, organized to deal with health problems, and carried out some self-defense activities.

During the insurrection itself, these committees sprang into action, setting up barricades and, once they were armed, patrolling the streets. Defense teams spread to the rest of the city as well.

Despite Khomeini's plea to disarm, the neighborhood defense network persisted after the insurrection. Armed teams searched cars at night for arms caches being transported by counterrevolutionaries. They sought out and captured criminals of the old regime and some foreign intelligence agents. These people were arrested and turned over to Khomeini's headquarters.

The new regime cannot tolerate such independent armed groups administering even sections of the city for long. One means of undercutting these groups has been the establishment of the National Guard, which has tried to recruit the armed youths. Another has been to recentralize the neighborhood committees in the mosques, so all the arms are kept there and parceled out each night only to those approved by the mullahs.

It remains to be seen how successful Khomeini will be. He has been unable to convince the *Fedayeen* to relinquish their weapons. The *Mujahedeen*, an Islamic guerrilla group, functioned in the first days after the insurrection as an armed wing of the Islamic Revolutionary Committee.

But in the widening fight against the government's antidemocratic decrees, the *Mujahedeen* has begun to differentiate itself from Khomeini's policies. In a statement February 25, the group said it supports the *Fedayeen's* demand that workers be allowed to elect their own leadership. And it denounced threats to use the National Guard to repress left groups.

Whether Iran's new rulers can stem the "flood of revolutionary expectations" will be determined by the masses themselves, who have thus far shown the same determination to complete their revolution as they expressed by the millions in the fight against the shah.

As one "Western expert" quoted in the March 5 *U.S. News and World Report* put it: "This country has tasted revolution. The Ayatollah may find that stopping one is much harder than starting it."

International support grows for Hansen fund

International support continues to develop for the special fund to finance publication of the writings of Joseph Hansen. A central leader of the Socialist Workers Party and Fourth International, Hansen died in New York January 18.

George Novack, chairperson of the Hansen fund, received a letter from Dr. Akshayakumar R. Desai, a professor of sociology at the University of Bombay, in India. It said in part:

"I was shocked to learn of the sudden passing away of our beloved Comrade Joseph Hansen. . . . To the Trotskyists and all those who have been sympathetic to this heroic-revolutionary tradition in India, Hansen's name is familiar as one of the giants, who kept the torch of this great Marxist revolutionary movement ablaze during its most difficult period.

"We organized a memorial meeting in Bombay, February 8. More than seventy comrades gathered to pay homage to Comrade Hansen. . . ."

Canadian socialists held a memorial meeting in Toronto February 16. There \$550 was pledged to the memorial publishing fund. A number of prominent figures on the Canadian left, headed by Vernel Olson, will continue the fund-raising effort.

Sharing the platform at the memorial meeting were leading figures from

the Trotskyist movement and other radical tendencies.

Among these were:

Judy Rebeck, editor of *Socialist Voice*, publication of the Revolutionary Workers League; Ross Dowson, for many years a leader of the Trotskyist movement and now leader of the Forward group; and Fernando Díaz, a revolutionary socialist exile from Latin America.

Also, Bob Sherwood of the Socialist Workers Group of Québec (GSTQ), Canadian affiliate of the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International; John Riddell and Phil Cournoyer of the RWL; and Frank Lovell of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party.

With a goal of \$20,000, the fund stood at \$16,180 as of February 26.

To send your contribution, use the coupon below.

Joseph Hansen Publishing Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

I want to contribute \$ _____

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Frank Rooney/Socialist Voice

February 16 meeting in Toronto for Hansen. Left to right: Ross Dowson, Forward group; John Riddell, Revolutionary Workers League; Joan Campana, RWL; Frank Lovell, U.S. Socialist Workers Party.

Women fight for coal jobs



By Jacquie Shilman

MORGANTOWN, W. VA.—It got its start in April 1977 when the staff from two public interest groups decided to take a tour of an underground mine in Tennessee.

"They called the local operator and he told them to just send along a list of names and they would be approved," explains Betty Jean Hall.

But when he saw the list had a woman's name on it, he balked, claiming a woman could not go underground—not even to tour, let alone to work.

This incident led to formation of the Coal Employment Project, which—along with nine other groups, including the National Organization for Women—filed a complaint with the federal government against 153 coal companies for discrimination against women.

The women scored their first victory on December 1, 1978, when Consolidation Coal Company agreed to pay \$370,000 in back wages to seventy-eight women denied mining jobs because of their sex.

"In addition, they agreed to an affirmative-action plan where they must hire at least one entry-level woman for every four entry-level men until women constitute 32.8 percent of the miners," Hall told the Militant Forum here February 2.

Hall is director of the Coal Employment Project. Also speaking on the forum's panel was project representative Connie White from Tennessee and Mary Zins, a miner from United Mine Workers Local 2874 in Marianna, Pennsylvania.

"We look at the Consolidation Coal settlement as the first of many," said Hall.

"There are only twenty women miners in the whole of Tennessee," reported White. "And they all work at one mine—one of the only two UMWA mines in the state." She went on to describe instances where women applying for mining jobs were ridiculed and refused applications by the companies.

White is involved in setting up a training program for women who want

mining jobs "that would cover safety like the federal programs but also would deal with affirmative action and the rights of workers."

'Gotta be a law'

Hall, an attorney, told the meeting how people from the April 1977 mine tour called her in Washington, D.C., where she was living at the time, for some volunteer help.

"When I heard the story, I thought, 'There's gotta be a law!'"

They eventually based their complaint on Executive Order 11246, which outlaws discrimination by companies with federal contracts.

"When I first contacted the government about problems of women in coal," said Hall, "I was referred to the Department of the Interior. The official there told me there were no problems. He said, 'Oh, we had a little problem in Colorado a few years back, but we took care of that.'"

The Coal Employment Project was then formed, initially on a grant from the Ms. Foundation. When Hall and others began to investigate the industry, they found widespread discrimination against women. Hall reported that 99.8 percent of all miners are men. Not only that, but 97.8 percent of all coal industry employees are men—and that includes secretaries.

"The federal record indicates that there was no such thing as a woman coal miner until late 1973," said Hall, "but we know there were some women miners before that time. We know that there were women miners during World War II, because we know of two women who have filed for black lung benefits based on work during that war.

"And we know there have always been women working in small family operations. So there were women miners before 1973, just not in any extensive numbers."

By 1977 there were 992 women coal miners. During the last year, the number doubled to about 2,000.

Project activists have talked to women in coal mining communities throughout Appalachia. The stories they have heard prove that it is not

that women don't want mining jobs, as many of the coal bosses claim. They have been denied jobs because of discrimination.

'Weber' threat

Hall expressed concern over the case of Brian Weber, the white Louisiana steelworker who has sued to overturn an affirmative-action plan at his plant. The case is before the Supreme Court.

"If there is a ruling on the Weber case that ends up saying that the companies cannot voluntarily enter into affirmative-action plans, it would certainly impede the progress being made today," she told the meeting here.

"For example, we named 153 companies in this complaint. It took the government eight months to enter into its first settlement. At that rate, if it took them eight months to settle with every company, it would take them more than 100 years to settle with the companies just named in our complaint!

"The consequences of a decision like that would be obviously tragic."

Hall later added, "We know of three federal lawsuits that have been filed this past year against the coal companies asking for \$5 million in damages as well as jobs and affirmative-action programs for women.

"Now the time is right. The coal companies realize that they are going

to have to do something, and most of them are in the mood to set up their own affirmative-action programs now, rather than be sued for \$5 million later."

Mary Zins told the meeting of the problems women miners face once they do succeed in getting past the discriminatory hiring barriers.

"Women have always been involved in support of miners and their struggles," she said. "From the time of Mother Jones to Stearns and Harlan County today, we have actively supported organizing efforts of miners.

"The new ingredient today is that we now also work underground. There are now over 2,000 women miners, and victories like the Consol settlement will help more women get into the mines."

Women miners' conference

Zins, who is also a member of the National Organization for Women and the Socialist Workers Party, attended a meeting in New Market, Tennessee, January 20-21 organized by the Coal Employment Project.

That meeting, she reported, began to plan a conference of women miners for June 8-10 in the Charleston, West Virginia, area.

"Women in the mines have a lot of common problems to discuss, both on the job and in the union," Zins said. "As Betty Jean has reported, last November the international executive board of the UMWA passed a motion supporting women's efforts for affirmative action in coal. We need more of this kind of support."

She described some of the workshops that are so far planned for the June conference. "We are going to have workshops on things like the Weber case; on the politics of women, including the Equal Rights Amendment; on the contract; on grievance procedures; and on health care. There will also be workshops for women trying to get into the mines."

Following a lively discussion by those attending the forum, four women miners signed up to attend the conference. Many people signed up to get the monthly newsletter of the Coal Employment Project, which can be ordered for two dollars for a year's subscription from: P.O. Box 3403, Oak Ridge, Tennessee 37830. Telephone: (615) 482-2428.



Left to right: Connie White, Mary Zins, Betty Jean Hall

Militant/Pat Hayes

Harlan Co. UMWA strike office fire-bombed

By Tom Moriarty

The headquarters for United Mine Workers Local 8771 in Harlan County, Kentucky, was fire-bombed in the early morning hours of February 6. It burned to the ground.

UMWA Local 8771 represents miners at the Jericol mine, who have been on strike since December 1977. The mine's owners refused to sign the national union agreement, instead offering a "separate contract" that severely cuts back on wages, safety, and pensions.

The headquarters building is lo-

Tom Moriarty is a member of United Mine Workers Local 1949 in Fairmount, West Virginia.

cated next door to the home of Delbert Jones, Sr., a Local 8771 member. Jones, who owns the union building, was awakened at around 3:30 a.m. by the first blast.

"I heard three or four explosions," he told me. "The last one almost got me as I tried to move my car away from the building."

Investigators from the state police and the federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms arrived the next day. They took samples of the ashes to test.

The federal cop then asked Local 8771 President Gerald Cornette how much insurance the union had on the building. But this thinly disguised suggestion that the union

might be responsible fell flat. Neither the local nor Jones had it insured.

No matter who was actually put up to destroy the headquarters building, the responsibility lies with the coal company—and with the courts and police who back it up.

An atmosphere of intimidation and violence was set early in the strike when the company brought in private gun thugs. An armored truck was improvised, equipped with rifles and automatic weapons, to transport the scabs across the lines every day.

Ex-state troopers drove the truck. Later it was reinforced with a state police escort.

The courts have also complied by

issuing injunctions limiting the number of pickets and disarming the strikers.

In such an atmosphere, it is clear that the upholders of company law and company order left an open invitation for violence against the union.

Every Friday afternoon, small strike benefit checks are distributed to the strikers. They used to gather at the union headquarters.

"I don't think those scabs could take it—seeing us out there with our families every Friday," says Cornette. "But we're going to keep on gathering there every Friday, building or no building, until this strike is won."

3,500 marchers: 'It's Steelworkers time!'



Unionists from across Virginia gathered to show support for the organizing strike at Newport News Shipyard.

Militant photos by Jerry Hunnicutt

By Geoff Mirelowitz

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—More than 3,500 unionists filled the streets here February 24 to show Tenneco that its striking shipyard workers do not stand alone.

Strikers from Steelworkers locals 8888 and 8417 were joined by unionists from across Virginia in a march and rally sponsored by the state AFL-CIO and local labor councils.

Local 8888 is entering the second

month of its strike for union recognition against Tenneco's Newport News Shipbuilding and Drydock Company.

In January 1978 the Steelworkers won the right to represent the yard's 17,500 production and maintenance workers. But Tenneco has refused to recognize or bargain with the union.

Instead it filed suit in federal court to overturn the 1978 election results. Both sides presented legal arguments February 22; a three-judge appeals court panel in Richmond is now deliberating behind closed doors.

Local 8417, representing 1,200 marine designers, is nearing the second year of its strike for a union contract.

In spite of ominous clouds and occasional rain, the spirits of the strikers and their supporters soared as the day progressed.

Marchers stretched out for fifteen blocks as we walked from the 26th Street gate up to 50th Street and back again.

Picket signs identified union supporters from locals of the Carpenters; Millwrights; Iron Workers; Auto Workers; Communication Workers; Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers; International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; Amalgamated Transit Workers; and Richmond Education Association.

The Union Support Committee at the College of William and Mary brought students to the march as well.

As we passed the shipyard gates pickets cried out, "What time is it?" And the proud, familiar reply was, "It's Steelworkers time!"

When we doubled back at 50th Street, demonstrators filled the sidewalks on both sides of Washington Avenue.

From one side came a shout, "88! 88!"

And the other side yelled back, "Close the gates! Close the gates!"

At each gate pickets reached out to embrace and clasp the hands of marchers, especially those of us from visiting union locals.

Employees in downtown shops streamed out to join in the chants. Cars honked their horns in support as passengers waved signs and clenched their fists.

I walked a good part of the way with Carl and Virginia Lambert, both shipyard workers.

This is the second time around in a USWA organizing drive for Carl. He lost his job as a result of an unsuccessful fight at Enviro-Tech in Blacksburg, Virginia. But that experience has only made him more determined.

Enviro-Tech was a small shop, he told me. Then, pointing to the crowd, he said, "That's what's going to do it here. Numbers!"

Strikers leaned out of bus windows on the way to the march to check the number of scab cars in the parking lot. Tenneco claims that 60 percent of its workforce is on the job, a figure that even the local media in this company town cannot pretend to confirm.

Local 8888 Vice-president John Townsell told the *Militant* that only 15-20 percent of the shipyard's workers are crossing the picket lines. "We're planning to stay out as long as it takes," he added.

To hold out against Tenneco, strikers know they will need the support of the entire labor movement. On Friday, March 2, the national AFL-CIO is sponsoring a strike solidarity rally at the giant Hampton Roads Coliseum here. Unionists are expected from across the country.

One young Black striker summed up a common feeling on the march. "I hope when we look back on this, we'll be able to say it was a hard-fought battle. I think it is so far."

Any worker who was here Saturday would have to agree.

Geoff Mirelowitz is a member of United Steelworkers Local 2609 in Baltimore.

Va. labor: 'a giant-killer'

By Lee Oleson

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—"The trade-union movement in this area is solidly behind you," Virginia AFL-CIO President Julian Carper told striking Steelworkers and their union supporters as they prepared to march on the Newport News shipyard.

Also addressing the morning rally at the Plumbers and Steamfitters Hall was Paul Askew of the Norfolk Central Labor Council. Askew condemned the city administration of neighboring Virginia Beach for lending city cops to Tenneco for use as strikebreakers.

"The police officials and politicians pretend to be neutral in this fight," he said. "But we know they're not."

"We want our members to have what's coming to them: a decent standard of living," Steelworkers organizer Jack Hower told the crowd. "Workers in the state of Virginia are not afraid to stand up and speak out."

Referring to Tenneco as a giant trying to deny its workers their democratic rights, Hower added, "Before this is all over the labor movement here will be known as a giant-killer."

Labor forces veto of N.M. 'right to work' law

By Barry David

ALBUQUERQUE, N.M.—New Mexico working people won an important initial victory as Gov. Bruce King vetoed a so-called right-to-work measure February 20.

Approved by the state legislature, the antilabor bill would have outlawed the union shop.

The governor's veto was the result of strong pressure by New Mexico unionists. Mobilized only partially and reluctantly by their leaders, who are deep in the Democratic Party, the union ranks still made clear their opposition to the union-busting measure.

Since the defeat of the "right to work" referendum in Missouri last November, employers have been determined to pass an open-shop law in New Mexico.

With only 12 percent of New Mexi-

co's workers unionized, they expected smooth sailing. These expectations were reinforced by the growing unity of Republican and Democratic politicians behind the "right to work" bill.

And they no doubt were hopeful about Governor King, who had been carefully ambiguous about his position on the issue.

Before last November's election, the governor had said, "I haven't taken any position. We're going to wait until the legislation passes."

More recently he indicated that he would veto the bill if it passed, but would then ask the legislature to conduct a referendum on the issue. It is not yet clear if there will be a move to do this.

Initially, the state AFL-CIO and its affiliates poured thousands of dollars into the election of King and other

Democrats. They saw this as the way to fight the "right to work" bill.

But as the Democrats started lining up with the Republicans behind the bill, pressure began to build up for effective action by labor. On January 24, almost 500 unionists and their allies massed at the state capitol in Santa Fe.

Responding to the pressure generated by this action, Neal Gonzales, state secretary of the AFL-CIO, called for a statewide labor mobilization at a House hearing on the bill February 9.

Nearly 1,000 unionists turned out. Pipefitters and electricians came from the oil fields near Farmington. Potash miners in the United Steelworkers came from Carlsbad. Meatcutters and retail clerks from Albuquerque were easily identified by their T-shirts and caps bearing their union insignia and

the slogan, "Right-to-work is a ripoff."

A hundred striking members of International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 2112 at GTE Lenkurt in Albuquerque came in a car caravan.

Although the unionists came to Santa Fe in a militant mood, union heads put a damper on the rally and called off a slated march to the capitol building. Nevertheless, the labor mobilization had an impressive impact.

As unionists overflowed the House gallery, representatives of one union local after another stood up at the hearings to explain why RTW is an attack on labor's right to exist and to organize.

As indicated by his swift veto, Governor King got the message.

If RTW does go to referendum, organized labor in New Mexico has already had its first experience on how to get its message across.

By Omari Musa
and Shelley Kramer

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—How did the Steelworkers do it?

Just a little more than a year ago the United Steelworkers of America defeated the Peninsula Shipbuilders Association—the company union at Newport News Shipbuilding—in an election to represent the shipyard's 17,500 production and maintenance workers.

Over its thirty-eight year history the PSA had turned back challenges by the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America-CIO, the Boilermakers, and the International Association of Machinists.

What accounts for the USWA's victory this time?

It can't be understood without looking at how the composition and consciousness of the shipyard work force has changed.

Nearly half of the shipyard workers are Black—victims of discrimination on and off the job. Their consciousness has been shaped by the fight for their rights as Blacks and as workers.

There are also more than 2,000 women workers. The majority of them have gotten their jobs since 1973. They are affected and inspired by the mood of militancy among women against discrimination.

Young workers at the yard—many of whom are Vietnam veterans—share their generation's high expectations

time John L. Lewis started the CIO," Pretlow began. Now retired, Pretlow worked in the yard for forty-seven years.

"The shipyard didn't want a national union, so it organized a group of Blacks and whites into the PSA."

The yard's owners always claimed they provided Black workers with jobs and gave them a fair shake. What actually existed, however, was more like a paternalistic plantation system where racial discrimination was part and parcel of life both on the job and within the PSA.

"The electrician, pipefitters, and machinist installation departments were mostly white," Pretlow said.

"The riveters, riggers, and drillers departments were Black. There were no Black welders until 1967. If a Black so much as picked up a torch, he was fired."

Civil rights suit

In 1966 the PSA governing board majority tried to block implementation of a civil rights suit that would open new job opportunities to Black workers. The 31 Black board members—out of a total of 150—issued a minority report supporting the agreement.

Despite the opposition of the PSA leadership, the shipyard was forced to begin advancing Blacks throughout the trades. This victory in breaking down the old job segregation patterns



On December 10, 1978, a mass meeting of 7,500 members of United Steelworkers I

How shipyard work Union trailblazers tell

and their determination to stand up for what they view as rights. That includes the right to a safe work place, decent wages, health care, and a secure retirement.

Bosses' offensive

Colliding with this increasingly young and militant work force is the drive by the employers—in this case the huge Tenneco oil conglomerate—against the standard of living of all workers.

This clash of interests led a majority of shipyard workers to the conclusion that they needed a powerful union in order to fight back.

The impetus for the organizing drive came from the workers themselves. Not surprisingly, it was the Black workers who took the lead.

In 1976 a group of four Black PSA leaders decided to break with the company union and begin organizing for the Steelworkers.

Oscar Pretlow, Willis Hayes, Edward Coppedge, and Ellis Cofield were all former members of the PSA governing board and executive committee. They had begun their fight years earlier over the PSA's accommodation to race discrimination and its gross collaboration with management.

The four became convinced that they needed a democratic union that fights for the needs of all its members.

Job segregation

We recently visited Local 8888's offices and spoke with Pretlow, Hayes, and Edward Macklin, Sr., about their experiences and their decision to join forces with the USWA. Macklin, who has worked in the shipyard for thirty-six years, came to the Steelworkers after supporting every former union challenger to the PSA.

We also discussed the organizing drive with Roosevelt Robinson, a USWA international representative assigned to the Newport News battle.

"The PSA was organized around the

helped lay the basis for the solidarity shown more than a decade later in the Steelworkers organizing drive and strike.

Meanwhile, the shipyard was purchased by Tenneco in 1969. The Houston-based conglomerate promptly launched a take-back campaign and the Bryant leadership in the PSA went along with it every step of the way.

Tenneco's first contract in 1972 was the last straw for Pretlow and Hayes. This deal traded away the workers' standard incentive bonus for a fifty-cent wage increase and twenty-minute paid lunch break. No sooner was the contract adopted than Tenneco moved to take back the paid lunch.

"I was working outside on the dry docks and piers where it's cold, wet, and rainy," Hayes said. "A majority worked out in the field. Without the paid lunch break we couldn't get inside to eat."

"We went back and forth with Bryant and the others," recalled Pretlow, who was on the PSA negotiating committee. "They had made a deal with the company and finally got the governing board to submit the contract to the membership."

No democratic vote

"The membership voted it down. Three different times!" Pretlow said. "But Bryant still forced it through."

"That's when I went to war with the PSA," Hayes interrupted.

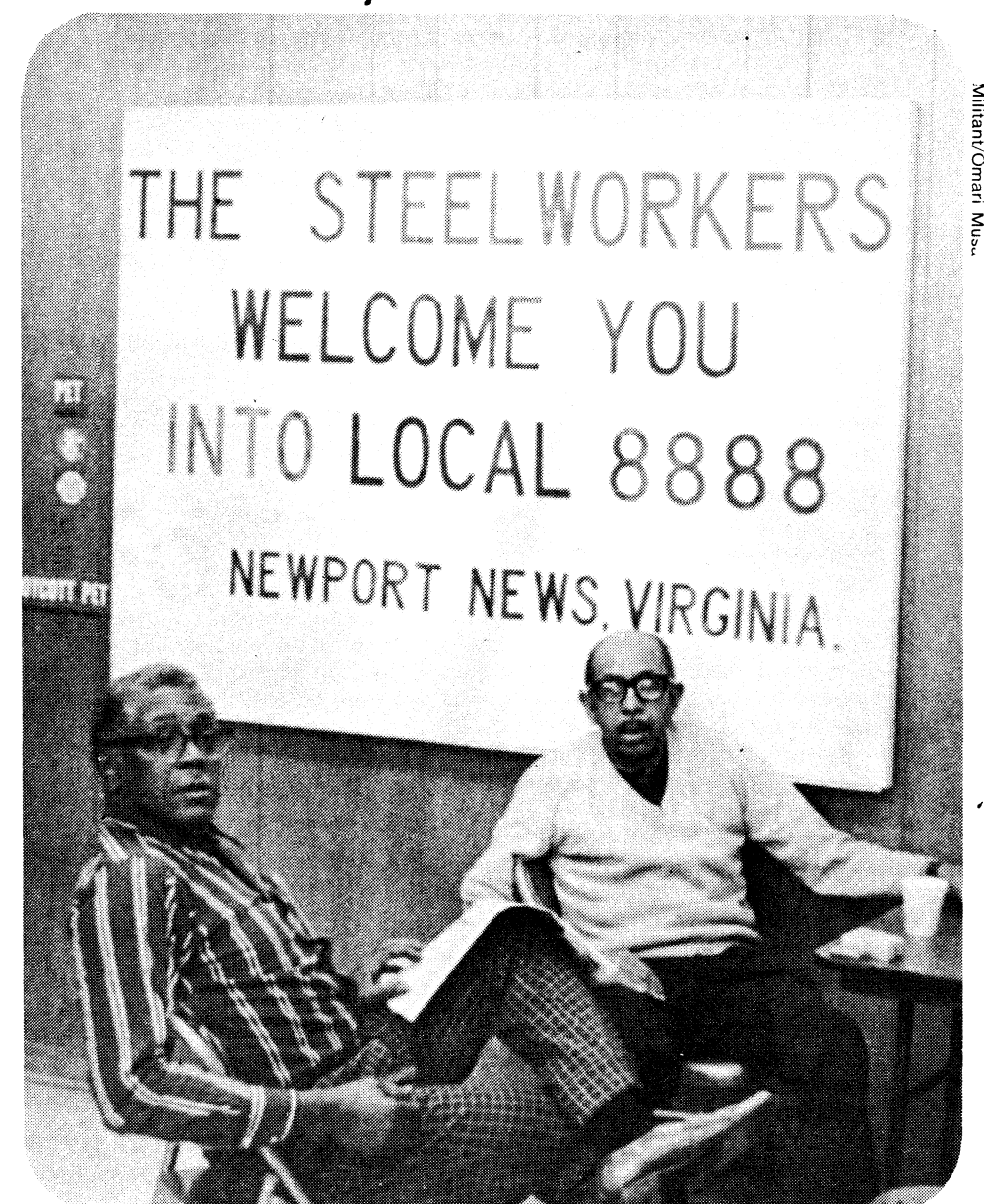
"I told the workers in the yard the contract wasn't worth a damn. So Tom Savas, the vice-president in charge of personnel, called me into his office and fired me."

Two months later Pretlow and Coppedge were suspended from all PSA posts for their fight against the contract. The next April Ellis Cofield and Walter Chawlk, also dissident PSA board members, were suspended for the same reason.

The five filed a series of lawsuits seeking reinstatement, a democratic

Oscar Pretlow (right): 'The union's duty should be to carry out the wishes of the membership, not the company.'

Edward Macklin (left): 'We should be able to immediately stop and shut down unsafe jobs.'





Steel Labor
al 8888 unanimously voted to strike.

vote on the 1972 contract, democratic election procedures within the PSA, and an end to racial discrimination by the company union.

They won formal reinstatement within the PSA, and Hayes won his job back. But they were effectively barred by the Bryant leadership from participating in the 1975 contract negotiations.

"Our aim up until this time was to try to get qualified leadership for the PSA," Pretlow explained.

"We felt the membership should control the leadership," he emphasized. "The union's duty should be to carry out the wishes of the membership, not the company—but that's what Bryant was doing.

"After our suspensions we felt the only thing we could do to help the workers was to get them a national union. We were finished with the PSA," Pretlow said.

The group then approached Paul Joyce, a leader of the shipyard's designers. The 1,200 designers had broken with the PSA in 1971 and affiliated with the USWA in 1975.

"Joyce got us a meeting with one of the Steelworkers organizers and we explained the situation to him," Pretlow said.

"The Steelworkers told us to go out and get a group of fifty to start an organizing committee," Hayes explained. "We came back in a lot less time than they expected. Then we ex-

panded to another fifty.

"The Steelworkers said if we got 250 they'd make a commitment. Instead we got 500!"

Pretlow, Hayes, and the others put to work their insiders' knowledge of the shipyard and the PSA.

"I laid out to the Steelworkers what I thought we should do because I sure wasn't interested in losers," Pretlow said. "I knew from my experience in the five union campaigns against the PSA what they would do. So I suggested we start out with meetings of three or four workers—not big meetings.

"We held these small meetings in elementary schools, motels, and at people's homes in the towns surrounding the shipyard. At the next meeting each volunteer organizer would bring eight to ten other workers.

"These meetings were investigations to see if enough people were interested. We didn't take people out a buy them beers or anything like that," Pretlow emphasized. "We explained that organizing this union was a serious matter."

The response made it clear that a serious unionization drive was exactly what the shipyard workers were ready for. From the beginning a conscious effort was made to build a united campaign of Black and white, men and women.

As the drive progressed, thousands of shipyard workers signed up for the Steelworkers.

sula will be revolutionized."

Two other factors contributed to the union's success, Robinson added.

"One was the miners' strike. The determination of the miners had an effect here, especially when they stood up to the court order.

"The other thing was the designers' strike. After almost a year out they were surviving and they were nonviolent. This took away from the company propaganda," he said. Tenneco had provoked the designers' strike in April 1977 to scare production workers away from the USWA.

"The USWA was certified to represent the workers on October 27," Robinson continued.

"When they heard this, we had a parade down Washington Avenue. It began spontaneously at the Fiftieth Street gate. We walked down to Thirty-seventh Street. It grew so large we couldn't go further.

"Later 1,200 came to a rally at the Plumbers hall."

Tenneco hasn't given up its efforts to divide the workers. Part of its attempt to overturn the Steelworkers' representation victory is the charge that the union made a "racial appeal"—by inviting prominent Black leaders to speak in favor of the union.

But there is no sign these maneuvers are having the slightest effect on the strikers' unity.

Contract Issues

What do these veteran fighters want to see in their first USWA contract?

Decent pensions, all three are quick to answer. Pensions rank among the highest concern of younger workers as well.

"Up to 1969, workers contributed to their pensions," Pretlow explained. "Then the pension reform law passed. In their first contract Tenneco started paying the pensions themselves.

"Bryant told workers to draw out what they had contributed, and lots did. Tenneco simply took back the money the shipyard had contributed all those years and gave out only what workers had put in. So now people are retiring with eighty to ninety dollars a month. People aren't going to stand for that kind of robbery anymore."

"And then there's job safety," Macklin volunteered. "There's no safety program at all. They don't even have decent locker rooms or lunchrooms.

"OSHA [Occupational Safety and Health Administration] needs a court order to get into the yard. This gives Tenneco time to clean up and scare people into keeping their mouths shut.

"We should be able to stop an unsafe job and shut it down immediately instead of after someone has been hurt or killed."

The Steelworkers' victory will also land a powerful blow against the South's anti-union "right to work" laws.

Spread union roots

"The 'right to work' laws are in Tenneco's favor," Hayes said. "They wouldn't have it any other way. For the rest of my natural life my intention is to do everything I can to get rid of the right-to-work laws.

"I know as a laborer for thirty years that if we had a closed shop it would be better for everyone.

"The Newport News power structure—the banks and loan companies, Chamber of Commerce, the *Daily Press*, and the so-called concerned citizens—are calling the shots.

"They're the ones making it tough on us," he charged.

"They control all political appointments. If the Steelworkers get in, we'll have a voice and a piece of power to speak with.

"As far as organizing the South is concerned," Hayes said as our discussion drew to a close, "the reason they're fighting us so hard is that they don't want the union to plant its feet in the largest industry in the state.

"They know the roots will spread, and they're right. I certainly plan to see we do spread out and keep up the drive."

ers organized their stories



Willis Hayes: 'Tenneco knows the union's roots will spread out—and they're right.'

In April 1977, 400 volunteer organizers showed up for their first big meeting at the local Holiday Inn.

"Someone called in a bomb threat," Hayes pointed out.

"But after we reconvened the meeting everybody was still there—not a single one had left."

The Steelworkers organizers were subjected to steady harassment on the job.

"I was spotted," Hayes said. "My super called me in and questioned me. He advised me to be careful, that I could be fired for organizing for the Steelworkers. He said I was going to be moved out of my work area to isolate me.

"I told him I was going to continue what I was doing and I'd refuse to be transferred.

"Two months later they put me in a shop outside the yard at 5200 Chestnut. As soon as I hit the shop I was surrounded by new faces. After a couple of days I decided to stay.

"I told the PSA delegate there that I was an organizer for the Steelworkers and that I intended to do my job.

"I guess I did because when the election came we carried that shop by 80 percent," he said with satisfaction.

"By the time the election came [in January 1978] we had 700 volunteer organizers all over the yard," Hayes remarked.

'Impossible had happened'

When we spoke with USWA representative Roosevelt Robinson, he stressed the immediate impact of the Steelworkers' election victory.

"The day after the election the Peninsula was in shock. The impossible had happened," he said.

"Tenneco had such a stranglehold on this city that everyone was scared to come out," Robinson continued. "The small merchants and even the ministers thought that Tenneco had the power to destroy them. Now that we're taking Tenneco on, the Penin-

Lettuce strikers stand firm



Militant/Della Rossa

Standing firm in the face of police violence, striking lettuce pickers are demonstrating unprecedented power in their strike against wealthy Imperial Valley, California, growers.

On February 21, local and imported police let loose a tear-gas attack on 1,000 members of the United Farm Workers who had entered a field where a dozen scabs were working.

The scabs were among the few who had ignored the strikers' call to shut down all production.

That morning, pickets had massed at the Mexican border, where almost all Imperial Valley workers come from. So great was their display of strength that practically all grower buses rolled away from the hiring area empty. The harvesting of all vegetables, not just lettuce, came to a halt.

The first two Valley-wide shutdowns had come in the wake of the February 10 murder of striker Rufino Contreras by a foreman.

UFW members have struck ten of

twenty-eight lettuce growers since January 19. They are demanding a decent wage and improved medical and pension plans.

Initially, the growers tried to impose Carter's 7 percent "guideline."

Since then, they have retreated somewhat. Recently they offered to increase the present \$3.70 minimum hourly wage to \$4.12. The union dismissed the offer as a "warmed-over 7 percent."

Originally the growers had refused to negotiate. Then on February 15 Sun Harvest, a subsidiary of the powerful United Brands conglomerate, broke ranks and entered negotiations. Four days later, the other growers came to the bargaining table.

The harvest period is nearly over in the Imperial Valley. Unless there is a settlement soon, the scene of battle will shift north to the Salinas area, where the next lettuce crop is now beginning to come in. Sun Harvest and other struck growers also dominate the lettuce industry there.

Board makes St. Louis teachers 'final offer'

By Helen Savio

ST. LOUIS—On February 22, the St. Louis School Board made its "final offer" to striking teachers, who have been on the picket lines since January 16.

The board offered a \$150 raise for the half-year, only \$50 more than it offered before the strike.

The teachers, members of American Federation of Teachers Local 420, are demanding more pay, smaller class sizes, and preparation time for elementary teachers. The local executive board rejected the "final offer."

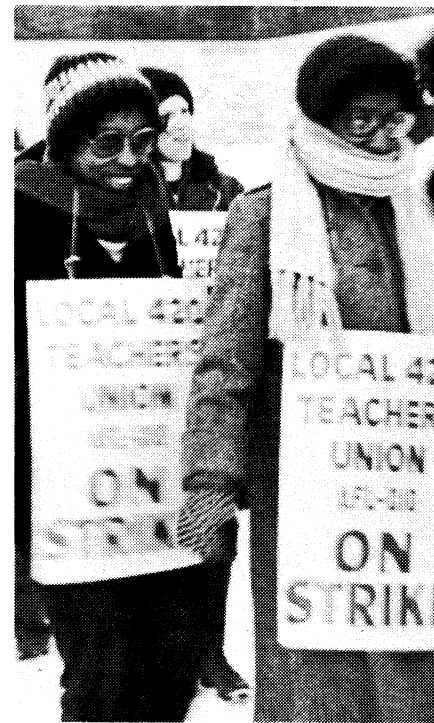
Several days later, the board announced it would try to open the schools March 1.

The board's main strategy has been to break the strike "psychologically." They are using children as pawns in an effort to divide the community from the teachers, and the teachers from one another.

A major story in the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* accused teachers of depriving children of food by denying them school lunches during the strike. The board of education has been calling up teachers of senior high school students, pleading with them to come back to work to "give final exams." The board has tried to resume athletic programs and open Head Start programs.

Despite all this, the union has held firm. Biweekly union rallies continue to be well attended, enthusiastic, and spirited. Picket lines are up daily even though it has been bitterly cold and wet.

The rallies and a daily strike bulletin have announced support from teachers unions across the country,



Militant

as well as other unions. The National Organization for Women and the Coalition of Labor Union Women have also given support.

Last November, a coalition of unions—along with their allies among women, Blacks, farmers, and students—defeated the "right to work" law in this state. That anti-union measure is dead in Missouri, but there are still laws denying teachers collective bargaining and strike rights.

The same forces that buried "right to work" should come to the aid of the teachers, the most recent union-busting victims.

...prices

Continued from page 3

confronted flag-bedecked employers, who no longer have to wear red faces when they declare they have no money for pay raises although they're raking in high profits.

Now they just look skyward and piously proclaim, "Carter made us do it."

In two big strikes now receiving national attention, workers have declared this stance bunk.

In Newport News, Virginia, shipyard workers are demanding a union—with union-scale wages, no matter what percentage that adds up to.

And in the lettuce fields of California's Imperial Valley, striking members of the United Farm Workers are fighting for decent pay, not the poverty wages they now get or would still get with only a 7 percent raise.

AFL-CIO meeting

The January price increase report was released while the AFL-CIO Executive Council was meeting in Bal Harbour, Florida. The council's response was:

- to plan a lawsuit against the part of the guidelines that threatens corporations with a cutoff of federal contracts if they grant wage increases above 7 percent;

- to announce the AFL-CIO will be setting into motion committees—"vigilante groups" of housewives, Meany said—to monitor price hikes; and

- to reaffirm Meany's demand that Congress enact and Carter implement mandatory controls on wages and prices.

It can be described as nothing but a betrayal for the nation's top union official to do the bidding of big business by demanding mandatory wage

controls. Carter would jump at imposing mandatory wage controls if he thought he could get away with it.

The history of mandatory controls shows that without exception they serve only to control wages, while allowing prices to go unchecked.

Any formulas or sanctions that the Democratic Carter administration would set up to "control" prices would be little different than those they concocted under the "voluntary" guidelines. And we've seen how well they have kept prices under control.

But what of the legal challenge? To begin with, this year's contracts covering 4.5 million workers will most likely have long been settled by the time Meany's lawsuit is resolved in court.

AWPPW suit

And corporate fear of losing federal contracts is hardly the backbone of the guidelines. Earlier the Association of Western Pulp and Paper Workers also went to court against the guidelines. When it was found that the companies the AWPPW was bargaining with do not have big enough federal contracts to qualify for the sanctions, the case was dropped.

But that didn't prevent the paper companies from continuing to demand that any wage increase fall within the guidelines.

Price-watch committees are the only one of Meany's proposals that could stand to aid working people in the fight to keep up with inflation. The government's Consumer Price Index deliberately understates the real speed and extent of price increases.

Growing numbers of workers are demanding—and winning—cost-of-living escalators in union contracts. These raise wages in some ratio to the Consumer Price Index, but always less than full compensation for inflation.

Price-watch committees of unionists and consumers could provide accurate data on which effective cost-of-living

provisions could be based. And such committees could be a step toward workers demanding the right to open the books of the corporations to uncover their price-gouging tricks.

But that's the last thing Meany has in mind. He proposes merely that workers forward their data to the Council on Wage and Price Stability—as though the problem in Washington was lack of information!

The workers themselves are deemed incapable of determining what price hikes are "legal" under the complicated formulas of Carter's guidelines.

Political action

As part of a series of "legislative goals," the AFL-CIO council also announced plans to roll back a "right to work" law in one of the twenty states where these anti-union measures are on the books.

Citing the Missouri labor campaign that defeated the right-to-work-for-less ballot initiative last November, Meany declared it proof that an effort organized in just one state can win.

Thus the federation dropped even its token references to repeal of section 14-b of the federal Taft-Hartley Act, which makes these state laws possible.

Lesson of Missouri

The coalition assembled in Missouri—made up of unions, Black and women's groups, farmers, and students—did provide a lesson.

But it was not that separate state drives are needed—stretching over the next forty or fifty years—to get rid of these laws one by one.

Rather, the lesson was that working people and their allies can be mobilized to fight "right to work" laws. If such a coalition can be put together in one state, it could be fifty times more powerful if organized nationally to repeal Taft-Hartley.

The AFL-CIO officialdom's continuing refusal to mobilize the union ranks in a fight against anti-union laws,

wage limits, and all the other big-business attacks can be traced to their political strategy. Meany and Company are still looking to their "friends" in the Democratic and Republican parties to get them out of this mess.

There was not a peep from anyone at the Bal Harbour meeting about breaking with the party that brought working people the wage guidelines. In fact, there were a few whimpers from some who thought Meany has been *too hard* on Carter.

Meany made it clear he is far from washing his hands of the Democratic administration. Just because the president and the labor movement don't always agree, he said, "doesn't mean that we're approaching a break, that we're going to put him on an enemies list or anything like that."

But Carter and every other Democratic and Republican politician should be on the labor movement's "enemies list"—because they consistently act as enemies of working people.

In Newport News, in California, in Washington, D.C.—everywhere there is a dispute between working people and their employers, the Democratic and Republican officials line up with the bosses.

That's why working people need their own representatives in government. A labor party, based on a democratic, fighting union movement, would take on inflation—and it wouldn't be through wage controls.

A labor party could bring working people together in a united fight for effective cost-of-living escalators to cover all wages, pensions, and social benefits.

It could spearhead the fight for a shorter workweek with no cut in pay to eliminate unemployment.

And with working men and women in public office as labor party representatives, strikers fighting for decent wages, safe working conditions, and dignity would meet with support, not back stabbing, for a change.

Confirms Marroquin charges

State Dept admits Mexico rights violations

By Peter Archer

When the Carter administration denied asylum to Mexican political refugee Héctor Marroquín last December, the Immigration and Naturalization Service claimed there was no political persecution in Mexico.

In a December 21, 1978, letter to Marroquín, the INS wrote, "It has been concluded that you have failed to establish that there is likelihood of your being persecuted in Mexico due to your political opinion, race, religion or membership in a particular social group. Your application for political asylum is therefore denied."

The administration itself has now been forced to admit that torture, repression, and other violations of human rights do indeed take place in Mexico.

In the "Report on Human Rights Practices in Countries Receiving U.S. Aid," drawn up by the State Department, the government says "there have been some cases of both physical and psychological abuse by the police" in Mexico.

The State Department's report admits, "Arbitrary arrest, detention and disappearance of suspected political subversives have been charged by human rights groups, opposition political parties and by the press. In the case of arrests for politically motivated crimes, a number of the charges appear credible."

"Credible press reports," the document states, "indicate that suspected terrorists are more likely to be subjected to severe forms of interrogation, including physical abuse, than are others detained."

Marroquín has been charged by the Mexican government with "subversion" and "terrorism" because of his



'There have been some cases of both physical and psychological abuse by the police' in Mexico, federal report grudgingly acknowledges.

activity in organizing peaceful student protests in Monterrey in the early 1970s.

The Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee points out that if deported to Mexico he would face exactly the conditions grudgingly admitted by the State Department report—torture, "disappearance," or even death.

The report notes that "the Defense Committee for Political Prisoners, Disappeared Persons and Exiles has asserted that over 360 people have disappeared while in the hands of security forces during the past decade and/or have been detained incommunicado at various military installations."

The Mexican government has yet to give a satisfactory account of the fate of these 360 "disappeareds."

Concerning activists' charges of arbitrary arrests for political reasons, the State Department report refers to the findings of investigators from the International League for Human Rights.

"The ILHR investigators . . . concluded that many of the 100 prisoners interviewed were detained without any warrant or order of arrest. Many of the prisoners told the ILHR mission that they were initially taken to secret detention centers and held incommunicado.

"According to the ILHR, the great

majority of illegally detained prisoners who were interviewed affirmed that they were held by an antiterrorist vigilante group known as the Brigada Blanca."

The document also reports that the Mexican regime, which earlier denied holding any political prisoners, now admits to holding hundreds of people for "politically-inspired acts."

The State Department report thus directly contradicts the reasons given by the INS for its denial of political asylum to Héctor Marroquín.

In June the State Department advised the INS that Marroquín should be returned to Mexico where he would receive a "fair trial." Its position was based on an earlier State Department report published in 1978. That report cited "fair trials" as the norm in Mexico. It also agreed with the Mexican regime that there were no political prisoners.

In a February 17 letter to the INS, Marroquín's attorney, Margaret Winter, pointed out that "the new State Department human rights report contradicts its advisory opinion of June, 1978, which was relied on by you in making your determination [to deny Marroquín political asylum]."

In a statement to the press February 19, Winter commented, "The new State Department report doesn't show the real depths of repression in Mexico: Over 450 people have been kidnapped by the police and 'disappeared'—over 600 political prisoners are rotting in jail.

"However, the report is sufficient to show that the State Department's previous advisory opinion to the INS is false and that the INS must now reconsider its decision and grant political asylum to Héctor Marroquín."

DSOC, Lawyers Guild back political asylum

By Jane Roland

The Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee and the National Lawyers Guild both voted at recent conventions to add their names to the list of those who support Héctor Marroquín's right to political asylum.

Marroquín faces a deportation hearing in Houston on April 3. His supporters are on an emergency campaign to raise funds and publicize the case.

Michael Harrington, DSOC's most prominent leader, presented the resolution to the DSOC convention in Houston February 17-18. Marroquín briefly addressed the convention. The resolution was approved unanimously.

The National Lawyers Guild convention in San Francisco February 19 pledged to "monitor, support, and report on proceedings in the case."

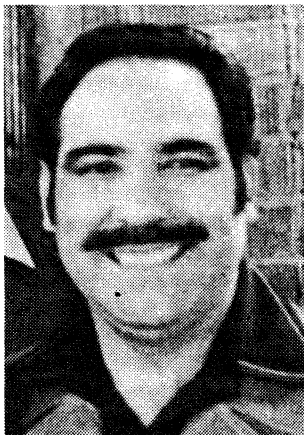
Among the prominent individuals



PETE SEEGER



MICHAEL HARRINGTON



IGNACIO RODRIGUEZ

who have endorsed the case in the past week are: U.S. Rep. Mickey Leland (D-Texas); folk singer Pete Seeger; Don Luce, international representative of

Clergy and Laity Concerned; and José Letelier, son of former Chilean ambassador Orlando Letelier.

New endorsers from the labor movement include Mike Olszanski, executive board member of Steelworkers Local 1010 in East Chicago, Indiana; Ignacio Rodríguez, former candidate for USWA international secretary; Ray Majerus, director of United Auto Workers Region 10; and Mike Nye, business representative of the Santa Clara County Central Labor Council.

La Centrale de L'Enseignement du Québec, representing 90,000 teachers, and the Human Rights Committee of the Cincinnati Federation of Teachers both sent telegrams demanding asylum for Marroquín to Leonel Castillo, director of the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

The Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee has launched an Emergency Campaign Newsletter, which will be sent to defense committees and activists across the country each week during the deportation hearing. Copies are available from the committee.

Your help is needed to prevent the INS from handing Marroquín over to the torturers and executioners of the Mexican regime.

- Organize activities—a picket line, news conference, or reception—to coincide with the beginning of the hearing.
- Send a contribution and help raise funds to cover the cost of expanding publicity and legal work.
- Come to Houston. The defense committee plans a week of activities around the hearing.
- Send a protest letter or telegram to Leonel Castillo, Director, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington, D.C. 20536.

Please send contributions and copies of protest messages to the Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee, P.O. Box 843 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

Duluth picket line

DULUTH, Minn.—Forty people braved subfreezing temperatures here February 21 to join a picket line demanding political asylum for Héctor Marroquín.

A delegation from the pickets presented several hundred signatures on petitions to the local director of the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

Students and faculty from the University of Minnesota at Duluth and members of United Steelworkers locals 1938 and 6115 took part in the protest. A contingent from the Farmer-Labor Association also marched with their own banner.

The Duluth newspaper, several

radio stations, and all three local television stations covered the picket line. One station juxtaposed shots of the pickets with an interview with Marroquín taped during his visit to the Mesabi Iron Range last fall, and added film of Carter's trip to Mexico.

The demonstrators also carried signs: "Mexican oil or human rights, which comes first?"

Tim Shadden, coordinator of the Iron Range Marroquín Defense Committee and a member of USWA Local 1938, told the *Militant*: "We were glad to see the response by both miners and students. We plan to continue activities here in northeastern Minnesota."

Marroquin on tour

Héctor Marroquín is on a speaking tour to publicize his case between now and his deportation hearing. You can hear him in the weeks ahead in:

Pittsburgh	March	5-6
Philadelphia		7-8
Washington		9
Detroit		11-13
Chicago		14-16
Los Angeles/ San Diego		17-20
Salt Lake City		21-22

For more information contact the Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee.

Rail workers press for union democracy

Minnesota: Short crews may get you

By Bill Peterson

MINNEAPOLIS—Railroad workers, beware: crew size cutbacks may get you.

Crew-consist agreements providing for reduced crews were signed on the Milwaukee Road last April and on Conrail in September. The United Transportation Union officials who signed them are calling the pacts pattern settlements.

Recently, UTU vice-presidents have visited local union officers of several other railroads in an effort to sell these short-crew agreements. It's a regular traveling sales team.

UTU members, of course, never had the chance to vote on these agreements. And you won't see as part of this sales team any men or women who work in yards switching cars or who work on the road hauling trains.

You also won't find out from the traveling UTU officials what it's like to work under the crew-consist agreements.

First of all, for road train service employees, (I've been one for most of my fifteen years on the Milwaukee Road), the agreement says: "trains of 1-70 cars may be operated with reduced crews" (one conductor and one brakeman) and "trains of 71-120 cars may be operated with a reduced crew by agreement between the appropriate Local Chairman and carrier officer."

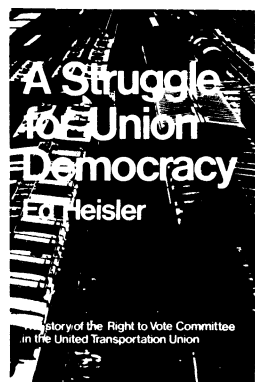
How many trains are less than seventy cars? Very few. So, the agreement won't hurt road train service employees, right? Wrong.

Every train on the Milwaukee Road system up to 120 cars can now be operated with a short crew. And it's not because local officers have been suckered into agreeing to it.

The members of my local—UTU Local 911—and the local leadership voted months ago to require a full crew on all trains over seventy cars.

The company simply ignored us, and brought in a vice-president of labor relations as well as UTU General Chairman McGuire. They told us we

Bill Peterson is a member of United Transportation Union Local 911.



A Struggle for Union Democracy: The story of the Right to Vote Committee in the United Transportation Union, by Ed Heisler. 46 pp. \$.75.

Also available—four books on the labor movement by Farrell Dobbs:
Teamster Rebellion, 192 pp., cloth \$10.00, paper \$3.95
Teamster Power, 256 pp., cloth \$14.00, paper \$4.45
Teamster Politics, 256 pp., cloth \$14.00, paper \$4.45
Teamster Bureaucracy, 304 pp., cloth \$14.00, paper \$4.45

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



Cut in crew size jeopardizes safety and job security for rail workers—yet they had no right to vote on the agreement.

were going to work with a short crew whether we liked it or not.

So, you find yourself alone in the caboose for twelve hours on the road with a train ahead of you more than a mile and a half long.

It makes it impossible to properly inspect both sides of your train for defects that could cause derailments.

It puts employees in a position of making emergency repairs with no assistance, increasing the chance of injury.

Because three workers are no longer required for a crew, road brakemen with more than fifteen years' seniority are "pulled" from their regular runs and forced to work undesirable jobs with long away-from-home layovers.

When workers here protested, quoting the actual crew-consist agreement and other long-held agreements, the company and high union officials replied, "The crew-consist agreement supersedes all others."

It is especially exasperating when you think you're going to Duluth, Minnesota, on Monday morning, and they call you Sunday night right in the middle of dinner and tell you to take a train 250 miles in the opposite direction. And you realize you're going to be back home a full day later than you'd planned.

If you're a yard switcher—sorting, switching, or lining up cars from incoming road trains for outbound shipment—the short train crew is also a threat.

A recent example: a friend reports to work on his regular job at 6:30 a.m. in St. Paul, brings the engine out of the roundhouse, and works for an hour or so switching cars.

He expects to be off by 2:30 p.m. at the latest. But a company trainmaster walks in and tells him to get in his car and hightail it over to Minneapolis. There are three on his crew, but only one on the 8 a.m. shift over there.

So he gets off work at 4 p.m., not 2:30. He gets paid the extra hour and a half at straight-time pay. And he ends up in Minneapolis instead of St. Paul when he's done.

In other words, you're still "on call" even after you show up for work.

What about safety? In the yard, a radio is now expected to take the place of an employee. But radios can't be trained to climb up ladders to tie down handbrakes to keep a car from smashing into another one or rolling off the end of a track.

Often workers don't bother with the radios in the yard because they don't have enough hands to work with them. Plus radios fail. So many of us end up taking chances working "in the blind," out of sight from each other—a trap many now-dead rail workers have been caught in.

UTU and company officials have tried to sweeten their sales pitch by claiming the loss of jobs under the agreement will be slow, taking effect through attrition.

It sure hasn't been slow in this terminal. Less than one year after the agreement was signed, more than 50 percent of jobs in the St. Paul/Minneapolis yards are working with short crews.

Apparently the carriers' strategy, with the cooperation of the UTU officialdom, is to push the short-crew agreement on the "weakest" railroads first—and then move on to the others. (Both Milwaukee Road and Conrail are under bankruptcy proceedings.)

Railroad workers here, needless to say, are not happy with the crew-consist agreement. And the bankruptcy excuse is beginning to wear thin.

More and more UTU members everywhere are getting sick and tired of working under agreements that are signed, and then interpreted, by a handful of top union officials.

UTU Local 911 recently passed a resolution calling for a change in the union constitution to provide for membership ratification of contracts.

We hope to win support from UTU delegations across the country at the June UTU convention. Joining together in a "right to vote" movement is one way we can fight back against the carriers' attacks on our working conditions.

Chicago: Right to vote like miners do

By Guy Miller

CHICAGO—The right to vote on contracts promises to be a hotly debated issue at the June convention of the United Transportation Union.

Some constitutional resolutions for the right to vote have been passed and are circulating between UTU locals.

One such resolution has been submitted by UTU Local 577 on the Chicago and North Western Railroad. The resolution was presented at union meetings, posted on bulletin boards, and passed around in the period leading up to the vote on it.

When the resolution finally passed, all present felt that the local had accomplished something of importance for UTU members everywhere.

The resolution calls for membership ratification of national, system, and local agreements by a majority of those voting, and provides:

- that each member have the full contract for at least ten days before voting;
- that each local hold a special membership meeting to discuss the proposed settlement before voting;
- that the voting be conducted under the strict control of the local as provided in the UTU Constitution for the election of local officers; and
- that the vote of each local be published within thirty days after ratification in the appropriate international union publication.

Guy Miller is a member of United Transportation Union Local 577.

The proposed ratification procedure is modeled after that of the United Mine Workers. Last year during their 110-day strike, the miners proved the power that such a democratic procedure gives workers fighting for a decent contract.

The right to vote in the UTU would compel the rail carriers to think twice about ramming their job-cutting, speedup contracts down our throats. The hand of our negotiators would be greatly strengthened.

UTU Local 577 is one of the largest in the Chicago area and the largest on the C&NW system. Our local has thrown its weight on the scale for a democratic vote.

The next task is to educate and organize around this issue in Chicago-area locals to arm our delegates for the coming convention.

Virginia: Union must inform ranks

By Fritz Edler

ALEXANDRIA, Va.—Railroad workers at Fruit Growers Express here have begun to feel firsthand the effects of the industry's anti-union drive.

Fruit Growers makes and repairs railroad cars. Most of the company's workers are represented by the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen Blue Eagle Lodge 190.

For more than a year we worked without a contract. When the Carmen's union reached a national agreement with the carriers last December, our local ratified the proposal by a very small margin.

But Fruit Growers is not a member of the industry's bargaining arm, the National Carriers Association. And the company took our local by surprise by refusing to go along with the national agreement. They were angling for more provisions to cripple our power.

The National Mediation Board stepped in and, using the National Railway Labor Act, ordered thirty-day negotiations. During this time the company was allowed to present new demands. So essentially, all negotiations over the past year were canceled.

By mid-January an agreement was reached, and an international vice-president of our union was brought in to talk it up to the ranks. This was needed because, in my opinion, it would have been defeated otherwise. As it was, a sizable minority opposed it.

Ever since December when the national agreement was signed, workers here have been talking about how to fight the company's attacks. The coal miners' strike last winter and September's national rail strike were cited as examples.

But one of our major problems was and continues to be lack of information. Even our shop committee never knew what was happening in negotiations for our contract, although the company distributed its propaganda freely.

Some unionists tried to form an information committee, but that was squashed by union officials.

We need to involve all the membership in the processes that affect our future. We need a lodge newsletter to spread information about contract talks, as well as on-the-job problems and other issues.

In sum, we need the fullest union democracy in action to block the company's drive to destroy our organization.

Fritz Edler is a member of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen Blue Eagle Lodge 190.

Hazardous rail shipments

By Dick Roberts

(Eighth of a series)

In Waverly, Tennessee, on February 24, 1978, a tank car filled with liquefied propane exploded in a 500-foot ball of flame. Sixteen persons were killed and forty-five injured—the worst accident in railroad history attributable to the carrying of hazardous cargo.

Two days later, in Youngstown, Florida, a train derailment ruptured a tank car filled with chlorine gas. Eight people were killed and 114 injured.

Only a month earlier, in Pensacola, Florida, a derailment caused the release of deadly anhydrous ammonia gas, killing two people and injuring forty-six.

These three disasters propelled into national publicity—at least momentarily—the growing dangers surrounding the rail shipment of hazardous cargo.

This issue underlines the deteriorating and unsafe conditions of the railroads. It is an issue that draws public attention to the dangerous conditions facing railroad workers. And it is an issue of vital importance to the millions of people who live near railroad tracks.

Track-caused accidents have sharply increased in recent years. According to the Federal Railroad Administration there were 4,260 track-caused accidents in 1976 compared to 1,428 in 1966.

In 1976, 500 of the derailments involved shipments of hazardous substances.

On top of this, the railroads carry most radioactive waste. About 90 percent of spent nuclear fuel is shipped by train. All high-level waste from nuclear weapons production is shipped by rail. And for "security" reasons the railroads themselves are often not told when government shipments contain nuclear waste.

Rail hearings

The three rail disasters last winter forced various Washington agencies connected with the railroads to come up with explanations.

On March 15 the Office of Technology Assessment issued a report tending to blame the railroad companies. It noted that there were adequate safety laws on the books. They just weren't being followed. "It sometimes costs the railroads less to pay a penalty when a violation has been detected or risk having to pay a penalty, than to stop service," the OTA held.

An extensive hearing was held before the National Transportation Safety Board, April 4-6. Seldom has the buck been passed more times in three days—even in Washington.

Richard Little, vice-president of the Union Pacific, declared—presumably with a straight face: "There does not appear to be any significant relationship between the financial expenditures on maintenance level of railroad track and the number of really serious derailments, including those involving hazardous materials."

Like many executives before him, Little blamed the workers: "The best way to prevent hazardous material incidents is to adequately train railroad employees," he said.

But the main argument of the railroad is that they don't actually own the tank cars. "The Union Pacific owns only a very small number of its own cars," Little stated.

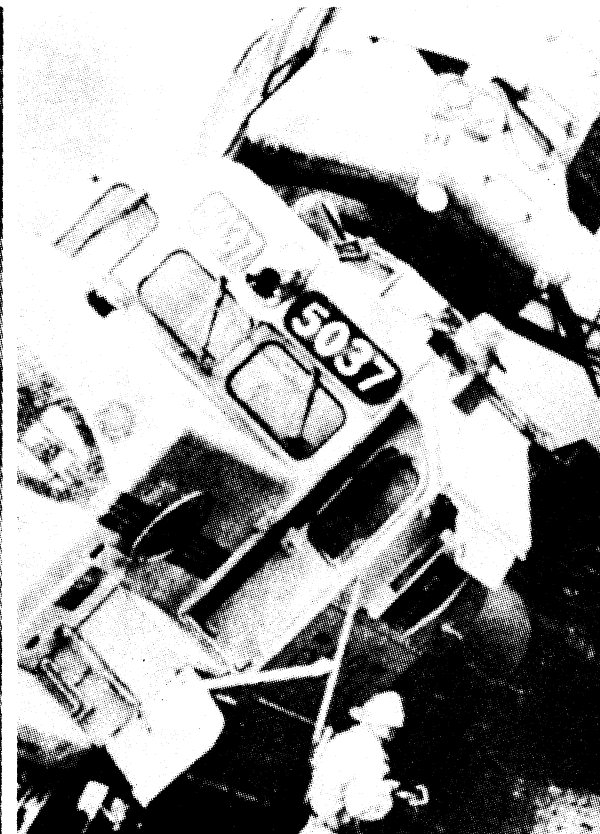
Tank cars

This brought to the stand Jack Kruezinga, president of the Union Tank Car Company of Chicago. Kruezinga came under particular fire because the Federal Railroad Administration had passed laws in 1969 ordering safety improvements on tank cars carrying hazardous materials.

These tank cars were supposed to be retro-fitted with safer couplers and with head shields to protect the tanks from flying parts of the couplers should these be thrown apart in a derailment. The FRA had given the companies until 1982 to retro-fit the cars. As of the April 1978 hearing, a decade after the law was passed, 25 out of the 23,000 jumbo tank cars that were supposed to be changed actually had the safety improvements.

Kruezinga said that it was difficult for his company to find the cars, which were scattered on rails all over the nation. More important, he said, was the fact that his company does not own the cars. It leases them to the shippers.

This is true. Chemical companies such as Dow and du Pont lease the tank cars that ship their products from the tank-car companies. And even



Derailments endanger hundreds of lives. Yet engineers can be fired for refusing to operate unsafe locomotives.

these chemical companies do not always own the cars.

A large number of the cars and locomotives are owned by outside investors—as any railroad worker can see from bank and other ownership decals that are often riveted on the rolling stock. Outside investors are invited in and given tax shelters to make their investments in the rolling stock.

James King, chairman of the National Transportation Safety Board, remarked at one point in the hearings: "No one's ever really gotten anyone who



owned the car." What he meant was the pattern of ownership is so complex as to buffer the owners against damage suits by victims of tank-car explosions.

Government witnesses testified that they did not have the money and personnel to police the railroad companies. With 300,000 miles of track in the United States, there are 286 FRA inspectors. Twenty-two are assigned to hazardous materials.

Union representatives, for the most part, echoed the complaints of the government agencies: there is not enough inspection.

"Every year [our organization] pleads, begs in an effort to have an adequate number of inspectors hired by FRA," said one union official.

Charade

These union officials do not appear to recognize the irony of their position. The hearing at which they were pleading is precisely the kind of cover the capitalist government needs for its refusal to interfere with the profits-before-safety ways of the railroad companies.

Over the past century there has been voluminous material printed by the United States government exposing the profit-gouging policies of the railroads. What there haven't been are any moves by the government against the profit interests of the railroads.

In marked contrast to the banter of company and government officials at the April hearing was the testimony of some victims of the explosions. Joseph Mooney, administrator of Escambia County, Florida, where there have been a number of derailments, told how a wreck occurred and the FRA wouldn't come down for three days.

"The fourth day we got a call from a local inspector and said, well, that there really wasn't any sense in him coming down at that point since all the wreckage was gone; there is nothing to see,

and generally their process was that they accepted the report of the derailment and its causes from industry itself."

Mooney responded to the tank-car company official who claimed he didn't know where his cars were: "Let me suggest, that company knows where to send bills for each one of those cars that are leased."

Mayor Shirley Murphy of Belt, Montana, came from another scene of an explosion: "There is not a very good feeling toward the Burlington Northern at this time because of the way they want to settle claims. . . . When they make remarks like they did to Mrs. Stephens's mother that her husband was an older man and his productive years were over with."

Safety norms

One rail union official who testified raised a question that is worth further consideration. Ed McCullough, vice-president of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, was explaining how the railroad companies ignore safety norms for locomotives.

He pointed out that there is nothing an engineer can do even when so important an instrument as the speed recorder isn't working. There are speed limits depending on the condition of the track and the sharpness of the curves. Following these is obviously a crucial safety question.

"But we operate strictly on the carriers' operating rules," said McCullough. "Engineers can be fired on the spot for not taking out locomotives which they believe to be defective."

This hearing took place during the national coal strike. McCullough called attention to the fact that railroad workers do not have the same right as coal miners to walk away from unsafe conditions. McCullough indicated that the rail unions were pressing for legislation to win this right.

But the coal miners did not win the right to walk away from hazardous mining conditions through the good will of Congress or regulatory agencies. They won it in union battles—and it is one of the rights they successfully fought to hold onto in last year's strike.

The miners showed no hesitancy to fight the bosses and the government, which they defied when President Carter's Taft-Hartley injunction ordered them back to work.

They also sought allies elsewhere in the working class. The rail unions could go far in their battle to resist the profit drive of the companies if they adopted the same course.

Working people throughout the country would support the rail workers if the unions got out the facts. Who is going to oppose the right of an engineer not to take out a defective locomotive? Workers everywhere face the same kind of speedup drive and unsafe working conditions.

But in order to get this support, the rail unions have to go after it. They should take it upon themselves to make every working person in this country aware of the real situation in rail. No one else is going to do it.

Arbitration rigged to favor bosses

By Carl Finamore

OAKLAND, Calif.—Employers are stepping up their attacks on working people—jeopardizing our lives and well-being with speedup, unsafe job sites, and forced overtime. And workers are looking more and more to our unions for protection.

Unfortunately, when we try to use the union grievance procedure, we are running into a dead end. The whole grievance setup is designed to prevent any effective fight against deteriorating conditions.

In the labor upsurge of the 1930s, the driving force was the determination of the rank and file to take direct action to win their demands.

During and after World War II, however, union officials—with the all-out aid of the government—regained tight control over their members. Mass picket lines and labor demonstrations were replaced by cozy relationships between the company and union tops.

Present-day grievance procedure replaces union members' control over the outcome of our grievances with an "impartial" arbitrator, who decides all matters not mutually agreed to by the company and union.

The net result of union members relying on some arbitrator—usually a lawyer or professor—instead of on ourselves has been a steady erosion of job conditions and rights won in the past.

To begin with, it is impossible to be impartial in a dispute between a boss and a worker. Unions exist because there is a basic conflict in interests between the two. No smooth-talking lawyer can gloss over this reality.

Arbitrators often interpret—that is, redefine—contract clauses affecting millions of workers. The union members, of course, have no say or vote on such action.

For instance, even where there is no provision in the contract for mandatory overtime, arbitrators have ruled that the employer can extend the work day a "reasonable amount." In my shop, it has meant ten-hour days almost every day for a year.

When someone outside the union is given the right to interpret a contract without any control by union members, it is inevitable that the contract will be eroded.

The system of arbitration detracts from the spirit that an attack on one is an attack on all. When an individual worker has a dispute with the company, he or she has to resort to the grievance machinery. Relying on the support and unity of shopmates is

Carl Finamore is a shop committee person of United Steelworkers Local 1304.



B.W. NORTON MFG. CO., INC.

3100 EAST 10th STREET / OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA 94601 / 415-533-6541

TO: Carl Finamore

You are being laid off subject to dismissal for actively trying to instill in the workers at B.W. Norton Mfg. Co. Inc. this type of thinking.

That you should not have to work overtime.

That when you phone in sick, you should not have to tell your foreman what is wrong with you, and when you might be back to work.

That you should not have to produce as much as has been the practice in the past.

You are preaching the type of thinking that is destroying the worker's morale, increasing our unit costs, and reducing our profits, which will result in our closing this plant and a loss of jobs to everyone employed here.

I, Bernard Norton, as an owner of this company, can no longer afford you as an employee.

When B.W. Norton fired Carl Finamore, the company didn't bother to hide its reasons. Arbitration has largely replaced the right to strike over grievances, paving the way for such victimization of union activists.

downplayed because everything is out of their hands.

These fatal flaws in the grievance procedure were reflected in an incident last year in which I and another member of the union shop committee were fired for union activity. We were actually charged with thinking and talking union. (See letter.)

We were trying to build in our small shop an awareness of the potential power of the union.

To deal with our grievances we had initiated petitions, held shop meetings, and sent delegations to our amalgamated United Steelworkers local meetings. We developed a strong shop unit with a core of union activists.

In such an atmosphere, workers become less tolerant of company abuses. That is why the company moved against the shop committee.

Support from co-workers was our best defense. But it was handicapped from expressing itself fully because of the grievance structure.

It is illegal for us to strike when the boss violates the contract, just as it is illegal to stage any kind of job action to protest the firing of two union stewards.

The decision to strike is a serious one and should not be made without full discussion by the ranks. But if we had

the right to strike, it would help put the boss on notice that he can't violate the contract and fire union activists at will.

Arbitration also hands the employer another advantage—it costs a lot of money. If we had taken our firings to arbitration—as our union was willing to do—it could have cost our local of 1,000 members up to several thousand dollars. It could also have taken a year or more.

Meanwhile, we would have been out of a job. And active support for our right to be rehired would understandably have declined among our co-workers.

These considerations led us to our decision to accept the offer by the company—which had come under considerable pressure from the workers in the shop—of returning to work after one month with a clean record but no back pay.

Under the circumstances, nearly everyone in the shop considered it a victory.

How many more victories could be won if the rank and file were free to express themselves in support of what they believe to be right?

The right to strike over grievances would be an important beginning.

Kentucky steel co. fires union activist

By Peggy Brundy

CINCINNATI, Ohio—Steve Diehl worked at Interlake Steel's Newport Works in Kentucky—just across the state border from here—for about two years. On January 23, he was fired.

Nearly three years ago when he applied for the job, Diehl forgot to fill out a question on the job application requesting information about his college education. That, Interlake says, is why they are now firing him.

Diehl is a member of United Steelworkers Local 1870 and of the Socialist Workers Party. Local 1870 is fighting the firing through the grievance procedure.

In an interview with the *Militant*, Diehl explained the background to his dismissal.

"In general the company is trying to get us to work more for less by boosting production and lowering incentive," he said. "Incentive pay has been cut in the melt shop where the steel is made, in the hot strip mill, and in the pipe mill.

"People are slowly but surely becoming more irate about this situation.

"The company is also trying to crack down on what they call problems of absenteeism, alcoholism, and mistakes, whether major or minor. But the crackdown is selective.

"Malone, a Black worker in the mechanical department, was recently fired for absenteeism. He's suing the company for discrimination. The union has been fighting his case through the grievance procedure along with mine.

"Very few of the 1,000 workers at the plant are Black. It's a criminally low percentage when you look at the number of Black people in the surrounding communities.

"The company has made a small effort to hire on more Black workers over the past year, but the foremen try to drive them out of the plant during the three-month probationary period."

Diehl believes his own firing is clearly political—an attack on a union militant and a socialist, as well as an attack on the union itself.

"The company hopes that even if I come back into the plant this firing will intimidate other activists. It may make people think twice before saying anything about working conditions.

"Interlake Steel pays among the highest wages in the Cincinnati area. Some of these guys I work with have three or four kids. The company is obviously trying to shut up all of us."

Diehl says that many of his co-workers were shocked by his firing. "They know that I was a good worker, and also that I was an active unionist, outspoken at union meetings and in the plant.

"I've raised the right to ratify our contract and the right to strike. I proposed that Local 1870 support the July 9 march on Washington for the Equal Rights Amendment last year. It did, and contributed \$100.

"In the grievance procedure hearings the company representatives had to admit that my work record is outstanding. My attendance is almost perfect, and I've never been given any disciplinary days off."

His union representatives are pushing to win the grievance as soon as possible.

"Under the present setup, the grievance procedure is just about our only resource, but it's weighted totally in favor of the company.

"Even if we were to win the case in arbitration, it could be more than six months before I walk back into the plant."

'When we get together we can win'

By David McDonald

CHICAGO—In response to mounting protest, the Chicago and North Western Railroad recently dropped charges it had leveled against Manuel Barrera, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for treasurer of Chicago.

Barrera, a machinist at C&NW's California Avenue Coach Yard, is a member of International Association of Machinists Local 478.

The C&NW had charged Barrera with excessive absenteeism and ordered him to appear at a disciplinary hearing February 8. The absences cited included days when Barrera took part in the nationwide rail strike last September, days when he was sent home sick by the company doctor, and days when he couldn't get to work due to Chicago's blizzard.

Barrera and his campaign supporters denounced the charges against him as political harassment. In a fact sheet distributed to his co-workers, Barrera

cited evidence that showed he was singled out because of his union activity and political views.

C&NW responded to the fact sheet by telling Barrera he could not defend himself, even on his own time. The company cited an obscure rule that prohibits employees from "conducting themselves in such a manner that the railroad will be subjected to criticism and loss of good will. . . ."

Refusing to be intimidated, Barrera and campaign supporters published another fact sheet, pointing out that the company's latest attack only proved that the charges against Barrera were politically motivated.

The following day D.J. Diesch, California Avenue superintendent, personally wrote Barrera denying any political bias against the socialist and claiming that "the victimization of Manuel Barrera, again, is because of Manuel Barrera's shortcomings."

Socialist campaign supporters began

contacting prominent trade unionists and civil libertarians to gain their support in Barrera's defense.

Barrera met with representatives from his union to help plan the union's defense at the formal disciplinary hearing.

The socialist campaign pushed ahead with plans for a news conference at C&NW's station in downtown Chicago the day before Barrera's hearing.

On February 2, C&NW tossed in the towel and dropped all charges against Barrera.

At a campaign rally the following night for SWP mayoral candidate Andrew Pulley, Barrera said, "When I brought the news back to the shop floor, I was greeted with comments like, 'Man, I'm glad you won, I'm so tired of us always losing,' or 'We already heard—now maybe people will realize that when we get together we can win.'"

World Outlook

News, analysis, and discussion of international political events

Racist rulers slam door

Vietnam 'boat people': pawns in Washington's cynical game

By Dan Dickeson

Since late 1978, the plight of emigrés from Vietnam, in particular the so-called boat people, has become one of the main themes of imperialist propaganda against the Vietnamese revolution. A look at the facts, however, shows that this professed sympathy for the emigrés is just as phony as the capitalist politicians' new-found concern for Cambodia's national sovereignty.

Since capitalism was abolished in southern Vietnam last year, hundreds of thousands of persons have fled the country, many making the dangerous journey by boat to neighboring capitalist states.

Although the boat people left Vietnam expecting to settle in advanced capitalist countries, only a fraction have actually been admitted as refugees. Imperialist governments have left most of them stranded in Southeast Asia, packed into overcrowded camps for "illegal immigrants" or even forced to stay aboard the ships they traveled in.

The current wave of emigration began after the Vietnamese government closed down over 30,000 capitalist enterprises in March 1978. This action was condemned by the regime in China, which accused Hanoi of persecuting people of Chinese origin, and warned all ethnic Chinese in Vietnam to get out. In the next four months an estimated 160,000 persons fled across the border into China.

Peking closes border

This was apparently more than Peking had bargained for. In July, the Chinese regime closed its border to any more immigrants. After July, increasing numbers of people began leaving Vietnam by boat, sailing across the South China Sea to Malaysia, Thailand, the Philippines, and Hong Kong. By November, the rate of emigration had risen to more than 20,000 a month. "Refugee" transport became a thriving underground business in the region. Some cargo ships picked up over a thousand fare-paying passengers from Vietnam at a time.

The December 12 *Washington Post* estimated the total number of boat people to date at 85,000.

The pace of emigration to Malaysia and Thailand rapidly exceeded the ability of local relief agencies to provide shelter for the emigrés. Since officials from the major imperialist countries have turned down most of the prospective immigrants, the populations of "temporary" transit camps grow steadily larger.

The situation has become worst in Malaysia, where most of the boat people land. The growing refugee population has strained social services and food supplies on the country's impoverished east coast. In some places Malaysian villagers have reacted by attacking boats carrying Vietnamese, forcing them back out to sea. Hundreds of people drowned in November and December when their overloaded craft capsized in storms off the coast.

The Malaysian government tried to ease the situation by allowing Vietnamese to land on the uninhabited offshore island of Pulau Bidong. But by the end of 1978, more than 30,000 people were crowded together on the tiny island.

Officials have emphasized that Malaysia is willing to provide temporary asylum for the boat people, so long as other countries agree to accept them for settlement. In particular, they have insisted that the United States government has a responsibility to take in the stranded emigrés.

Malaysian Home Minister Muhammad Ghazali bin Shafie, in a public appeal to American President Carter, stated that "countries who contributed toward the creation of this problem just cannot turn their heads and wish it away. They are not fulfilling their obligations in the context of human rights simply by offering money to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and dictating at a distance what Malaysia should or should not do. Conscience money is not the answer." (November 28 *New York Times*.)

Of those boat people who have been accepted as immigrants, most have gone to France, the United States, Australia, and Canada. Other imperialist countries, including West Germany, Britain, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Switzerland, have been taking in only a few hundred each year. Out of 600 boat people who made their way to Japan, only 5 have been accepted as permanent residents.

Imperialist hypocrisy

Yet even as they turn away the hapless emigrés, the governments of all these countries have tried to blame Hanoi for the boat people's plight.

The capitalist press internationally has taken up the claim that socialist measures destroyed Vietnam's economy, forcing people to flee.

What are the facts? Why have so many fled Vietnam, despite the danger and uncertainty of a boat trip across the South China Sea?



Vietnamese refugees approaching Thailand. Imperialist regimes have used their plight as propaganda issue, but refuse to admit them.

Interviews conducted in Malaysian transit camps indicate that about 85 percent of the emigrés are ethnic Chinese. Many came from Cholon, the Chinese district of Ho Chi Minh City that was a center of private trade before the 1978 nationalizations.

Home Minister Ghazali noted, referring to the emigrés, that "the early ones were just frightened people, but these newcomers are Chinese and merchants and they just don't fit in Vietnam. They don't want to go into communes and farms and they can't trade under that socialist system. Because they have money, they can get out. Apparently the government does not object. It does precious little to stop them." (December 11 *Washington Post*.)

The rate of emigration rose dramatically following the floods in September, which destroyed an estimated 83 percent of Vietnam's autumn rice crop. Rice had been rationed in Vietnam even before the floods.

The escalation of fighting on the Cambodian border, which brought increased draft calls for the Vietnamese armed forces, was another factor cited by emigrés among their reasons for leaving.

The picture that emerges from interviews with the boat people is mainly one of the urban petty bourgeoisie who have lost their traditional way of life as small traders, entrepreneurs, and usurers.

From the standpoint of the vast majority of the Vietnamese, however, nationalization of private trade was an important step forward. A planned economy and massive international aid is needed to increase production, control prices, and eliminate unemployment.

Ethnic Chinese in Vietnam, as in other Southeast Asian countries, have historically been the object of racial prejudice, and the Chinese community in Vietnam has clearly been apprehensive about this. But there is no evidence of a Vietnamese government policy of discrimination or persecution of ethnic Chinese as Chinese, nor of an attempt to drive them out of the country.

In December, when the cargo ship *Tung An* arrived in the Philippines with 2,400 emigrés aboard and local authorities refused to let them land, the only government in the world that offered to take in the desperate passengers was Hanoi.

Who is responsible?

The imperialists are blaming Hanoi for the tragedy of the boat people as part of their ongoing campaign to

isolate Vietnam. In January, the Australian government cited "Hanoi's refugee policy" as one of its reasons for suspending economic assistance.

An editorial in the January 5 *Far Eastern Economic Review* was more blunt: "The whole of Asia must concisely warn Vietnam that it cannot look forward to friendly relations and cooperation with its neighbors if it persists in endangering the hard-won stability of the region by spewing out its unwanted masses."

This propaganda is designed to divert attention from the imperialists' own responsibility for the plight of the boat people.

The American war against Vietnam, the refusal of Washington and its allies to pay war reparations, and their withholding of economic aid have helped create the economic hardships people are fleeing from.

The desperate situation of the stranded emigrés themselves is the direct responsibility of the imperialists. The boat people left Vietnam believing that governments that had always claimed concern for their way of life would be willing to help them. But the racist immigration policies of those governments are a far cry from the ideals they claim to uphold.

The immigration laws are designed strictly to serve capitalist interests. They aim to keep the masses of the colonial world trapped in poverty.

Most capitalist regimes make exceptions in their immigration laws for emigrés from the workers states. They do this not out of humanitarian motives, but on the basis of a cold political calculation.

Where Stalinist bureaucrats deny people the democratic right to emigrate, capitalist regimes can seize a chance to pose as defenders of democracy. In recent years, for example, West European and American capitalist politicians have made a big show of denouncing Moscow's violation of the Helsinki accords on freedom of travel. And they gladly admit all who are allowed to leave the Soviet Union. The number of Soviet emigrés is limited, and the cost of settling them is small compared to what the capitalists gain by discrediting "socialism" in the eyes of their own workers.

Maneuver backfires

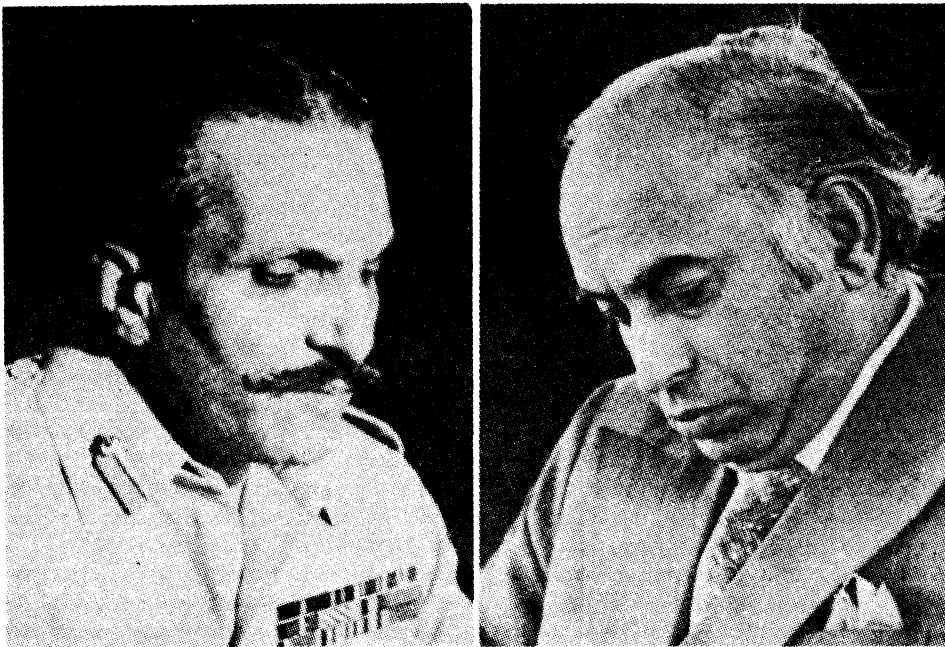
But in a case where Hanoi decides to respect the right of people to emigrate, and tens of thousands leave, the imperialists' maneuver backfires.

When Saigon was liberated in 1975, a total of 130,000 Vietnamese—including many native capitalists and

Continued on page 23

A warning to masses

Why Pakistan rulers want to hang Bhutto



Zia (left) hopes execution of Bhutto, who tried to pose as a 'friend of the masses' while in power, will intimidate opponents of current dictatorship.

By Ernest Harsch

The Supreme Court of Pakistan on February 6 upheld the death sentence handed down against former Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. A few days later, after widespread international protests, it granted a stay of execution to allow Bhutto's lawyers time to argue for a review of the verdict.

Bhutto had been found guilty a year earlier on charges of murdering the father of one of his political opponents.

Whatever the validity of these particular charges, there can be no doubt that Bhutto, who ruled Pakistan with an iron fist for six years, is directly responsible for the murder and imprisonment of thousands whose only "crime" was to seek democratic and trade-union rights.

On this count, he deserves to be brought to justice by genuine representatives of Pakistan's workers and peasants, as they move toward liberating themselves from hunger, destitution, and imperialist exploitation.

Zia's aim

Advancing the cause of freedom, however, is not the intention of Pakistan's current military rulers. Gen. Zia ul-Haq's aim is to use the execution of Bhutto as a weapon to intimidate all opponents of the military dictatorship.

Zia's plans to execute Bhutto come at a time when the regime faces continued unrest in the country.

The memory of 1977, when hundreds of thousands of workers and students poured into the streets of the major cities to demand democratic rights, is still very much alive. At that time, the mass movement was directed against Bhutto. Zia fears that it could again

resurface—this time against the brutal actions of his own martial-law regime.

The overthrow of the shah in Iran and of dictator Daud in Afghanistan, two of the four countries bordering Pakistan, demonstrates the explosiveness of popular unrest in the entire region.

Over the past several months, there have been numerous signs of mass dissatisfaction with the junta and with the rightist parties supporting it.

Students have demonstrated repeatedly around demands for free elections and for an end to martial law. Workers

have walked off their jobs and participated in demonstrations to demand democratic rights and to protest against the regime's recent moves to denationalize some sectors of industry.

In early January, industrial workers in the Lahore area held a number of rallies to commemorate the first anniversary of the massacre of scores of striking workers in Multan. They demanded the arrest and trial of the employers and police responsible for the killings, an end to martial law, the restoration of democratic freedoms, the holding of general elections, and the release of all political prisoners.

Because the masses have seen Bhutto's fate at the hands of the Zia regime for what it is—an attempt to terrorize them—demands for his release have featured prominently in many of the recent antigovernment protests. This is in spite of Bhutto's own record while in office.

Bhutto's record

Although he often tried to present himself as a "friend of the masses," Bhutto sent paramilitary forces into Karachi in May 1972 to gun down militant workers; imprisoned nearly 40,000 political activists, many of them leftists, by late 1975; and dispatched the army to Baluchistan and the North-West Frontier Province to suppress struggles by the oppressed Baluchis and Pathans.

When the urban masses rose up in early 1977 following Bhutto's rigged elections, he declared martial law, arrested 50,000 demonstrators, and had his troops murder between 300 and 400 protesters.

The military tops finally decided in July 1977 to remove Bhutto from office, in the hopes that they would be able to defuse the massive unrest and restore "law and order."

Zia promised to hold democratic elections when he first seized power. But his regime has proved just as repressive as Bhutto's.

In the first weeks of martial law, all strikes, demonstrations, and political and trade union activities were outlawed. Unionists, political activists, students, and anyone else who openly opposed the regime were arrested.

'Educating' the people

Under the guise of a return to "Islamic traditions," public flogging was introduced for the slightest infraction of martial law. The first public executions in many years were held, according to one government official in order

to "educate" the people.

While Zia adopted measures to turn previously nationalized industries back to their owners, police gunned down scores of striking workers in Multan on January 2, 1977. The regime also began to evict tenant farmers from their land.

Press censorship has been imposed and journalists, editors, and publishers critical of the military have been detained and flogged. The promised elections have been repeatedly postponed, with Zia using the Bhutto case as a justification.

Over the past few weeks, as the Supreme Court's decision on Bhutto's appeal neared, hundreds of political figures have been detained, including virtually the entire leadership of Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party, as well as activists to the left of the PPP.

The death sentence imposed against Bhutto is part of Zia's extensive campaign of repression. It is intended as a threat to the masses that the same thing could happen to any one of them.

In this context, Bhutto's execution should be opposed as serving only to strengthen the repressive atmosphere that Pakistan's military rulers are seeking to create.

Amnesty International issued an appeal February 6 urging Zia to grant clemency to Bhutto. The London-based human rights organization pointed out that it "opposes the death penalty in all cases on humanitarian grounds."

Different motives

Others, too, have called on Zia to grant clemency. But their motives are quite different.

According to the State Department, President Carter wrote a letter asking Zia to spare Bhutto's life. Similar statements of concern came from Prime Minister James Callaghan of Britain, Swedish Prime Minister Ola Ullsten, and Foreign Minister Andrew Peacock of Australia.

The imperialists see the Bhutto case as an opportunity to refresh their "human rights" image. At the same time, they would prefer to see their fallen allies handled a little less roughly, if only as a mark of respect to themselves.

Opposition among the masses of Pakistan to the hanging of Bhutto expresses the interests of a different class—the exploited and oppressed. It is part of their fight to loosen the grip of a military dictatorship the imperialist hypocrites themselves help keep in power.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor



Demonstrator is arrested under Bhutto regime. Bhutto was responsible for the murder of hundreds of protesters. But only genuine representatives of the workers and peasants have the right to bring him to justice.

France: 1 million say no to steel layoffs

By Michael Baumann

One million demonstrators, led by striking steelworkers and supported by auto, rail, mine, power, postal, maritime, and municipal workers, virtually shut down the heavily industrialized north and east of France February 16 in a one-day general strike.

The day of action conducted by the strikers included demonstrations, marches, factory occupations, rallies, and in some cities a complete blockade of auto and rail traffic.

It was called jointly by all the trade union federations to demand a halt to the government's plan to boost profits in the steel industry through speedup and huge layoffs. Under the pretext of meeting "competition" from the German and other European steel industries, the French government plans to eliminate more than 21,000 steel jobs over the next two years. At stake is the livelihood of nearly a quarter of all French steelworkers.

The steel layoffs are part of an overall offensive against the working class that includes record unemployment of 1.4 million, an increase in social security taxes of \$3 billion, more restrictions on unemployment compensation, and a steady whittling away at workers' living standards through a rate of inflation now at 10 percent.

The militant response this austerity drive is beginning to provoke can be seen from the report in the French daily *Le Monde* on the general strike:

"Highways and rail lines were blocked, factories were paralyzed, demonstrations occurred everywhere. In short, there was a massive turnout in the north and in Lorraine [bordering Germany] for the steelworkers' day of action. . . .

"In Lorraine, the cities of Longwy, Hayange, and Rombas were completely blockaded Friday morning, as was Briey for a few hours."

In the north, the turnout included big demonstrations in twenty-one cities, and the shutdown of major plants in Normandy.

At the other end of the country, at Fos-sur-Mer on the Mediterranean, work at the Solmer steel mill was halted and the strikers blocked the national highway.

The coordinated day of protest was the culmination of weeks of local ac-



Workers in north and east France showed their power in one-day general strike

tions. In the steel town of Longwy, workers recently occupied the offices of the subprefect, the local official who represents the central government in the region.

On February 9, 2,500 Lorraine miners traveled to Paris in chartered buses and demonstrated against unemployment on the outskirts of the city. They closed off sections of the expressway circling Paris and of the main highway leading north. Violent clashes ensued when the riot police tried to disrupt the demonstration.

In the northwest of France, the seacoast towns of La Rochelle and Rochefort have been the scene of day-long general strikes to protest unemployment.

Other large demonstrations demanding jobs have been held in such sea-

coast cities in Brittany as St. Nazaire and Nantes.

There is a strong sentiment in these industrial centers that a massive march on Paris is necessary to present their demands more forcefully.

A proposal for such a march has already been made by the local CGT union federation in Longwy and has the support of the union federation central council in Lorraine. The unions in Lorraine have now put this proposal before their national leaderships.

However, even the French government's announced layoffs are only one part of a Europe-wide "steel plan" aimed at drastically reducing the work force in steel throughout the Common Market countries.

In face of this coordinated offensive, where the broadest possible unity among steelworkers of all countries

against their own government and bosses is absolutely essential, the role played by the French Communist Party has been to foster support for the French ruling class in its competition with the German steel barons in particular.

The French CP has taken part in demonstrations in the Lorraine region with banners dripping with chauvinism. "Germany, the banker of Europe," "The Lorraine won't be sold off to the big German corporations," and, to top it off, "1870, 1914, 1940, that's enough!" are three examples cited by the French Trotskyist weekly *Rouge*.

This criminal attempt to turn the anger of French workers away from their own employers and toward their comrades in the West German steel mills plays directly into the hands of the bosses' propaganda. The CP is simply echoing the steel trusts' tune that "foreign competition," and not their drive for higher profits, is behind the layoffs.

The leadership of the CFDT, the union federation associated with the SP, has attempted to score some points against the Stalinists by denouncing the use of such chauvinist slogans. Their own house could use some cleaning, however.

On February 8, near Longwy, steelworkers belonging to the CFDT derailed a train carrying 1,500 tons of iron ore from Germany. In explaining their action, the CFDT explicitly stated that they had dumped the cargo to protest the "importation of increasing amounts of iron ore at a time when the mines in Lorraine are being shut down."

Such chauvinist sentiment does not originate in the working class, which not only has no social or economic interest in undermining the struggles of workers in other countries but on the contrary everything to gain from them.

It is fostered by the capitalist class, being one of the most destructive variants of their timeworn strategy of divide and conquer. The appearance of this poison in France, under the encouragement of the Stalinist and Social Democratic misleaders of the working class offers virulent confirmation of their political subordination to the needs of French capitalism.

From *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*

... 'boat people'

Continued from page 21

collaborators of the puppet regime—were flown out of the country in a highly publicized effort to refurbish Washington's "humanitarian" image. But four years later, when tens of thousands of Vietnamese come fleeing economic hardships, Washington turns most of them away.

Despite all their talk, America's racist rulers have no more compassion for the stranded Vietnamese boat people than they do for the millions of Malaysians, Thais or Filipinos who would flee to the U.S. if they could. Washington simply recognizes that a certain number of Vietnamese immigrants are useful for propaganda purposes.

The imperialists are looking for a way to stop the massive flow of emigrés from Vietnam, without taking open responsibility for it.

While some capitalist regimes have made the "humanitarian" gesture of increasing slightly their quotas for Vietnamese, the total quota for all

receiving countries has been kept far below the current rate of emigration.

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees announced in December that the combined quota for refugees from all of Indochina in the coming year would be 82,250. At a time when more than 200,000 people are waiting in transit camps, and 20,000 more are leaving Vietnam each month, this quota guarantees that the populations of the camps will continue to mushroom. Sooner or later this will cause Southeast Asian regimes to resort to desperate measures to keep boat people out.

Reactionary campaign

At the same time, the imperialists are pressuring Hanoi to forcibly stop people from leaving. Of course they cannot openly call on Hanoi to do what they condemn Moscow for. But when they talk about withholding diplomatic recognition or economic aid "because of Hanoi's refugee policy," the meaning is not lost on anyone.

The crocodile tears being shed for

the stranded emigrés by the imperialists are part of a larger propaganda campaign to isolate and discredit the Vietnamese revolution. This campaign must be fought, including by pinning responsibility for the tragedy of the boat people right where it belongs.

Working people in the advanced capitalist countries should demand of their own governments to take in all

the emigrés who want to come.

They should also demand massive aid for Vietnam. The U.S. government in particular should grant diplomatic recognition to Hanoi, lift the trade embargo, and immediately provide as a first step the \$3.25 billion in reconstruction aid pledged by Richard Nixon in 1973.

From *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*

China After Mao

By Leslie Evans

- What were the real aims of the Cultural Revolution?
- Why did China's present rulers arrest Mao's closest associates after his death?
- Why have they repudiated the central campaigns of Maoism?
- What is the real state of human rights in China?
- What are the roots of today's "democracy movement"?

In answering these questions the author traces the factional conflicts within the Chinese Communist Party since the Cultural Revolution. He also examines the failure of the Maoist strategy of economic development and documents the beginnings of an opposition movement in defense of democratic rights. 194 pages, \$3.95

Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Include \$.50 for postage.

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Picket line no obstacle



Members of a Chinese trade delegation, eager for deals with American big business, visited a paper mill in Springfield, Oregon, February 12. The 350 workers at the mill are members of the Association of Western Pulp and Paper Workers. They have been on strike since December 17, 1978. But their picket line was seen as no obstacle by the Chinese Stalinists. Another fine display of Peking's version of working-class solidarity.

to the EPA, council head Charles Schultze and Kahn hit new EPA water cleanup rules as "prohibitively expensive."

"We are facing an unprecedented assault by senior White House officials on the efforts of EPA to carry out the nation's environmental protection statutes," declared Robert Rauch, staff attorney for the Environmental Defense Fund.

Meanwhile, at the White House, press secretary Jody Powell said that any EPA staffers who didn't like it could quit—and their resignations would be "gladly accepted."

N.J. WORKERS VS. WAGE LIMITS

New Jersey chemical and precious metal workers at Engelhard Industries, one of the nation's largest precious-metal refineries, are challenging Carter's 7 percent wage guidelines.

More than 600 members of United Auto Workers Local 1668 walked out on February 26 after rejecting the company's fifty-cents-an-hour offer—a little more than 7 percent wage increase. The company also demanded a three-year contract.

Union members want a shorter contract and a cost-of-living clause so that wages can keep up with prices.

Another strike issue, especially of concern to older workers, is the lack of sick or "chemical" days. Engelhard workers are continually exposed to dust, fumes, and acid leaks.

At a February 25 union meeting, some members of the negotiating committee urged workers to reject the contract. Others, including the union president, suggested workers give the company a week of "grace"—continue to work under the terms of the old contract until Engelhard made a new proposal.

Union members angrily demanded an immediate walkout to back up their rejection of the company's offer. The next morning, union pickets shut down the plant.

PALESTINIAN WOMAN'S LIFE IN DANGER

The life of Aisha Audeh, a young Palestinian imprisoned in Israel, is in danger. Having served ten years of a life sentence, she now suffers a dangerous heart condition, chronically bleeding stomach ulcers, kidney disease, undiagnosed fainting spells, and rheumatism of the spine.

The U.S. Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories in November 1978 reported charges of "severe ill-

treatment including sexual assault and prolonged lack of medical attention."

In 1969, in the aftermath of widespread Palestinian protests against the Zionist occupation of the West Bank, Audeh was arrested and charged with planting bombs. None of the bombs she allegedly planted ever exploded.

Her continued imprisonment is equivalent to a death sentence.

Letters and telegrams demanding Aisha Audeh's release should be sent to the

Israeli embassy in Washington, D.C., or the Israeli Mission to the United Nations in New York. Copies should be sent to the Aisha Audeh Campaign,

Palestine Solidarity Committee, Box 57154, Washington, D.C. 20037.

STUDENTS PROTEST WEAPONS LAB

About 250 students from several universities converged on a public hearing called by the University of California Regents February 15 in Los Angeles to discuss continued UC operation of two nuclear weapons research labs. The students demanded conversion of the facilities to peaceful use.

The UC labs have designed every U.S. nuclear weapon created in the past thirty years.

CARTER'S 'OPEN ADMINISTRATION'

Getting a little weary of constant White House pressure to dilute environmental protections in order to "fight inflation," a number of officials at the Environmental Protection Agency have threatened to resign.

The latest attack on the environment came from the Council of Economic Advisers and Alfred Kahn, Carter's top "inflation fighter." In a memo

March to protest Alabama frame-up

By Nelson Blackstock

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—A march from Decatur to Cullman, Alabama, is set for March 3 to protest the racist frame-up of Tommy Lee Hines. Hines, a twenty-six-year-old severely retarded Black man, is now serving a thirty-year sentence after being convicted on phony charges of raping a white woman.

The march will come two days after a court hearing to determine if Hines is competent to stand trial on two additional rape charges and a robbery charge.

A ruling is also expected on a request to move the trial from Cullman to Birmingham. Cullman has been the scene of a sus-

tained Ku Klux Klan campaign to intimidate Blacks protesting the frame-up.

Meanwhile, a report on a series of psychological tests conducted at Kilby State Prison, where Hines is now confined, indicate that he has a composite mental age of 4.8 years.

This contradicts testimony given at his trial by a state psychiatrist, who asserted Hines had a mental age of 15.

Rev. R. B. Cottonreader, a project director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and an organizer of the planned march, and Charles Bowman were convicted February 21 on charges of "interfering with the operation of a business."

The two were fined \$500 and sentenced to ten days in jail. The sentence is being appealed.

The charges stemmed from a February 11 incident in which police arrested the two Black men for picketing an A&P store in a civil rights protest. The arrest came after police made a "deal" with the more than 100 armed Klansmen gathered nearby.

On February 24, more than 150 armed Klansmen drove cars and pickup trucks in a caravan through the streets of Decatur.

They brandished guns in defiance of a new city ordinance banning weapons in the vicinity of a demonstration. Police took no action.

What's Going On

ARIZONA PHOENIX

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

SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA WHAT'S BEHIND CHINA'S INVASION OF VIETNAM? Speaker: Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Fri., Mar. 9, 8 p.m. Place to be announced. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 824-1992.

EAST LOS ANGELES

FARM WORKERS ON STRIKE—EYEWITNESS REPORTS FROM CALEXICO. Speakers: Carlos Rocha, farm worker and president of Imperial Valley Migrant Student Council; Della Rossa, 'Militant' correspondent; member of UFW. Fri., Mar. 9, 8 p.m. 2554 Saturn Ave., Huntington Pk. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (213) 582-1975.

GEORGIA ATLANTA

ABORTION RIGHTS UNDER ATTACK. A panel discussion on how to defend a woman's right to choose. Speakers: Devon Wilson, Socialist Workers Party;

Lynn Randal, Feminist Women's Health Center. Fri., March 9, 8 p.m. 509 Peachtree St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (404) 872-7229.

ILLINOIS CHICAGO

WHICH WAY FOR BLACKS IN '79 MAYORAL ELECTION? Speakers: Lou Palmer, journalist; E. Duke McNeill, former independent candidate for mayor; Lloyd Hogan, 'Metro News'; Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor; others. Fri., Mar. 23, 7:30 p.m. Operation PUSH Community Hall, 930 E. 50th St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 939-0737.

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN RALLY.

Speakers: Jack Barnes, Socialist Workers Party national secretary; Andrew Pulley SWP candidate for mayor of Chicago; Maria Rivera, United Auto Workers Local 858. Sun., April 1, 7 p.m. Blue Gargoyle Youth Service Center, 5655 S. University Ave. 2nd fl. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (312) 939-0737.

CHICAGO: WEST SIDE IMMIGRATION AND LATINO WORKERS.

Speakers: Manuel Barrera, member of Machinists Local 478 and Socialist Workers Party candidate for city treasurer; Juan Soliz, Center for Legal Services; others. Sun., Mar. 11, 7 p.m. 3942 W. Chicago Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 384-0606.

KENTUCKY LOUISVILLE

ISSUES IN INDOCHINA TODAY. Speakers: Debby Tarnopol, Socialist Workers Party; others. Sat., Mar. 10, 5 p.m. 1505 W. Broadway. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

MASSACHUSETTS BOSTON

REVOLUTION IN IRAN. Speakers: George Wald, Harvard Nobel laureate; Sara Ulman, Electrical Workers Local 1505, Socialist Workers Party. Also, film of demonstrations in Tehran. Fri., Mar. 9, 8 p.m. MIT Room 6-120. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

MISSOURI KANSAS CITY

HOW WE GOT THE VOTE: FILM ON THE WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT. Speaker: Sandy Sherman, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Mar. 11, 7:30 p.m. 4715 15A Troost Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

NEW MEXICO ALBUQUERQUE

WOMEN & THE LABOR MOVEMENT. Speakers: Lorraine Miller, Communications Workers of America Local 8611 president; Sallie Lyczinski, Hospital Workers 1199; Diane Prokipchak, Socialist Workers Party. Wed., Mar. 7, 7:30 p.m. 108 Morningside NE. For more information call (505) 255-6869.

NEW YORK NEW YORK CITY

REVOLUTION IN IRAN: EYEWITNESS ACCOUNTS. Speakers: Cindy Jaquith, associate editor of the 'Militant'; Barry Sheppard, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Sun., Mar. 4, 1 p.m. P.S. 41 auditorium, 116 W. 11th (off 6th Ave.) Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 982-5963.

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY—CELEBRATING WORKING WOMEN.

Speakers: Cynthia Hawkins, first woman to participate in affirmative-action program challenged by Weber at Kaiser Aluminum, United Steelworkers Local 13000; Shirley Burgett, recently hired as longshorewoman due to National Organization for Women suit; others. Thurs., Mar. 8, 6 p.m. wine and cheese reception; 7 p.m. program. P.S. 41, 116 W. 11th St. (off 6th Ave.) Donation: \$2. Ausp: Coalition of Labor Union Women, NOW-N.Y.C. For more information call (212) 989-7230.

OHIO CINCINNATI

HOW TO STOP NUKES—LESSONS FROM THE MOVEMENT THAT HELPED STOP THE WAR IN VIETNAM. Speaker: Fred Halstead, author of 'Out Now!' Mon., Mar. 5, 7:30 p.m. 970 E. McMillan. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (513) 751-2636.

IN HONOR OF INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY: A DISCUSSION OF THE 'WEBER' CASE. Speakers: A panel of feminist activists. Sun., Mar. 11, 4 p.m.

970 E. McMillan. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (513) 751-2636.

OREGON PORTLAND

VIETNAM, KAMPUCHEA, AND CHINA: HOW SOCIALISTS VIEW THE PRESENT CONFLICTS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. Speaker: Curt Johnson, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Mar. 11, 7:30 p.m. 711 N.W. Everett. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA PHILADELPHIA

BEHIND THE CHINESE INVASION OF VIETNAM. Speaker to be announced. Sun., Mar. 4, 2 p.m. 5811 N. Broad St. (two blocks north of Olney Ave.) Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) 927-4747.

WITH BABIES AND BANNERS. A film about women in the United Auto Workers, followed by discussion. Fri., Mar. 9, 8 p.m. 5811 N. Broad St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) 927-4747.

TEXAS DALLAS

ON STRIKE! NEWPORT NEWS STEELWORKERS VS. 'RIGHT TO WORK' LAW. Speakers to be announced. Sat., Mar. 10, 8 p.m. 5442 E. Grand (corner, Samuell). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (214) 826-4711.

WORKER ID CARDS GET GREEN LIGHT

A Louisiana law requiring migrant workers to obtain identification cards was upheld by a federal judge February 14. The law forces workers to be fingerprinted and photographed. The IDs also list their sex, race, and drivers license numbers. More than 5,000 workers have already been subjected to this totalitarian law.

WOMEN STILL BLOCKED FROM SKILLED JOBS

From 1970 to 1975 the percentage of women in skilled craft jobs increased hardly at all, according to a Conference Board study of the hiring practices of 265 major corporations.

In such industries as mining, construction, transportation, and heavy manufacturing, women held only 2 percent of skilled jobs throughout the period.

Even in more "female intensive" industries such as retailing and communications, women held only 12 percent of craft jobs.

Figures for 1977 show that only 5 percent of all skilled blue-collar workers and 2.2 percent of apprentices are women. Eighty percent of the female work force remains concentrated in low-skilled, low-paid jobs, including 34 percent in clerical and 21 percent in service positions.

This job segregation helps account for the fact that women working full time make only 59 percent of men's income—\$8,814 median income for women and \$15,070 for men.

GOV'T OKs ATTACK ON MEXICANS

Carter's Justice Department has asked a federal judge to turn down a request by Chicano organizations for a federal investigation of the 1976 beating and torturing of three Mexican farm workers by Arizona ranchers.

The Mexicans were abducted

Quote unquote

"It was indeed refreshing to read Bayard Rustin's article on comparative freedoms in Africa."

—A letter from the South African Consulate General in New York City to 'New America,' newspaper of the Social Democrats, USA, of which Rustin is national chairman.

and assaulted by members of the Henigan family. An Arizona jury cleared the Henigans of state criminal charges in 1977.

Chicano groups filed suit last November to get the federal government to prosecute.

IRS CAVES IN TO RACISTS

New rules adopted by the Internal Revenue Service on tax exemptions for private schools give a continued green light to "segregation academies"—white private schools set up to avoid desegregated public schools.

Federal courts ruled in 1971 that private schools are not entitled to tax exemptions if they discriminate. It took the IRS seven years to propose rules to enforce this decision.

Last year the IRS proposed rules that would have required schools with an "insignificant" number of minority students to offer some proof they were open to minorities, or else lose their tax exemption. But a few protests from racists were enough to turn the agency around.

On February 9 it released a new version of the rules that promises to be more "flexible" and that gives special dispensation to all-white schools if they claim a religious orientation.

The Great Society

Harry Ring



Militant subscription, anyone?—"Days of Madness: Fear and Lunacy Reigns in Anarchy-Torn Tehran."—A *Los Angeles Times* headline on the successful insurrection in Iran.

Now hear this—Informed sources in Morocco confided to the Associated Press February 16 that the shah of Iran is considering abdication.

Revolutionary reverberations—Not all sectors of U.S. capitalism are crying in their beer about the revolution in Iran. Dealers in Persian rugs report prices are up as much as 30 percent. One major dealer told the *New York Times*: "A lot of big banking firms and investment firms appear to be suggesting Persian rug investments to round out portfolios."

Big puzzle—Washington, D.C., capital of the world's richest nation, has the highest infant mortality rate of any city its size in the country. Dr. Arthur Hoyt, head of a panel looking into the problem, says it's a "public embarrassment," and he's trying to find out the cause. It couldn't possibly be, Doc, the poverty, malnutrition, and absence of decent medi-

cal care that afflicts the majority-Black population?

Plant control?—A woman in Pennsylvania found that the pill markedly perked up her house plants and improved their growth. A state agricultural officer said the pill might contain a stimulator that makes plants grow. However, he warned, too much might shorten the life of the plant.

Tiny tube-watchers periled—A manufacturer told the Federal Trade Commission that a ban on TV commercials directed at children would bring higher toy prices. And, he further warned, it would mean a deterioration in the quality of children's programming.

British brass—The government of Great Britain is a firm military ally of the United States and, as such, may be aware that the U.S. military stockpile includes sufficient atomic weapons to destroy the planet many times over. The British government recently asserted that the Soviet Union is developing its arms stockpile past the point essential for self-defense.

Nuestra América

Sling of David

The following is a guest column by José G. Pérez.

"Marines Disembark on Vieques," says one headline. "Request Immediate Halt to the Bombing of Vieques," says another. "U.S. Navy Presence in Vieques Condemned."

These headlines were published in the New York Spanish-language daily *El Día-La Prensa* in January and February. They could be telling the story of yet another one of those U.S. military invasions that too many countries of the Americas have suffered firsthand. In this case, however, the American government calls it a "game." Nevertheless, Vieques is suffering, as Panama, Mexico, and the Dominican Republic suffered before it.

Vieques is the largest of the islands adjacent to Puerto Rico that form part of the Puerto Rican national territory. Puerto Ricans call it the "Isla Nena"—"Baby Island." It is twenty-nine kilometers long by six kilometers wide. Of its 33,000 acres, 26,000 are occupied by the U.S. Navy. And the navy uses this island of 10,000 people for target practice.

Things have been this way for forty years, but they got much worse four years ago. A powerful protest movement forced the navy to abandon Culebra, another Puerto Rican island being used for target practice, and all the operations were transferred to Vieques.

On February 6, 1978, fed up with politely asking the navy to get lost, the fishermen of Vieques took a desperate gamble. Forty fishing boats "invaded" waters where target practice with live ammunition was about to begin. Juan Antonio Corretjer, a Puerto Rican patriot and poet, put it well: "It seemed like a chapter Cervantes forgot."

But the fishermen weren't being Quixotic. They were carrying out a struggle with the sling of David, to use José Martí's phrase. And the slingshot of tiny fishing boats confronting destroyers hit so hard that it awakened the support of the entire Puerto Rican nation. Even the colonial government felt obliged to go to court seeking an injunction against the war games. As a result, President Carter felt compelled to personally order the suspension of major maneuvers.



Claridad
Fishermen protest U.S. Navy target practice at Vieques.

But at the beginning of this year, the navy once again began their games. And once again the people of Vieques responded by "invading" their own waters and beaches. To stop the fishermen, a "federal" (read *yanqui*) court in Puerto Rico handed down an injunction against the *viequenses* after the navy claimed the maneuvers were vital to the security of the nation—the nation being the United States, of course, not Puerto Rico.

And that decision makes it clear that the fishermen of Vieques fight not only for their own interest but also for the interests of all working people of the Americas. Although the military maneuvers on Vieques have been "war games," what is being prepared is another defense of the "national security" of U.S. monopolies like the invasion of Santo Domingo and the Vietnam War. And we—the working people of this hemisphere—will be the victims of it. The American imperialists will invade one of our countries that is fighting for liberation using *latino* and other workers from the United States as cannon fodder.

For the people of Vieques, the navy's "war games" are for real. There have been deaths and injuries. The constant shelling is destroying their island. If only for this reason, their fight deserves our solidarity and support. But we shouldn't forget that the navy's "war games" could be played for real against us as well.

From *Perspectiva Mundial*
Translated by Anne Teesdale



OUT NOW!

A Participant's Account of the American Movement Against the Vietnam War
by Fred Halstead

The first comprehensive history of the antiwar movement is now available! Fred Halstead traces the movement from its roots in the early ban-the-bomb movement, through the huge demonstrations of 1969-71, to the end of the war in 1975.

Halstead, a longtime socialist and trade unionist, was a leading figure in the antiwar movement. In addition to his own experience, Halstead draws on extensive correspondence, minutes, and documents of antiwar committees and coalitions. A thirty-two-page photo section is included.

A Monad Press book, 789 pages, \$8.95 paperback.
Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Please include \$.75 for postage and handling.

Imperialism and Stalinism

The 'Militant' this week and last has explained that the invasion of Vietnam by troops of the People's Republic of China is a battlefield in Washington's campaign to roll back and contain the Vietnamese revolution. Despite the treacherous, counterrevolutionary action by the Chinese Stalinists, we have insisted that U.S. imperialism is the source of the war drive in Indochina, with Peking its willing accomplice.

In return for their despicable betrayal of Vietnam, Teng Hsiao-p'ing and his Stalinist cronies hope to get massive trade, aid, and even investment, from U.S. imperialism in their drive for the 'Four Modernizations.'

The question of the relationship between imperialism, the bureaucratic caste of a workers state, and the struggles of the oppressed and exploited is discussed in the article by Leon Trotsky that we are excerpting below. It is a useful guide in sorting out what is happening in Indochina today.

The article, entitled 'Not a Workers' and Not a Bourgeois State,' appears in 'Writings of Leon Trotsky (1937-38),' published by Pathfinder Press.

"How can our political conscience not resent the fact," say the ultraleftists, "that they want to force us to believe that in the USSR under Stalin's rule, the proletariat is the 'ruling class' . . . ?!"

The proletariat of the USSR is the ruling class in a backward country where there is still a lack of the most vital necessities of life. The rule of the proletariat, already maimed by the backwardness and poverty of the country, is doubly and triply deformed under the pressure of world imperialism. The organ of the rule of the proletariat—the state—becomes an organ for pressure from imperialism (diplomacy, army, foreign trade, ideas, and customs).

The struggle for domination, considered on a historical scale, is not between the proletariat and the bureaucracy, but between the proletariat and the world bourgeoisie. The bureaucracy is only the transmitting mechanism in this struggle.

The struggle is not concluded. In spite of all the efforts on the part of the Moscow clique to demonstrate its conservative reliability, world imperialism does not trust Stalin, does not spare him the most humiliating flicks and is ready at the first favorable opportunity to overthrow him.

For the bourgeoisie—fascist as well as democratic—isolated counterrevolutionary exploits of Stalin do not suffice; it needs a complete counterrevolution in the relations of property and the opening of the Russian market. So long as this is not the case, the bourgeoisie considers the

Soviet state hostile to it. And it is right.

The internal regime in the colonial and semicolonial countries has a predominantly bourgeois character. But the pressure of foreign imperialism so alters and distorts the economic and political structure of these countries that the national bourgeoisie (even in the politically independent countries of South America) only partly reaches the height of a ruling class.

The pressure of imperialism on backward countries does not, it is true, change their basic social character. Nevertheless the difference between England and India, Japan and China, the United States and Mexico is so big that we strictly differentiate between oppressor and oppressed bourgeois countries and we consider it our duty to support the latter against the former. The bourgeoisie of colonial and semicolonial countries is a semiruling, semioppressed class.

The pressure of imperialism on the Soviet Union has as its aim the alteration of the very nature of Soviet society. The struggle—today peaceful, tomorrow military—concerns the forms of property. In its capacity of a transmitting mechanism in this struggle, the bureaucracy leans now on the proletariat against imperialism, now on imperialism against the proletariat, in order to increase its own power.

At the same time it mercilessly exploits its role as a distributor of the meager necessities of life in order to safeguard its own well-being and power. By this token the rule of the proletariat assumes an abridged, curbed, distorted character.

One can with full justification say that the proletariat, ruling in one backward and isolated country, still remains an oppressed class. The source of oppression is world imperialism; the mechanism of transmission of the oppression—the bureaucracy. If in the words "a ruling and at the same time an oppressed class" there is a contradiction, then it flows not from the mistakes of thought but from the contradiction in the very situation of the USSR. It is precisely because of this that we reject the theory of socialism in one country.

The recognition of the USSR as a workers' state does not at all signify a theoretical and political amnesty for the Soviet bureaucracy. On the contrary, its reactionary character is fully revealed only in the light of the contradiction between its antiproletarian politics and the needs of the workers' state.

Only by posing the question in this manner does our exposure of the crimes of the Stalinist clique gain full motive force. The defense of the USSR means not only the supreme struggle against imperialism, but a preparation for the overthrow of the Bonapartist bureaucracy.

Solidarity with Iran

I write to express my solidarity and joy at the success of the Iranian revolution. This has been the most successful seizure of power by the workers, poor, and oppressed during my lifetime.

Where the revolution goes from here—socialist or no—is not yet clear. What is clear is that democratic forms of societal relations have been established. Now that the people who make the country, rather than the American and domestic ownership interests, have learned how to control the power over their own lives, one can only hope that they retain that experience and knowledge to govern their future.

I would also hope that despite the difficulties encountered in setting up new structures of government in a pretty modern, industrialized, and interwoven society, they do not absorb without criticism and reorganization the old bureaucratic apparatus.

If the Iranians keep to democratic forms of exercise of control over their country and lives, they will perhaps be further along in Marx's, Lenin's, Trotsky's, and my own visions of what a socialist society can be than any other peoples.

As a final note, I would have to point out the persons themselves overthrown in Iran are the identical persons and interests who chain us in slavery here in the United States.

The Iranians provide a shining example and inspiration to all workers worldwide—the American ruling class with their economic, political, military, and intelligence (CIA, SAVAK, DINA, what's the difference, they all go to West Point) can be overthrown!

It is the joy and exultation brought to me by this realization that leads me to write and continue the struggle.

Howard Johnson
Salt Lake City, Utah

Iran coverage-I

Congratulations! and thanks! to Cindy Jaquith for the great work she's doing in Iran.

Patricia Chovanec
Austin, Texas

Iran coverage—II

Enclosed is the last installment of our *Militant* Fiftieth Anniversary Fund pledge. If this exceeds your expectations, well, just keep the change.

Keep up the good work. We look for Cindy Jaquith to become the John Reed of the Iranian revolution.

Bill Scheer
Cincinnati, Ohio

Language butchery?

Why do you insist on capitalizing "black" when referring to race? If you capitalize "black," you should

capitalize "white" also. Actually, you should do neither. "Black," "white," "brown," "yellow," and "red," when referring to race are not proper names but merely adjectives. And, as you should know, only proper names are capitalized in English.

I know why you do it: it is to show your support for the Black liberation struggle, a sentiment I fully share. But capitalizing "black" is of only symbolic value at best. It advances the Black struggle not one iota.

I have subscribed to the *Militant* for several years, and look forward to each issue. So I wish you'd stop contributing to the butchery of the English language.

George Fish
Fort Wayne, Indiana

Gregory & 'Militant'

Dick Gregory, the inventive Black comedian and activist, recently spoke to a crowd of more than 500 at Toledo University.

He exhibited a copy of his FBI file in which the government accused Gregory of "injecting" himself into the Black movement and of "supporting" the Communist Party and NAACP. The documents called for his "liquidation."

Prior to the engagement, Gregory purchased a *Militant* and later held it up for the audience, saying that everyone should read the paper. He related that the Socialist Workers Party had done more for the country than could be imagined when it refused to be bought off by an out-of-court settlement on its \$40 million lawsuit against the FBI.

He called for Blacks in this country to join movements that demonstrate not only for themselves, but for the struggles of their brothers and sisters in Africa.

After the meeting thirty *Militants* were sold, along with ten *Young Socialists* and twelve dollars worth of literature, including seven copies of Andy Rose's pamphlet, *The Weber Case: New Threat to Affirmative Action*.

Janet Post
Toledo, Ohio

300 rally in D.C.

On January 15, in commemoration of Martin Luther King's birthday, a successful demonstration was held in Washington, D.C., sponsored by the National Organization of Legal Service Workers (NOLSW). Legal Services is a federally funded agency established to provide legal representation for poor people, and NOLSW is the union representing most employees.

Among speakers at the rally was Dr. Howard Gunn, head of the Legal Services Program in northern Mississippi (NMRLS). This program is under attack because of its defense of the United League in Tupelo, Mississippi.

The United League, whose

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activities the *Militant* has frequently reported, was formed to fight Ku Klux Klan terror and the do-nothing attitude of the local authorities.

For representing the United League, several NMRLS attorneys face disbarment, one paralegal has been arrested, and the director of litigation, Lewis Meyers, is being investigated by the Legal Service Corporation headquarters in Washington. He is charged with having "advocated a picket line." This investigation of Meyers was begun only after Sen. James Eastland of Mississippi requested it.

Although the avowed aim of Legal Services is legal representation of poor people, the corporation has bowed to the likes of Eastland and investigated, not saluted, the NMRLS for its stalwart defense of those facing racist attacks.

The consensus of the 300 marchers and the speakers was that legal strategy is only important when it is used as a supplement to massive, independent action in the streets.

Eric Poulos
Michael Smith
New York, New York

Feminism & motherhood

I was interested to see your review of Nancy Friday's *My Mother/Myself*. [See October 27 *Militant*.] I have often wondered at your failure to review any of the several excellent recent books in the field of motherhood and the family.

The Mother Knot, by Jane Lazarre, is a brilliant, moving, and beautifully told story of the author's first four years as a mother. The author is a feminist and radical who is always honest. Dorothy Dinnerstein's *The Mermaid and the Minotaur: Sexual Arrangements and the Human Malaise* is an extremely important analysis of the role of women as mothers in society. It links the psychology of the individual with that of society in new ways that I think Marxists will find useful.

Of Woman Born: Motherhood as Experience and Institution is a discussion by the poet Adrienne Rich of her own history as a mother and daughter interwoven with an account of the institution of motherhood from pre-classical times.

These are all important books, particularly for that peculiarly oppressed and neglected group of workers, mothers.

Ingrid Hughes
New York, New York

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

What is socialized medicine?

Socialized medicine. What does it mean? Why is it an integral part of the program of the Socialist Workers Party?

Socialized medicine means that health and health care would be the right of every citizen. Care from the cradle to the grave.

But the SWP advocates such a medical system as a part of a planned economy run by a workers government. It cannot come into being under capitalism. Because socialized medicine would operate for the good of all people, not for the profit of "the health industry" as under capitalism.

Once the working class took the power of government out of the hands of the capitalists, all industry would be nationalized. Industry would be operated by the workers and produce for needs of the people, not for the pocketbooks of the capitalists.

One of those industries, "the health industry," is a growing source of income for many conglomerates that seemingly have no connection with medicine.

The question has been asked, "Could I choose my own doctor, or would I just be a number?"

I visualize a medical system wherein everyone could choose his or her own doctor. The panel of patients for each doctor would be small enough so he or she could get to know the whole person, their medical history, their allergies, their pressures, where the patient worked and the air pollution and machinery safety therein.

Cases these individual doctors could not handle would be referred to a system of specialized hospitals for treatment.

Neighborhood clinics would take care of minor ailments or injuries. Any serious condition would be referred to the proper hospital.

Since the purpose of health care would no longer be to make the greatest profit from illness, preventive medicine—virtually ignored under capitalism—would be given top priority.

Pre- and postnatal care would be available to all pregnant women; clinics would make frequent examinations of infants and immunize them against contagious diseases. Diets to assure good nutrition would be prescribed. Sick babies would be hospitalized immediately to guard against complications which might lead to death, mental retardation, or physical deformities.

Work injuries would be cared for immediately.

Students who wanted to continue their study would be given tuition-free university courses. The extra number of doctors needed for a socialized program would come from this group. They would be trained to serve, not educated in how to make the most money off of sick people.

These are but a few of the many benefits people would receive under socialized medicine.

All this would be paid for out of the national income derived from public ownership of the means of production, as against the millions of dollars now paid out-of-pocket by individuals.

There would be no competition between the hospitals to own the best and the most expensive medical machinery, like colbalt rooms or open-heart surgical and vital-organ transplant facilities.

There would be no more millionaire doctors or hospital administrators, because everyone in the socialized medical system would receive the same level of pay as skilled workers in the factories, mills or mines.

For the aged, disabled, or victims of degenerative diseases who are unable or unwilling to remain in their homes, decent homes and centers would be established, under the direction of trained doctors and nurses.

First-rate housing would be built to take care of the millions who now exist in unsanitary ghettos and in rural slum areas. Sewage disposal plants would get rid of all the disease-producing wastes before the refuse was dumped.

Pure water would be the norm, not the exception it is now.

Pest control would rid the earth of mosquitoes that spread malaria. Body and hair lice would eventually be unheard of.

These are but a few of the many differences socialized medicine and its related socialized programs would bring to the people.

But keep in mind—none of this can come about under capitalism. That is why the Socialist Workers Party advocates the building of a mass party of the working class—a party to take the power out of the hands of the greedy and put it into the hands of the needy. —Marvel Scholl

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Steelworkers rally for solidarity

Against Tenneco & Weber: same fight

By Dick McBride

This weekend I'm especially proud to be a member of the United Steelworkers.

I'm proud because on Friday, March 2, Steelworkers from across the country are traveling to Newport News, Virginia, to rally in solidarity with striking shipyard workers there.

I'm proud because on Sunday, March 4, Steelworkers and their allies are uniting in New Orleans to protest Brian Weber's challenge to affirmative action.

Two demonstrations of solidarity against our common enemies. One in support of the biggest organizing drive that's hit the nonunion South in decades. The other a movement to defend equal rights for Black and women workers.

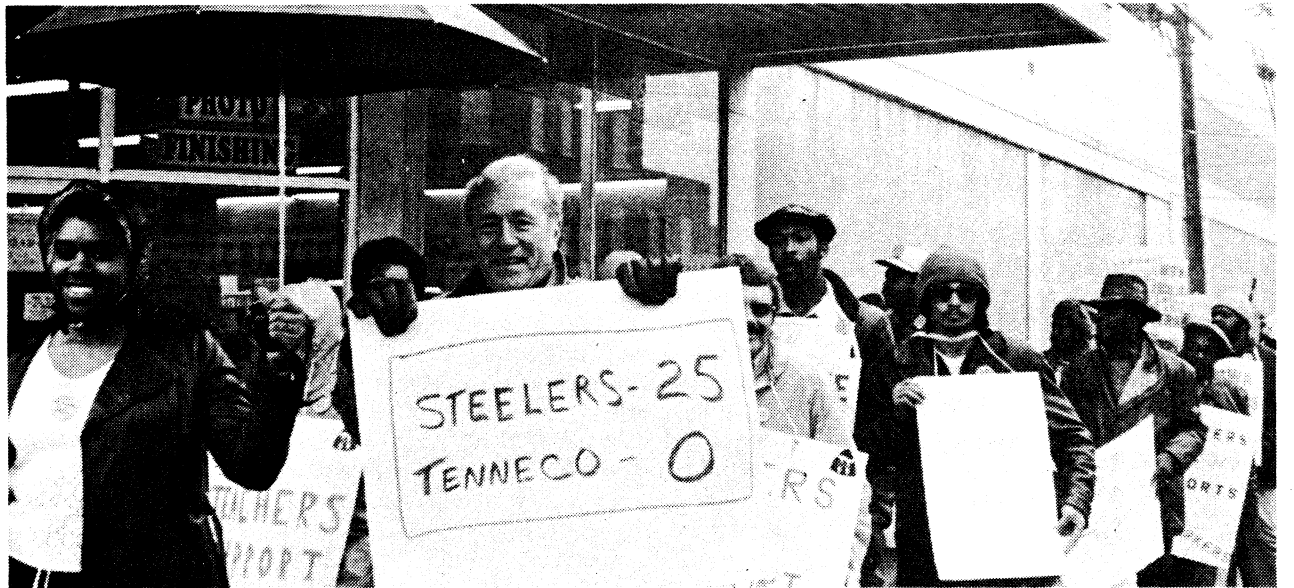
What do these two fights have in common? Everything.

Tenneco and Weber are two sides of the same anti-union coin.

In the past few years the bosses have gone after everything we've worked for, everything our unions have fought for. They're hitting us with inflation, higher taxes, unemployment.

As always, the bosses tell us to blame our problems on other groups of workers. Blame the Blacks. Blame the women. Blame "illegal aliens." Blame anybody except the corporations that profit from pushing us down.

They'll do anything they can to pit us against each other. Because when it's *us* united against



Shipyard strikers and union supporters march in Newport News February 24. For news coverage and feature interview with pioneer Steelworker organizers, see pages 13-15.

this weekend's. Whatever it takes.

Look at it this way. Unorganized workers in the South—like the Newport News workers—lag way behind union members in wages and working conditions. Just as Black and women workers are kept behind white males through discrimination.

Does this setup "benefit" us in any way?

Of course not. The plight of the unorganized is a club held over our heads. If we don't "give back" enough, the bosses threaten to move South.

The shipyard strikers want to raise their living standards to union par, to catch up after years of sacrifice. Would anyone claim that what they are demanding is "unfair" to union members?

Nobody except Tenneco. It's obviously ridiculous. But no more ridiculous than Weber's claim that compensating Blacks and women for past and present discrimination is "unfair" to white men.

Just the opposite is true. Every measure to combat discrimination and unite working people—Black and white, men and women, North and South, native born and foreign born—strengthens our ability to fight for a better life for all.

Our union has a big educational job to do along these lines, especially among white workers. For the union or against the union—that's the real dividing

line. Weber and the racist anti-union types who flock to his cause stand with the bosses.

The USWA is being put to a test. Black and women workers are looking to the union, hoping it will demonstrate its commitment to equal rights. And they are showing us today—on the picket lines in Newport News—their willingness to give their all for the union.

A group of Black workers were the first to organize for the Steelworkers in Newport News. They knew a powerful, democratic union was what they needed. Their successful fight to open all jobs in the yard to Blacks helped forge the solidarity between shipyard workers that made our organizing victory possible.

Standing shoulder to shoulder on the picket lines, I hear the strikers sing, "We're fighting for our union. We shall not be moved."

The last time I heard that song was on the marches and sit-ins to desegregate the South. How fitting that now the song is heard in the Steelworkers' struggle—one of the most important fights for Black rights taking place in this country today.

Newport News is our tomorrow. If we follow the example of our newest union brothers and sisters, we can't be beaten.



Dick McBride is a member of United Steelworkers Local 1010 at Inland Steel in East Chicago, Indiana.

them—with our numbers, our power, and our common interests as workers—they can't win.

So in Newport News, Tenneco is out to divide the shipyard workers and bust their union.

And in Gramercy, Louisiana, Kaiser Aluminum's patsy—Brian Weber—cries "reverse discrimination" because Blacks and women are finally getting a shot at skilled craft jobs.

Weber is a white lab technician. He wants the Supreme Court to throw out the contract our union negotiated with Kaiser in 1974. That contract won a craft training program at Kaiser that reserves half its positions for Blacks and women.

Except for a token handful, Black and women workers were never allowed in those jobs before. In fact, even though nearly half the workers in the Gramercy area are Black, Blacks held less than 2 percent of the skilled jobs in the plant. Women scored zero.

Weber claims the affirmative-action plan discriminates against him and other white male workers. That's a lie.

The training program opened up skilled jobs for the first time to most production workers, including whites. And the entire union drew strength from its stand in defense of the rights of its Black and women members.

Weber's case is causing a lot of confusion. For many unionists it is easier to understand the need for solidarity against Tenneco. But the stakes in the anti-Weber battle are just as high. We need to put the full power of the union into both fights—not just in the courts, but with more rallies and marches like

Socialist candidate greets strikers

The following telegram was sent by Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Chicago, to the March 2 strike support rally in Newport News, Virginia. Pulley is a member of Steelworkers Local 1066.



Your battle for union rights is an inspiration to all working people—

- to unionists fighting against Carter's wage-cutting 7 percent "guidelines."
- to Blacks, Chicanos, and women fighting for equality.
- to workers and their allies fighting to wipe

the union-busting "right to work" laws off the books.

Tenneco is the lawbreaker. They violate safety laws. They buy cops and politicians.

Yet the government treats *you* like the outlaws, putting its armed force at Tenneco's disposal and arresting union pickets.

It's no accident that not a single Democratic or Republican politician campaigns in defense of you and your union. Their allegiance lies with the bosses.

Be assured that the Socialist Workers Party and the *Militant* newspaper stand squarely on your side. Our candidates for public office—working people like myself—will take the truth about your struggle to as many unionists, Blacks, Chicanos, women, students, and farmers as we can reach. We will contribute whatever we can to help build a movement in solidarity with your strike.

Victory to the Newport News Steelworkers!