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# THE MILITANT

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## Solidarity with Nicaraguan rebels!

Carter fears new Cuba as freedom fighters advance

By David Frankel

Forty-six years after U.S. Marines first fastened the dictatorship of the Somoza family onto a bleeding country, the Nicaraguan workers and peasants are moving forward to throw off that hated tyranny.

Instead of hailing this advance for human rights, the U.S. ruling class has reacted with dismay.

Its most right-wing circles have minced no words. "Please, Mr. President, NOT ANOTHER CUBA!" was the message of 125 members of Congress and five Senators in an advertisement in the June 18 *New York Times*.

Referring to the guerrilla forces of the Sandinista National Liberation Front and the thousands upon thousands of workers, peasants, and youth who have risen up against the dictatorship, the senators said:

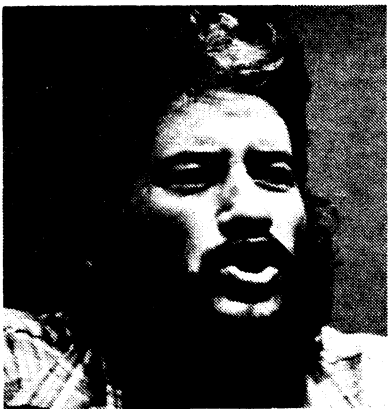
"That the armed invaders identify themselves as 'Marxist-Leninists' and seek to impose a Cuban-style regime in Nicaragua is beyond question. That the present government of Nicaragua has been unfailingly friendly and cooperative toward the United States is also beyond question."

Although President Carter has been more circumspect in his statements, he pointedly denounced "the growing Cuban involvement in the problems of Central America," in a nationally televised speech June 18. He included Central America, along with

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MANAGUA—Large areas of capital have been taken over in mass uprising against U.S.-installed dictatorship.

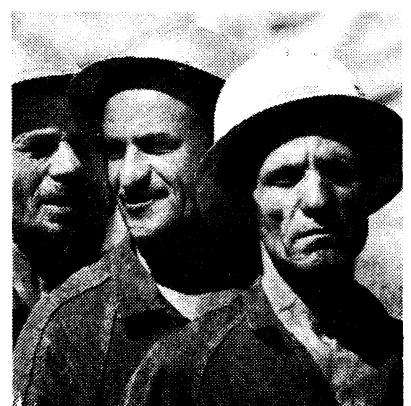


## Drop frame-up charges against Hugo Blanco

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## Oil workers strike against arrests in Iran

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## SALT II pact: no step toward peace

Progress toward peace was the promise held out by President Carter as he signed the SALT II arms pact June 18. But the difference between Carter's promises and his real plans is the difference between peace and war.

From the standpoint of nuclear disarmament, the SALT II pact is a miserable fraud.

In his nationally televised speech on the treaty, Carter bluntly declared that "no operational United States forces will have to be reduced" under the provisions of SALT II.

On the contrary, between now and 1985, when the treaty expires, Washington can *increase* the number of nuclear missile launchers in service by nearly 200 without violating the accords.

"With or without SALT II," Carter told Congress, "we must modernize and strengthen our own strategic forces. And we are doing so."

SALT II, he boasted, "constrains none of the reasonable programs we've planned to improve our own defenses."

Among these "reasonable programs" is construction of the MX missile system. Each one of the 200 MX missiles the U.S. ruling class has decided to build will carry more explosive power than all the bombs dropped in World War II plus the Korean War.

Washington already has enough nuclear warheads to hit every Soviet city of more than 100,000 thirty-four times. SALT II enables Carter to continue this nuclear build-up while posing as a man of peace.

But Carter's expanding nuclear weapons program is not the only aspect of his war policy. Determined to defend their international economic empire, American capitalism is preparing for new Vietnam-style wars.

In his speech to Congress, Carter placed the SALT accords in this context. Speaking of "our strength, our resolve, our determination, our willingness to protect our own interests," Carter declared:

"For instance, I made it clear to President Brezhnev that Cuban military activities in Africa sponsored by or supported by the Soviet Union, and also the growing Cuban involvement in the problems of Central America and the Caribbean, can only have a negative impact on U.S.-Soviet relations."

As the Nicaraguan workers and peasants advance their heroic struggle against the Somoza dictatorship, Carter has now had to add Central America on his list of trouble spots. These already include Iran, Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Indochina and southern Africa.

U.S.-backed dictatorships have been toppled or are now being challenged by mass rebellions in every one of these areas. The imperialists recognize and fear the possibility that these struggles may culminate in new socialist revolutions.

Carter, of course, is unable to admit that such upheavals reflect the will of the toiling masses in these countries. He tries to blame them on "Cuban military activities" and "Cuban involvement."

Even before the Iranian revolution Carter was increasing the U.S. military budget in the neighborhood of 10 percent each year and carrying out a strident propaganda campaign against Cuban aid to the African liberation struggle.

In just the four months since the Iranian revolution, Carter has:

- Rushed U.S. weapons and advisers to Yemen;
- Negotiated a Mideast deal that includes billions in new military aid for the Israeli and Egyptian regimes;
- Stepped up support for the right-wing rebellion in Afghanistan; and
- Increased aid to the military dictatorship in Thailand as part of his general offensive against the Vietnamese revolution.

SALT II is political cover for Carter's war policy. In light of the antiwar sentiment of the American working class, such a cover is essential.

By playing along with Carter in this cha-

rade, the Stalinist regime in Moscow is actually *increasing* the danger of nuclear war. The more Carter can convince the American people that he is pursuing peace, the easier it will be for him to intervene militarily against the struggles of workers and peasants around the world.

Such interventions turned into major wars in Vietnam and Korea. When they are conducted near the borders of the Soviet Union, they automatically raise the danger of a U.S.-Soviet confrontation and a nuclear holocaust.

But the Stalinists persist in the utopian delusion that peace and stability can come through collaboration with Washington. Thus the *Daily World*, newspaper of the Communist Party USA, featured on its front-page June 16 the headline: "Handshake Opens Road to Peace."

According to the CP, the ruling-class supporters of SALT II—everybody from Carter and Zbigniew Brzezinski to CIA Director Stansfield Turner and the Joint Chiefs of Staff—are "peace forces," who must be supported against the anti-SALT "warhawks."

This is precisely the political trap that the ruling class set when it ran "peace candidate" Lyndon Johnson against "warhawk" Barry Goldwater in the 1964 presidential election. The disorientation fostered by those who supported Johnson—including the CP—made it easier for the imperialists to escalate the Vietnam War.

The road to peace cannot be opened by magic handshakes, nor by any deal with the imperialist warmakers.

It is the consistent opposition by working people to the war plans of the employers' government that can tie the hands of the warmakers. This means that the American labor movement should take the lead in demanding:

No new nuclear weapons such as the MX missile.

Eliminate the entire U.S. atomic arsenal and the military budget that sustains it.

Stop Washington's military aid to governments around the world.

No reestablishment of the draft.

No sending young American workers to crush the struggles of fellow workers and toilers in other countries.

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### National health care

Carter and Kennedy push medicine-for-profit schemes, but what workers need is real socialized medicine. **Page 7.**



EXPENSIVE CARE WARD



### NAACP & nukes

Pronuclear stance of top NAACP officials is contrary to the interests of Blacks and all humanity. Andrew Pulley explains why. **Page 11.**

### YSA heads for industry

Members of the Young Socialist Alliance are taking the socialist program to young, radicalizing workers in industry. YSA National Committee mapped new perspectives last month. **Page 18.**



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# ...Nicaragua: liberation struggle advances

*Continued from front page*

the Middle East and southern Africa, among the areas where Washington is facing "tests" of "our strength, our resolve, our determination, our willingness to protect our own interests. . . ."

Both Carter and his right-wing congressional colleagues fear the inspiring example of the Cuban revolution, its attractive power for the millions of Latin American workers and peasants shackled by

NEW YORK—A demonstration in solidarity with the struggle of the Nicaraguan people and against any U.S. attempts to intervene is being organized by the Coalition for a Free Nicaragua and others. It will take place Saturday, June 30, at 1:00 p.m. Assemble at Thirty-fourth Street and Broadway.

U.S.-imposed regimes. They fear that not only the Nicaraguans, but perhaps Guatemalans, Salvadorans, and others will follow the Cuban example and throw off the imperialist yoke.

## Somoza on the ropes

As of June 20, rebel forces were firmly in control of León and Matagalpa, Nicaragua's second and third largest cities, and were fighting their way toward the city of Rivas in the South. Large sections of Managua, the capital, were also in rebel hands.

Using artillery and aircraft, Somoza's National Guard tried to dislodge the rebel forces in Managua June 19. However, *Washington Post* correspondent Karen DeYoung reported:

## Political asylum for Nicaraguan exiles!

Describing the "Hitler tactics" of the Somoza regime, one American evacuee told *Newsweek* magazine: "They go in and shoot all the young men indiscriminately. It's as if it were illegal to be between 15 and 25."

Nevertheless, the U.S. government continues to deny political asylum to Nicaraguan exiles driven from their country by the Somoza dictatorship.

In a statement being distributed by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), former Nicaraguan National Guard member Victor Ocon Ruiz describes why he deserted and asked for political asylum in the United States:

"I saw executions of children, women and old people only because they gave food or aid to the guerrillas who came to their place. The National Guard tortured and killed the peasants and guerrillas.

"At one place in the mountains near the Rio Blanco when I was with Lt. Robleto Silles, I saw how 200 persons were buried in a single common ditch. They were peasants who had disappeared and whose families are demanding their return from President Anastasio Somoza, but he can't reply or deliver them because these people were massacred by the National Guard.

"*The crimes, tortures, rapes and the destruction of towns led me to desert.*"

If you want to help in the fight of Nicaraguan exiles seeking political asylum in the United States, or to receive the special edition of the *USLA Reporter* on this issue, contact USLA, 200 Park Avenue South, Room 812, New York, New York 10003. Phone (212) 254-6062.



Sandinista guerrilla fighters. Rebels now control two of largest cities and much of Managua.

"The troops appeared to make little headway in the eastern barrios, where barricades are manned by youths of the 'people's militia' with weapons ranging from high-caliber machine-guns to small pistols. . . .

"There are few regular Sandinista troops within Managua's 'liberated zones,' since most of them are fighting a much larger and more conventional battle with the National Guard near the southern border with Costa Rica."

Guerrilla fighters in the liberated areas have organized food distribution—complete with a system of rationing cards in the case of León.

*New York Times* reporter Alan Riding described the scene in Managua, June 18, where "women and children lined up to receive food being distributed by the guerrillas. . . ."

Despite the Carter administration's claim to neutrality in the Nicaraguan civil war, Riding reported a June 15 incident in which ". . . National Guardsmen stationed inside the [U.S.] Embassy compound opened fire on suspected guerrillas moving through nearby fields."

Instead of protesting this use of the U.S. Embassy, "a small detachment of United States Marines wearing flack jackets and carrying pump shotguns took up positions beside the National Guardsmen. . . ."

The Guardsmen opened fire with mortars and machine guns on what was probably a group of unarmed refugees. Riding noted that "casualties were believed to include many civilians."

In a June 19 dispatch, Riding reported that "in the poor sectors held by the guerrillas but being bombed by United States-made planes, anti-American sentiments are probably stronger today than at any other time since the Marines ended their intervention here in 1933.

"What happened to Carter's human rights policy?" a woman shouted at a group of foreigners. . . . 'It's all the fault of the Americans.'"

## Rulers see 'bleak' outlook

Surveying the situation in a June 20 editorial, the *New York Times* glumly declared, "The alternatives are bleak."

While arguing that the sinking Somoza has outlived his usefulness, the *Times* editorial warned that if the rebel forces succeed in coming to power by revolutionary methods, circumstances might

"make them dependent on the support of Soviet, Cuban or other unfriendly governments."

This, the editors of the *Times* said in a thinly veiled threat, could affect "the security of the United States and other American nations. . . ."

Recognizing the prohibitive political price—both within the United States and throughout Latin America—of trying to intervene militarily in Somoza's behalf, Carter is seeking to halt the revolutionary upsurge in Nicaragua in other ways.

Secretary of State Cyrus Vance called for "mediation" of the conflict by the Organization of American States June 13, warning that otherwise "the chances of a radical solution are great."

On June 17 the Venezuelan, Colombian, Ecuadoran, Bolivian, and Peruvian regimes announced that they were recognizing the Sandinista forces as "legitimate combatants" who are seeking to establish "a true representative democracy, freedom and justice in Nicaragua."

Apparently hoping to organize some type of OAS intervention in Nicaragua under the cover of these regimes, Washington requested an urgent meeting of the OAS the following day.

## Sandinistas reject maneuver

But a broadcast from Radio Sandino, reported in the June 20 issue of the New York daily *El Diario-La Prensa*, rejected the U.S. proposal.

Charging that Washington was attempting to set up a commission aimed at "frustrating our struggle, at snatching away our victory," the Sandinistas warned that "the United States and its accomplice countries in this antipopular maneuver have confirmed that if the commission fails in negotiations with the dictator, it could send OAS troops to pacify Nicaragua."

"We do not accept, nor will we ever accept, a commission of this type," the broadcast declared.

Meanwhile, in a June 17 announcement, the Sandinistas named a five-member committee that is to be responsible for forming a provisional government.

Although the committee includes procapitalist political figures, the U.S. ruling class has not been reassured. They know that if the Sandinistas win, this will be a tremendous inspiration to the armed workers and peasants. And they have seen in Cuba how the masses can sweep aside a handful of capitalist politicians in such circumstances.

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# Oil workers strike against arrests in Iran

By Cindy Jaquith

As 200 oil workers began a strike and sit-in demanding the release of their leaders in jail in Ahwaz, Iran, pressure intensified on the Khomeini-Bazargan government to free the hundreds of worker militants imprisoned in Khuzestan Province since late May.

The mass arrests occurred during the wave of protests by Arabs for national and cultural rights in the province.

Leading up to the arrests were a series of labor battles in which Arabs played a major role. Customs workers in the port city of Khorramshahr staged a strike that threatened to become nationwide. Thousands of steelworkers carried out a job action at two plants in the province for a forty-hour workweek. They won their demand.

And the lowest-paid oil workers, mostly Arabs, who are forced to work without contracts, also waged protests demanding full rights and benefits as regular workers.

Among those jailed were three members of the oil workers council, some twenty steelworkers, and nine members of the Hezb-e Kargarane Sosialist (HKS—Socialist Workers Party), the Iranian section of the Fourth International.

Two of the HKS members, Omid

Mirbaha and Mohammed Poorkahvaz, are being held in Karoun Prison along with the three oil worker leaders—Javad Khatemi, Naser Hayati, and Shobeyr Moiyo—and others. The oil workers and HKS members are on a hunger strike to protest the arrests.

In the second week of June, 200 oil workers struck and began a sit-in at the oil company offices in Ahwaz to demand the release of Khatemi, Hayati, and Moiyo. More workers pledged to join the sit-in if the three were not released by June 16.

Meanwhile, growing protests across Iran and internationally forced authorities in Ahwaz to allow the HKS to visit two of the seven other Trotskyists being held. Since June 1, no one had been permitted to see seven of the nine imprisoned HKS members. The Imam's Committee in Ahwaz that arrested them had refused to disclose their whereabouts.

But the committee finally backed down and brought HKS representatives to see the two women members of the party who have been under arrest, Fatima Fallahi and Mahsa Hashemi. Both prisoners appeared to be in good condition.

The government still refuses to give any reason for the arrest of the Trotskyists or the other worker militants. Nor has it allowed lawyers or anyone



Laid-off oil workers in Abadan demonstrating in May for jobs.

else to visit the five other HKS members arrested—Hamid Shahrabi, Mustafa Seifabadi, Mustafa Gorgzadeh, Morteza Gorgzadeh, and Hormoz Fallahi.

Prominent writers and intellectuals in Iran, with long records as antishah

fighters, have joined the campaign to free the HKS members and the oil worker leaders. Among those who have protested to the Khomeini-Bazargan government are Ali-Asghar Hadj Sayyed-Javadi, Ahmad Shamlou, Reza Baraheni, and Rholam Hossein Saedi.

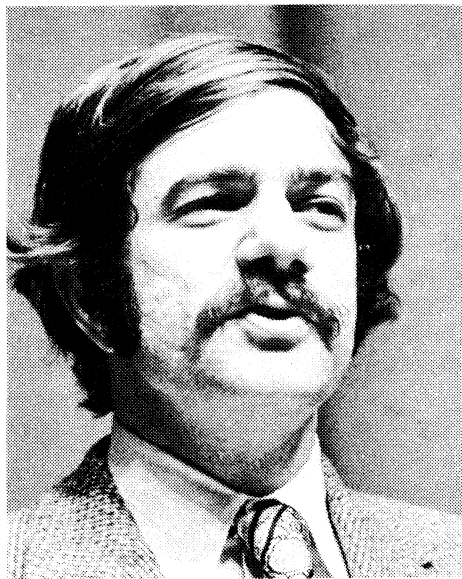
## Int'l support grows for imprisoned Trotskyists

A thousand demonstrators in Paris, the president of the New Zealand Labour Party, and Danish trade union leaders have joined the growing protests against the imprisonment of nine Trotskyists, and of oil workers, steelworkers, and other militants in Iran.

On June 15, 1,000 people rallied outside the Iranian embassy in Paris in a protest called by the Revolutionary Communist League (LCR). A delegation from the LCR, International Communist Organization (OCI), League for Human Rights, and trade unions entered the embassy to meet with officials.

Prominent figures in France who have spoken out against the arrests include writer Daniel Guérin; Simone de Beauvoir; Lionel Jospin, national secretary of the Socialist Party; Arlette Laguiller of Workers Struggle; and writer Roger Garaudy.

Jim Anderson, president of the New



Militant/Mark Satinoff  
Palestinian activist Abdeen Jabara has joined campaign to free Iranian socialists.

Zealand Labour Party, has protested to the Iranian government. In Denmark the chairperson of the Federation of Transport and General Workers, the Danish Metalworkers Federation, and the Federation of Office Workers have signed a letter to the Khomeini-Bazargan government.

In the United States Abdeen Jabara, the prominent Palestinian attorney, and human rights activist Blase Bonpane have signed a statement being circulated against the arrests.

New signers from the Los Angeles area include David Crippen, executive director of Social Services Union Local 535; author Donald Freed; Rev. Philip Zwerling; Rev. Stephen Fritchman; and Aris Anagnos, former president, Southern California Civil Liberties Union.

Debby Jacob and Sesshaie Flidrema-

siam, of the Eritreans for Liberation (North America), have added their names.

Jim Paul, of Middle East Research and Information Project; George Wald; and Sheila Ryan, of the Palestine Solidarity Committee in New York have also signed.

Protests demanding the release of the oil workers, steelworkers, and Trotskyists in Iran should be sent to: Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan, Office of the Prime Minister, Tehran, Iran; and to the Revolutionary Islamic Council, Tehran.

Protests may also be sent to the Iranian Embassy in the United States, 3005 Massachusetts Avenue NW, Washington, D.C. 20008.

Send copies to Kargar, P.O. Box 41/3586, Tehran, Iran; and to the Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

## On the opposite side of the barricades

By Cindy Jaquith

In a counterrevolutionary attack on the Iranian workers and peasants, the British Workers Revolutionary Party has rushed to defend the Khomeini-Bazargan government's arrest of nine Trotskyists.

The WRP, led by Gerry Healy, is a small sect that pretends to be Trotskyist. In an article titled "Iranian revisionists arrested," which appeared in the WRP's paper *News Line* on June 11, the Healyites try to make a case that the imprisoned members of the Hezb-e Kargarane Sosialist (HKS—Socialist Workers Party) are U.S. agents. The article, unsigned, was datelined Tehran.

The HKS members, according to *News Line*, "have been accused of having contacts with a network of United States agents operating in Iran."

First, as to the facts. No formal charges have been made by the Iranian government against the nine Trotskyists.

Moreover, *News Line's* article deliberately omits the fact that arrested along with the HKS members were three members of the oil workers' council, some twenty steelworkers, and

hundreds of other militants. They were rounded up as the central government attempted to put down strikes and protests for Arab rights in Khuzestan Province.

But facts are of little importance to the WRP or to its supporters in the United States, the Workers League. Ever since the Iranian masses overthrew the shah and the Khomeini-Bazargan government was installed, both *News Line* and the Workers League's *Bulletin* have demanded that the workers and peasants subordinate their struggles to the needs of the new regime. Those who refuse have been branded U.S. agents.

Echoing statements made by members of the Khomeini-Bazargan regime, *News Line* claims that "The CIA has been involved in spurious calls for 'self-determination' in order to stir up national minorities." It adds that "U.S. agents have also tried to make an issue out of so-called 'women's rights. . .'"

The Trotskyists of the HKS are known as prominent supporters of the rights of oppressed nationalities and of women—and as long-standing leaders of the fight against the shah and the CIA. It is their uncompromising stand on these questions, in fact, that is one

of the important reasons why the arrest of nine HKS members, rather than winning support in Iran, has provoked deep protests both within that country and internationally.

But the *News Line* article goes so far as to offer its own tidbit for the Iranian government's campaign against Trotskyists and other worker militants: "The United Secretariat of the Fourth International has engaged in a sustained cover-up for the late Joseph Hansen, longtime leader of the SWP in the United States, who was exposed by the International Committee of the Fourth International [i.e., the Healyites] as a double agent of the Russian GPU and the American FBI."

Thus the Healyites have taken their years-long slander campaign against Hansen and Trotskyism to a new and more dangerous level—actively promoting the arrest of Iranian socialists.

The betrayal runs even deeper. By helping Khomeini and Bazargan go after Iranian revolutionaries, the Healyites are objectively aiding the very force they claim to be combating—world imperialism.

*News Line* says that "The strategy of United States imperialism is to stir up as many divisions as possible within revolutionary Iran."

But what is the fundamental division today in that country? It is between workers and their allies, who are striving to deepen their revolution and counter imperialist threats, and the procapitalist government, which is desperately trying to hold back their struggle.

Who stands to gain if the leaders of the oil workers are victimized and their struggle pushed back? Who gains if oppressed nationalities and women are denied equal rights? Or if members of a workers party are imprisoned for exercising their right to free speech?

It is the Carter administration and world imperialism—the forces that suppressed democratic rights in Iran for decades, that aided the shah in crushing strikes and backed his suppression of national struggles.

Just as *News Line* went to press with its counterrevolutionary article, the oil workers of Khuzestan Province gave their own answers to these questions when 200 of them began a strike for the release of their jailed leaders.

The oil workers, who led the revolution that toppled the shah, know which side they're on. The Healyites have placed themselves on the opposite side of the barricades.



# Why crowds line up to buy Trotskyist paper

By Gerry Foley

In the two months before the arrest of nine Iranian Socialist Workers Party (HKS) members in Ahwaz on May 30 and June 1, the Trotskyists had been winning support rapidly in the southern oil centers. This is undoubtedly one reason that prompted the procapitalist government and Imam's Committee authorities to try to crack down on the organization.

One thing that made the HKS especially popular was its defense of the democratic rights of the masses.

When I talked to a group of Ahwaz HKS members in early April, one of them, Ali, described the visit of a Trotskyist trail-blazing team to the town of Masjed Soleyman, about sixty miles northeast of Ahwaz.

"Our comrades had gone there to sell our newspaper. This is a relatively small place, with only one mosque. Most of those known as leftists are Maoists, and they are really sectarian. They concentrate on fighting religion.

"For example, the Maoists beat up a mullah and tried to stop people from going into the mosque to pray. Almost everyone in Masjed Soleyman really hates them.

"When our comrades went there, the Maoists gathered around them, saying that they were CIA agents, and so on. A crowd formed.

"So, our comrades said, 'If you want to hear a discussion of Trotskyism and Stalinism, you should come to our meeting tonight at seven.' The Maoists told the people, 'If you go there, we will kill you.'

"Well, a big crowd came anyway, and the Maoists didn't show up. Some of our comrades spoke and there was a very good discussion. The people were very interested and open to what we had to say."

Ali described another incident that happened during the HKS team's visit to Masjed Soleyman:

"There was a demonstration of workers who had just been fired. About 500 of them were Iranians, and 500 were Afghanis. At first they demonstrated together, but then the Imam's Committee separated them.

"Our comrades tried to talk to the Afghanis, but the Imam's Committee guards stopped them and took them off to the committee headquarters. When they got there, they heard all the guards being ordered to go to set up barricades, because the leaders were afraid some of the Afghanis might try to come into the town.

## Subscribe to 'Kargar'

Subscriptions to *Kargar*, the Persian-language Trotskyist weekly in Iran, are now available. To receive a six-month airmail subscription, send \$30 to *Kargar*, P.O. Box 41/3586, Tehran, Iran.

"Our comrades started raising questions. They said, 'Who is giving you this order? Do you have an executive committee? You have to know who is giving the orders and why you should shoot if you get that kind of order.'"

The Trotskyists explained to the committee activists why they should elect their leadership and elect their officers and maintain control over them. They explained why democracy was important in the committees and how they could function democratically.

On the streets of Masjed Soleyman, the Trotskyist paper *Kargar* was enthusiastically received.

"As our comrades sold the paper in the street," Ali said, "a crowd formed around them. We had to ask them to get in line, and they did and bought the paper one by one."

Another HKS member said: "In Abadan, we sold about 140 issues of *Kargar* at one plant gate in half an hour. We heard the guards discussing it. Some said we had the right to sell our paper, others said that it couldn't be permitted. In the factory itself there was a fight between the workers who thought we had the right to sell and others who said that we did not.

"We heard one worker saying, 'They should be able to sell their paper. We fought for freedom and a lot of people died for it.'"

Because the HKS presented a clear socialist alternative and fought for it openly the party became a magnet for radicalizing forces.

"In Masjed Soleyman," Ali said, "we ran into people from many districts and towns. They came to us and asked for bundles of the paper to sell in their own areas. People came up and said that they agreed with us and wanted to work with us.

"I think that we can form new branches right away in a number of cities. We believe that within a few months we can build an organization that is much larger than our present size."

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

## Anti-shah fighter hits arrests

The following protest was sent June 14 to Prime Minister Bazargan and the Revolutionary Islamic Council from Iranian revolutionary Ali Shokri.

I, Ali Akbar Shokri, a former sergeant of the Shah's Air Force, was sent to the U.S. in Jan. 1973 for training. In Aug. 1973 I deserted the Air Force because of my opposition to the oppressive and terrorist policies of Pahlavi [the shah] and the use of the military in suppressing the people of Iran and other countries.

During all this time I, along with other Iranians, have fought against the oppressive regime of Pahlavi, who is responsible for the imprisonment, torture and murder of tens of thousands of people, and against the American Imperialists who were responsible for installing and keeping this brutal and cruel system in power.

Since the beginning of the brave uprising of the Iranian people against the bloody rule of Pahlavi, I

have been and will be a vigorous supporter of the revolution.

I have learned that the Islamic Republic of Iran has arrested 9 members of the Hezb-e Kargarane Sosialist and has been secretive about their arrests and their whereabouts.

These people—whose names are Mohammed Poorkahvaz, Omid Mirbaha, Mustafa Seifabadi, Fatima Fallahi, Hormoz Fallahi, Mahsa Hashemi, Mustafa Gorgzadeh, Morteza Gorgzadeh and Hamid Shahrabi—have been vigorous fighters against the Shah's Dictatorship and his American Imperialist supporters.

These people have committed no crime save to support the struggle of workers and peasants and nationalities whose rights for years have been stepped on.

As a defender of the Iranian revolution that toppled the barbaric and evil regime of Pahlavi I demand that the officials release these 9 people immediately.

Respectfully,  
Ali A. Shokri

# 'Boat people' campaign aims to smear Vietnam

By Fred Feldman

The U.S. government and the imperialist press around the world are whipping up a reactionary campaign against the Vietnamese revolution, pouring out stories bemoaning the plight of the "boat people" leaving Vietnam.

At the same time, the U.S.-dominated regimes in Southeast Asia are carrying out real crimes against refugees and emigrants. The Thai government has returned tens of thousands of Kampuchians to mountainous areas in northwest Kampuchea thought to be controlled by U.S.-backed rightist forces supporting former dictator Pol Pot.

And on June 15 the government of Malaysia announced plans to forcibly expel some 70,000 immigrants from Vietnam. The Malaysian regime is threatening to "shoot on sight" any further "boat people" who seek a haven in Malaysia. The Indonesian government has also said it would bar further immigration from Vietnam.

On June 18 the Malaysian deputy prime minister formally withdrew the threats against Vietnamese immigrants—but not before hundreds had been forced onto small boats and towed out to sea by Malaysian forces.

Unlike the government of Vietnam, the Malaysian and Indonesian regimes have proven records of discriminating and even encouraging pogroms against minorities of Chinese origin. Most of the emigrants from Vietnam are Vietnamese of Chinese descent.

But the same imperialist governments that are daily denouncing Vietnam for its emigration policy are taking a highly sympathetic view of the brutal actions of the Thai, Malaysian, and Indonesian regimes.

## Exodus of the privileged

This cynical propaganda against the Vietnamese revolution is reminiscent of the lies and distortions used to justify counterrevolutionary moves against the Russian revolution after the workers took power. A similar campaign was waged against the Cuban revolution when the workers and peasants of that country seized imperialist properties.

As was the case in Russia and Cuba, the people leaving Vietnam today are primarily those who benefited from the old regime and have lost privileges due to the socialist revolution. The bulk of southern Vietnam's powerful merchant class was made up of Vietnamese of Chinese origin. When they were expropriated in March and April 1978, completing the overturn of capitalism in the South, the exodus began.

Others—particularly from the upper middle classes—are leaving because Vietnam is a nation under siege by U.S. imperialism. At the same time that the Vietnamese workers and pea-

sants are seeking with little outside help to repair the damage done by decades of imperialist bombing and occupation, they confront U.S.-instigated wars and threats of war on three fronts.

## U.S. boycott

When the U.S. imperialists were driven out of Vietnam in April 1975, they immediately imposed a tight economic and diplomatic boycott on the new regime. They refused all requests for aid to help in the massive job of reconstruction.

And when the Vietnamese workers and peasants in the South completed the overturn of capitalism in March and April 1978, the imperialists' attacks stepped up. The Beijing Stalinists, seeking to prove their usefulness to Washington, cut off aid to Vietnam and moved massive numbers of troops to the border. The rightist Pol Pot regime in Kampuchea escalated its brutal attacks on vital agricultural regions along Vietnam's borders. And CIA-organized rightist armies in Laos stepped up their activity.

Vietnam has fought back with some success. Its troops helped Kampuchean rebels topple Pol Pot, and it beat back a U.S.-inspired military thrust by Beijing. But the imperialist pressure is not lessening.

The impressive thing under these circumstances is not that a few hundred thousand Vietnamese in a population of 50 million have left or want to leave, but that the Vietnamese government is *permitting them to emigrate*. This is in refreshing contrast to the Soviet rulers' practice of seeking to restrict emigration.

The U.S. imperialists are demanding that the Vietnamese regime crack down on this emigration and force these people to stay against their will. That's because the U.S. and the other racist imperialist powers don't want too many Asian immigrants.

## War propaganda

The main purpose of the propaganda campaign is to discredit and isolate a deepgoing socialist revolution. The imperialists also hope to use the cover of this fake human-rights issue to justify further military moves they may organize to contain the Vietnamese revolution.

Washington's propaganda campaign portrays the U.S. imperialists as the appointed saviors, rescuing Southeast Asia from the Vietnamese peril.

Columnist Anthony Lewis gave voice to this theme when he wrote in the June 14 *New York Times*, "The time has come for the opinion of mankind to focus on the principal source of the misery: the Government of Vietnam."

Lewis's call to arms should be  
*Continued on page 19*



Kampuchean refugees are forced out of Thailand back into hands of Khmer Rouge butchers. Washington bemoans exodus of formerly privileged layers from Vietnam, while condoning real brutality against refugees by Thai, Malaysian, and Indonesian regimes.

# Peru's junta targets Blanco in major frame-up

By Fred Murphy

Peruvian Trotskyist leader and Constituent Assembly deputy Hugo Blanco has appealed for an international defense effort to counter a growing wave of repression against workers and peasants and leaders of the workers movement in Peru.

Blanco himself is a principal target of the military dictatorship's attacks. On June 14, the regime filed a lengthy list of criminal charges against Blanco with the Executive Committee of the Constituent Assembly. These include "wrecking and sabotaging production," "attacks on public security and public tranquility," "labor agitation," "attacks against the state," and "sabotaging the agrarian reform." Blanco is alleged to have committed these acts in the course of his frequent travels around Peru between August 1978 and May 1979.

In fact, all of Blanco's activities have been carried out in his capacity as a deputy in the Constituent Assembly (to which he was elected in June 1978 with the third-highest vote in the country), and in particular in connection with his role as a member of the Assembly's Human Rights and Agrarian commissions. So the military is actually charging Blanco—and by implication all the workers deputies in the Assembly—with fulfilling the tasks the Peruvian workers and peasants elected him to carry out.

The attack on Blanco comes in the midst of an attempted crackdown by the regime in the face of deepening labor ferment. SUTEP, the national teachers union, has been on strike since June 5. Despite the arrest of more than 1,000 teachers and students throughout the country, the strike remains nearly 100 percent solid.

By moving against Blanco, the regime hopes to silence one of the most representative, articulate, and uncompromising leaders of the workers and peasants. The aim is to intimidate the Peruvian masses and their organizations, which have just begun to recover from the blows dealt them in late 1978 and early 1979.

Blanco's arrest on June 8 in the Arequipa airport was ordered by Gen. Guillermo Schrott Carlin, commander of the Third Military Zone. The Trotskyist leader was transported under guard to the State Security prison in Lima, held there several hours, and then brought before the Executive



Huge crowds turned out in Lima in 1978 for Blanco's return from exile. Government's new attacks on Trotskyist leader are designed to intimidate masses.

Committee of the Constituent Assembly, which ordered his conditional release.

As a Constituent Assembly deputy, Blanco is supposed to be immune from prosecution unless the Assembly votes to lift that immunity.

The dictatorship stalled until June

14 before officially filing its charges against Blanco with the Executive Committee. It is hoping to prevent the Assembly from holding a hearing on the charges until its term expires July 15. After that no deputy will enjoy immunity, and the military would be able to prosecute the Trotskyist leader.

In its stalling tactic, the regime is counting on the cooperation of the American People's Revolutionary Alliance (APRA) and other bourgeois parties that together hold a majority in the Constituent Assembly. APRA deputy and Rules Committee Chairman Enrique Chirinos Soto was quoted in the Lima daily *El Comercio* on June 14 as saying that a hearing on the charges against Blanco might take place "much later or never."

However, Blanco and his supporters hope to secure signatures of the required number of deputies (34 out of 100) on a petition ordering an extraordinary session to take up the charges.

When Blanco was arrested, he was on his way to meet with Indian groups in southern Peru and lend support to their demands for recognition of their native languages—Quechua and Aymará—as official languages in the new constitution the Constituent Assembly is preparing. A provision rammed through by the bourgeois parties declares Spanish to be Peru's only official language—a step backward even from the formal but unimplemented recognition granted Quechua by General Velasco's government in 1975. Blanco's arrest was also aimed at weakening the growing language-rights struggle; the Trotskyist leader is himself fluent in Quechua.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

## U.S. unionists protest Peru repression

The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) has launched a major campaign to demand the dropping of all charges against Hugo Blanco and the release of striking teachers, students, and others in Peru.

"We are appealing for support from trade unionists and all other supporters of human rights," said Barry Fatland, executive secretary of USLA. "Telegrams, letters, and picket lines are needed immediately to block the Peruvian government's crackdown."

Printed below are some of the protests sent at the time of Blanco's arrest.

Georgia Sander, staff representative, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, Cincinnati

We demand the following of your government: 1. That you stop your recent attacks on trade union rights. 2. That you immediately release peasant leader Hugo Blanco. 3. We hold you personally responsible for Blanco's safety.

Tom Mooney, president, Cincinnati Federation of Teachers Local 1520

I vigorously protest detention of students, labor, and political activists. In particular arrest of Hugo

Blanco and striking teachers is an offense against democracy.

Vernon Bellecourt, American Indian Movement

Like myself, Hugo Blanco is an Indian, fighting for justice in his country. I am personally outraged at his imprisonment, and demand he be released at once.

Messages demanding the dropping of all charges against Blanco can be sent to General Francisco Morales Bermúdez, Palacio Presidencial, Lima, Peru, with a copy to USLA, 200 Park Avenue South #810, New York, New York 10003.

## Blanco's appeal to workers around world

The following has been excerpted from a statement made by Hugo Blanco in Lima on June 15. The translation is by 'Intercontinental Press/Inprecor.'

In recent weeks in Peru repression and violations of human rights have been stepped up by the Military Junta. The Constituent Assembly, dominated by a bourgeois majority, has not come out against this repressive drive.

The workers at the Cromotex factory were shot at. The miners have suffered many attacks, even including having their children kicked out of school by the Southern Peru Copper Company, the U.S. owner of the Cuajone mine. Teachers have been and still are under attack. Peasants in Alto Piura have been shot at for no other crime than being at work in the fields.

In face of all these attacks, the right-wing parties in the Constituent Assembly have placed themselves not on the side of the people, but on the side of the dictatorship. Furthermore, they have little by little allowed attacks to be carried out against members of the Constituent Assembly itself. Prime examples of

this are the cases of Víctor Cuadros and Hernán Cuentas, both leftist deputies and leaders of the miners, who have come under government indictment. Although the Assembly threw out the charges against them, it did not protest the attacks.

The same is true in my case. At the time of my arrest I was not "caught in the act of committing a crime," which is the only situation in which the police are authorized to detain a member of the Constituent Assembly. Even the police do not claim that I was committing any crime at the time.

Now, however, they say that I have been committing crimes ever since last August, although they never once made a formal accusation to that effect in front of the Assembly.

The charges leveled against me relate precisely to my function as a member of the Agrarian Commission of the Constituent Assembly. They relate also to my functions as a member of the Human Rights Commission of the Assembly.

For example, when I went to Huancavelica—one of the crimes the police accuse me of—I went there at

the invitation of the peasants. They had informed the Human Rights Commission that one peasant, an Indian, had been murdered by the police.

When I went to the Department of Ayacucho, to the district of Cangallo, it was because people there had accused the police of killing two students. And we confirmed that they had indeed been murdered.

When I have gone to Cañete, it has been in response to complaints by peasants. I was sent there by the commission to look into cases of attacks against the peasants of the area.

When I went to Alto Piura, that was also in response to an outcry that arose over the massacre that peasants had suffered at the hands of the police and other government forces.

So these have been my activities as a member of the Human Rights Commission, and of the Agrarian Commission of the Constituent Assembly, which are now being called crimes, committed by me between August of last year and May of this year.

In other words, it is a crime for me to fulfill my duties!

The military junta is waiting for the Constituent Assembly to adjourn on July 15 in order to go after all of us leftist deputies. Various police officials and their subordinates have already said as much on several occasions when leftist members of the Assembly have gone to inquire about the cases of political or trade-union prisoners. It seems the police can hardly restrain themselves.

Since there is no hope that the bourgeois majority of the Constituent Assembly will bring respect for the human rights of the Peruvian people, and since the Assembly is now about to adjourn and there will be escalating attacks against us and against the rest of the Peruvian people, we are calling on the people of Latin America, the United States, Canada, and Europe—on defenders of human rights throughout the world and on working people everywhere—to raise your voices in protest against the attacks being committed in Peru. The voices of working people and of defenders of human rights around the world must block the wave of repression that is being prepared by the military dictatorship for after July 15.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor



## Kennedy, Carter plans both frauds

# Why we need socialized medical care

By Harry Ring

On the morning of June 12 President Carter outlined his national health plan at a White House news conference.

A few hours later, Sen. Edward Kennedy outlined his plan at a Capitol Hill news conference.

Carter then left for Europe to talk with Brezhnev. Kennedy presumably returned to the family compound at Hyannisport.

And what of the competing health-care bills?

Neither, it turns out, exists.

Three days after the news conferences, a *Militant* reporter checked with the Senate office that keeps track of pending legislation. Neither bill had been introduced and neither had any schedule for being introduced.

Further, it was explained, don't assume that what Kennedy and Carter say will be in their bills will actually be there. They are "still juggling around" their proposals.

Juggling potential votes in their rival bids for the Democratic presidential nomination would be more precise.

During his 1976 campaign, Jimmy ("I'll never lie to you") Carter pledged that a comprehensive, universal medical plan would be introduced into Congress by early 1978. It's now mid-1979 and what he's talking about introducing can well be called catastrophic.

To deal with a "catastrophic" illness, the plan will pay all medical bills for a major illness after the first \$2,500. This is very democratic. If you earn \$10,000 a year, you pay the first \$2,500. If you earn \$100,000, you pay the first \$2,500.

### Talk is cheap

At first glance, Kennedy's plan sounds better. It calls for full insurance coverage for all medical expenses.

Kennedy first introduced this measure into Congress in 1973. It died there, which didn't seem to bother the senator unduly. It's been a dirt-cheap vote catcher ever since. Kennedy has become known as the man with a plan—not by doing anything about it, just by talking.

That's basically what both health plans are—talk. The real health program of the Democratic Party can be seen in New York and every other major city, as budgets are cut back and hospitals and clinics closed by Democratic and Republican officeholders alike.

The hypocritical electioneering by both Kennedy and Carter is scandalous when you think of how desperately the people of this country need an adequate national health-care plan.

In the Pathfinder Press book, *Life in Capitalist America*, Stephanie Coontz wrote a valuable essay on medical care entitled, "You Can't Afford to Get Sick."

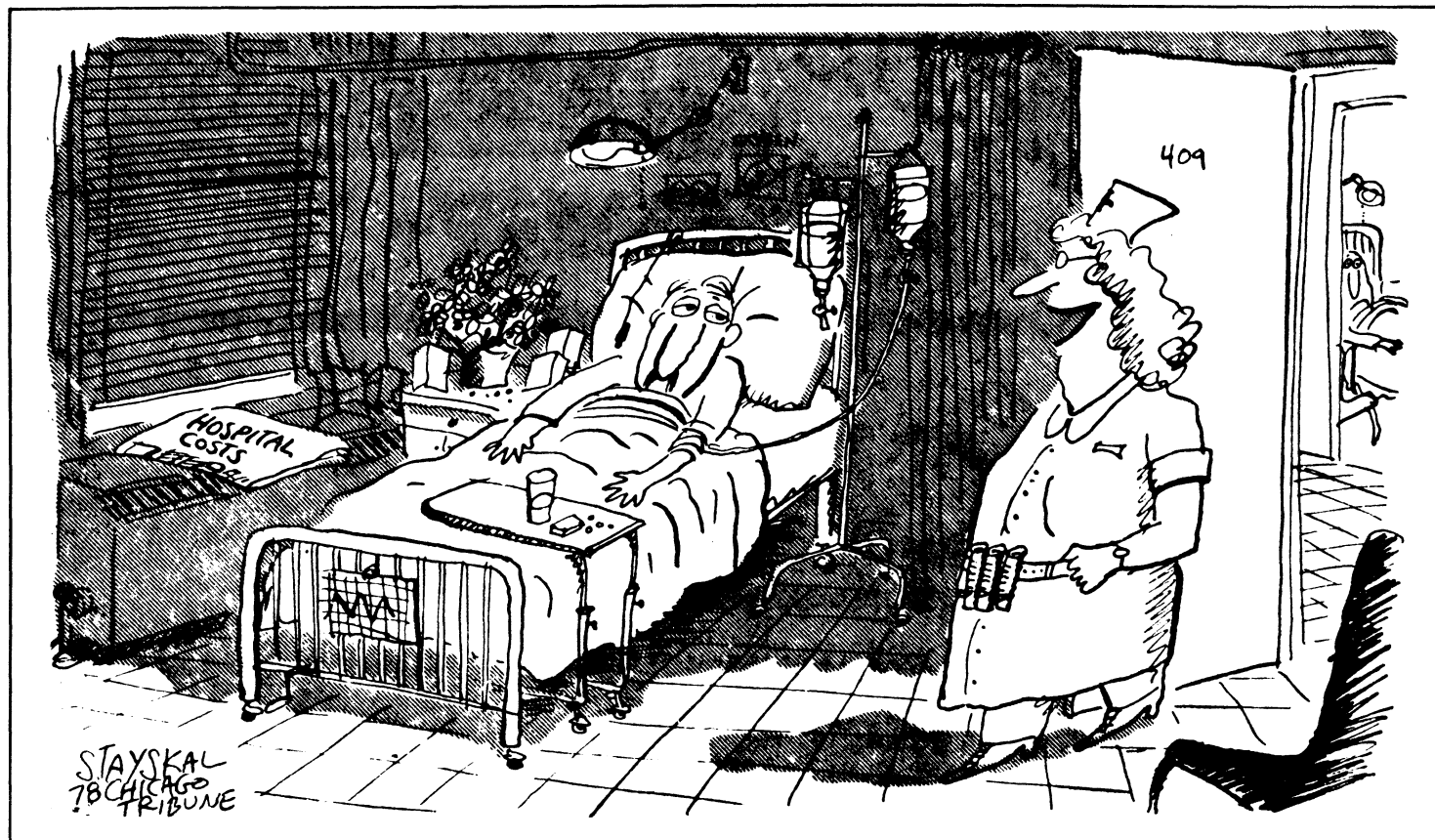
She reported that back in 1950 Americans spent \$12 billion a year on health care. By 1971, the cost had skyrocketed to \$75 billion. Meanwhile, medical care got worse, not better.

In 1950, Coontz found, the United States had the fifth-lowest infant mortality rate in the world. By 1971 it had sunk to twenty-third place in the world.

Obviously, the high cost of medical care affects the poor the most. Poor people have four times as much chronic illness as the affluent. They have three times as much heart disease and seven times the number of eye defects.

Racism takes a heavy medical toll. In 1935 the infant mortality rate for non-whites was 9 percent higher than the rate for whites. In 1965, it was 60 percent higher.

The Kennedy plan offers no solution to these problems. If enacted as he outlines it, which is dubious, it would be expensive to begin with, and the



'I just came in to say good morning, Mr. Zuckel . . . that'll be \$16.25, please!'

cost would escalate. Workers would pay up to 35 percent of the cost of premiums out of their paychecks, with the balance paid by the employers. They would be part of contract wage packages in unionized industries. Experience has shown how such "fringe benefits" are inflated and used to swindle workers out of real wages.

And, as medical costs continue to escalate, premiums would go up while services would be cut back. It would be no different in that respect from all the present—mainly lousy—medical insurance plans for which working people pay through the nose.

Why would it be no different?

Because the Kennedy plan is solidly based on what is for him a sacred principle—the profits of the medical industry.

When he first introduced his bill on January 31, 1973, Kennedy offered "a series of guarantees" to the nation's medical industry.

"The first guarantee is that the federal government in this nation must

not own the hospitals or employ the physicians. . . . I do not want socialized medicine in America.

"I believe in maintaining the free enterprise system in this country and in American medicine. . . ."

That pretty well sums it up. Kennedy talks about controls, review boards, and so on. But they have these things today and it does nothing to prevent medical costs from soaring out of sight. As long as your basic proposition is that medical care must be left in private hands, it can't be otherwise.

### Blue Cross

The Kennedy plan calls for having the present private medical system financed through major health insurance plans, principally Blue Cross-Blue Shield.

That gives away the game right there.

Millions of people covered by Blue Cross know only too well how this outfit has permitted hospital costs and medical fees to spiral. And then it

simply jacks up the premiums.

Why does Blue Cross, a "nonprofit" operation, permit this multi-billion-dollar ripoff?

Because it's a creature of the hospital industry.

Blue Cross was established by the hospitals. Its very emblem is owned by the American Hospital Association. Its board of trustees is dominated by representatives of the hospital industry. They have a great time negotiating with themselves.

So Kennedy's plan would continue to leave us at the tender mercies of the "fee for service" doctors, the \$300-a-day-and-up hospitals, and their insurance agencies. The government's basic role would be to guarantee their payments.

Despite this, the Kennedy plan has the endorsement of numerous labor officials. For instance, Douglas Fraser, president of the United Auto Workers, issued a statement June 12 criticizing Carter's plan and backing Kennedy's.

*Continued on page 19*

## Cuba: where health care is a right

In the United States, politicians of both the Democratic and Republican parties agree, a system of free, top quality medical care for all is out of the question. It would be "too expensive."

If so, how explain that the tiny island of Cuba, with its far more meager resources, provides medical care to all its citizens without cost?

That's what Cuba began organizing to do right from the triumph of the revolution in 1959.

I was able to get some impression of Cuba's national health system during a three-month visit back in 1968, when the revolution was a decade old. It was extremely impressive; and since then, according to the United Nations and other agencies, even more progress has been made.

Before the revolution, medical care was for the affluent. In a country of six million there were but fifty-four hospitals. Rural health care was virtually nonexistent.

There were some 6,000 doctors, most of them in Havana. And when the revolution came, most of those split for Miami.

Cuba trained a new generation of doctors. It built hospitals, clinics, and dental centers.

There are nearly 15,000 doctors

today. More than 250 hospitals are spread around the country.

When I was there, a young doctor explained that, as in all university education, there were no tuition fees for medical students. Scholarships were available to those who needed them.

The consideration of applicants for medical school, he said, included emphasis on determining the depth of the prospective doctor's commitment to healing.

To ensure there would be medical care for the peasants in remote rural areas, he said, medical students had to agree that on graduation they would spend two years in rural service. Then, if they wished, they could be reassigned.

He described to me the problem then just being developed to provide satellite clinics in the urban neighborhoods, to make medical care—including preventive medicine—more accessible and to encourage its use.

He described his own experience as a rural doctor, visiting mountain families that had never known medical care. Checking and treating people, making birth-control devices available to women.

I met him when he was home in

Havana for the Christmas holidays. Appreciative villagers had stowed a suckling pig on the bus with him to ensure his family would have a traditional holiday feast. He valued that friendly human gesture far above the fat incomes of his U.S. counterparts.

Cuba's nonprofit health plan works well. Malaria, considered endemic to tropical countries, has been virtually wiped out. Intestinal diseases that had been so prevalent have been reduced by 90 percent.

I saw how they eliminated polio in Cuba, something the U.S. still hasn't done. While I was there they had the annual antipolio inoculation of infants. In the cities, the block Committees for the Defense of the Revolution were mobilized and provided with the address of each infant in their neighborhood. In the rural area, the Cuban Red Cross organized the project.

In literally three days, the project was complete.

Eliminate the profiteering and it's no more of a problem to provide medical care than it is to provide schooling or running water.

Revolutionary Cuba is the proof of that.

—H.R.



## Defend right to sell Militant

# Blacks, unionists back Ala. free speech fight

By Larry Seigle

Birmingham, Ala.—Civil rights leaders here have joined with unionists and other defenders of free speech in condemning the company-instigated assault on two *Militant* salespeople at a U.S. Steel coal mine June 7.

Statements from officials of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and other antiracist fighters were released at a news conference on the steps of the federal courthouse here June 19.

The news conference was held to announce the filing of a \$2 million lawsuit against U.S. Steel for conspiring to beat up the *Militant* salespeople.

"We, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (Birmingham chapter), condemn such terroristic acts of violence in our metropolitan community upon our citizens," declared Dr. Abraham Woods and Rev. Franklin Tate. "We support the constitutional rights of freedom of the press and support these citizens in their lawful exercise thereof."

A statement from Noyes Collinson, a veteran civil rights activist in Birmingham, branded the June 7 assault as "deplorably reminiscent of the goon-squad behavior of a few decades back."

"One can fervently hope that justice will prevail and those guilty will be punished and their innocent victims be awarded full compensation due them."

Anne Braden and Judy Hands of the Southern Organizing Committee for Economic and Social Justice also sent a statement of protest.

When the June 7 assault took place, Nelson Blackstock and Eric Flint had been selling the *Militant* for about fifteen minutes on a public road near the entrance to U.S. Steel's Concord mine. The two were badly beaten by twenty-five to thirty thugs armed with pipes, wrenches, and baseball bats.

Blackstock underwent surgery to implant two metal pins in his hip, which was fractured and dislocated in the assault.

Union officials and activists around the country have sent messages here protesting the attack.

John Pressley, chairperson of the Civil Rights Committee of Steelworkers Local 1397 at U.S. Steel's Homestead works near Pittsburgh, telegraphed, "U.S. Steel's responsibility for this assault is clear. The *Militant* has my full support in its struggle for free speech. Stop these attacks."

Jerry Gordon, assistant director of



Eric Flint, one of salespeople beaten by U.S. Steel thugs, tells news media about \$2 million lawsuit against company.

District 2, United Food and Commercial Workers International Union, sent this message to U.S. Steel: "U.S. Steel cannot disavow direct responsibility. We demand that you respect the right of free speech and that you cooperate in bringing to justice those who engaged in the violence."

Charles Leonard, president of Steelworkers Local 7097 at U.S. Steel Chemical in Pittsburgh, said, "The democratic right to sell a newspaper must be protected. The *Militant* has my complete support in this fight for free speech for all of us against U.S. Steel."

Rank-and-file miners from around the country who have learned about the attack have also responded. "As miners we hold U.S. Steel responsible," wired Doug Harris from Fairmont, West Virginia, and Harvey Wilson from Morgantown, West Virginia.

The speed of the attack and the way the gang of thugs was directed by a couple of men who acted like foremen indicated from the beginning that the company was directly involved.

Furthermore, camera equipment stolen from Blackstock during the assault somehow made its way into the hands of a high U.S. Steel official, who turned over the equipment the next

day but wouldn't say how he had gotten hold of it.

Additional evidence now proves beyond any doubt that the attack was directly organized by U.S. Steel management. Miners who work in the Concord Mine revealed that the morning shift of June 7 was delayed. They report that foremen and superintendents held up the mantrip, which the miners ride into the mine, in order to organize the assault team and carry out the attack.

The company is trying to shift blame onto the union. William Myers, general superintendent of U.S. Steel Southern District mining operations, claims the union has a "history of violence." During the 110-day miners' strike last year, the bosses and the big-business press in Alabama went to extreme lengths to portray the miners as violent in order to discredit and weaken the UMW. The anti-union charges were false then and are equally false now.

Miners also report that the Ku Klux Klan is organized in the Concord mine. The mine is right next to Hueytown, where the Klan has been active. The SCLC has led two marches there protesting the killing of an unarmed Black man by cops.

The lawsuit filed in federal court here charges U.S. Steel with conspiring to attack Flint and Blackstock in violation of civil rights laws, the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, and the Constitution of the state of Alabama. The suit was filed on behalf of Blackstock, Flint, and the *Militant*.

Attorneys in the case are Robert Wiggins of Birmingham, who has handled a number of civil rights and civil liberties cases here, and Shelley Davis, a lawyer for the Socialist Workers Party.

Davis told reporters that "the legal case against U.S. Steel is 'absolutely airtight.' The issue here is whether we are going to have U.S. Steel going around beating up people because the company doesn't like what they are saying or reading, or what party they belong to."

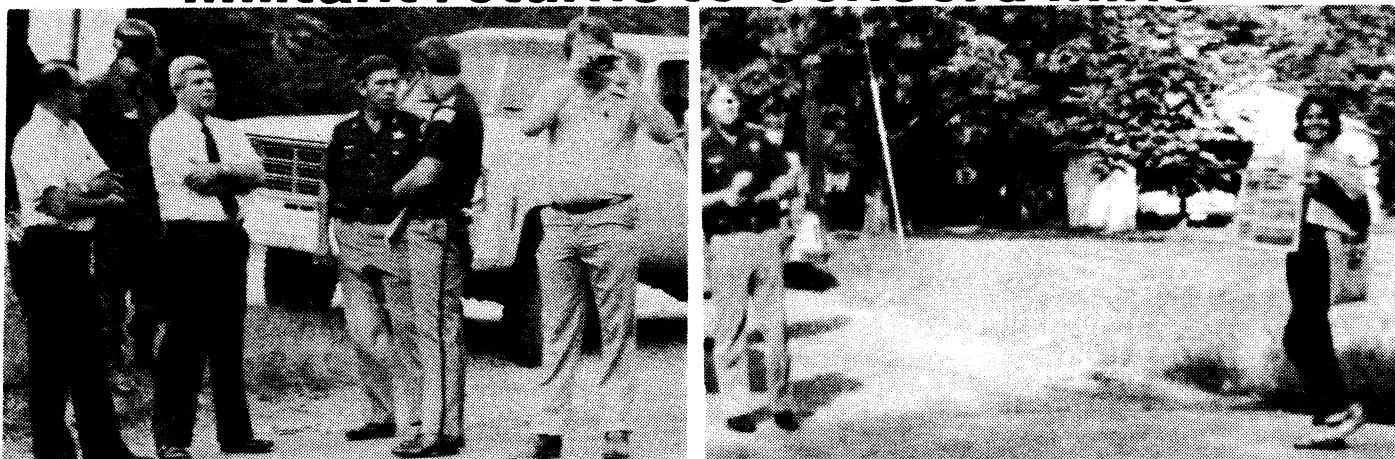
The suit names as defendants the United States Steel Corporation, three individual mine superintendents, and "unknown foremen, supervisors, and other management personnel" of the Concord mine. It asks for an injunction to prohibit U.S. Steel from continuing to organize vigilante squads. It also asks for \$1 million as compensation for injuries suffered and \$1 million in punitive damages.

Also speaking at the news conference was Ed Warren, cochairperson of the newly established Birmingham branch of the SWP. He noted that U.S. Steel's attack "endangers the rights of every working person, civil rights activist, and unionist. It endangers their right to organize, to distribute literature, and to fight for what they believe in."

"We do not intend to let U.S. Steel dictate to coal miners and other working people what papers they can read. The violence of U.S. Steel will not keep the *Militant* out of the hands of the working people of Birmingham."

The news conference was widely covered here. Reports appeared on two television stations, several radio stations, and in the city's two daily newspapers.

## Militant returns to Concord mine



Militant photos by Susan Ellis

Cops and company officials were out in force to prevent miners from buying 'Militant.'

BIRMINGHAM—*Militant* salespeople returned to the Concord mine June 20 as part of the ongoing campaign to establish the right to sell the paper here.

U.S. Steel officials, plant security cops, and county sheriffs were also out in force, aiming to intimidate miners from buying the *Militant* or even stopping their cars to take a leaflet.

More than a dozen uniformed cops were on hand. A U.S. Steel photographer took lots of shots of the salespeople and of about a dozen *Militant* supporters present.

Superintendents and foremen, standing in the road, moved quickly toward any cars that slowed down or

hesitated too long at the intersection, and waved them on.

If that didn't produce a quick enough response, the cops yelled at the driver, "Move on, you're blocking traffic."

The cops and company officials repeatedly made provocative racist and anticommunist remarks.

In this atmosphere of intimidation, no papers were sold. A number of miners nodded slightly or smiled. There were also some hostile reactions.

The company operation, complete with walkie-talkies, was personally directed by Owen Layman, a superintendent of U.S. Steel's Southern District mines. Also present was J.C.

Logan, superintendent of the Concord Mine.

The large-scale company response is an indication of how concerned U.S. Steel is about the growing campaign in Birmingham and around the country in defense of the right to sell the *Militant*.

"Today was one battle in the war to establish the right of free speech in Alabama, and we came out on top," said Ed Warren, a leader of the Birmingham Socialist Workers Party.

"We came out here, we stood our ground, and the company and the cops had to concede we have the right to be here with our newspaper. That's a victory."

## ...and in Texas

The labor haters who own U.S. Steel have not only attacked *Militant* salespeople in Alabama. They've also been on a campaign to stop workers from buying the *Militant* at their Texas Works steel plant in Baytown, Texas.

But it hasn't worked.

In the fall of 1978, when *Militant* supporters began selling the paper outside the Baytown plant, the company reacted by sending security guards, state and county police, and right-wing thugs to harass the salespeople. They even tried to give traffic tickets to workers who stopped their cars to get a copy!

But the *Militant* kept coming back. And Baytown steelworkers kept buying.

This spring state cops ticketed several *Militant* salespeople outside the plant's gate.

But the socialists haven't backed down. "We sell about thirty copies of the *Militant* each time we go to Baytown," reports Rick Berman, Houston organizer of the Socialist Workers Party. "The workers haven't stopped buying, and we don't intend to stop selling."

**'We will not be stopped'**

## Ky. SWP campaign hits right-wing violence

By Chris Rayson

LOUISVILLE—Despite a recent step-up in Ku Klux Klan violence here, a Socialist Workers Party campaign rally proceeded successfully without incident June 17.

The rally was held to announce the aldermanic campaign of Mary Gutekanst in Louisville's twelfth ward and to protest harassment of SWP members and supporters by right-wing thugs encouraged by management at General Electric's huge Appliance Park plant.

Although the rally went peacefully, later that night the car of an SWP member, John Goebel, was totally destroyed by a firebomb while it was parked outside his apartment at about 2:15 a.m. The Louisville SWP is urging the police to investigate the connection between the arson attack and other attacks on the SWP in the city.

There is a history of Ku Klux Klan violence in Louisville. Last November a potentially lethal tear gas grenade was thrown into a rally for SWP gubernatorial candidate Jim Burfeind.

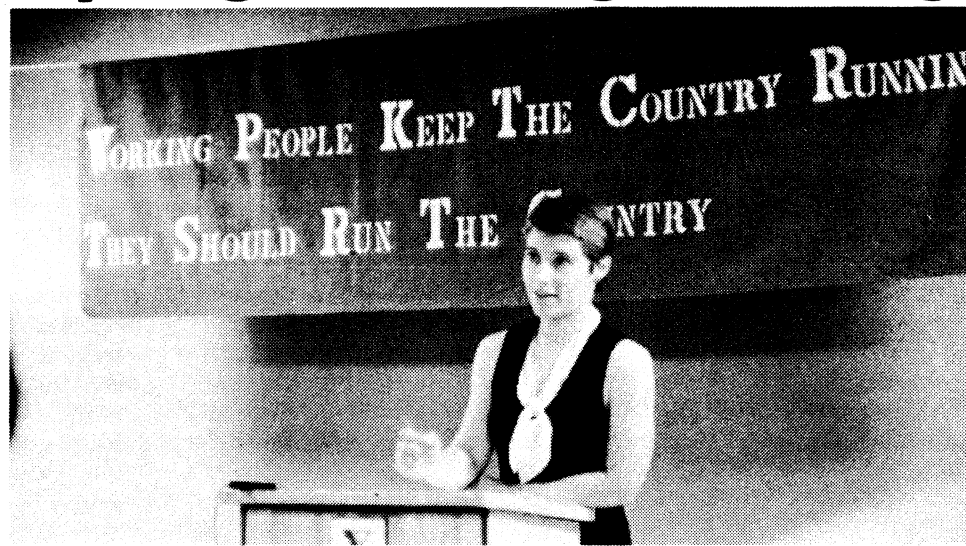
Although the hardcore racists and right-wingers represent only a small minority and are more isolated than ever, they have increased their activities during the past few weeks.

- On May 26, about thirty-five racists attended a cross burning here in Jefferson County. The cross burning followed a meeting for David Duke, head of the United Klans of America, that was sponsored by the Valley Station Regulars, a local antibusing group.

- On June 12 a meeting of the Kentucky Human Relations Commission was broken up by forty chanting right-wingers, including known Klan members.

- On June 13, 150 racists marched down Dixie Highway in opposition to the scheduled extension of a school desegregation plan. (This turnout was tiny compared to the thousands who marched against busing in 1975.)

- Finally, on June 16—the day before the SWP campaign rally, which was widely publicized at the Appliance Park plant—Jim Burfeind arrived at



Mary Gutekanst, socialist aldermanic candidate in Louisville, is an electrical worker at huge GE plant. Militant/Carole Coates

work to find that his tool box had been broken into and about \$300 worth of tools stolen.

### Company offensive

This was one of the tactics used by a handful of right-wingers who had earlier carried out a systematic campaign of harassment against Burfeind.

The responsibility of GE management for the harassment was clearly established after Burfeind's union—Machinists Lodge 2409—filed a grievance with the company. As soon as the grievance reached the second level, the harassment stopped.

At the campaign rally for Gutekanst, Burfeind linked the revival of the right-wing harassment at GE to the company's offensive against wages and working conditions. He noted:

"We are now less than two weeks from the expiration of the contract and there has not been one serious negotiating session between our unions and the company. It reminds unionists of the situation in 1969 when GE was trying to break the union."

"I think the attack on me and other socialists at GE is an attempt to divide the workers and particularly attack workers who are speaking out against the company."

Of fifty workers in his shop, Burfeind said, only one or two are involved in the harassment. These right-wingers are not only antisocialist, they are also anti-union. One experienced unionist told Burfeind of a conversation in which one of the right-wingers opposed the right of strikers to draw unemployment benefits.

Aside from the right-wingers, workers at the GE plant are open to discussing socialist ideas. After the latest incident, several workers approached Burfeind to express their disagreement with the harassment.

Burfeind explained at the rally that the use of right-wing thugs is a typical tactic of the employers. He read a message extending solidarity and support to Nelson Blackstock, Machinist Eric Flint, and the Birmingham SWP in their fight against such company-inspired violence.

### Labor

Mary Gutekanst, who chaired the rally, is a member of International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE) Local 761, which represents 15,000 production workers at the Appliance Park plant.

She told the rally that "the message we are getting from the Democratic

and Republican party politicians who control every level of government [is] 'you've got to sacrifice, you've got to settle for less' . . .

"It's not just a coincidence that we're getting the same message from our bosses and the government, because the Democratic and Republican parties serve our bosses, they're run by and for our bosses. Just as we form unions to defend ourselves from the bosses we need to form a party—a labor party based on the unions—to defend ourselves from their flunky politicians."

Maceo Dixon, a national leader of the SWP and a leader of the 1974-76 struggle to defend school desegregation in Boston, also spoke.

"We in the Socialist Workers Party are convinced of two things," he said. "These attacks are company-inspired attacks, used by the boss to intimidate the working man and woman, Black and white. Second, these thugs and cowardly hooligans are a minority, a very small minority."

Messages of support for democratic rights were sent to the rally from John Johnson, executive director of the Kentucky NAACP; longtime civil rights activist Anne Braden; Bob Cunningham, president of the Kentucky chapter of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression; Robert Stenger of the Louisville Civil Liberties Union; the Louisville chapter of the National Organization for Women; and Jess Ellis, president of the Jefferson Community College NAACP.

Clarence Darby, Jr., a GE production worker and member of IUE Local 761, also spoke at the rally, as did Margaret Kelly, chairperson of the Louisville Young Socialist Alliance.

Both of Louisville's daily newspapers covered the rally.

Summing up the significance of the events, Burfeind declared: "This rally tonight is a statement, particularly to General Electric, but also to the Klan and the John Birch Society, a statement that the SWP is not going to be stopped, that we are going to continue to reach workers with our ideas and proposals."

## Klansmen convicted in Alabama terror trial

By Garrett Brown

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—Nine Ku Klux Klansmen were convicted by a federal jury here June 14 of a campaign of racist terrorism including shootings and beatings in rural Talladega County.

However, the KKKers were found innocent of the one felony charge in the case. Their misdemeanor convictions carry a maximum sentence of one-year imprisonment.

The jury of eleven whites and one Black found three Ku Kluxers innocent. The government dropped charges against four other racists, one a local policeman, six days earlier for "insufficient evidence."

Testimony during the widely publicized nine-day trial detailed the violent activities and racist motivations of the "military committee" of Klavern 1015 in Talladega County.

Last November members of this committee leveled a fusillade of rifle and shotgun fire into the homes of Willie Williams and Charles Woods, local leaders of the NAACP, and into the homes of two interracial couples.

Fortunately no one was injured. But the leader of Klavern 1015, who pleaded guilty to felony charges before the trial began, admitted they would have killed anyone who emerged from the houses during the shootings.

The NAACP leaders were targeted because of their efforts to establish local affirmative-action employment



KKK thugs jeer Black demonstrators in Decatur, Alabama. Klan has been on violent campaign against Black rights throughout area. Militant/Susan Ellis

programs and because "white women were attending" NAACP meetings.

In January the racists impersonated FBI agents in order to abduct Leon Jarrett from his home and flog him in an isolated section of the county. Jarrett, a white, was told he was being "taught a lesson" about entertaining Blacks in his home.

Three of the convicted KKKers also

face state charges in Talladega County for breaking into the home of Patricia Benson, a white woman accused of eating lunch with her Black coworkers. Benson was also forcibly taken from her home, chained to a tree, and whipped by the Ku Kluxers.

While stating that any conviction of Klansmen in Alabama was a "beginning," civil rights leaders here ex-

pressed dissatisfaction with several aspects of the trial.

Rev. Franklin Tate, vice-president of the Birmingham Southern Christian Leadership Conference, noted the racists never faced felony charges of kidnapping or attempted murder for the abductions, shootings, and beatings. The only felony charge was for impersonating an FBI agent.

Tate also pointed out there was only one Black on the jury and that one key government witness was found dead in a Birmingham alley under mysterious circumstances the morning before he was to testify.

Eventually only twelve of the twenty indicted last April by a federal grand jury were found guilty. Three turned state's evidence and the verdict on the thirteenth Klansman was sealed by the court because he had become ill during the trial.

NAACP leader Williams said he doubted that the misdemeanor convictions would halt Klan violence in Talladega County. He said that local police, while not actual Klan members themselves, were "tolerant" of the racists. Williams also pointed out that the attacks on Jarrett and Benson proved the Klan was as much a threat to whites as to Blacks. He urged a united campaign against racist terror.

The convicted Klansmen have already been freed on bond pending appeal. They have indicated they will form another Klan organization in Talladega County.



# 'Weber' case: high stakes for workers

By August Nimtz

Any day now the U.S. Supreme Court is expected to announce its ruling on one of the most serious challenges facing the American working class—the case of *Brian Weber versus Kaiser Aluminum and Chemical Corporation and United Steelworkers of America, AFL-CIO*.

Weber, a white lab technician at the Kaiser plant in Gramercy, Louisiana, is suing to overturn the affirmative-action plan negotiated by the Steelworkers union in 1974. He claims that the plan is "reverse discrimination" against him and other white males. Two lower courts have already upheld Weber's claim.

This case will be crucial for the future of affirmative action on the job. But the big-business news media have done their best to keep the facts and significance of *Weber* unknown.

With the increasing interest of workers in the case, a useful tool for educating on these issues in the labor movement and throughout society is the Pathfinder Press pamphlet, *The Weber Case—New Threat to Affirmative Action*, by Andy Rose.

*The Weber Case* pamphlet details the most important facts about the suit. Its main value, however, is that it puts the case in a broader context by explaining why affirmative action must be defended and extended and what is at stake for the working class in Weber's challenge. It also provides the political perspective for what must be done to counter this challenge.

### 'If Weber wins . . .'

"If Weber wins," the pamphlet explains, "it will immediately jeopardize programs all across the country to allow Blacks, Latinos, and women into previously segregated all-white or all-male jobs.

"... it will become illegal for unions to negotiate affirmative-action programs to begin to overcome years of discrimination.

"... it will encourage racist forces to use the 'reverse discrimination' argument to roll back civil rights gains in education, employment, housing, and every other sphere of life."

The next two sections present the background to the suit, making it clear that from the time of the plant's opening Blacks and women have systematically been denied equal employment opportunities.

"In 1973 Black workers held only 5 out of 273 craft jobs at Kaiser Gramercy—less than 2 percent of the total. This exclusion is even more striking when you consider that Blacks made up 39 percent of the work force in the area. There were no women in craft jobs."

This was the situation that led to establishment of the affirmative-action plan in 1974. It was intense pressure, especially the likelihood of law suits by Black workers because of its record of discrimination, that forced Kaiser to agree to the plan as part of the 1974 contract with the Steelworkers union.

### Affirmative-action plan

Under the plan, a craft training program was established in which 50 percent of the openings were to be filled by Black and women workers. Access to the program was based on seniority, with white males in one pool and Blacks and women in another. Thus Blacks and women—who because of company discrimination had less seniority—did not have to compete against white males to enter the program.

The quotas were to continue until Blacks held craft jobs equal to their proportion in the area work force—39 percent for the Gramercy plant—and until women held 5 percent.

The pamphlet notes that this "step forward for Blacks and women did not come at the expense of white male workers at the plant. To the contrary, the program also benefited white male union members at Kaiser."

The union newspaper *Steel Labor* explained, "As a result of the 1974 agreement, all production employees at the plant—white and black—for the first time had an opportunity to train for and obtain craft jobs."

Weber, who was not accepted as a trainee, sued on the grounds that Blacks—women had not yet gotten into the program—with lower seniority had been accepted and this constituted "reverse discrimination."

As a result of the program, the number of Blacks in the crafts rose from 5 to 13. The number of white males rose from 268 to 280. Whites went from 98 to 96 percent of the craft jobs. These figures give the lie to Weber's charge.



**BRIAN WEBER: Tool of bosses' divide-and-conquer game.**

The lower courts upheld Weber primarily on the grounds that affirmative action is permissible only when a particular employer is guilty of past discrimination. Since neither the lawyers for Kaiser nor those for the union chose to call on Black and women workers at Kaiser to testify on the long history of discrimination at the plant, it was easy for the courts to rule in favor of Weber.

### Discrimination at Kaiser

*The Weber Case* pamphlet, however, presents the testimony of Black and women workers who are intimately familiar with the racist and sexist policies of Kaiser. It also contains some of the findings of an Equal Employment Opportunities Commission investigation that documented a clear pattern of discrimination at Kaiser.

The pamphlet next looks at the myth of "reverse discrimination." In the same way that it is absurd to talk about reverse discrimination at Kaiser, it is equally wrong for American society as a whole. The pamphlet includes facts and figures to show that far from racist and sexist practices being eliminated, things have gotten worse as the employers' antilabor attacks fall hardest on Blacks, Latinos, and women.

The next section takes up the argument that affirmative action violates the "merit" system. It convincingly demonstrates that in both academia and industry merit has never been the basis for advancement.

Exploding the myths of reverse discrimination and merit makes clear that only through affirmative action with quotas can the effects of centuries of discrimination be overcome.

The remainder of the pamphlet provides a political perspective on the issues raised by the *Weber* suit. It does this by answering the question: "If Blacks and women are to have a fair chance, does that mean white males must give up jobs or other gains?"

Rose explains that the job security of all workers

is precarious, especially today. The situation for Blacks and women is even worse. However, racist and sexist discrimination does not make the job situation for white males any more secure. In fact, it enhances job insecurity for white males.

### Racism: who benefits?

"The 'benefit' white male workers derive from discrimination is an illusion," the pamphlet asserts. "It is a fraud. The lower wages paid to Blacks and women, and the divisions fostered by racism, are constantly dragging down the wages of all workers. Whites enjoy much higher living standards than Blacks, but both have lower living standards than they could win by uniting to fight their common enemy and exploiter.

"Just look at the South, where anti-Black discrimination has historically been the most extreme and overt. This is the same region where unions are the fewest and weakest and where wages are the lowest in the nation. That is the price white Southern workers have paid for the dubious 'privilege' of being able to look down on Southern Blacks, whose wages and conditions are the worst of all."

It is only by strengthening the union movement, the pamphlet explains, that the standard of living of all workers can be advanced. That means white workers coming to understand that racism and sexism weaken working-class solidarity. Any attempt to maintain jobs or living standards for whites at the expense of Blacks is doomed to failure. Weber's suit serves only the interests of the capitalist class—the class that is responsible for the attack on all workers' living standards.

The fight for affirmative action, if it is to be successful, must be based on explaining the common class interests of all workers—including white males—in overcoming discrimination.

### Labor movement responds

The *Weber* suit has evoked an unprecedented response from the labor movement. Most major unions have come out in support of the Steelworkers and affirmative action.

The fact that union bargaining rights are under attack by this suit is one reason for their response.

But the main reason is the increasing interest and support for affirmative action among the union ranks. A number of rallies, demonstrations, and teach-ins on the suit have involved and been led by union members.

More and more workers are beginning to understand that their own individual interests are inextricably tied to the interests of their fellow workers and that collective action is the only road to advancement.

Whichever way the Supreme Court decides in the *Weber* case, the fight for affirmative action will continue. The outcome of that struggle will depend on the extent to which the power of the union movement is brought into action to defend workers' interests on this vital question.

Never have the opportunities been better for discussing and educating on this issue. *The Weber Case* pamphlet can be a key tool in helping in that process.

## Spread the truth

Pathfinder Press reports that *The Weber Case: New threat to affirmative action* is one of its fastest selling socialist pamphlets. Published last February, 4,485 copies have been sold so far. Pathfinder printed another 4,500 copies in April.

Many of the pamphlets have been sold on the job to steelworkers and other industrial unionists. With a Supreme Court decision on the *Weber* case imminent, both the need and the opportunities to sell the pamphlet are greater than ever.

Order a bundle now to get out the truth in your plant, neighborhood, or school.

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



# Why NAACP should oppose nuclear power

The following is a statement by Andrew Pulley, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party and the SWP's candidate for mayor of Chicago earlier this year. Pulley is a member of the United Steelworkers.

In reaffirming its support for nuclear power last month, the national board of the NAACP has done a disservice to Blacks and all humanity.

The board's statement claims that nuclear energy is "less costly to consumers," thus pretending that it is in the interests of Blacks and the poor.

Even if nuclear power were cheaper—which it is not—that would not justify the deadly danger it poses for Blacks and the rest of humankind. The NAACP board ignores the constant exposure to cancer-causing "low level" radiation from nuclear installations. It ignores the likelihood of a terrible nuclear accident. And it ignores the scientific impossibility of safely disposing of nuclear wastes, some of which remain radioactive for hundreds of thousands of years.

When all these problems are taken into account, nuclear power is far too costly for humanity.

Only the energy industry, not Blacks or any other working people, profits from nuclear power.

Nuclear power is also used as a cover for producing nuclear weapons. Washington's nuclear arsenal is a constant threat to the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America struggling for their rights and an end to U.S. domination. And producing nuclear weapons creates all the same health threats as nuclear power.

Members of the NAACP energy com-



Harrisburg demonstration. NAACP tops warn Blacks not to be 'stampeded' into antinuclear movement, but says nothing about deadly hazards of atom plants.

mittee warned Blacks not to be "stampeded" into anti-nuclear power groups "that want Blacks simply for their numbers." Considering the ties of many members of this committee to energy corporations, they are in a poor position to lecture anybody about being "used."

The NAACP board assumes that Black people are not intelligent enough to recognize what is in our best interests, and that we have to be told by lawyers or preachers what's good for our well-being.

Any Black person, any worker, can see what's in his or her best interest and what isn't. And nuclear power

isn't in the interests of Black people. Stopping nuclear power is.

If there's a nuclear accident in or near a big urban area such as Chicago, the Black community will be the biggest loser, as usual. Instead of defending the use of nuclear power, the NAACP should be campaigning to shut down these deadly plants and urging the development of coal to provide our electricity needs.

Coal can be mined and burned safely. Its use could end the nuclear threat. It would put tens of thousands of coal miners—including Blacks—back to work. It would mean the ex-

pansion of the rail system and more railroad jobs.

The United Mine Workers union has launched a campaign against nuclear power and for coal. Many other labor bodies, both local and regional, are going on record against nuclear power. These are the forces the NAACP should ally with—not the energy industry.

In defending the pronuclear position, NAACP board chairperson Margaret Bush Wilson declared that "the day Americans move away from what makes them great—technology—we are in trouble."

I believe we are in trouble when we swallow the lies of the profiteering corporations that are responsible for the oppression and exploitation of Blacks. We are in trouble when we think that if the slavemaster does well, the slave will enjoy a few crumbs.

The rich rulers of this country are on a drive against our standard of living and our democratic rights. Inflation eats up our paychecks while Carter tries to hold down wage increases. Affirmative action is slashed.

Nuclear power is part of this attack on Blacks and all working people. It is an attack on our right to live.

There is only one force that can successfully challenge these attacks—working people organized in our unions.

If the NAACP is to fight effectively for Black rights, it will have to look to the power of Black workers and stand up for their interests. That means reversing the board's position and adopting the only pro-Black, pro-working-class stand—for shutting down all nuclear facilities immediately.

## Kansas labor: 'Don't build Wolf Creek nuke'

BURLINGTON, Kans.—Nearly 1,000 people rallied June 9 against the Wolf Creek nuclear power plant under construction here. The protest was sponsored by the Sunflower Alliance and was broadly endorsed.

The scope of labor opposition to Wolf Creek is especially significant. Both the Wichita Federation of Labor of South Central Kansas and the Kansas Building and Construction Trades Council have called for a halt to construction of the nuclear plant.

In Kansas City, United Auto Workers Local 31 and Steelworkers Local 1294 have passed resolutions against nuclear power. And the Machinists union endorsed the June 9 protest. United Mine Workers District 14 planned to send a speaker to the rally, but their representative was unable to come.

The Kansas Building and Construction Trades Council conducted its own inspection and hearings on the Wolf Creek facility. It declared the plant to be unsafe and unnecessary and called for construction of a coal-fired plant instead.

In a unanimous vote at the end of May, the Wichita Federation of Labor passed a strongly worded resolution, which, in great detail, demolished many pronuclear arguments.

"All nuclear power plants emit low-level radiation," the resolution declared. "Studies conducted by the Atomic Energy Commission on the long range consequences of exposure to such radiation were altered and suppressed from the public. Everyone agrees exposure to such radiation is harmful."

The resolution goes on, "There is no way to safely dispose of the radioactive waste generated by the nuclear plant. . . . This waste will remain toxic for 260,000 years. Thus far, every disposal dump has leaked toxic material."

The labor body's statement also exposed the myth that nuclear power is cheap.

For example, it noted that the price of uranium fuel for Wolf Creek depends on the outcome of a lawsuit against Westinghouse. Further, the resolution declared, since the fuel rods were to be supplied by Kerr-McGee, "In view of the 10.5 million dollar judgement against Kerr-McGee for causing the radioactive contamination of its employee, Karen Silkwood, we have no assurance that Kerr-McGee will continue this costly operation."

The resolution continues, "A recent study shows uranium miners suffering

a high rate of cancer due to their mine exposure to uranium."

At the June 9 rally, speakers included Linda Thurston, president of Kansas City National Organization for Women; Dick Greenwood, special assistant to the president of the International Association of Machinists; state Rep. Kent Roth; and Sandi Sherman, Kansas City Socialist Workers Party.

"The rulers of this country are in a 'take back' mood," Sherman told the

crowd. "We have to find something powerful enough to fight the ruling rich and their drive for profits. We have to go to the labor movement and get it involved in this fight. We can pressure and pressure, but the unions can stop nuclear power!"

Sherman went on to say that the United Mine Workers "stand with us today because nuclear power is unsafe. They offer an immediate energy alternative—coal—an energy source that is abundant and that existing technology can make safe."

## Set June 30 rally at Calif. nuclear plant

By Barry Schier

LOS ANGELES—Activists here and in northern California are in the final round of organizing for a June 30 protest rally at the Diablo Canyon nuclear power plant. Diablo Canyon is virtually complete and could go on line at any time.

Located about 200 miles both from San Francisco and Los Angeles, near the town of San Luis Obispo, Diablo Canyon sits almost atop an active earthquake fault.

The fault was discovered well after

final plans for Diablo Canyon were approved. Pacific Gas & Electric, the plant's owner, sought to keep the fault's existence secret. When the cover-up failed, it performed a few cosmetic changes in construction and claimed the plant was now earthquake-proof.

In Southern California, the Alliance for Survival has begun the distribution of a million leaflets for the protest.

Building for the June 30 action got a big boost when 18,000 people

turned out at the Hollywood Bowl June 10 for "Survival Sunday II." With banners over the stage demanding "NO NUKES! . . . STOP DIABLO!" it was the largest antinuclear rally yet in Southern California.

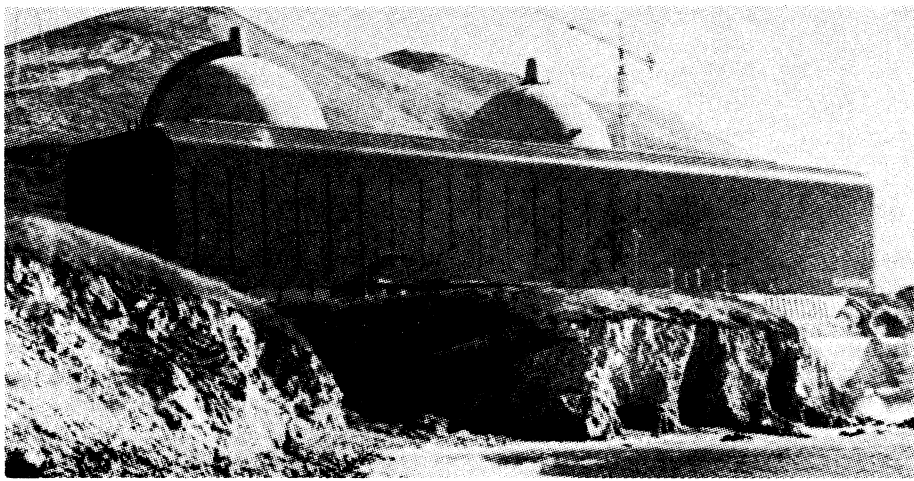
Initiated by the Alliance for Survival, the rally was broadly sponsored.

"There is an obvious collusion between the United States government and the nuclear industry," Louisa Graetz, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union district president, told the crowd. "Three Mile Island wasn't the first accident nor will it be the last as long as we rely on experts and politicians who do not place human health and safety as priorities over profits."

United Farm Workers union Vice-president Dolores Huerta reminded the audience that the UFW "is against nuclear energy—and we've been so for a long period of time."

Other speakers included Ralph Nader; pediatrician Helen Caldicott; Mike Farrell, costar of the TV show M\*A\*S\*H; and Bill Wahpepah of the American Indian Movement.

Entertainment was provided by Lily Tomlin, Gil Scott-Heron, Jackson Browne, and others.



Diablo Canyon plant is only a few miles from Hosgri earthquake fault

# ...independent truckers protest energy ripoff

Continued from back page

blanketed in secrecy and confusion. Only the oil companies know for sure. Nevertheless, information continues to trickle out verifying public suspicion:

- The *Washington Post* reported June 20 that as D.C.-area gas lines lengthened, nearby multi-million-gallon gasoline storage tanks operated by major oil companies "are so full that new shipments are being turned away."

- Profits reaped by Standard Oil and Atlantic Richfield on Alaskan oil are up 70 percent this year.

- Energy Secretary James Schlesinger reported June 14 that while oil imports increased to 6.6 million barrels a day the week before—up 840,000 barrels from the previous week—refineries reduced output from 87 percent two weeks ago to 84.5 percent last week.

The gasoline crisis is at the heart of the "use less/pay more" austerity offensive by the U.S. capitalists. News media and politicians are pounding away on the need for working people to sacrifice.

Americans are pictured as gas guzzlers. "Hoarding" is defined as wanting a full tank. "Topping off the tank" is the new code word to imply greed, frivolity, and waste by American workers.

But this blackmail scheme threatens to backfire. Each turn of the screw is producing—not willingness to sacrifice—but more anger against the corporations and government.

Politicians are starting to feel the heat. On a vote of 340 to 4 the House of Representatives passed a Republican proposal directing Carter and the



Energy Department to explain in detail why there's a gas shortage. Rep. Bill Young declared, "One day we're told there is a glut of oil on the world market and two months later we're standing in line to buy gasoline."

Even Schlesinger—a notorious mouthpiece for the industry—felt compelled to criticize the oil companies for "unduly" building up crude oil inventories while cutting back on refinery production. He promised an end to gas lines and no generalized shortages.

His comments brought a sharp rebuke from the *Washington Post*. In a June 16 editorial it noted that "the

administration evidently does not feel itself strong enough to tell the country flatly and consistently that it's going to have to cut down on oil. . . .

"The administration's responsibility now," the *Post* declared, "is to help people speed up the process—harsh, wearing and expensive—of preparing to live with less gasoline. It might begin with the warning that this transition is not optional."

Our sacrifices are "not optional"—so long as ownership and control of energy remains in the hands of a few private corporations, which put their profit greed above the needs of society.

Workers are ready to fight against this highway robbery. What has been lacking so far is a perspective of struggle through the unions, the only mass organizations of the working class.

The independent truckers have set an example for the entire labor movement. They deserve the wholehearted support of the Teamsters and all other unions.

But organized labor can go further than this. It can take the lead in a massive counteroffensive against the energy trust. The following demands would be key to such a campaign:

- *Open all the books and secret records of the energy companies to public scrutiny.*

In response to a threatened subpoena from the state of New Jersey for the records of the four big refiners in the state, an Exxon official said that Exxon and the other companies did not disclose the inventories in their tanks because they did not want competitors to know.

This is an outrageous lie. The oil companies aren't worried about keep-

ing secrets from each other—only from the public. Their "business secrets" are a conspiracy to keep their superprofits and manipulations hidden from the workers.

All health and safety records, financial data, stock portfolios, technical data on different energy sources, fuel reserves, and refining and shipping capacity should be opened to inspection by union and consumer committees—not just by Congress or the Department of Energy—so the entire working class can see the truth for itself.

- *Surveillance and control of energy production and distribution by the workers in the industry.*

While oil company officials and the Department of Energy lie or beat around the bush, these workers are in the best position to know if fuel supplies are being held back or profits concealed. Health and safety conditions in particular should be under the control of the workers, who must have the unconditional right to shut down any hazardous operation.

- *Public ownership of the energy industry.* This vital resource must be taken out of the hands of private owners and their agents in Washington. It should be publicly owned, so that energy can be produced and distributed according to human need.

Public ownership doesn't mean another so-called regulatory commission that is in the back pocket of private industry. It means putting the energy industry under the management of an independent, directly elected board, whose meetings and decisions should be completely open to the public.

## '...Nat'l Guard can't make us run our trucks'

Continued from back page

from \$1.17 to \$1.40.

Considering that the giant rigs get four miles to the gallon, the financial squeeze on drivers is brutal. The reduction of fuel allocations also cuts into truckers' time and income, often making it necessary to stop as many as eight times to fill a 200-gallon tank.

One driver told the *Militant* he had just refused a load bound for Vancouver. At 95 cents per hundredweight—the offered rate—he figured he would lose money on that trip.

In addition to fuel, costs for insurance, licensing, truck repair, and replacement continue to rise, while freight rates remain substantially the same as two years ago.

Strikers at Stockman's Truck Stop

greeted the *Militant* warmly and asked us to "tell the truth about what we want. Be sure to say that we're against violence."

### California

By Walter Lippmann

LOS ANGELES—At the height of the gasoline shortage in California, the State Executive Board of Social Services Union Local 535 adopted two significant resolutions on the energy crisis.

Resolutions on "Labor and Nuclear Power" and "Statement on the So-called 'Energy Crisis'" were passed by an overwhelming majority.

Local 535 called "for an immediate halt to the nuclear danger through the shutdown of all nuclear power plants

and the dismantling of all nuclear weapons" and urged its international and other unions to do likewise. The union also stated that "we favor the expansion of existing coal production to meet the nation's electricity needs now."

On the gas crisis, Local 535 declared "gasoline lines have affected millions of working people in the U.S. This has in reality meant an increase in our working day and a decrease in leisure time. . . .

"The only way to find out how much gasoline there is would be to require that the gasoline companies open their books and records to public inspection. . . .

"The Service Employees International Union has long been on record in favor of nationalization of the energy

industry as a whole. There is no reason why this precious commodity, which millions of working people must rely on to get to work and to meet the necessities of life, should remain in private hands. . . .

"Finally, we believe that the nationalized energy industry should be run by a board of directors elected directly by and responsible to the American public, so that the true facts about the energy situation will be available to everyone."

The resolution urged other unions and central labor bodies to join in an educational campaign around these ideas.

Local 535 represents 10,000 workers in welfare and human services and is affiliated with the 600,000-member Service Employees International Union.

## Farmers look for answers to energy crisis

By Osborne Hart

WICHITA, Kans.—Working farmers have been among those hardest hit by the energy crisis—contrived shortages and skyrocketing prices for gasoline and diesel fuel.

The nature of modern agriculture makes farmers dependent on large amounts of fuel for tractors and the array of other farm machinery. Yet during the past three months the price of diesel has increased as much as 100 percent in some states.

For farmers who are already in debt and barely getting by—that is, for most farmers—these price hikes can spell disaster.

The energy crisis was a big topic of discussion when nearly 200 farmers from twenty-seven states gathered here June 2-3 for a meeting of the American Agriculture Movement (AAM).

This was the second national gathering of the AAM since their tractorcade demonstration of several thousand jammed Washington, D.C., last February.



Farmers discussed fuel alternative called 'gasohol' at AAM meeting.

Rodney Shay, a cow-calf farmer from Kansas, told the *Militant* he was "sympathetic to the truckers" who are protesting fuel prices. "I know that diesel price is killing them."

A big focus of the energy discussion was alternative fuel sources. The AAM

is encouraging farmers to produce alcohol from grain and combine it with gasoline. The mixture is called "gasohol."

Gasohol bumper stickers were passed out and AAM leaders devoted an evening session to the technical and business aspects of distilling grain

on the farm. Already some farmers have formed the American Agri-Fuels Corporation to carry out the venture.

"The gasohol and alcohol production really looks good," declared Shay. "It might be the farmers' salvation."

Whatever the merits of alcohol as an energy source, so long as the oil companies control the price and flow of fuel, farmers and other working people are subject to their profiteering dictates. An exclusive emphasis on the gasohol alternative tends to underplay the necessity for a fight against the oil trust.

It is clear, however, that if the union movement launched a campaign against the energy ripoff—demanding that the oil monopoly books be opened and that the industry be placed under public ownership—it could rally powerful support from working farmers.

Unfortunately, the AAM has fallen for some of the oil companies' fraudulent claims about the crisis. Around slogans of "OPEC, drink your oil,"

Continued on page 19



## Strike against wage guidelines

# Cops attack UAW picket line in Ohio

By John Powers

CLEVELAND—A strike against Carter's wage guidelines erupted into a major confrontation June 12 as cops attacked several hundred United Auto Workers pickets in nearby Wickliffe, Ohio.

UAW Local 1741, representing 850 workers at Bailey Controls Company, has been on strike since June 1. These workers, more than half of them women, make an average wage of only \$6.07 an hour, with no cost-of-living allowance.

Bailey is a recently acquired subsidiary of Babcock and Wilcox Corporation, manufacturers of the deadly Three Mile Island nuclear reactor.

The company offered a 6.8 percent wage increase per year for three years. They claimed their extensive government contracts would be cancelled by Carter if Bailey violated his 7 percent wage limit. Despite a federal court ruling May 31 prohibiting such contract sanctions by the government, Bailey refused to up its wage offer.

Union members overwhelmingly rejected the company proposal in a mass meeting May 30. Management did all it could to sway the vote the other way, several workers told me.

While top company officials kept the union's bargaining committee locked behind closed doors—ostensibly to hammer out a contract—foremen passed out Bailey's proposals to workers on the shop floor.

"They tried to divide us from our union," one worker said. "They thought there was no way we would turn them down. They had to be crazy."

On Tuesday, June 12, Local 1741 found out just how serious Bailey is about trying to break the back of the union.

That morning three buses filled with scabs entered the plant. Word spread

quickly as phone calls went out. Despite a court injunction limiting pickets to three per gate, hundreds of workers mobilized to keep the scabs and salaried employees inside the plant.

The Wickliffe cops, backed by police from several neighboring counties, came out in force to defend the strike-breakers.

Their anger fueled by the memory of previous attacks on the picket line, the Bailey workers fought back as best they could.

The cops mounted a water cannon and tear-gassed the strikers, driving them from the plant entrances.

That night all three Cleveland television stations carried extensive anti-union accounts of the clash. Their biased reports only made the strikers more determined.

The next day, almost the entire local membership massed on the picket lines. UAW Region 2 Director Bill Casstevens arrived on the scene along with UAW members from other locals in the area who came to show their solidarity.

An obviously nervous Wickliffe mayor Melvin Burchett called the police attack an "overreaction," and ordered the cops to take a lower profile. The mayor vowed to rope off the plant the following day "in the interest of public safety."

But Bailey President Robert Campbell charged there was no legal precedent for Burchett's order and instructed all salaried employees to report for work June 14.

Another major confrontation was brewing that day as close to 1,000 workers and hundreds of cops faced each other on the picket lines.

At 4:30 p.m.—just before the salaried employees were scheduled to leave the plant—UAW International representative Dominic Cessena led the workers across the street to the local's head-

quarters.

He reported that Bailey had agreed to keep scabs out of the plant and begin serious negotiations the following week. Local 1741 would, in turn, have to abide by the court injunction and limit union pickets.

The Bailey Controls strike is far from over. Workers have still not won a decent wage. Nor has the company budged on their other demands.

Ending forced overtime is a big concern among strikers. "We almost always have to work overtime to make money. You just don't have any other

choice," said one worker. "But we still want to be able to turn it down if we want to."

The workers also want health care improvements. Right now they must pay the first \$250 of all medical bills—and 20 percent of everything over that.

"This used to be a nice place to work, before Babcock and Wilcox bought the company out," one older woman told me. "I've worked here for twenty-two years, and they've written me up three times in the last six months. They can go to hell if they think I'm going to come crawling back."

## Cleveland unions rally to protest antilabor violence

CLEVELAND—On June 13, while Bailey strikers were confronting the cops, Judge James McGettrick dismissed charges against the killers of another union picket.

Thomas Moss was killed while picketing the Bargar Metal Fabricating Company in a strike one year ago. The three defendants were company-hired goons.

That same day, four striking Teamsters were shot by a supervisor while picketing in nearby Solon.

Immediately after McGettrick's ruling, the Cleveland Federation of Labor and the United Auto Workers called a protest demonstration for June 15 outside the city's Justice Center. UAW stewards swept through the plants to get the message out. With only one day's notice, 750 unionists—mainly rank-and-file workers—turned out.

The union pickets carried signs reading "Thomas Moss, 1978—Bailey Meter, 1979." They sang "So-

lidarity Forever" and chanted "McGettrick must go!"

The demonstrators then assembled for a short rally where they heard local union officials explain that the attacks suffered by Cleveland unionists were not isolated incidents, but part of a nationwide drive by business against labor.

UAW Region 2 Director Bill Casstevens asked the crowd, "Why wasn't Bargar [the company's owner] on trial? He should have been!" And, "What would have happened if it had been a rent-a-cop killed? Those charges would never have been dismissed!"

Ben Shouse, president of Upholsterers Local 48, Moss's union, was cheered when he said, "Let us say today that Brother Moss's death was not in vain, and in 1979 let us dedicate ourselves anew to the organization of the working class."

—J.P.

# Women miners speak out on need for union

By Nancy Cole

INSTITUTE, W. Va.—Most miners at the first national conference of women coal miners, held here June 8-10, were members of the United Mine Workers of America—and proud of it.

But if they needed any reminder of the value of their union, it was there in the presence of three non-union surface miners from Wyoming.

"We have good benefits and high pay like you do," Laurie Castleberry told a workshop here. "What we don't have is anyone to fight for us."

Safety is another problem," she went on. "You know what your rights are. With us, the company makes up the laws and doesn't even tell us about them."

Castleberry, twenty-two, works at the Belle Ayr mine in Gillette, Wyoming. The mine is owned by Amax Coal Company and produces the most coal of any mine in the country.

Three years ago Amax succeeded in driving the UMWA out of the mine.

Castleberry came to the women's conference with two other miners from Wyoming—Debbie Monsoor, twenty-five, and LaVonna Westermeyer, twenty-seven.

Both Monsoor and Westermeyer have worked at the Belle Ayr mine, but no longer do. Monsoor was fired for "insubordination" and Westermeyer was forced to quit when the company refused to extend her maternity leave.

These days Gillette is a boom town because of the expansion of western coal. There are, the women told the *Militant*, at least fourteen coal companies in or on their way into the Gillette area. Miners at the Belle Ayr mine work six days a week every week, with Sunday always an option.



Wyoming surface miners (left to right): Laurie Castleberry, Debbie Monsoor, LaVonna Westermeyer.

Because of the expanded hiring and the pressure Amax is under to hire women, the work force of 375 includes thirty-five women miners.

"They're in a position where they have to hire you to fill quotas," says Castleberry, "but then they try to keep you in the shop."

Or in the plant where they don't have to see you," interjects Monsoor to laughter from the other two women.

All three, however, managed to get out in sight. Castleberry drives a haul truck, Westermeyer a water truck, and Monsoor was an oiler mechanic.

"It's the neatest feeling to get on the

job and find out you can do it. You want it to be good," says Monsoor.

But when you have a problem at Belle Ayr, you're on your own. "Amax has its own little government set up," explains Castleberry. "You file a grievance. First you talk to your foreman and then if you can't get anywhere, if they won't deal with it, we don't have anyone to speak for us."

"We tried to do it right. You have a simple problem and you try to get it settled. But the more you do it, the more the company hates you, the more they resent you—'Why don't you shut up, we're paying you ten bucks an

hour.'"

Safety is really bad, says Westermeyer. "There's an attitude of, 'Love it or leave it.'"

Monsoor was fired two weeks after she returned from a four-month sick leave having been injured on the job.

She can't get a mining job anywhere else in Gillette. Because of Amax's bad recommendation, companies in the coal boom area have told her she's "not even in the running."

Monsoor has filed a discrimination suit against Amax.

Westermeyer had worked there one year and three months before she took off to have a baby. By that time she had moved two hours away from the mine, which meant she put in twelve hours a day counting travel. To be able to spend more time with her infant, whom she was nursing, she asked for a four-month extension of her eight-month leave.

"I even volunteered to come back with no seniority as a new person. All I wanted was a job. They refused."

"I don't think a year's leave of absence for having a child is asking too much," says Westermeyer, who is now looking for a mining job closer to her home.

While Monsoor was laid up with her job injury, she was watching the Phil Donahue TV talk show one day when a woman mentioned the Coal Employment Project. That sent Monsoor, Castleberry, and Westermeyer on a search to find these other women miners, a search that brought them to the conference here.

They were excited by the gathering and want to get other women miners together when they get back to Wyoming.



## Why not here?

# Canada: unions campaign for labor party

By Shelley Kramer

"Would you elect your boss union steward?" asked United Steelworkers District 6 in a leaflet on the Canadian election last month. The leaflet pointed out that "it doesn't make any more sense to elect a management person to represent you in Parliament."

Instead of urging a vote for a "lesser evil" candidate of the big-business parties, Canadian trade unions campaigned for the New Democratic Party—Canada's labor party.

The United Auto Workers issued thousands of buttons and brochures reminding Canadian workers of their one-day general strike against government wage controls in 1976.

"October 14, 1976, the UAW was out to fight wage controls. Election day, 1979, the UAW will be out to finish the job," was the message they carried.

Not exactly what auto workers and steelworkers in the United States are used to hearing when elections come around. Here, union officials usually tell us to vote for the Democrats, or occasionally a Republican—both parties of the bosses. But just a few miles north of the border, the same officials give very different advice.

"I'm not going to be so presumptuous as to tell Canadians who to vote for," said UAW President Douglas Fraser at the union's April bargaining convention in Detroit. "But if I were Canadian, I would not vote for the party of Pierre Elliott Trudeau or the party of Joe Clark."

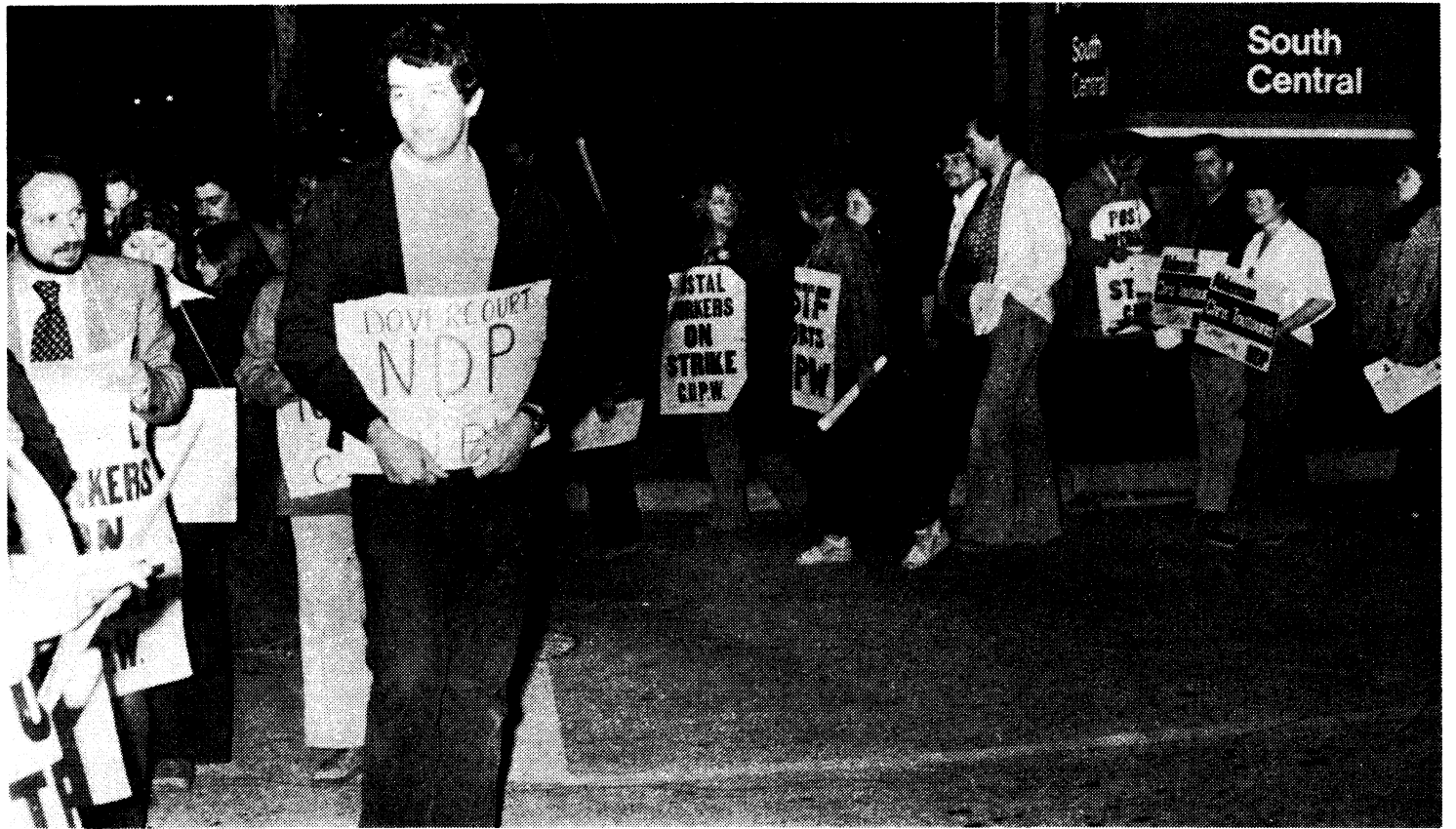
### Union mobilization

The Auto Workers, Steelworkers, Machinists, and other industrial unions all urged their Canadian members and other working people to vote against the bosses' parties May 22—against Trudeau's Liberals and Clark's Conservatives.

The elections saw the greatest union mobilization ever behind the NDP. The NDP won 18 percent of the vote and increased its seats in Parliament from seventeen to twenty-six.

Led by the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC—the Canadian equivalent of the AFL-CIO), the union campaign reflected the growing desire of Canadian workers to fight back against stepped-up attacks on their living standards.

Like their counterparts in the United States, the Canadian employers intend to solve their economic crisis by squeezing more profits out of workers. And, as in the United States, they



Socialist Voice/Steinmetz

Canadian postal workers picket in Toronto during October 1978 strike, with support from local New Democratic Party activists.

count on the government to lend a helping hand.

By 1977-78, as a result of Trudeau's wage controls, profits were rising at a rate of 26 percent while wages inched upward at 6.8 percent—about half the rate of inflation for basic consumer goods.

Canadian workers have responded with a number of militant class battles—including a nationwide postal workers strike last fall, an eight-month strike by 12,000 nickel miners in Sudbury, Ontario, and a seven-month walkout by copper miners in Murdochville, Québec.

So workers were in no mood for a business-as-usual approach in the federal elections. They seized the chance to launch a political fight through a party based on their unions.

### CLC campaign

The CLC's election stickers were plastered inside mines, mills, and factories across the country.

The labor federation pledged it would organize visits to the homes of each of its 2.3 million members to get out the vote for the NDP. Several unions organized phone banks.

In Québec, where the NDP has been weak, labor support grew as well. Out of a slate of seventy-three NDP candidates, thirty-four were trade unionists—probably a higher percentage than anywhere else in Canada.

The president of the big UAW local at the General Motors plant in Ste. Therese, Québec, ran on the NDP ticket. He won his local's endorsement—prompting new union interest and discussion in the NDP's campaign—and increased the party's vote in his riding (district) by some 40 percent.

In most provinces, as a result of the unions' campaign, the NDP vote increased.

Most important, the CLC campaign stimulated political discussion within the working class and helped to further politicize the union ranks. More and more workers began asking: What should be labor's solution to the economic crisis? How can we best bring the power of the unions to bear—both in the political arena and on the shop floor? If working people need our own party, why not our own government?

### Why a labor party?

When the unions broke from the Liberal Party and joined with forces from the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (a farmer-based party) to form the NDP in 1961, it was a giant

step forward for the Canadian working class.

For the first time, the trade unions had their own voice in the political arena. The NDP is financed by the unions; employers cannot simply buy its allegiance. The party's policies are determined at conventions where union delegations play the predominant role. In affiliated unions, workers are automatically members of the NDP through their union membership.

The existence of the NDP has changed the face of Canadian politics. It shifts the whole framework of political discussion.

When the unions campaign against electing "a management person" to Parliament, it popularizes the idea that society is in fact divided into classes. That the working class and capitalist class have opposing interests—economically, socially, and politically.

It becomes clearer to millions of workers that the capitalist parties running the government represent the employers, that their policies are not simply due to the reactionary views of individual politicians.

The program and leadership of the NDP do not reflect the real interests of the Canadian workers; they orient toward deals with the bosses to maintain "labor peace," similar to union officials in the United States.

Nevertheless, the very fact that the unions have their own political organizations and are not tied directly to the capitalist parties creates a more favor-

able climate for the workers to make gains. Just like having a union—even a bureaucratized union—puts workers in a stronger position than having no union at all.

Take just one example. Many U.S. workers know that in Canada there is a comprehensive, low-cost health-care plan. Union officials here often cite it as an example of what we need in this country. They don't often explain that workers first won this gain under an NDP provincial government in Saskatchewan, prompting its adoption across the country.

Isn't the fact that U.S. workers have no socialized health care related to the fact that we don't have a labor party?

### Why not here?

As American workers get more and more fed up with the Democratic and Republican politicians—and with seeing their union dues wasted on supporting these antilabor crooks—interest in the NDP is bound to grow.

Industrial workers in border cities such as Detroit, Buffalo, and Seattle watched the NDP campaign on TV. Many saw the NDP's Ed Broadbent concede defeat—not from an expensive hotel ballroom, but from a UAW headquarters.

Canada's labor party caused a stir at a recent UAW women's conference at Black Lake (see box). It's only logical to ask, as some participants did, why is the UAW throwing away its money and effort by backing the Democrats,



TRUDEAU

## UAW women: time for a labor party is now

By Linda Joyce

There was hot discussion about the New Democratic Party in Canada and the possibility of a labor party in the United States at a United Auto Workers women's conference held last month at Black Lake, Michigan.

Edie Welch, a UAW international staff member in charge of programs for women and retired workers in Canada, talked about the New Democratic Party. Later, a Canadian delegate suggested a labor party in the United States, and an American delegate made a motion that the UAW take a stand for such a labor party.

But UAW officials running the

conference said the time was not right for such a party in the United States.

One woman said to me, "It's *been* time!"

Another commented: "If we had our own party, the unions would be a hundred times stronger. It makes me want to move to Canada."

A third said: "You get fed up with what Carter's doing. Big business has taken over—they have control over our political leaders."

Although she thought the UAW is too divided right now to call for a labor party, she was inspired by the discussion and hopeful that some day we could support "our own labor person, coming from the workers themselves."





# 126,000 Militants

## Spring drive boosted industrial sales of

By Peter Seidman  
and Andrea Baron

126,000 copies of the *Militant* and its Spanish-language sister publication *Perspectiva Mundial*!

That's how many papers members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance sold during our recently completed ten-week circulation drive this spring.

Our goal had been to sell 100,000 papers—the same number as during last fall's twelve-week drive, but in a shorter period of time.

We were confident that we could do this. We knew that working people in the plants where we carry out our political activities were increasingly eager to read what socialists had to say.

But even the most optimistic of us can be pleased at the progress we made through this drive in learning how to increase the circulation of our press among working people.

The total of 126,000 papers we sold was considerably higher than the 123,544 we sold during the longer drive last fall. This total is also more than twice the 53,261 papers we sold during a ten-week drive only one year ago.

Of the forty-four branches of the SWP participating, thirty-six made or exceeded their goals. Another five branches came within 10 percent of their targets (see scoreboard).

But even these impressive figures don't tell the whole story.

Socialist workers made big strides in getting the *Militant* out to their co-workers, using the paper to raise ideas on what the unions should do to defend their members—and all the oppressed and exploited—from the rulers' offensive.

Our average weekly plant-gate and on-the-job sales, for example, jumped about 40 percent last fall, from 524 to 704 papers per week.

These industrial sales accounted for slightly more than 9 percent of our national total. In some areas—such as Toledo, Chicago, and Detroit—industrial sales averaged as much as 40 percent of our weekly totals.

Of course, in every area working people also bought nearly all of the balance of papers. They bought them in their neighborhoods, at union and political meetings, and at the many demonstrations against nuclear power and other capitalist crimes that took place this spring.



Striking Steelworkers in Newport News, Virginia, bought 170 subscriptions and well over 1,000 single copies of the 'Militant.' Unionists across the country valued the paper's news and analysis that helped to build support for this key labor battle.

Another measure of our success in reaching out to working people is our subscription sales.

When we launched the drive, we put a special emphasis on getting longer-term six-month or one-year subs into the hands of our co-workers.

Some 3,158 people bought subscriptions during the drive. Of this number 663 identified themselves on subscription coupons as members of a union.

Of these unionists, 308 were steelworkers—170 of them from the organizing drive in Newport News, Virginia.

Auto workers were the next highest category, buying 79 subs. Public employees bought 37; railroad workers, 36; teachers, 32; machinists, 23; Teamsters, 21; and electrical workers, 16.

Many of these unionists were among the 468 readers who bought longer-term subs. This includes 201 special four-month subs sold during the last month of the drive.

These figures show the progress members of the SWP and YSA are making in rooting our political cam-

paigns in the industrial working class.

They are also striking confirmation of the openness to socialist ideas among working people.

### Three Mile Island

The *Militant* played a key role in how socialists responded to every big political development this spring. It was the best way we had to explain our ideas. It was also the best tool we had for reaching out with them:

Within three days after the scope of the near-disaster at Three Mile Island became known, we had produced a special supplement and were selling it from coast to coast.

We sold more than a thousand of these supplements in working-class neighborhoods, at plant gates, schools, and protests in the Harrisburg area. Nationally, we sold 15,351 papers that week.

High sales around the antinuclear issue continued all spring.

It was not unusual for as many as 25 percent of the participants in local antinuke protests in cities across the country to buy the paper. At a national march of 125,000 in Washington, D.C., on May 6, some 3,000 demonstrators bought the *Militant*.

### Gas lines

Members of the SWP and YSA also went on a campaign to get the *Militant* into the hands of motorists forced to wait for hours on gas lines. In Los Angeles and other California cities, angry drivers snapped up the paper by the hundreds.

They appreciated the reports from Houston refinery workers about the real facts on the gas ripoff. Readers employed in plants in San Diego, New Orleans, and other cities also sent in news of their discussions on the crisis and what working people could do about it.

During this circulation campaign the *Militant* made further progress in its efforts to carry more and more such stories written by workers active in industrial unions.

The *Militant* played an indispensable role in how socialists related to the

most important labor struggle that took place this spring: the heroic strike by workers at Tenneco's Newport News shipyard for recognition of their union, Steelworkers Local 8888.

From the very beginning of the strike, the *Militant* was the only paper in Newport News to tell the truth about the union's struggle. Members of the SWP and YSA from up and down the eastern part of the country organized sales teams to make sure their paper got into the hands of Steelworkers in Newport News.

Altogether more than 2,000 single copies of the paper and some 250 subscriptions were sold there.

Sales of the *Militant* also helped mobilize labor solidarity with the Newport News strike in union locals and workplaces from coast to coast.

By selling the *Militant*, Tidewater-area socialists are also learning more about other key locations in their area.

At a Ford plant in Norfolk, for example, workers buy about 20 papers

## 'Perspectiva Mundial'

By Rich Ariza

During the spring sales drive members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance sold 4,901 single issues of *Perspectiva Mundial*. We also sold more than 150 introductory subscriptions.

During the first and last weeks of the drive special sales efforts were organized. The first week we sold 920 *PM*s; the last week, 770. During the other eight weeks we averaged 354 *PM*s per week, considerably below our goal of 550.

Branches of the SWP in four cities sold more than half of all the *PM*s: Los Angeles, New York, Phoenix, and Dallas. Nineteen branches of the SWP reported selling *PM* weekly. Another twenty-two branches reported occasional sales.

Most *PM*s were sold in Spanish-speaking communities. We also sold many at political demonstrations and meetings. Los Angeles socialists sold forty-seven copies to people on lines at gas stations during the eighth week of the drive.

The biggest challenge ahead will be to increase the number of *PM*s we sell on the job and at plant gates. Stepped-up industrial sales were the biggest gain in this spring's *Militant* sales drive.

*PM* can be our best tool for reaching out to the millions of Spanish-speaking workers in the United States. Integrating *PM* sales into our work in industry is one of the next big steps we need to take in building the circulation of the revolutionary press.

## Congra

By Gerry Kerr

The *Militant* circulation office is pleased to announce the following winners in the spring sales-drive competition:

- The individual with the highest single-copy sales of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* was Holbrook Mahn of the Los Angeles Socialist Workers Party. Mahn sold 530 papers during the ten-week drive.

He, along with the following nine other top salespeople, will receive the paperback book of their choice from Pathfinder Press: Jeff Stephenson, Toledo (412); Chris Horner, Dallas (364); Jack Lieberman, Miami (335); Betsey MacDonald, Phoenix (268); Jay Johnson, Philadelphia (259); Bruce Marcus, Los Angeles (238); Barry David, Albuquerque (234); Dick Geyer, Albuquerque (225); and Bruce Lesnik, Kansas City (222).



# & PMs

## socialist press



Within days after Three Mile Island, the 'Militant' published a special supplement on the fight against nuclear power. Teams like this one sold more than a thousand copies in the Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, area. More than 15,000 supplements were sold nationwide that week.

on shift-change sales. Ford workers snapped up some 100 copies of the issue featuring coverage of the April 16 cop riot against the Newport News strikers.

Members of the new SWP branch and YSA chapter there will be following up the successful spring sales in Newport News by visiting subscribers to the paper during June.

### Birmingham tops the list

Participation in the spring circulation campaign was also one of the first activities of the new SWP and YSA units in Birmingham, Alabama.

"We used the *Militant* to announce our presence in Birmingham," Nelson Blackstock, the SWP organizer explains. "We went out and sold at every political meeting we could find.

"People were very interested in learning who we were," Blackstock explains. "We told them that the *Militant* was the best way to find out.

"We also learned about Birmingham by going out to sell. We met a lot of workers at U.S. Steel in Fairfield and other industrial plants."

During the spring sales drive, the Birmingham SWP sold some 1,645 papers. The branch made its goal

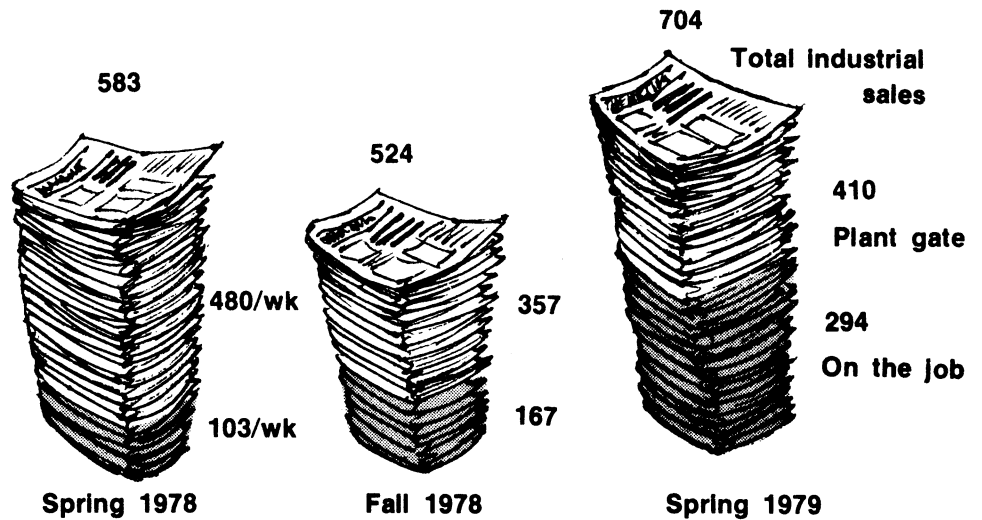
## lations!

- For highest participation, the Morgantown, West Virginia, branch of the SWP wins a bound volume of the *Militant*. An average of 92.2 percent of Morgantown SWP members went out on sales each week.

- The San Francisco SWP also receives a bound volume. This branch had the highest average weekly sales per salesperson. Participants in the circulation drive there sold an average of 15.9 papers per week.

- Twelve branches successfully organized to make their goal every week during the drive. These were: Atlanta, Birmingham, Dallas, Iron Range, Kansas City, Los Angeles, Louisville, Morgantown, Phoenix, Raleigh, Salt Lake City, and Seattle. Each will also receive a bound volume of the *Militant*.

## Industrial sales progress



part of the highly successful campaign by SWP leader Andrew Pulley for mayor of Chicago. Socialists there found the *Militant* was the most effective tool they had to campaign for Pulley. By selling the *Militant*, Pulley's supporters were able to get their candidate's call for a labor party into the hands of working people all over the city.

By the end of this spring's circulation drive, many SWP and YSA units had taken up these examples and applied them to struggles in their own areas.

Toledo, Detroit, St. Paul, and Minneapolis socialists went to sell their papers at picket lines thrown up by striking members of the United Rubber Workers union.

In one sale, Phoenix socialists sold thirty-seven papers to workers on strike for tighter safety regulations after one of their co-workers was killed in an industrial accident at a huge copper smelter.

We learned, in short, that we could use the *Militant* to get out our ideas about big political events and dramatic strikes and demonstrations. But also, as the key way socialists participate in the discussions of these developments that are taking place in factories, mines, and mills all over the country.

Over the summer, socialists will continue to circulate the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, making a special effort to maintain our level of industrial sales.

As SWP branches report their results to the circulation office, we plan to publish regular articles on their experiences.

These reports, along with what we've already learned this spring, will help us to think through next fall's circulation push. At that time we'll want to further build on the progress we've made, increasing the readership of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* among industrial workers.

## Final Scoreboard

CITY	SINGLE COPY SALES			WEEKS AT GOAL	SUBSCRIPTION POINTS	TOTAL SALES		
	MILITANT	PM	TOTAL			GOAL	SOLD	PERCENT
Birmingham	1645		1645	10	390	1050	2035	193.8
Baltimore	1481		1481	6	1035	1500	2516	167.7
Vermont	203		203	3	100	200	303	151.5
Iron Range	742		742	10	610	900	1352	150.2
Philadelphia	3800	147	3947	7	1155	3500	5102	145.7
San Francisco	3760	150	3910	3	610	3150	4520	143.4
Cincinnati	976		976	5	480	1050	1456	138.6
Los Angeles	5060	657	5717	10	2050	5900	7767	131.6
Atlanta	2223	6	2229	10	1020	2500	3249	129.9
Morgantown	1844		1844	10	460	1800	2304	128.0
Miami	1216	272	1488	4	1380	2300	2868	124.6
Washington, D.C.	2986	244	3230	6	1050	3500	4280	122.2
Gary	878	5	883	9	390	1050	1273	121.2
Kansas City	1528	12	1540	10	325	1550	1865	120.3
San Jose	1402	83	1485	5	595	1800	2080	115.5
Newark	2140	110	2250	5	1210	3000	3460	115.3
Pittsburgh	2127	6	2133	4	1045	2800	3178	113.5
Tacoma	1385		1385	3	580	1750	1965	112.2
Toledo	1299	28	1327	6	565	1700	1892	111.2
Phoenix	1736	480	2216	10	880	2800	3096	110.5
Louisville	1229		1229	10	745	1800	1974	109.6
Portland	1115	2	1117	6	855	1800	1972	109.5
Denver	1327	151	1478	4	710	2000	2188	109.4
Dallas	1909	441	2350	10	1555	3600	3905	108.4
Berkeley	1632	8	1640	4	630	2100	2270	108.0
Indianapolis	1052		1052	3	345	1300	1397	107.4
St. Paul	1076	3	1079	2	425	1400	1504	107.4
Detroit	1590	2	1592	3	1080	2500	2672	106.8
Boston	2625	116	2741	2	960	3500	3701	105.7
Albany	1301	30	1331	5	570	1800	1901	105.6
Seattle	2268	6	2274	10	565	2700	2839	105.1
Minneapolis	1716	12	1728	4	870	2500	2598	103.9
Amherst, Mass.	0		0		155	150	155	103.3
Salt Lake City	1795	20	1815	10	715	2450	2530	103.2
Chicago	3311	211	3522	4	1520	4900	5042	102.8
Milwaukee	937	23	960	3	840	1750	1800	102.8
St. Louis	1187		1187	4	970	2100	2157	102.7
Albuquerque	2003	259	2262	9	775	3000	3037	101.2
New York City	6498	946	7444	5	3280	11000	10742	97.4
Cleveland	1152	14	1166	3	460	1700	1626	95.6
Raleigh	1196		1196	10	425	1700	1621	95.3
San Diego	1167	145	1312	3	660	2100	1972	93.9
Houston	1181	104	1285	0	1005	2500	2290	91.6
New Orleans	821	10	831	3	405	1400	1236	88.2
Oakland	1366	79	1445	2	525	2240	1970	87.9
San Antonio	666	119	785	3	475	1440	1260	87.5
Iowa City	188		188	1	160	500	348	69.6
Misc.					2750		2750	
TOTALS	80,739	4,901	85,640		40,360	100,000	126,000	126.0

# Young Socialist Alliance charts turn to industry

By Paul Mailhot

There is deep ferment going on in the American working class and its unions today. And it is among young workers that there is the most rebellious sentiment and growing openness to socialist ideas.

This is the assessment of the Young Socialist Alliance National Committee which met in New York City in early May.

In order to take advantage of the important openings that now exist to win young workers to the socialist movement, the national committee decided to begin immediately to get as many YSA members as possible into industrial jobs. The YSA will be taking its program into the steel mills, rail yards, auto plants, coal mines, and other places where the young generation of radicalizing workers is employed.

Cathy Sedwick, YSA National Chairperson, stated, "We are proposing that the YSA respond to an opportunity that hasn't existed since we were founded two decades ago—the opportunity to become a youth organization with a working-class composition that can center its political work among our generation in the working class."

Since the YSA's founding its main arena of activity has been on college campuses and in high schools. This emphasis on recruiting students to a socialist perspective was based on the fact that this milieu was the most receptive to socialist ideas. It took some time for the radicalization to affect the working class.

## A new situation

But now, a new situation demands a new response. As Sedwick explained, "This move will put us in contact with the most important political changes taking place today—the radicalization of the American working class. It also puts us in a better position to begin reaching unemployed youth and high school students. And it will enhance our ability to recruit college students to a revolutionary working class perspective."

A number of speakers illustrated this point. Susan Brown, organizer of the Chicago YSA described how the YSA built support for the recent Andrew Pulley campaign for mayor of Chicago.

"The campaign gave us the opportunity to get Pulley onto the campuses, often where we had no YSA members, to explain our socialist ideas. What impressed many of the students and drew them to the meetings was that Pulley was a worker—a steel worker. He wasn't some lawyer or banker running for office."

The national committee, elected at the YSA national convention last January, is the highest decision making body between conventions. It gave overwhelming approval to Sedwick's report.

More than 100 people attended the plenum, as the national committee gathering is called. They included members of the national committee, YSA chapter organizers, and guests from the Socialist Workers Party and the Revolutionary Workers League/Ligue Ouvrière Révolutionnaire of Canada.

## Newport News strike

The plenum took place on the heels of the recently suspended Newport News shipyard workers strike against the giant Tenneco corporation in Virginia. The militant eighty-four-day strike for union recognition by United Steelworkers of America Local 8888 was pointed to as the most recent sign of



Striking Steelworkers in Newport News, Virginia, after police attack on their headquarters in April. Young workers are most militant, and most open to socialist ideas.

the growing radicalization of American workers.

"The battle of Newport News shipyard workers showed us in a dramatic way what it means for union members to take the fight for their democratic rights into their own hands," explained Miesa Patterson, organizer of the newly established Tidewater Area YSA. Tidewater encompasses the city of Newport News.

Patterson continued, "It showed us that there can be real solidarity among Black and white workers. Workers are beginning to realize if there isn't that kind of solidarity they are doomed to lose against the power of the bosses. And Newport News showed us that when the union puts up a fight against the bosses, the young workers, who have the least to lose, will be in the forefront of the battle."

In discussing the southern union fight against Tenneco, Sedwick emphasized: "The Newport News organizing drive and strike shows that workers are turning toward the unions more than at any time in decades. And this is becoming increasingly true in the South. Workers understand that organized into unions is the basic power of the working class. And they want more and more to see that power unleashed to protect their rights and living standards."

## Capitalist offensive

"American capitalism is in deep trouble. It has increasingly catastrophic problems in store for the masses of the American people as it worsens their standard of living, attacks their past gains and democratic rights, and heightens the danger of nuclear war and environmental destruction," Sedwick pointed out in her report.

The employer class faces a worldwide economic crisis. In order to boost their profits and increase the economic exploitation of workers the American capitalists have been on a drive to weaken the industrial unions.

The Carter Administration is also extending its domestic policies abroad. U.S. imperialism desperately needs to reestablish its ability to intervene militarily to protect economic interests in other countries.

Carter is currently using the contrived energy shortage, which is a real crisis for American working people, to dampen the resistance of the American people against military intervention in the Middle East.

The American capitalists' offensive against the working class both here and abroad has pushed the industrial unions, the most organized and powerful sector of labor, to center stage in American politics.

## SWP turns to labor

In February 1978, based on an analysis of the developing class struggle following the 1974-75 depression and the defeat of U.S. imperialism in Indochina, the Socialist Workers Party, decided to immediately organize to get a big majority of its members into industrial unions.

It was decided that this move would put the party in the best position to lead the big class battles against the employers' austerity and war drives. And it would put the party into contact with and help recruit the young working class militants who are the future leaders of the American socialist revolution.

The Young Socialist Alliance, which is in political solidarity with the SWP, made its decision to turn its forces to industry after weighing the experiences of the SWP in the industrial unions.

More and more working people, through bitter experience, are becoming aware of the class-against-class nature of American politics. Working people continue to have a deep suspicion of imperialist foreign policy goals and opposition to its wars. And confidence in the government and big business continues to decline.

One example is the energy crisis. Despite Carter's preaching, an overwhelming majority believe that the country's present gas shortage is contrived. Most people believe that the companies are simply holding out to get higher prices.

In explaining the necessity of a revolutionary youth organization, Sue Skinner, an auto worker from Toledo, commented at the plenum, "Many of the young workers in my plant are not yet ready to join a revolutionary party. They see the people in the Socialist Workers Party as being older with many years of political experience. Although many of them are very radical they just don't see the SWP as an organization of their peers at this time."

"A revolutionary youth organization like the YSA, with many young working-class members, would be more attractive to these radicalizing youth in the plants. We could win many of them to the socialist movement through the YSA."

## No nukes

Discussion at the plenum also centered on the developing antinuclear movement and how the work of the YSA in this fight would be affected by becoming an organization made up largely of working class youth. One speaker expressed concern that it may be more difficult to be involved in and help lead antinuclear groups as young workers rather than students.

Lisa Hickler, a YSA national committee member and railworker from Kansas City explained, "A key question facing the working class today is the nuclear danger. It is the power of the unions, the mass organizations of working people, that can put a stop to nuclear power and weapons."

"An important aspect of the YSA's work in the antinuclear movement and on the job will be to explain the absolute necessity of bringing the power of the labor movement into the antinu-



clear fight, and helping to get the unions involved. What better way to speak about this to everyone we know than from the vantage point of being young workers ourselves."

Since the Three Mile Island accident opposition to nuclear power has become widespread among working people.

A number of union locals endorsed the May 6 antinuclear march which drew 125,000 to Washington, D.C. And William Winpisinger, President of the International Association of Machinists, spoke at the May 6 rally.

Kathryn Crowder, an IAM member from San Diego and organizer of the YSA chapter there, described the interest of workers in her plant regarding the nuclear issue. She noted that most of the workers on her floor are young—between the ages of seventeen and twenty-three. "After the Three Mile Island accident the major thing being discussed on all the shifts, all day long, was the dangers of nuclear power," she explained. "Everyone was talking about it. And it was discussed in the union."

"I put forward a resolution against nuclear power at the local meeting. Although it was defeated by just four votes there was so much interest in seeing the union take a "no nukes" stand that the resolution is being discussed at this week's meeting. This time I'm sure it will pass."

### SWP presidential campaign

In a few months the Socialist Workers Party will be launching its 1980 presidential campaign. A major report at the plenum given by Susie Berman, YSA National Secretary, outlined the purpose of the campaign and the YSA's role in supporting and building it:

"Our entire socialist movement will be taking advantage of the attention focused on the presidential race to talk to thousands of steel workers, miners, auto workers, young workers, Blacks, *latinos*, women, to farmers, and college and high school students. We will be going to them and explaining our socialist ideas. We will be explaining that the working class keeps this country running and that working people, not bankers and industrialists, should run the country."

"We will be explaining that the working class is the only social force powerful enough to wage a successful fight to end unemployment, inflation, and the threat of nuclear catastrophe. And we will explain that in order to halt the rulers' offensive the labor movement needs its own political party to challenge the Democrats and the Republicans—a labor party based on the trade unions."

The report on the SWP campaign explained that young people are looking for answers—radical solutions to the problems of society. The generation of young workers, high school and college students, and the unemployed growing up today represents the most radical and rebellious layers of society. They don't like the alternatives offered them by the capitalist system—being radiated by some nuclear plant or being drafted and used as cannon fodder in some imperialist war.

"For the next period we want to take the socialist alternative to our generation through the SWP campaign," explained Berman. "The key to all our

future lies in the working class taking control and organizing society in the interests of the vast majority. And the next and necessary step for workers to take along this line of march is to organize their political power in a labor party, that they control, to fight for the rights of the oppressed."

Bob Warren, a national committee member from Ann Arbor, also spoke about the attraction that young radicalizing students will have toward a revolutionary organization of young workers and students.

"One of the forums sponsored by our chapter featured SWP member Robin Mace, who is an auto worker in Detroit. She gave a talk on feminism and socialism which drew the biggest crowd we had gotten for any of our events. There was tremendous interest in what a feminist and a socialist who is an auto worker had to say. Five students who attended that meeting eventually joined the YSA," Warren explained.

The plenum projected continuing to get out the YSA's socialist ideas among students. This will be done through sales of the *Militant* and the *Young Socialist*.

### SWP convention

A summer tasks and perspectives report to the plenum discussed the importance of the Socialist Workers Party convention to be held in Oberlin, Ohio, in early August. During the summer months SWP branches across the country will be organizing discussions on the major resolutions to be discussed at the convention.

These discussions will focus on the unfolding working-class radicalization and the party's experience in its turn to industry. Other aspects of the discussion will take up the Cuban revolution, the situation in Indochina, and the struggle for women's liberation.

The SWP convention discussions will be a valuable education for the hundreds of young socialists around the country. And the convention will provide an opportunity for socialists to share their experiences in the plants, the mills, and the mines.

### Youth organization

After a full-two day discussion, the perspective of the YSA becoming an organization with a large majority of its members working in industry met with the enthusiastic approval of the plenum. Such an organization will put the YSA in the best position to win the young working-class militants who will be at the forefront of the struggle for a socialist future. The YSA's turn to industry will also establish the youth organization and the revolutionary party as a common movement working together in industry and helping to lead the struggles of the working class.

Rohima Miah, from the Tidewater, Virginia, YSA, expressed the sentiments of those departing from the plenum when she said, "If we all agree that the working class is in the center of American politics today—if that's true and we all agree it is—then the YSA as a revolutionary youth organization wants to be there with as many forces as we can muster. That just follows naturally. We don't want to be on the sidelines. We don't want to be the cheer-leading team for the coming American revolution. We want to be right there in the ball game."

## ...farmers

Continued from page 12

"Food for crude," and "A bushel of wheat for a barrel of oil," the AAM is mounting a campaign that blames "foreign oil" for high fuel prices.

But OPEC oil is no more the cause of high fuel costs than farmers are the cause of high food prices. It is the U.S. oil corporations' drive for more profits that puts the squeeze on farmers and other consumers.

The AAM doesn't have a position for or against nuclear power, but many farmers are concerned.

"I don't know about it [nuclear power] and I'm scared of it," said Shay. Kay, his wife, was more definite. "I'm opposed to it," she said.

### Discussion on structure

The main purpose of this AAM meeting was to discuss organization. Delegates—two from each state AAM—discussed the national structure of the group. This is an ongoing debate among AAM members.

Since its founding in 1977, the AAM has been loosely organized. It has a newspaper, *American Agriculture News*, but no real structure.

The central demand of the AAM protests is for 100 percent "parity." What this means is that the government should provide subsidies to working farmers to make up the difference if prices they receive are less than what they need to cover production costs and a decent standard of living.

The strength of the AAM thus far lies in its ability to mobilize farmers in action around demands directed against the government. In December 1977 the AAM called its first national action—a strike and tractorcade to Washington to protest rising costs. This year's tractorcade was the largest AAM demonstration to date.

Some of the farmers expressed fears that the AAM may go the way of other farm groups that have become sluggish bureaucratic mazes with little or no action perspective.

Currently the AAM maintains a Washington office that monitors farm proposals and coordinates lobbying efforts. There are some state AAM offices. Add national meetings, telephone hotlines, and demonstrations, and that's the extent of the AAM's national operation.

At this meeting delegates voted to adopt a set of bylaws and to incorporate the AAM.

No immediate plans for action were laid out. It appeared that the AAM's efforts will be channeled into lobbying for favorable legislation and gasohol. Farmers are trying to have a voice in the provisions of the new 1980 farm bill.

### 'Get Carter out'

As far as the 1980 elections are concerned, "we're going to get Jimmy Carter out of there," was the attitude commonly expressed.

The AAM plans to support the Democratic or Republican candidate whose platform seems to come closest to their demands for parity and gasohol production.

But no big-business politician—Democrat or Republican—is going to act in the interests of either wage workers or working farmers. These politicians represent the big capitalists who are on an offensive to increase their profits at the expense of both worker and farmer.

Some farmers are beginning to realize that they will have to ally with the labor movement to win their demands.

Certain AAM chapters have worked with unions on specific actions.

During the United Mine Workers strike in 1977-78, farmers provided food for miners.

Last fall, farmers joined with unionists in Missouri to defeat a proposed

"right to work" amendment.

Most recently, Nebraska AAM came out in support of truckers protesting high diesel fuel prices.

Today, a campaign around the energy crisis offers the best opportunity for the unions to reach out to farmers for united action. Both share a common interest in fighting back against the energy trust.

## ...health

Continued from page 7

What makes this so bad is that organized labor is the one force in this country with both the interest and the clout to accomplish something progressive in the field of medical care.

Even the miserably inadequate health insurance plans that exist today are mainly the products of labor efforts. Blue Cross and such outfits as Kaiser Permanent and Health Insurance Plan mushroomed as the result of unions winning coverage in their contracts.

But the top labor officials remain tied to the medicine-for-profit principle. Which is no accident. They are also tied to the Kennedys, the Carters, and other capitalist politicians who are wedded to the profit system.

### Socialized medicine

But while the Republicans and Democrats have a stake in preserving the present racketeering medical setup, working people don't.

The unions should be taking up the fight for nonprofit medical care for all—a system of socialized medicine.

Under such a plan, medical facilities would be publicly owned and directed. Doctors would be salaried and highway-robbery "fee for service" eliminated.

Establishing such a plan would require political action. It couldn't be established just through union contracts—although the bosses should certainly pay for it.

The fact that the Kennedys, the Carters, and the rest of the Democratic and Republican politicians oppose this is one more compelling argument in favor of the unions breaking with both capitalist parties and building their own party, a labor party.

With socialized medicine, all medical workers would receive a decent salary. But none would profit from human misery. When a patient walked in the door, a doctor would see a human being, not a dollar sign. That would mean better medicine.

Once you eliminate huge medical profits, escalating costs could be brought under control. Costs would be cut even further—in human as well as dollar terms—because nonprofit health care would stimulate full-scale development of preventive medicine. This is something that barely exists for working people today.

Can capitalism afford that kind of a medical system?

If it can't, we can't afford capitalism.

## ...refugees

Continued from page 5

viewed as a signal to do just the opposite. We should redouble our demands on U.S. imperialism to end its war drive against the peoples of Indochina.

Those who are sincere in wanting to help the "boat people"—and much more importantly, the working people of Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea—will demand that the U.S. stop all aid to Pol Pot, the Laotian rightists, and the Thai military dictatorship; grant diplomatic recognition to the governments of Vietnam and Kampuchea; and provide massive aid to reconstruct the countries of Indochina.

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- ☐ Please send me more information.
- ☐ Enclosed is \$1 for a six month subscription to the 'Young Socialist' newspaper (50¢ for high school students).

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## Gains made on COLA

# Rubber strike ends without contract vote

By Shelley Kramer

After reaching a tentative settlement with Uniroyal June 18, United Rubber Workers President Peter Bommarito ordered the union's 8,500 strikers back to work. The rubber workers shut down Uniroyal six weeks ago.

Bommarito had already announced a new three-year contract with Goodrich June 15. That pact has since been declared the industry-wide pattern.

Firestone says it will follow through on its earlier pledge to settle for whatever emerges as the pattern. Goodyear—the largest tire maker—is still negotiating with the union. In all, the rubber contracts cover some 55,000 workers.

The Uniroyal strikers were told to return to their jobs without having voted on their new contract—or even being notified of its contents.

"I've never heard of anything like this before—never!" fumed one old-timer at Local 101 headquarters in Detroit. He couldn't remember ever

going back before a contract was ratified.

"They don't have the right to send us back without ratification. This isn't legal," charged another unionist, summing up the angry mood there.

Television and newspapers announced that rubber workers had won up to 40 percent in wages and benefits, delivering a hearty blow to Carter's 7 percent wage guidelines. But from what little has been revealed about the actual contract terms far less than 40 percent is added to workers' paychecks.

According to the *Wall Street Journal*, rubber workers will receive raises of thirty-two cents an hour the first year and twenty cents in each of the next two years. With wages at about eight dollars an hour, that's a scrawny 9 percent increase over three years.

But the strike did win an improved cost-of-living formula, the best of any union yet. Rubber workers will now receive a one-cent increase in wages for every 0.26 point increase in the Con-

sumer Price Index. That gain can set a powerful precedent for upcoming contracts, especially for the auto workers, who share the URW's old COLA formula.

From the beginning of the rubber negotiations, the government intervened aggressively to help the corporations keep wages down. Federal mediator Wayne Horvitz sat right in on the contract talks. And despite a court ruling last month that enforcement of Carter's 7 percent guidelines is illegal, the government-industry gang-up is still holding wages far below the rate of price increases.

Goodrich, Uniroyal, and Firestone all agreed to the URW's other chief demand—company neutrality pledges in union organizing drives. The pledge is limited to tire plants only; industrial rubber and chemical plants are excluded.

For Goodrich—whose tire plants are all unionized—there's little to lose in this gesture. Goodyear, whose biggest plant is opening in Lawton, Okla-

homa, without a URW contract, has yet to sign the pledge.

In any case, as auto workers have learned from years of "neutrality" pledges from General Motors, such company promises don't mean much when it comes to actually organizing non-union plants.

Another top demand of rubber strikers was an end to unsafe, filthy working conditions. Nothing has been mentioned on this score in contract accounts so far.

If the rubber contract comes in as less than a resounding victory, it is not because rubber workers were unwilling to fight. They turned out for picket-line duty and stood up to police harassment. But many realized that striking only one company meant frittering away the union's power.

As the *Militant* goes to press, rubber workers have still not heard when or how they are to vote on the new contract. They may yet have something to say about it.

# Tenneco's company union nears collapse

By Jack Garfield

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—The self-proclaimed "world's largest independent union" looks like it's just about ready to go down for the count.

For nearly four decades the Peninsula Shipbuilders Association has served the bosses of Newport News shipyard as a company union. But over the past three weeks the PSA has had its new building foreclosed and its officers called under investigation by a grand jury for financial misconduct.

The PSA's corruption has long been an open secret here.

But what explains the crisis of the company front is that shipyard workers, in decisive numbers, are with the United Steelworkers of Local 8888.

This shift was reflected in the January 1978 shipyard elections, which the Steelworkers won—the first union victory in over three decades of organizing efforts.

The PSA not only boasted it would win the elections seven to one, it plunked down initial payments on a new, million-dollar building. Tenneco pitched in to keep the PSA afloat by refusing to cancel dues deductions for the company union, despite requests from former PSA members.

The PSA suffered another blow when Tenneco was forced to withdraw formal recognition of the PSA after the Steelworkers' election triumph was certified by the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) last October.

The Steelworkers then sued to see the PSA's records, demanding it return the ill-gotten dues money.

The inability of Tenneco to smash the Steelworkers during their eighty-two day strike for union recognition added to the PSA's woes. And when Local 8888 members came back into the shipyard in late April, fired up and talking union, they began winning over and signing up the apples of the PSA's eye: scabs hired during the strike.

Financially crippled, unable to recruit or maintain a membership, the PSA had to release almost all of its paid staff. They returned to work in the shipyard—with promotions.

The PSA's new building was auctioned off a couple of weeks ago, with the former owners in hock to the new landlords.

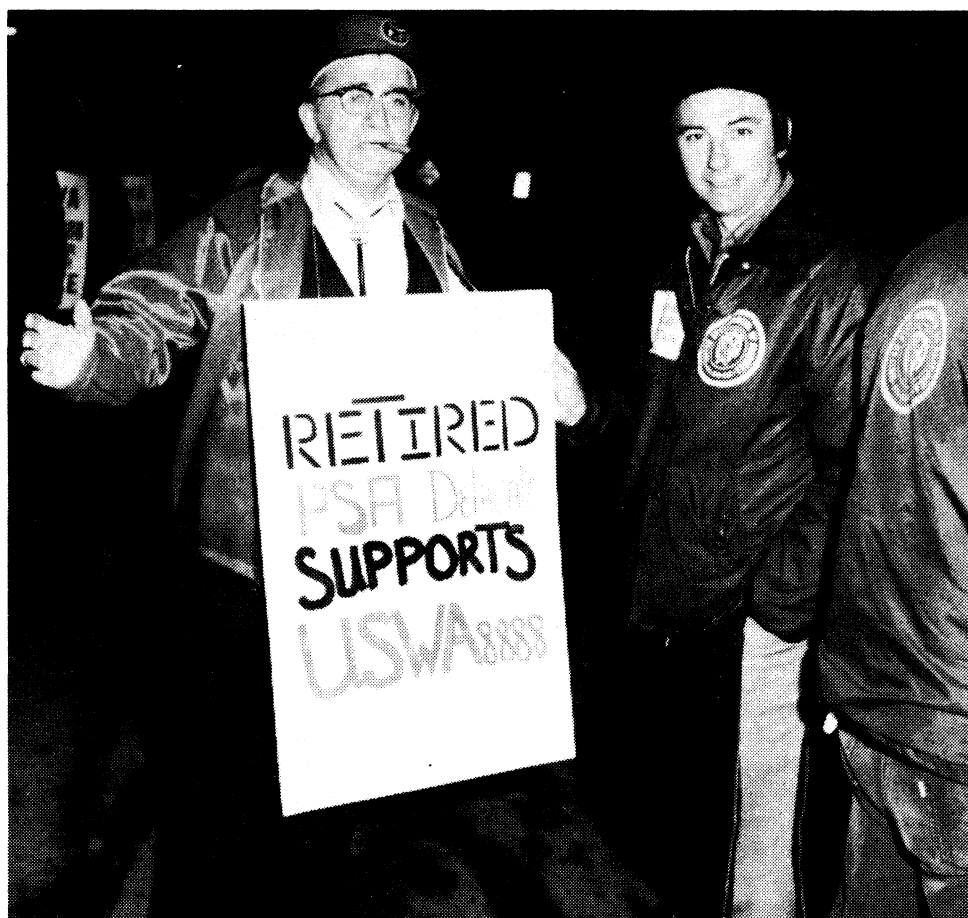
A chorus of "no comment" has been the response of PSA officials on the grand jury investigation.

But the PSA isn't a corpse just yet. The extent of the PSA's appeal "rights" in challenging the NLRB's certification of the Steelworkers remains unclear. And Tenneco is sure to use PSA elements in any way it can to prevent Local 8888 from establishing itself inside the yard.

In Newport News, in the Tidewater area—and across Virginia—the crumbling of the PSA and the rise of the Steelworkers in the state's largest workplace signals the changing times.

The plantation keeper, the PSA, organized by the shipyard to keep the unions out, has failed. It is fast becoming

a relic in a South where union is no longer a dirty word, but a call to action.



Steel Labor

Former PSA members joined Steelworker picket lines during strike for recognition. Today many are joining the union.

## Newport News: 1,500 pack USWA meeting

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—More than 1,500 Steelworkers attended Local 8888's first general membership meeting since the suspension of the union's strike against Tenneco in April.

The big turnout at the Saturday night meeting, June 16, demonstrated the unity and determination of Local 8888 as it prepares for the next round of struggle against the shipyard's brass.

The spirit at the meeting was that of a reunion—a reunion of picket-line activists, strike volunteers, and veterans of "Bloody Monday," the April 16 cop riot against Local 8888's pickets and headquarters.

At the entrance of the union meeting at Hampton High School, new Steelworkers signed up, joining the

union and then attending the meeting moments later.

Steelworkers District 35 Director Bruce Thrasher and subdistrict Director Jack Hower reported on a series of National Labor Relations Board activities related to the union. They also told of a pending investigation of the shipyard by the Occupational Safety and Health Administration.

The other point of business covered was a discussion of the relaunching of Local 8888's newspaper, *The Voyager*. During the strike, it was replaced by a strike bulletin.

The problem facing the union is that it has no local funds. United Steelworkers locals do not collect dues until they have secured recognition, which Local 8888 is still fighting for. So the union's executive

board requested that the USWA district office fund *The Voyager*.

Thrasher and Hower, it was reported at the meeting, turned down the request. They favor maintaining the suspended strike bulletin, which is not prepared locally.

This did not sit well with many Local 8888 members. Several took the floor to explain why a locally produced newspaper—prepared by workers—was important for building the union and its struggle.

A big round of applause and cheers greeted a Black worker who summed up the discussion by stating that Local 8888's members need more than "something put out in Pittsburgh"—the USWA international headquarters. His proposal to request funding from the interna-

tional for *The Voyager* passed unanimously.

"We need a paper written by people on the scene," one worker told the *Militant*. "Something that lets us know what's going on. And the best people to write that are inside the shipyard."

Another worker said she hopes the international office will fund the paper, "because we need to have it. And when our membership decides we need something, then we ought to have it because it's our right."

As the Steelworkers streamed out of the hot, cramped auditorium the mood was one of solidarity. Down to the newest members the ranks of 8888 felt they had attended a meeting where they could have their say—and make it count.

—J.G.



## Czechoslovakia: defend Petr Uhl!

By Will Reissner

In dawn raids on May 29, Czechoslovak political police arrested ten leading activists of Charter 77, the country's most prominent civil-rights organization. Among those arrested were Petr Uhl and two of the three public spokespersons of the group. Other arrests were reported to have taken place on May 31.

Uhl faces the most serious charge, "subversion" of a dangerous character, under Article 98, subsection 2 of the criminal code. The charge carries a minimum sentence of three years in jail and a maximum of ten. Others face charges of "subversion" (subsection 1 of the same article) carrying a penalty of one to five years imprisonment.

At the time of his arrest Uhl was editor of the Charter 77 information bulletin and was also an active member of the Committee in Defense of Unjustly Persecuted Persons (VONS), an important defense committee for victims of political persecution in Czechoslovakia.

Uhl has openly expressed his political sympathy with the Fourth International and has made many contributions to the political and tactical discussions that have taken place within Charter 77. He recently contributed to a book on the East European civil-rights movement, which is to be published by the Polish opposition group Social Self-Defense Committee-KOR.

Among the others arrested are Charter 77 spokesperson Jiri Dienstbier, a leading Communist journalist for Radio Prague in 1968, and subsequently its correspondent in Washington before he was expelled from the CP and fired; Vaclav Benda, secretary of VONS and a spokesperson for Charter 77; Dana Nemcova, a leading figure in the cultural underground; Vaclav

Havel, an internationally known playwright, who is active in VONS and the Charter group; Jarmila Belikova, also active in both groups; Jiri Nemec; and Otta Bednarova.

Charter 77 was formed around a petition that was presented to Czechoslovak authorities in the first week of 1977, calling on them to uphold the basic civil rights that are embodied in Czech law but denied in practice. The charter noted that many fundamental rights exist "only on paper." It went on to list violations of rights that had taken place.

Since its appearance Charter 77 has been signed by more than a thousand people in the country, and has received widespread endorsement from workers and left organizations in Western Europe and other areas.

In the past, Czechoslovak authorities had repeatedly stated that they would not take repressive measures against the Charter signers. Rather, they said, they would combat the Charter and its supporters through "purely political" means. These assurances were repeated last April when Communist Party chief Gustav Husak met with the president of Austria in Prague.

The current arrests, however, indicate an attempt by the Husak regime to crush Charter 77 by administrative and penal methods.

Charter 77 has, in fact, been under increasing pressure since late 1978. The Husak government's first move, in October, was to arrest Jaroslav Sabata, one of the most active of the Charter spokespersons. Sabata had been instrumental in expanding the Charter's influence and effectiveness.

Sabata's arrest was the result of meetings he had had with Polish dissidents. In January he received a nine-month jail sentence for obstructing the police, to which a further eighteen months was then added in May.

Sabata had been active in the



Soviet tanks during 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia. Frame-up of Uhl is part of bureaucratic regime's continuing effort to hold masses in check.

"Prague Spring" of 1968 when, under mass pressure, there was a loosening of the controls on the population by the Dubcek regime. He was an opponent of the Soviet invasion that overthrew Dubcek and installed the present Husak government. Sabata was elected to the Central Committee of the Communist Party at its clandestine Fourteenth Congress, convened the day after the Soviet invasion.

He continues to hold the view that the Czechoslovak CP can be "reformed" although he himself has been expelled from the party.

In 1971 Sabata was arrested for oppositional activities and was sentenced to six and one-half years in prison, of which he served five years. His release in 1976 was "conditional" for three years, meaning that he would have to serve the remaining time on his sentence if he was arrested again.

According to his family, Sabata's health is very poor, and he has suffered two heart attacks. They fear that he will not survive if he has to serve his full sentence.

The Charter 77 movement was dealt another blow recently when Josef Danisz, a young lawyer, who had defended the Charter signers in the past and who served as Sabata's defense attorney in his recent trial, was himself arrested. Danisz was sentenced to three months in prison, expelled from the official lawyers' association, and barred from practicing law after June 30, 1979.

And now the regime has moved

against Uhl, Dienstbier, Benda, Havel, and the others. Article 98 of the criminal code, under which they are being held, defines subversion as "an activity designed to undermine citizens' confidence in the organs of state authority."

This charge is so vague that it could be used at any time against anyone who criticizes the regime. The fact that it is being used now shows that the Czechoslovak government is putting the rest of the Charter 77 signers on notice that they too could wind up in jail if they continue to protest violations of human rights.

The seriousness of the situation is evidenced by the fact that in the past the Czech political police have seldom arrested and charged opponents of the regime without then carrying through with a prison sentence. In rare instances in the past in which dissidents were arrested but then released, this was the result of vigorous international campaigns that took place.

A similar campaign—spearheaded by the labor and socialist movements around the world—is an urgent necessity today to win the immediate release of the courageous human-rights fighters imprisoned in Czechoslovakia.

Telegrams and statements of protest should be sent to President Gustav Husak, Prague, Czechoslovakia, or to Czechoslovak embassies abroad.

Copies of such messages should be sent to Anna Sabatova, Anglicka 8, Prague 2, Czechoslovakia.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

## Brazil metalworkers win partial victory

By Fatima Oliveira

SÃO PAULO—The two-month-long dispute between metalworkers in São Paulo's industrial suburbs and the management of Brazil's auto industry ended May 13 when workers in Santo André, São Bernardo, and São Caetano (ABC) voted reluctantly to accept the terms of a compromise agreement. "I know the compromise is bad,"

Luis Inácio da Silva (Lula), president of the São Bernardo metalworkers union, explained to more than 70,000 metalworkers assembled in that city's municipal stadium on May 13.

"But I think we must accept it. If we go on strike tomorrow, the working class will lose because we would have no union headquarters, no stadium, no church in which to meet."

The 200,000 ABC metalworkers carried out the most important strike in Brazil's recent history from March 13 to March 28. They suspended that work stoppage only after the government declared the strike illegal and intervened in the unions, expelling the elected leadership.

The strike demands of a 78% wage increase, union representatives inside the plants, full compensation for days on strike, and an end to the intervention were to be negotiated over a forty-five-day period. Despite the intervention, the union's elected leaders participated in these talks.

The agreement reached on May 12 provides wage hikes of up to 63% with time lost during the strike to be discounted from paychecks and made up in overtime.

Many metalworkers expressed dissatisfaction with this accord. When the terms were read out to the São Bernardo assembly, the speaker was

drowned out by booing. But the overwhelming majority of the assembled workers voted to accept the offer.

To force an end to the government intervention in the unions, metalworkers leaders announced at the May 13 gathering that an assembly would be held at the São Bernardo union headquarters on May 26 with the full participation of the deposed officials.

"The strike movement in the ABC area, especially in São Bernardo, is taking on a political aspect," declared metalworker Enilson Simões, who proposed the union assembly. "We're going to meet together in our headquarters whether or not the government intervenor has been removed from his post."

Two days later, government officials announced that the metalworkers leaders would be reinstated, since "social peace" had been reestablished in the ABC industrial belt.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

## Predict big battles ahead

# Europe: Trotskyist trade unionists hold

By Colleen Levis

ANTWERP, Belgium—More than 250 European Trotskyist unionists met here June 2-3 to exchange experiences and discuss strategy in trade-union work.

Delegates were present from twelve European sections of the Fourth International. Countries represented were Austria, Belgium, France, Greece, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and West Germany. Nearly a third of the conference participants were women.

The conference was organized on the theme "Workers in Struggle Against the Bosses' Europe" as part of the campaign of the Fourth International for the elections to the European Parliament.

The conference focused on the profound effects of the current worldwide economic crisis on European workers.

Charles-André Udry, a member of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International and a central leader of the Swiss section, made opening comments. He stressed that today, unlike the situation in the 1930s, the European working class has not suffered major defeats.

Big battles lie ahead, he said. To

play a key role in these struggles, the sections of the Fourth International must be present where they will take place—that is, in basic industry, transport, and communications.

### Austerity offensive

This question and the demands that have arisen in the fightback against the austerity offensive being waged by workers throughout Europe were discussed in workshops.

A particularly important demand to emerge in many European struggles is for a thirty-five-hour workweek with no cut in pay. (See accompanying article.)

This demand was central in recent strikes of German, Italian, and French steelworkers against massive layoffs.

In fighting for this and other demands against the attempts by capitalists to make them pay for the economic crisis, workers have run up against the class-collaborationist policies of the leaderships of the trade unions and mass working-class parties.

The bureaucracies that control the workers movement today have systematically supported the austerity measures of capitalist governments. In some countries, such as Spain and Italy, the leadership of the workers

parties took prime responsibility for the introduction of such measures.

One of the workshops discussed the appearance in several countries of opposition within the unions and the mass workers parties to these class-collaborationist policies. The most important example discussed was the opposition inside the metal workers union (FIOM) in Italy.

Cutbacks in social services and the attempts to return public services into private capitalist hands were also discussed. The role of demands for nationalization under workers control in struggles in France and Luxembourg were examined. In another workshop, experiences in Belgium of struggles for workers control were cited.

A very important question for European Trotskyists was discussed in a workshop on immigrant workers. Among the hardest hit by unemployment and attacks on living standards, these workers are an important proportion of the industrial working class in almost every European country. They will play an important role in the fightback.

Another key question discussed was whether women members of sections of

the International should seek to join unions in which women are now predominant or those which are strategic.

### Women in industry

Several delegates argued that Trotskyists should lead the fight for women's right to work in basic industry as a key part of the turn toward industrial unions.

Reports from different countries revealed that a series of demands have emerged within the unions relating to the fight of women workers against the ruling-class offensive.

Delegates pointed to the systematic attempts of the ruling class to drive women out of the work force, to keep them in traditional "female" jobs, or to drive them out of basic industry.

Some women in Spain are beginning to fight to have access to traditionally "male" jobs such as driving trucks. Some have demanded that contracts guarantee the employment of a certain percentage (quotas) of women workers to prevent women from being eliminated by layoffs.

In Italy, auto workers at an Alfa plant have demanded that women have parity with men on waiting lists for hiring. Some of the women

## To counter rising unemployment

# For an immediate action campaign to win

The following article was prepared as part of the discussion material for the June 2-3 conference of European Trotskyist trade-unionists.

The crisis of the capitalist economy has struck a hard blow at workers' jobs. Whether we are in a recession or an economic recovery, massive unemployment persists and grows. The capitalists speak of "restructuring" and "adapting" production to "the new conditions of the world market." In practice, that means continual declines in employment, massive layoffs, and actual and projected factory closures.

There are now 16 million workers who are officially counted as unemployed in the imperialist countries alone, without even considering the countries of the so-called Third World. This figure threatens to rise considerably over the next year, in light of the prospects for another recession.

In the Common Market countries, official statistics acknowledge that 6.5 million persons are unemployed. But all the bourgeois governments have adopted procedures to reduce the official unemployment figures. The real number of jobless is thus much higher, probably around 8 million.

It is certainly much easier to eliminate certain categories from the unemployment statistics—especially immigrants, women, youths, and older people—than it is to provide them with jobs. In fact, the present governments have shown themselves totally unable to ward off the scourge that is dragging down the working class. This despite all the sermons that a "mixed economy will assure full employment and a continually rising standard of living," a myth that the leaders of the big workers organizations have themselves swallowed and are helping to spread within the working class.

The employers are not unhappy with the rise in unemployment. As they see

it, workers' knowledge that they could lose their jobs leads to greater "wisdom" on their part and on that of their unions—that is, to a drop in their combativity and a moderation of their demands.

### Austerity policies

The abrupt reappearance of unemployment after a long period of full employment has led to a certain disarray among wage earners, in view of the fact that their mass organizations were little prepared for the change in situation.

The bosses, governments, and union bureaucrats have profited from this by making the workers accept various austerity policies or by preventing them from putting up a united struggle against those policies. "Absolute priority to employment, even at the cost of wage sacrifices" was the slogan they tried to get the workers to accept during 1976 and 1977.

But the workers have been able to draw a balance sheet. In exchange for the "social pacts" (Italy and Spain), "incomes policies" (Britain and Denmark), and a "moderation of wage

demands" (West Germany, France, Belgium, and the Netherlands), unemployment has not disappeared or fallen. It has tended to increase.

The workers had thus been played for fools by the class-collaborationist policies imposed upon them. They are now realizing that. Today there are rumblings of anger against unemployment in France, Britain, and Spain, and discontent is rising in West Germany, Italy, Portugal, and elsewhere.

The curve of workers struggles, strikes, and violent reactions to the capitalist crisis, formerly in decline, is



West German steelworkers strike last year. Bottom placard says: 'We're standing firm—5% pay increase, 35-hour week.'



# conference

marched into the plant's foundry, demanding decent working conditions and the elimination of the night shift for all workers in order to allow women to have access to those jobs. They are also demanding training courses for women in "nontraditional" jobs.

Women in the metal industry in Germany have demanded that government subsidies be withheld from companies that refuse to hire women.

In Italy and the Netherlands, part-time work has been used to keep women from playing a central role in unions.

The possibility of women winning the right to get into traditionally "male" jobs through a political campaign was also raised. A successful fight of a woman Trotskyist in Canada to get into the rail industry was cited.

The workshop also discussed the effect of cutbacks on the right to abortion and to child-care facilities. This is particularly posed in Sweden and Britain. Conference participants stressed the need for the unions to fight for these rights and to prevent undermining of present gains.

Udry outlined the central conclusions of the conference. He noted the need for the Fourth International to

lead a campaign in Europe for the thirty-five-hour week.

## Turn to industry

The conference showed the need for further such gatherings in the future. Udry made the suggestion that auto workers in the Fourth International in Europe should meet soon to map out their work together. The twenty-five auto workers at the conference made up the biggest contingent from a single industry.

He also suggested the establishment of a European-wide secretariat to coordinate the union work of the sections in the fight for a class-struggle tendency in the unions.

But most important, he stressed, is the need for a serious conscious turn of all the sections, led by the central leaderships of each section, with the aim of placing a majority of the members of the Fourth International in Europe in the key industrial, transport, and communications unions. He stressed the need for work in industrial unions to be totally central to all the work of European Trotskyists.

This conference was an important step in that direction.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor



Immigrant workers demonstrate in France. Conference participants discussed special role of women workers and immigrant workers in class struggle.

# shorter workweek!

beginning to rise.

Witness the actions of the French steelworkers in the east and north and of the workers in Caen, Nantes, Saint-Nazaire, La Rochelle, and Saint-Etienne; the impressive wave of strikes in Britain that won wage increases on the order of 15 and 20 percent, breaking the "5 percent ceiling" the Labour government wanted to maintain; the rise of no less impressive strikes in Spain, approaching the "historic record" of strikes in the first half of 1976; the long German steelworkers strike in the Ruhr in December 1978 and January 1979.

All these explosions demonstrate the determination of the workers to reject the burdens of the capitalist crisis that the employers and governments are trying to get them to shoulder.

At the same time, we must have no illusions. Within the framework of a capitalist regime, no limited measures affecting the length of vacations or the age of retirement, no marginal reduction of the work day will stop massive unemployment.

Employment will be maintained and extended only if there is a *radical and immediate reduction* of the workday, in all industries at the same time, of at least 10 percent, pegged to the actual annual rate of increase of productivity.

Only the immediate introduction of a thirty-five-hour workweek, with no reduction in pay, with mandatory affirmative-action hiring quotas, and with workers control over the pace of work can effectively and rapidly produce jobs for the 8 million unemployed in the Common Market.

## No cut in pay

There must be no reduction in wages, otherwise a fall in buying power will reduce purchases, therefore demand, and therefore production. The jobs lost in this way will cancel out those created by the reduction in the workweek.

There must be mandatory hiring quotas and workers control over the pace of work, otherwise the bosses will manage to foist the costs of reduced working hours onto the backs of the workers through speedup, "rationalization" of the labor process, and imposition of additional tasks. The unemployed will remain unemployed.

For several years, only a minority of the vanguard workers have fought for thirty-five hours. But the hard lessons of the economic crisis have opened the eyes of ever broader strata of unionized workers.

The pressure from the ranks has been so great that a number of union federations have added the demand for a thirty-five-hour workweek (thirty-six hours in Belgium) to their official program of demands. These include the FGTB and CSC of Belgium, the CGT and CFDT of France, the British TUC, the DGB and IG Metall of West Germany, the Italian FIOM, and the Danish LO.\*

## Union bureaucrats

The union bureaucrats, of course, have given only lip service to this demand. They have tried to water it down (calling for a one-hour reduction of the workweek . . . each year!), have tried to eliminate its effectiveness as a weapon against unemployment, or

have cynically abandoned it.

The bureaucrats of IG Metall, for instance, recently backed off from the demand at the end of the Ruhr strike. They did so against the wishes of an absolute majority of the striking steelworkers, who had struggled with such determination to achieve a breakthrough on this question for the entire working class of Europe.

One of the main arguments used by the bureaucrats to justify their reluctance, in opposition to the wishes of their members, is that the introduction of a thirty-five-hour workweek in only one country will weaken the "competitiveness" of "national industry," reduce "our exports," and thereby wipe out more jobs than are created.

That is the employers' argument. Like their protectionist proposals, it is aimed at dividing the workers along "national" lines.

It ignores the fact that the example of an important working-class victory in one country against unemployment—which is recognized as the main problem by workers in all the European countries—will be quickly followed by their class brothers and sisters in neighboring countries.

History has proven this. The countries where the working class was the first to win the forty-eight-hour week, and then the forty-hour week, were hardly ruined by those gains.

This argument can be turned against its proponents by asking them a question: You tell us that you are partisans of the "building up of Europe," of a "Europe of the workers." Then what are you waiting for? Why don't you call a joint action for the thirty-five-hour workweek in all the countries of the Common Market?

In fact, the need for such a joint action is felt so deeply by the union and the mass of workers that the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions organized a European-

wide action in support of a thirty-five-hour week on April 5, 1978. But it was just for show: a five-minute halt in work, demonstrations after the end of the workweek, and other ridiculous steps.

Actions must be called by other forces that can stand up to the resistance of the bosses, which promises to be fierce.

Even the super-reformist leaders and partisans of class-collaborationism of European Social Democracy have inscribed the demand for a thirty-five-hour week at the top of their platform for the June 1979 European elections. The French CGT has decided to sound out other European trade unions with the aim of launching a "common initiative" in favor of the thirty-five-hour week.

Let's demand that all these organizations meet their responsibilities. The struggle against unemployment, layoffs, and factory closures cannot be limited to vague electoral promises or "initiatives" for consultation and negotiation, which have little future.

The Fourth International, on the occasion of its international campaign, in all the European countries, for the European elections, calls on all militants of the workers movement and all rank-and-file workers to intensify agitation among their workmates and within their mass organizations with the aim of reaching immediate agreement for unity in action among all the unions of the Common Market countries.

The unions should soon call a broad action, on a national and international level, for a thirty-five-hour workweek, with no reduction in pay, with mandatory hiring quotas, and with workers control over the work pace.

Unemployment will not be reduced, unless we win, at a single blow, the demand for thirty-five hours!

Toward action for the thirty-five-hour workweek!

## Why Communist Party lost in Italian election

By Gerry Foley

The June 3 parliamentary elections in Italy registered a growing disenchantment with the policies of the Communist Party and the search for an alternative by a significant number of its supporters.

The vote also pointed up the dangerous lack of any political leadership defending the real interests of the working class. Millions of unemployed youth, workers, and layers of the middle class are becoming infuriated by

cuts in their standard of living and the disappearance of hopes for any answer to their problems. But they find no party prepared to lead them in fighting for solutions.

The biggest loser in the elections was the Communist Party, the major party in the Italian working class. Its vote for the Chamber of Deputies dropped from 34.4% in 1976 to 30.4%. This was one of the biggest electoral setbacks in the party's history.

The CP's losses were the result of its policy of "historic compromise" with the Italian bourgeoisie.

The CP's support had begun to rise sharply with the deepening of the capitalist crisis, when it was seen as an alternative to the bourgeois government.

In the last parliamentary elections in 1976, the CP, following its "historic compromise" line, refused to fight for a workers government. As a result, the party's advance lost its momentum.

Since 1976, the Stalinists have used their votes in parliament to keep a Christian Democratic government in office and to support its austerity policies.

The "historic compromise" line involved giving up any perspective of struggling for major social changes. The CP abandoned any fight for a solution to the problems facing the youth and the impoverished masses in the backward south. Its theoreticians even began to spin arguments about the need to defend the interests of the "producers," that is, the employed workers, against the "nonproducers," the unemployed youth and southern-

ers. They also argued that austerity could be a means for "transforming" society.

The fact is that the CP did not even defend the immediate interests of the employed workers. The unions led by the CP tried, with increasing difficulty, to keep the workers from fighting back against the Christian Democrats' attempt to cut their living standards.

For several months before this election, there were clear signs that sections of those who voted for the CP in 1976 were becoming disillusioned.

The capitalist press had anticipated a decline in the CP vote, expecting that the Christian Democrats would be the gainers. But the bourgeois party's vote even declined slightly, from 38.7% to 38.3% for the lower house.

Thus, the setback for the CP did not reflect a significant political shift to the right.

The vote for the ultrarightist parties declined as well.

On the other hand, neither the vote for the Socialist Party nor that of the centrist parties that claim to stand to the left of the CP increased significantly. The two centrist groups, Party of Proletarian Unity (PdUP) and the United New Left together got 2.2% of

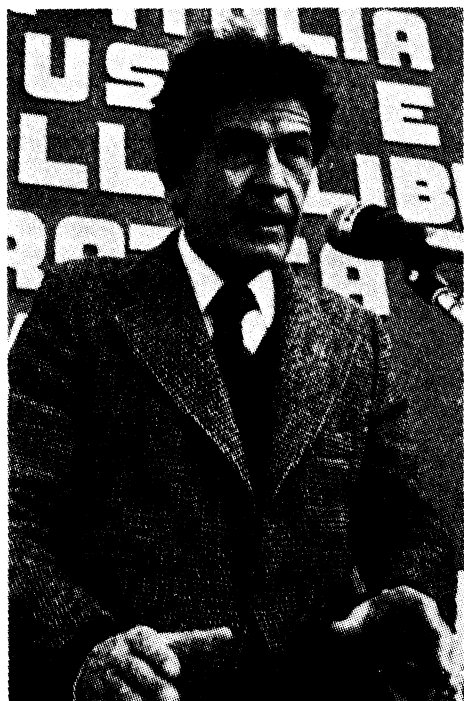
the vote. In the last parliamentary elections, there was only one centrist slate, Democrazia Proletaria, which got 1.5% of the vote.

The party that made the largest gains was the tiny petty-bourgeois Radical Party, which is considered antiestablishment, having played a prominent role in a number of struggles on democratic issues such as women's rights and the fight against repressive laws.

Those who switched their votes from the CP to the Radicals were looking for a way of fighting the evils of Italian bourgeois society, but they were diverted down a blind alley. This petty bourgeois group—it is hardly even a party—has no answer for the fundamental problems facing the Italian masses.

Only a clear line of class independence and uncompromising struggle against the bourgeoisie and all its political parties can offer hope for solving these problems. The longer the masses that want to fight their way out of the capitalist crisis do not get such political leadership, the greater the danger that sections of them will become disoriented.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor



CP CHIEF BERLINGUER: Having trouble selling austerity policy to Italian workers.

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## South Africa

## Butcher of Soweto forced to resign

By Ernest Harsch

After more than two decades as one of South Africa's leading architects of white supremacy, John Vorster was forced to resign as president June 4—not because of his many crimes against Blacks, but because he got caught lying to his fellow whites.

On the same day as his downfall, Vorster was accused by a government-appointed commission of having taken part in a cover-up of "gross irregularities" in connection with a corruption scandal involving several former officials.

The resignation marks the effective end of Vorster's political career, which began in the 1930s when he joined a pro-Nazi organization.

Known for his staunch opposition to any advance by the country's Black

majority, Vorster was named to various government posts. In the early 1960s, as minister of justice, police, and prisons, he instituted a fierce crackdown that was successful in crushing most open dissent. After becoming prime minister in 1966, he presided over the further extension of the racist system of apartheid, the South African invasion of Angola in 1975-76, the stripping of citizenship rights from many Blacks, and the massacre of more than 600 young Black protesters during the urban uprisings of 1976.

In September 1978, Vorster resigned as prime minister to take up the largely ceremonial post of president, at a time when the first revelations of corruption and secret foreign influence-peddling operations by the Department

of Information began to break. Several of his lieutenants, including Minister of Information C.P. Mulder and Gen. Hendrik van den Bergh of the secret police, were driven from office.

Vorster's fall from power and the extent of the scandal itself are reflections of the extreme pressures bearing down on the white minority regime.

The advances of the Black liberation struggle in the rest of southern Africa and especially the growing militancy and activism of South Africa's urban Black population have tended to sharpen the political differences within the ruling National Party over what course to follow to best preserve white supremacy and the capitalist system on which it is based.

Those in the party leadership who favor a major overhaul of the apartheid system, such as Vorster's successor as prime minister, Pieter W. Botha, were able to take advantage of the scandal to advance their own "solution" to the crisis.

At the same time, Botha realizes that if the scandal gets out of control, or continues much longer, it could undermine his own efforts to make apartheid more effective. In particular, signs of serious division or weakness within the government could encourage Blacks to step up their opposition.

In an attempt to squelch any further

revelations of corruption or secret government projects, Botha has pressed for the adoption of the Advocate-General Bill, which would bar newspapers from publishing scandal disclosures without official permission. The ruling class cannot afford many more casualties like Vorster.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor



VORSTER: Caught lying to whites.



# Marroquin: 'U.S. government involved in repression, torture'

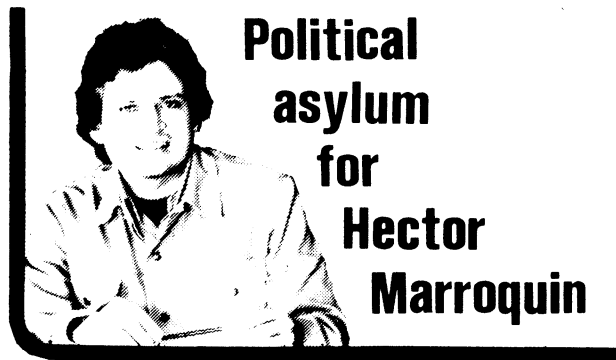
With this issue the 'Militant' continues its publication of major excerpts from Héctor Marroquín's deportation hearing. The hearing took place April 3-5 in Houston, Texas, before Immigration and Naturalization Service Judge James Smith.

Marroquín—who is seeking political asylum in this country—is a trade unionist and a member of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. He was forced to flee Mexico in 1974 to avoid being victimized by the regime for his political beliefs.

At the deportation hearing, Marroquín testified and offered documentary proof and expert witnesses on behalf of his claim for asylum. Six days after the hearing, Judge Smith, ignoring the evidence, denied asylum and ordered Marroquín deported from the United States.

Smith's decision is currently under appeal to the Board of Immigration Appeals in Washington, D.C.

In the excerpts from the hearing, below, Margaret Winter is Marroquín's attorney; James Smith is the immigration judge; and Daniel Kahn is the INS prosecuting attorney.



## Political asylum for Hector Marroquin

**Smith:** We have just gotten Mr. Marroquín to Baja California.

**Winter:** Would you just state, Mr. Marroquín, how you traveled to Baja.

**Marroquín:** Well, I traveled to Baja California trying to hide my identity as much as I could because I was afraid, terrorized, of being caught by the Mexican police, which would mean certain torture, imprisonment, or death.

The precautions that I took were to dye my hair and use all kinds of things to cover my real identity.

**Winter:** Why did you leave Baja California?

**Marroquín:** I decided to leave for several reasons. One, the fear that I have of the Mexican police increased. Increased because I knew that one of the teachers from the Economics Department had been assassinated. His body had appeared in one street in Guadalajara showing all the telltale signs of torture.

The police in Mexico denied that they had done anything to this man, but nobody else in Mexico but the Mexican police use the kind of torture that the teacher received. Among this kind of torture I should mention cigarette burns, electrical shocks, fractured bones, fractured fingers.

I feared that this could happen to me, if I had been arrested. Other things that contributed to my fear was the fact that the Mexican government started to distribute lists of politically persecuted persons all over the country, accusing them of being criminals, subversives.

In this list of many, many individuals that were being sought by the government, my picture appeared. So I realized that I was not safe in that city because my picture had appeared in that city also. And I decided to leave and seek political refuge in the United States.

**Winter:** Why didn't you go to the American Embassy in Mexico if you thought that you were a refugee?

**Marroquín:** I was afraid that if I had gone to the American Embassy I would have been turned over to the Mexican authorities, to my would-be torturers and executioners. That was because of my mistrust and lack of confidence in the United States government.

### Coup in Chile

It was in my mind perfectly clear the recent experience of the military coup that took place in Chile, which cost the lives of thousands and thousands of people, and which was engineered and financed by the Central Intelligence Agency.



Mexican troops round up demonstrators in 1968. Marroquín indicts Washington for its role in aiding and supporting repression of political activists in his country.

**Smith:** Can we get it to Mexico?

**Marroquín:** Well, that was one thing that made an impact all over Latin America, including Mexico, and that thoroughly discredited the U.S. government. The other thing was the role U.S. government agents played in the massacre of students in 1968 on October 2 [in Tlatelolco Plaza in Mexico City].

Many newspapers in Mexico publicized the fact that government agents of the United States were involved in that repression, including the torture of many political activists. So I was afraid that if I turned myself over to the American Embassy I would have been returned immediately to the Mexican regime.

**Winter:** Mr. Marroquín, do you know who Miguel Torres Enriquez is?

**Marroquín:** Miguel Torres Enriquez was a doctor in Monterrey. He was a political activist for a while in Monterrey. He is presently a political prisoner.

**Winter:** Your honor, I have here a sworn statement of Miguel Torres Enriquez that I want to submit.

The reason I'm introducing this affidavit at this time is that it relates to the testimony that Mr. Marroquín has given about his subjective state of mind, why he did not consider going to the American Embassy. Now I'm going to read a relevant part of this affidavit—

**Kahn:** I object. It speaks for itself.

**Smith:** This is hearsay at least twice removed. It speaks for itself. Please just submit it, Exhibit No. 14. It doesn't relate to [Marroquín] at all.

**Winter:** Will your honor permit me to explain the relevance?

**Smith:** Very tersely.

**Winter:** I want to ask Mr. Marroquín one question relating to a statement in this affidavit and this has to do with his state of mind, that is, the well-foundedness of his fear. . . . The statement relates to this particular man, Miguel Torres Enriquez, who did go to an embassy and who was then arrested.

[Torres Enriquez said]: "I was apprehended December 5, 1974, inside the French Embassy in Mexico City where I had gone to seek political asylum. Despite the fact that the ambassador had verbally granted me political asylum while inside the embassy, personnel from the federal security police arrived. I was then taken to the International

Airport in Mexico City in order to simulate my arrest there."

My only question is, is this the sort of thing you feared?

**Marroquín:** Yes, exactly.

**Kahn:** Objection. Total hearsay, two or three times removed.

**Smith:** Overruled, and it will be admitted as Exhibit No. 15.

### In Houston without papers

**Winter:** After you left Baja California, what did you do?

**Marroquín:** I went to Moralos, Coahuila, Mexico, and then I went to Houston.

**Winter:** What did you do in Houston?

**Marroquín:** I started working in the Barbary Coast as an assistant to the bartender. I worked there for the next three months.

**Winter:** While you were in Houston, did you ever consider going back to Mexico?

**Marroquín:** No, I did not. Not at all.

**Winter:** What was your life like in Houston?

**Kahn:** Objection. It has no bearing.

**Winter:** Questions have risen as to Marroquín's claim that the reason that he didn't return is because he was afraid to return. What would be established by his testimony is that he was not staying here to seek economic advantage, that is, his life here was much more difficult in every way than it would have been in Mexico where he would have been a professional, a teacher, a student. . . . What kind of work did you have?

**Marroquín:** I was getting \$1.08 an hour when I began.

**Winter:** Did you consider that reasonable pay?

**Marroquín:** Well, when I got that job, the employer asked me if I had any documents and I said that I did not, because I had lost them. And he said that he couldn't pay me the full salary because I didn't have any documents.

**Winter:** During the period when you were living in Houston did you continue to follow the Mexican press?

**Marroquín:** Yes, I did. In Houston, Texas, there are places where you can get the papers from Mexico.

**Winter:** Mr. Marroquín, I have here an article from *El Porvenir*, dated April 23, 1974. Do you recognize this article?

**Marroquín:** Yes, I do. The article accused me of a crime of having participated in a shoot-out with members of the federal police in Mexico. They say that I was the person wounded in the shoulder.

**Winter:** Did you read this article when it came out?

**Marroquín:** Yes, I did.

**Winter:** And what was your reaction to it?

**Marroquín:** I was very, very much impressed. Very much surprised that the government authorities in Mexico would continue their frame-up political charges against me. That they would continue to accuse me of being a guerrilla activist. I was particularly surprised at that accusation because at the time when that accusation was made I was working fifty-six hours a week at the Barbary Coast. And I can prove that at the time when those things were happening I was, in fact, working.

## Union official urges asylum

Trade union official Abe Feinglass sent a message to Director of Immigration Leonel Castillo on May 22, urging asylum be granted to Héctor Marroquín. "To deport him," said Feinglass, "would endanger his freedom and his life, and would make a mockery of President Carter's human rights assertions." Feinglass has been International vice-president of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters, which recently merged with the Retail Clerks Union.

## 'The Punished Peoples'

The Punished Peoples. Aleksandr M. Nekrich. Translated from the Russian by George Saunders. W. W. Norton, New York, 1978. 238 pp. \$10.95.

In 1943 and 1944 more than one million people, representing whole nations, were deported from their traditional homelands by order of Josef Stalin. *The Punished Peoples* is the story of this crime of Stalin and his heirs.

The fight to rectify these wrongs is still going on. Only this March, Crimean Tatar leader Mustafa Dzhemilev was sentenced for the fifth time by a Soviet court for participating in the struggle of his people to return to their homeland.

The small nationalities deported by Stalin from the Crimea and the northern Caucasus regions included, in addition to more than 280,000 Crimean Tatars, the Karachai, Kalmyk, Chechin, Ingush, and Balkar peoples.

These peoples, falsely accused of collaboration with the German invaders, were used as scapegoats by the ruling bureaucratic caste, whose misleadership resulted in staggering setbacks for the Soviet Union during the first part of World War II.

Aleksandr Nekrich documented the criminal policies of Stalin and showed how they left the Soviet Union unprepared for the war in an earlier book, *June 22, 1941* (the date of the Nazi invasion).

Stalin had signed a nonaggression pact with Hitler in August 1939, and the moment it was



Residents of Moscow listening to announcement of Nazi invasion on June 22, 1941. Stalin used Crimean Tatars and other nationalities as scapegoats for defeats in first months of war.

## Books

signed Stalinist propaganda stopped depicting Hitler as a threat to the Soviet people.

Not only was the Soviet Union disarmed politically and psychologically by the Stalinist policy of seeking peace through deals with imperialism, it was also hurt militarily. The purge trials aimed at preserving bureaucratic rule had beheaded the Soviet armed forces just a few short years before the war began.

### A dangerous book

When Nekrich's book on the Nazi invasion appeared in 1965 he was a senior research fellow at the Institute of General History of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Nekrich had worked at the institute for more than thirty years, and his research and the publication of his book were officially sanctioned.

But after the book appeared Stalin's heirs had second thoughts about it. Too many of them were involved in the incidents exposed by Nekrich. Moreover, if Soviet scholars are allowed to start exposing Stalin's true historical role, that would be only the beginning of a process.

They would begin to tell the truth about the Russian revolution and the consolidation of the privileged bureaucracy during the 1920s.

So the bureaucracy demanded that Nekrich repudiate his work. He refused.

In 1967, Nekrich was expelled from the Communist Party. His books were removed from all libraries in the USSR and—except for a few restricted collections—were destroyed.

Although Nekrich continued to pursue his research, he was hardly allowed to publish anything. The manuscript of *The Punished Peoples* was published following Nekrich's emigration from the USSR.

### 'Special Settlements'

Nekrich shows that despite the charge of treason leveled by Stalin against whole peoples, the deported nationalities endured heavy losses in the antifascist underground, and put up heroic resistance to the invaders.

While the peoples of the Soviet Union—including those victimized by Stalin—were straining every nerve in the effort to beat back the Nazi invasion, Stalin freed a fleet of freight cars to ship these nationalities like cattle from their homelands. They were forced to move on only hours' notice thousands of miles eastward to Central Asia and Siberia.

Many thousands of those jammed into railway cars died in transport to the "special settlements" decreed by Stalin.

At the settlements themselves the toll was even higher. Hundreds of thousands died from starvation, malnutrition, and disease.

A large percentage of the able-bodied adults could not get jobs. Those who did were forced to do heavy labor under conditions they were unaccustomed to, usually for 20 to 30 percent less pay than ordinary workers laboring alongside them.

Sentry posts ringed the settlements. To be caught without a pass or to violate any of the numerous special restrictions imposed on the settlements could mean a twenty-five-year term in a labor camp.

Nekrich disproves the assertions of Stalin's heirs that the deportations were a unilateral action by Stalin alone. They resulted from discussions within the highest government and military bodies.

### Bolshevik policy

Opposition to the methods and policies of the bureaucratic regime tended to be higher among the oppressed nationalities, and discussions on the possibility of dispersing such opposition through deportations took place even before the German invasion.

Little wonder the post-Stalin rulers want this phase of Soviet history suppressed. They are as guilty as Stalin.

Nekrich contrasts the nationalities policy of Lenin with that of Stalin. The Bolsheviks led by Lenin viewed the national question, as everything else, within the context of the overall struggle for socialism.

Lenin and Trotsky—although Nekrich doesn't mention Trotsky—knew that the impoverished, war-ravaged, and economically backward country they had come to power in could not develop toward socialism without the help of proletarian revolutions abroad.

It was essential for the Soviet state to serve as a model and inspiration for the masses of struggling and oppressed peoples throughout the world. This meant that the Great Russians—formerly an oppressor nationality—had to bend over backwards in guaranteeing the rights of the peoples oppressed by the old regime. They had to support the national rights of these peoples even if some of them chose to separate from the Soviet Union.

Such a policy was best for the development of the Soviet Union, since it encouraged the fullest and most enthusiastic participation of the formerly oppressed nationalities, and it helped to inspire the working class around the world.

### Rise of bureaucracy

But proletarian revolutions in Europe and China were defeated, and the isolation of the Soviet Union, combined with its inherited backwardness, favored the growth and consolidation of a privileged bureaucracy.

Led by Stalin, this bureaucratic caste was able to establish its dictatorial rule and reverse many of the progressive political and social policies of the

Bolsheviks. At the same time, the economic foundations of the workers state were maintained.

The political policy of the bureaucracy, instead of being based on the idea of extending the socialist revolution as under the Bolsheviks, was based on holding on to its privileged position within the USSR.

Nekrich is on the right track when, after reviewing the conflict between Lenin and Trotsky over the nationalities question in 1922-23, he concludes: "The question arises whether the intensification of Great Russian chauvinism was not one of the consequences of the idea of building socialism in one country."

Under Stalin the Soviet regime carried out a campaign to russify the non-Russian peoples. Russians were preferred for positions of authority, Russian settlement in non-Russian areas was encouraged, and discrimination in education, cultural opportunities, and cultural policy was institutionalized.

Stalin hoped to eliminate the national question by forcing the non-Russian peoples to "assimilate"—ie., become Russian. Resistance to this policy—which remains the basic policy of the Soviet regime—has been met with brutal repression.

### Continuing oppression

After Stalin's death in 1953, his heirs felt it necessary to make some concessions.

The peoples of the Northern Caucasus were allowed to return and their Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics were restored. However, during the fourteen years they lived in exile from their homes, the land had either been left unattended or had been resettled, predominantly by Russians. As Nekrich demonstrates, these peoples face in their own homeland job discrimination, housing discrimination, and poor schools.

Although Stalin's phony charges against them were dropped in the middle and late 1960s, the Volga Germans and the Crimean Tatars have still not been allowed to go home. To justify this in the case of the Tatars, the regime claims that they have "put down roots" in Uzbekistan. But Nekrich shows the spuriousness of this claim.

The Kremlin rulers, who fear all revolutions because they may inspire the Soviet masses to rebel, are particularly sensitive when the issue of national oppression is raised in such revolutions.

The Persian chauvinism of the shah of Iran, for example, who suppressed the language and culture of the Turkish peoples in Iran, had many similarities to the Russian chauvinism of the Stalinist rulers with respect to the Crimean Tatars.

The Stalinist rulers can only fear that the heroic achievements of the Iranian masses in overthrowing the shah will serve as an example to the oppressed in their own country—especially to the nationally oppressed workers and peasants, who together make up more than half the population in the USSR.

—Marilyn Vogt



# By Any Means Necessary

## 'We want our roots back'

The following guest column was written by Baxter Smith.

HARRIS NECK, Ga.—Here in this marshy wilderness of heat and hungry horseflies, fifty Black families are demanding back 2,687 acres of land the federal government stole from them in 1942.

But the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service says the land of this national wildlife refuge belongs to several hundred deer, geese, and pasturing cows.

So in early May the Black families marched onto the refuge and announced they were reclaiming their land. They erected pup tents and fashioned little wooden signs proclaiming "Timmons Estate" and "McIntosh Property."

"We want our roots back," says Rev. Chris McIntosh. "The government took our roots away."

McIntosh, sixty, is one of the Harris Neck Blacks who was here on that rainy summer day in 1942 when soldiers came and told the residents to get out within forty-eight hours.

The army announced it needed the land for an air base to train pilots for World War II.

"They said, 'This is war,'" recalls McIntosh. "And they said it like they meant it."

Army bulldozers moved in and flattened a grocery store, an oyster cannery, church, courthouse, school, and thirty or so houses.

"People were screaming, fainting, crying," McIntosh said. "Some of the old men never got over it. I remember watching one girl run out of her house minutes before the dozers got to it. She wrapped her tiny little baby in a blanket and kept on running. I never saw her again."

The Harris Neck Blacks, whose farming and fishing ancestors began homesteading in these parts after slavery, say the army gave them seven dollars an acre for their land in 1942. The army then advised them not to move far away because they assured the Blacks they could return to their land after the war.

But today the army denies making any promises. And now comparable land in this low coastal area, bathed by the muddy waters that crabs and oysters love, runs for more than \$20,000 an acre.

Edgar Timmons, a thirty-two-year-old disabled veteran, calls the army's behavior "an act of racial discrimination."

"They gave my granddaddy seven dollars an

acre," Timmons said. "But a white man whose land they also used, they gave much more."

Timmons was one of four Blacks who were arrested and dragged away from the refuge by U.S. marshals four days after the reclamation. A federal court had issued an injunction against the occupants that the four were charged with violating.

"But we spent four days at home and it was beautiful," Timmons says.

Ever since the war's end and the eventual conversion of the airbase to a wildlife refuge, the Harris Neck Blacks have been attempting to regain their land. In 1947 they petitioned the government for the army to make good on its promises. But they got no response.

"In 1972 the younger generation started talking more about going home," Timmons explained. "Elliot Campbell, me, and the others had had enough."

Now they plan to file suit seeking title to the land plus \$50 million in damages.

"We're not squatters," Timmons says. "They're the squatters. This is our land. One way or another, we're going home."

## Capitalism Fouls Things Up

Arnold Weissberg



### Bribes, malnutrition, and volcanoes

Unable to sell a single nuclear plant in this country between 1975 and the end of 1978, U.S. reactor manufacturers turned their sales forces loose overseas, especially in the semicolonial world.

There, U.S.-backed repressive regimes have not yet had to worry too much about antinuclear protesters. And there the profits are fattest.

Consider the case of a nuclear power plant Westinghouse sold to the government of the Philippines.

The starting price was \$500 million for two reactors. Westinghouse didn't bother to make a detailed proposal to the government as its rival, General Electric, did. While GE drew up a four-volume plan, Westinghouse simply submitted its standard advertising brochure.

Westinghouse may not have been too worried about the outcome of the bidding war because it had bribed a key relative of Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos with \$35 million to smooth the way.

Needless to say, Westinghouse got the contract.

Nine months later, Westinghouse made a formal proposal. This time the price tag was up to \$1.2 billion.

By the end of the year, the price had doubled again—this time to \$1.1 billion for *one* reactor.

Meanwhile, the Marcos regime had managed to get a \$644 million loan from the U.S. government's Export-Import Bank to finance the deal.

Not only did Marcos's friend and business partner Herminio Desini get a huge bribe "for assistance in obtaining the contract and for implementation services," but his construction company, a year old when Westinghouse won the bid, snared the construction contract.

The Philippines have been under martial law since 1972. Marcos's government has admitted jailing 70,000 opponents of the regime since then.

Before martial law, Desini, who is married to a cousin of Marcos's wife Imelda, was an accountant in a tobacco firm. By 1978, the *New York Times* reported last year, he controlled thirty-five companies worth \$200 million.

The electricity from the nuclear plant will go to the Bataan Export Processing Zone, an economic giveaway to giant multinational corporations.

Meanwhile, 80 percent of Filipino children under six are malnourished.

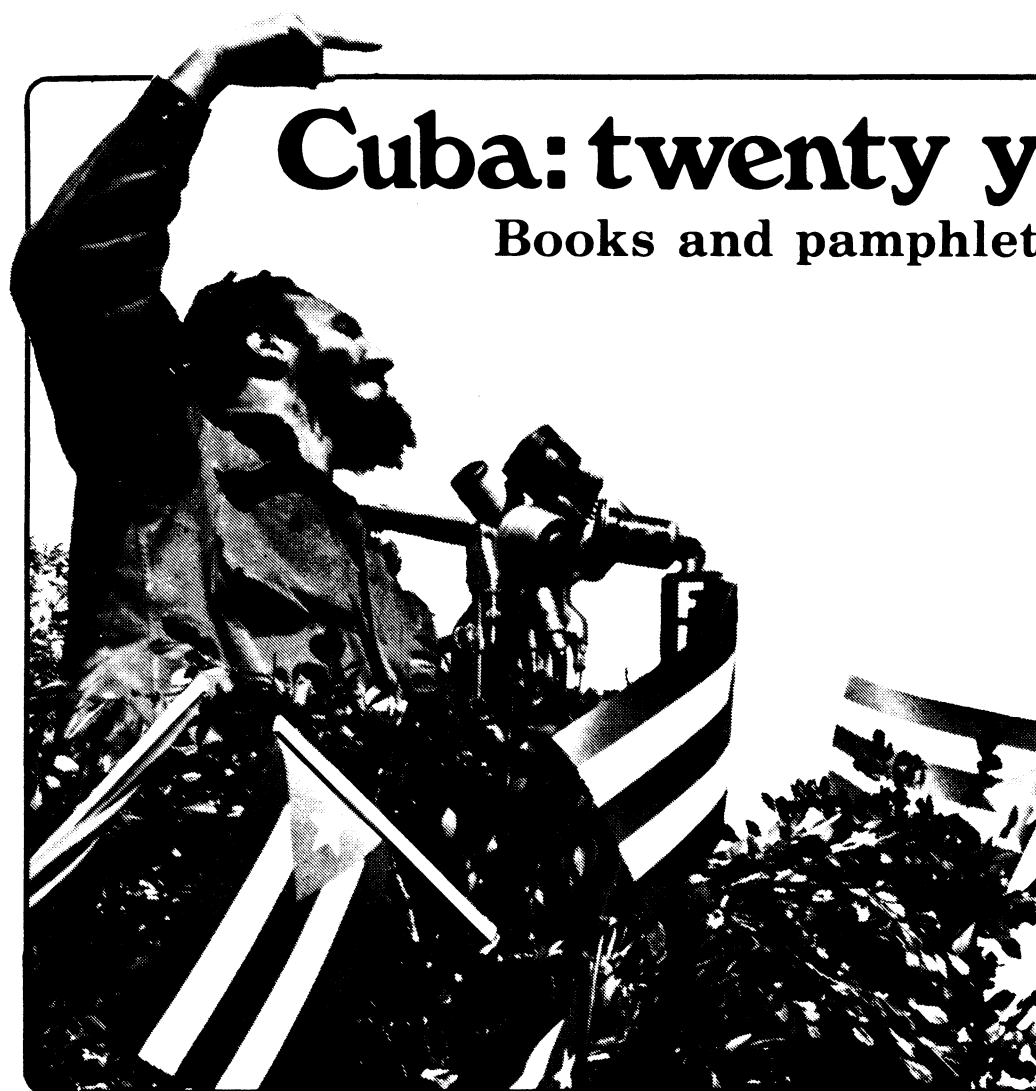
As if all that weren't enough, the site is near four active volcanoes and an earthquake fault.

Despite the repressive atmosphere in the Philippines, more than 50,000 Filipinos signed petitions against the plant.

Public pressure organized by the Campaign for a Nuclear-Free Philippines managed to slow Westinghouse. But last May, the staff of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission recommended granting an export license for the reactor's first components.

Neither the human rights violations nor the nuclear hazards seem to concern Washington very much. Marcos is a virtual puppet of U.S. interests. The Pentagon maintains huge air and naval bases in the Philippines as a military bastion against revolution.

What's another deadly nuclear plant, tens of thousands of political prisoners, or starving children when there are hundreds of millions of dollars to be made?



## Cuba: twenty years of revolution

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A new Education for Socialists bulletin featuring Castro on topics such as the road to revolution in Latin America, freedom of expression and thought, the invasion of Czechoslovakia, and the role of Cuban troops in Africa. 136 pages, \$4.00.

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by Fidel Castro. New from Pathfinder Press. Castro's stirring speech to a million Cubans following the U.S.-inspired decision to exclude Cuba from the Organization of American States. 31 pages, \$75.

**History Will Absolve Me**, by Fidel Castro. Castro's speech at his October 16, 1953, trial by the Batista dictatorship for the attack against the Moncada Barracks—the opening act of the Cuban revolution (Lyle Stuart publication). 79 pages, \$2.00.

**Dynamics of the Cuban Revolution**, by Joseph Hansen. A Marxist

study of the origin and course of the Cuban revolution. 385 pages, \$5.45.

**Upsurge in Africa**, by David Frankel. Cuba, American imperialism, and the new rise of the class struggle in Africa. 31 pages, \$75.

**The Ethiopian Revolution**, by Ernest Harsch. The Ethiopian revolution, its roots and development, and the role played by Cuba. 38 pages, \$85.

Available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Please add \$50 for postage.

**Education for Socialists Tapes on Cuba** (Offered at a special discount price)

**Policies of the Cuban Leadership**, by Joseph Hansen, 1967. \$5.

**Twenty Years of the Cuban Revolution**, by Jack Barnes, 1978. \$5.

**The Theory of Permanent Revolution (on Cuba)** by Joseph Hansen, 1961. Two talks, \$9.

## CUBA BALLET AT MET BRINGS BOMB THREAT

An anonymous bomb threat—presumably by Cuban counterrevolutionary terrorists—was made against New York's Metropolitan Opera House June 16. It was the day tickets went on sale for mid-July performances by the Cuban National Ballet, headed by Alicia Alonso, a world acclaimed master of her art.

After the phone threat, police searched the building but found nothing.

In step with Washington's increasing hostility toward Cuba, counterrevolutionaries have stepped up their activities in recent months both in the United States and in Puerto Rico.

They have taken credit for bombings, threats of violence, and even an assassination. Yet neither federal nor local authorities have lifted a finger to apprehend the criminals.

The counterrevolutionaries have made a frequent target of Cuban cultural presentations. One group with an active chapter in New York, Abdala, even sent out a press release announcing a "campaign" against Alonso.

## U OF MINNESOTA BEGINS CUBA EXCHANGE

The University of Minnesota has sent four faculty members to Cuba, launching the first academic exchange with Havana since the U.S. imposition of a full-scale embargo in 1961.

According to the June 8 *Washington Post*, an exchange delegation of Cuban professors is slated to come to Minnesota in July.

The paper said the Minnesota delegation will be in Cuba one month working on arrangements for the exchange of technical agricultural information. They will also conduct seminars and give lectures while collecting data in their particular fields.

This preliminary exchange will reportedly be evaluated next January to work out possible future extended exchanges.

Since the revolution, Cuba has made substantial gains in modernizing agriculture. An exchange of information with U.S. specialists could advance this process even further.

## HIGH COURT DEALS BLOW TO HANDICAPPED

They used to say you can't get lower than someone who steals from a blind person, or kicks a cripple.

That's what the Supreme Court did June 11 when it ruled schools need not make special

## Florida set to murder two more

Despite continuing protests here and internationally, the state of Florida is pressing ahead with its barbaric murder-by-electrocution drive. Two more victims are slated to die June 27.

Less than a month after John Spenselink was executed, the state plans to put Charles William Proffitt and Robert Sullivan in the chair.

If they are killed, 131 victims will remain on death row waiting their turn.

It was Proffitt's case that led to the reactionary U.S. Supreme Court decision upholding Florida's death penalty.

Florida has more people awaiting execution than any other state.

Throughout the country, nearly half the death row inmates are Black or *latino*. Florida has the highest percentage of nonwhites of any state.

The propaganda claim that executions serve as a crime "deterrent" has been exploded time and again. One authority in the field, Dr. William Graves, found that on the day of a publicized execution and the day



before, statistics indicate that the homicide rate actually goes up.

Rich people don't die in the electric chair. Poor people do—and mostly Black and *latino* poor people.

That's the purpose of the whole grisly business. Not to alleviate crime, which is as

much a part of this capitalist society as profits and pollution, but to keep the oppressed in line. The death penalty is, in the final analysis, a weapon against all working people. That's why working people should take the lead in fighting to do away with it.

accommodations for the disabled and may, if they choose, simply deny them admission.

The decision related to the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, which was supposed to give some measure of support to the disabled.

The ruling knocked out the guidelines issued by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to implement the Rehabilitation Act. These guidelines provided for such modest assistance to the handicapped as sign-language interpreters for the deaf and readers for the blind.

Thus the disabled join the mounting list of victims of the capitalist offense against all social gains. After all, can America both provide readers for the blind and launch \$30 billion nuclear weapons projects?

A particularly bitter aspect of the high-court ruling is that it robs the disabled of the fruits of their own militant struggle.

Four years after the Rehabilitation Act was passed it remained unimplemented. Then, on April 5, 1977, organized groups of the disabled occupied eight regional offices of the HEW demanding that guidelines be issued.

In San Francisco the HEW office was occupied for a record

twenty-five days.

The action won wide publicity and evoked broad support. On April 29, 1977, HEW issued the guidelines.

That victory gave a new sense of self-confidence to the disabled. It should not be assumed that this cruel blow will be quietly accepted.

## VERMONT NOW OPPOSES NUKES

The second annual conference of the Vermont National Organization for Women went on record opposing the use of nuclear power.

The June 9 gathering also adopted a resolution favoring a working alliance between NOW and the organized labor movement to advance common interests.

According to Valerie Eckart, president of the Central Vermont NOW in Montpelier, the antinuclear resolution will be relayed to national NOW for its consideration.

She said Vermont NOW has a particular concern about radiation danger since extensive uranium exploration is being conducted in the state.

Eckart, who presented the resolution on working and unemployed women, said the conference was agreed that the

fight for the ERA, against the *Weber* decision, and for affirmative action could be advanced best in collaboration with the unions.

The resolution called for convening a public meeting in the fall in coordination with union women and other concerned women's organizations to discuss the problems of working women.

## CALIF. DEMOCRATS ATTACK BALLOT RIGHTS

California Democrats are trying to eliminate the Peace and Freedom Party from the state ballot prior to the 1980 elections.

A small third-party formation, the Peace and Freedom Party would be disqualified by a bill in the state legislature raising the requirements for ballot status, reports *Militant* correspondent Byron Ackerman.

The Democrat-sponsored bill would raise the number of registered voters a party must have from about 7,000 to 50,000. The Peace and Freedom Party currently has 27,000 registrants and, if the bill passes, would be disqualified.

The proposed measure would not affect the right-wing American Independent Party, which

has more than 50,000 registrants.

California ballot laws are already among the most discriminatory in the country.

For a party to achieve ballot status it has the choice of collecting some three-quarters of a million signatures or registering more than 70,000 voters as members.

An alternative is to place the name of a candidate on the ballot without party designation. This too requires more than 70,000 petition signatures.

Three major dailies—the *Los Angeles Times*, the *San Francisco Chronicle*, and the *Sacramento Bee*—have opposed the restrictive new legislation. But Democratic and Republican legislators seem intent on pushing it through.

Earlier, a legislative committee killed two bills that would have made it easier for a new party to get on the ballot. The fight for ballot rights will become especially important in the 1980 presidential elections.

## ACLU CHARGES NAVY BARS BLACK RECRUITS

The American Civil Liberties Union charged June 14 that the navy was engaged in "widespread discrimination" against Blacks and other minorities seeking to sign up.

The liberties group said a study established that the navy is "giving preference to whites who are not more qualified, and in some cases are less qualified, than rejected minority applicants."

To accomplish this, the navy uses a plan that is allegedly intended to assure a balance of recruits for various departments and skills. The ACLU said this is just a gimmick to keep out the nonwhites. Navy recruiters in Connecticut told the ACLU that 90 percent of white youths with low test scores get into the navy under this setup, while only 10 percent of Blacks with comparable scores are allowed in.

The navy issued a denial. It

## Nazi vandalism in St. Paul

In the second such act in recent months, the Socialist Workers Party 1980 campaign office in St. Paul was defaced on June 7 with a Nazi poster.

Pasted on the window of the hall, the poster, bearing a racist "white power" slogan, was printed by the National Socialist White People's Party.

The act of vandalism follows a similar defacement of the SWP and Urban League offices in December 1978, of Mount Zion Temple a month earlier, and other such acts dating back to 1975.

In December 1977, four uniformed Nazis were arrested for the beating of a University of Minnesota employee walking near the entrance of an SWP-sponsored campus meeting.

The SWP called on Mayor George Latimer to reopen an earlier probe of Nazi criminal activity. The most recent incident, the SWP said, makes clear that if the Nazi vandals are not apprehended and convicted, their acts will continue and may escalate.

# What's Going On

## CALIFORNIA LOS ANGELES

**AMERICAN WORKERS NEED A LABOR PARTY.** Forum and barbecue. Speaker: Wendy Lyons, SWP National Committee. Sun., June 24, barbecue 2 p.m., forum 4 p.m. 2099 Barnett Road, corner of O'Sullivan, near Cal State LA campus. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 482-1820.

## COLORADO DENVER

**HIROSHIMA-NAGASAKI.** A film. Speakers from the antinuclear movement.

Fri., June 29, 8 p.m. 126 W. 12th Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (303) 534-8954.

## MARYLAND BALTIMORE

**SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY.** Speakers: Norton Sandler, SWP candidate for mayor; John Hawkins, SWP National Committee. Sun., June 24: 6 p.m. reception, 7 p.m. rally. Donation: \$2. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

## MINNESOTA MINNEAPOLIS

**SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN**

**RALLY AND BANQUET.** Speakers: Gayle Swann, SWP candidate for mayor of Minneapolis; others. Sat., June 30: 6:30 p.m. banquet, 8 p.m. rally. Sabathani Community Center, 3801 1st Ave. S. Ausp: SWP 1979 Campaign Committee. For more information call (612) 825-6663.

## NEW YORK

**LOWER MANHATTAN THE NICARAGUAN REVOLUTION.** Speaker to be announced. Fri., June 29, 8 p.m. 108 E. 16th, 2nd floor, off Union Square East. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 260-6400.

## UPPER MANHATTAN

**WOMEN'S LIBERATION AND THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION.** Taped speech by Mary-Alice Waters, editor of *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*. Mon., June 25, 1:30 p.m. and 6:30 p.m.

**POLITICS OF THE CUBAN LEADERSHIP.** Taped speech by Joseph Hansen, author of *Dynamics of the Cuban Revolution*. Mon., July 2, 1:30 p.m. and 6:30 p.m. Both classes held at 564 W. 181st St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (212) 928-1718.



## Rosenberg executions marked



Militant/Arnold Weissberg

Seventy-five people picketed the federal courthouse in New York City June 19 to mark the twenty-sixth anniversary of the execution of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg on phony espionage charges. Picketers demanded a reopening of the case.

Sponsored by the Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case, the picket line was

aimed at forcing a response from Irving R. Kaufman, the trial judge who condemned the Rosenbergs.

FBI reports revealed that Kaufman, who is now a high-ranking federal judge, held secret meetings with the prosecution and FBI and had decided to sentence the Rosenbergs to death *before the defense opened its case.*

said "equal opportunity in the Navy has improved. . . ."

The navy has the lowest percentage of Blacks and other nonwhites of any of the services. Last year Blacks in the navy totaled 8.6 percent as against 26.3 percent in the army.

Citing its improved record, the navy said that five years ago about 50 percent of all Blacks in the navy had menial assignments. Now it's only 32 percent.

That's equal opportunity, navy style.

### NEW PROOF ON SHEEP RADIATION DEATHS

Previously suppressed government documents and the findings of an independent study provide powerful new evidence for Nevada-area ranchers seeking damages for the death of thousands of sheep as the result of 1953

atomic tests.

Soon after the deadly tests began, sheep and cattle in the Nevada-Utah-Arizona area began showing the effects. Sheep developed lesions, there were spontaneous abortions, and lambs were born dead or stunted.

The sheep began dying.

Ranchers sought court damages. The government responded that the thousands of sheep died of "natural" causes.

The judge threw the case out.

Now documents obtained under the Freedom of Information Act in preparation for a new suit establish that the government knew that 4,200 of the dead sheep had absorbed up to 1,000 times the amount of radioactive iodine deemed safe for humans.

And research by Dr. Harold Knapp, a former atomic official, is said to definitively establish that the sheep deaths were due to radiation.

## KRONSTADT

**NEW FROM PATHFINDER**  
By V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky  
Introduction by Pierre Frank

The events around the 1921 Kronstadt uprising have been used by some radicals and anticommunists to attack revolutionary Marxists. In this book the two central leaders of the Russian revolution, Lenin and Trotsky, explain why the Soviet government had no choice but to suppress the sailors' uprising at Kronstadt—why the revolt was a direct challenge to the first successful workers revolution in history. They detail how the composition of the naval base had changed by 1921, how it went from a revolutionary stronghold in the days of the 1905 and 1917 revolutions to a population subject to the pressure of anti-working class and imperialist forces.

Many of these pieces have not appeared before in English. There is supplementary material consisting of an essay by American Marxist John G. Wright and a 1938-39 literary debate involving Victor Serge, Dwight Macdonald, and the editors of the Trotskyist theoretical journal *New Internationalist*.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. 159 pages, \$2.95 (include \$.50 for postage)

# The Great Society

Harry Ring



**Maximum wage better than minimum**—Apparently unaffected by Carter's 7 percent solution, executive salaries went up 16.7 percent last year, the biggest hike in a decade. One top exec knocked down more than \$2.3 million in wages and extras. According to one math-conscious reporter, if the exec worked eighteen hours a day, with no days off, he would average \$350 an hour, more than 100 times the \$2.90 minimum wage.

**Really?**—"New gasoline price surge inevitable, experts believe"—Headline in the *Los Angeles Times*.

**Trimming the budget**—Billions a year for weapons of destruction, sure. But the government isn't totally oblivious to the taxpayers' burden. Beginning July 1, inmates of federal prisons will no longer be allowed unlimited free postage. The limit will be five first-class letters a month. It'll save a bundle.

**But don't overdo it**—Explaining how she copes with inflation, columnist Bess Myerson says she shops more carefully,

takes fewer cabs, wears slacks to save on pantyhose and lets her hair grow a bit longer to save on haircuts. "Deprivation," she says, "is not a bad thing to test yourself on."

**Perish the thought**—A gas station in New Canaan, Connecticut, which has been closing at 11 a.m. because of the shortage, decided to open instead one evening from 6:30 to 10:30 p.m. Cynics suggested it might be related to the fact that down the block, Paul Wolfe, director of Mobil Oil, was throwing a wedding reception for his daughter.

**Shopping tip**—Bloomingdale's in New York is offering a modern design chair for the beach. It's tall and narrow so you can sit practically standing up. Also useful for crowded apartment kitchens. \$300 each.

**Low on gas?**—In Washington, D.C., there's still a dream gas station. No lines, courteous service, and 67 cents a gallon. It's located in the Capitol Building with service available to ranking members of Congress and other citizens of status.

## Union Talk

### Worked into the grave

This week's column is by Steve Beumer, a Detroit bus driver and member of Amalgamated Transit Union Local 26.

DETROIT—They called him Nick the Greek. He was a bus driver for the city of Detroit during these past thirty-three years. But on a Saturday, after putting in a full day's work driving the bus the day before, Nick Apostolou died at home.

He had been sick recently, suffering from an ulcer and other things. But he continued to go to work anyway. Nick's death raises in the minds of many drivers the question: Why?

City of Detroit drivers have a thirty-and-out provision in our contract—won after years of bargaining. But retirement has not been a simple procedure for drivers, because of the sick-leave provisions in past contracts and the method of determining the amount of money to be paid in benefits after retirement.

Up until the contract expiration of 1977, provisions were made to gain up to seventeen paid sick-leave days a year, which could be accumulated indefinitely in a bank. Thus, many drivers had well over 200 days when retirement time rolled around.

But the contract also limited the number of days that could be paid out in a lump sum. So retiring drivers stood to lose a considerable amount of money that should have been theirs, since they had dutifully earned it under the provisions of the contract.

But under the new contract approved in 1977, a new provision—supposedly a benefit to the retiring driver—paid out all sick leave that had been accumulated. But this only applied after thirty-five years of service.

This, in effect, gutted the thirty-and-out provision, forcing many drivers to work the extra five years or give up thousands of dollars in earned sick leave. At the prevailing wage on July 1, 1977, 200 sick-leave days amounted to over \$12,000.

So Nick the Greek, like dozens before and surely many more to come, tried to stretch out the years to be eligible for the lump-sum payment of his sick time. Despite the fact the money was rightfully his and the condition of his health may have dictated otherwise.

But this is not the only provision in our contract that puts an unnecessary strain

on older drivers.

The determination of the amount of our pension check is derived from a formula based on the best five of your *final* ten years. This gives the company the edge, since it becomes harder for drivers to keep up the pace during their last ten years that they could when they were younger and better equipped physically to take the strain of longer runs and overtime.

Since the city can naturally expect this slowdown in performance as a driver gets older, they cut your retirement income. The worker is penalized for growing older!

A more equitable formula would be to base retirement on the best five years out of total service time. That would ease the pressure of working extra hours as a driver gets older and the accompanying problems of backaches and kidney trouble, among other health problems, begin to bear down.

Better still would be for the government to guarantee *real* social security—a retirement income for all workers that provides a decent living standard and cost-of-living protection against inflation.

As it is now, many drivers ignore the risks of keeping up the strenuous pace and literally work themselves into the grave. Nick the Greek was a victim of work rules that squeeze the last bit of profit out of you before you are cast onto the junk heap of discarded workers.

I didn't know Nick that well, but what I did know of him was that he never had an unkind word for anyone. Several hundred drivers, active and retired, Black and white, jammed the funeral home the night of his wake. He was remembered as a hard-working man, not particularly involved in the union, but always willing to do his share.

With his children grown up, he and his wife, after years of saving, were finally able to purchase their dream home, a small house beside a lake in northern Michigan. Recently, they also purchased a boat.

What a sad irony of his life of working hard towards a secure retirement with the things he loved most—none of which will ever be enjoyed by Nick.

How many more bus drivers will work themselves into the grave before older workers can work their last years out at a pace suitable to their health and well-being, with the knowledge that they will have a secure retirement?

## U.S. out of Korea!

The Korean War, which broke out twenty-nine years ago this month, was the Vietnam of the 1950s. Washington's bloody intervention there left two million dead and three million wounded. Its aim, just as in Vietnam, was to maintain and extend its economic and political domination and to crush a popular rebellion that threatened imperialist interests.

There was widespread opposition to the war within the United States, although it was rarely expressed publicly because of the intimidating effect of the McCarthyite witch-hunt. Despite the attacks of the witch-hunters, the Socialist Workers Party stood firmly on the side of the Korean people and against the imperialist intervention. And we said so loud and clear.

The following are excerpts from an open letter to President Truman and Congress, printed on the front page of the July 31, 1950, 'Militant,' by SWP National Secretary James P. Cannon.

Gentlemen:

I disagree with your actions in Korea, and in my capacity as a private citizen I petition you to change your policy fundamentally, as follows:

Withdraw the American troops and let the Korean people alone.

I am setting forth the reasons for this demand in detail in the following paragraphs. But before opening the argument, I beg your permission, gentlemen, to tell you what I think of you. You are a pack of scoundrels. You are traitors to the human race. I hate your rudeness and your brutality. You make me ashamed of my country, which I have always loved, and ashamed of my race, which I used to think was as good as any.

The American intervention in Korea is a brutal imperialist invasion, no different from the French war on Indo-China or the Dutch assault on Indonesia. American boys are being sent 10,000 miles away to kill and be killed, not in order to liberate the Korean people, but to conquer and subjugate them. It is outrageous. It is monstrous.

The whole Korean people—save for the few bought-and-paid-for agents of the Rhee puppet regime—are fighting the imperialist invaders. That is why the press dispatches from Korea complain more and more about "infiltration" tactics, increasing activities of "guerrillas", the "fluid" fighting front, the "sullenness" and "unreliability" of the "natives".

The Korean people have a mortal hatred of the Wall Street "liberator". They despise unto death the bestial, corrupt, U.S.-sponsored Syngman Rhee dictatorship that made South Korea a prison camp of misery, torture and exploitation.

The explosion on June 25, as events

have proved, expressed the profound desire of the Koreans themselves to unify their country, to rid themselves of foreign domination and to win their complete national independence. It is true that the Kremlin seeks to take advantage of this struggle for its own reactionary ends and would sell it tomorrow if it could get another deal with Washington. But the struggle itself has the overwhelming and whole-hearted support of the Korean people. It is part of the mighty uprising of the hundreds of millions of colonial people throughout Asia against western imperialism. This is the real truth, the real issue. The colonial slaves don't want to be slaves any longer.

This is more than a fight for unification and national liberation. It is a civil war. On the one side are the Korean workers, peasants and student youth. On the other side are the Korean landlords, usurers, capitalists and their police and political agents. The impoverished and exploited working masses have risen up to drive out the native parasites as well as their foreign protectors.

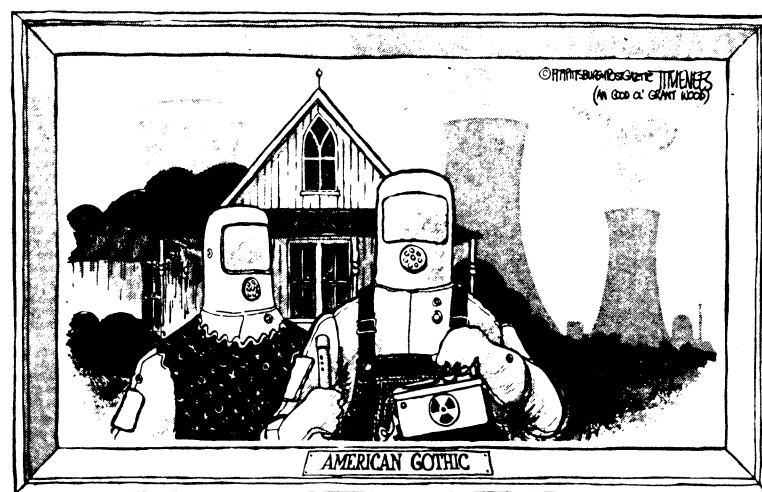
Whatever the wishes of the Kremlin, a class war has been unfolding in Korea. The North Korean regime, desiring to mobilize popular support, has decreed land reforms and taken nationalization measures in the territories it has won. The establishment of people's committees has been reported. These reforms, these promises of a better economic and social order have attracted the peasants and workers. This prospect of a new life is what has imbued a starving subject people with the will to fight to the death.

The attempt to prop up the Syngman Rhee regime by armed force is part of Wall Street's planned program to dominate and exploit the whole world. Your undeclared war on Korea, Mr. President, is a war of enslavement. That is how the Korean people themselves view it—and no one knows the facts better than they do. They've suffered imperialist domination and degradation for half a century and they can recognize its face even when masked with a UN flag.

The right in this struggle is all on the side of the Korean people. Like the colonial peoples everywhere in Asia they want no part of U.S. or even UN "liberation". They want the American troops to get out of Korea. They want freedom from all foreign domination. They want to decide their own fate.

The American people well remember the War of Independence that brought this nation its freedom from British tyranny. In the spirit of this revolutionary and democratic tradition of ours, I call upon you to halt the unjust war on Korea. Withdraw all American armed forces so that the Korean people can qve full freedom to work out their destiny in their own way.

James P. Cannon



### Concentration camp

Although I am a federal prisoner I was shocked to hear about the U.S. government concentration camp at El Centro, California, where many Sandinistas and other Nicaraguans, along with undocumented *mexicanos*, are confined.

I had no idea that this federal concentration camp even existed, or that any Sandinista prisoners were confined in the United States. This is an outrage! We must make this known to the American public-at-large.

My thanks to the *Militant* for a fine job of reporting.

A prisoner  
Kansas

### Coal, not nukes

As a relatively new railroader for the Delaware and Hudson (D&H), and a member of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks, I find the *Militant* coverage of our deteriorating railway system invaluable. I recommend it to all railroaders.

I wholeheartedly agree that we should be developing coal as an energy source and bury forever the whole idea of nuclear power.

When I work in the yards I frequently see flat cars come through (from industries like General Electric and the Arsenal) with huge containers placarded "radioactive." Flat cars have no sides! And these containers are held on by only four guide wires!

Well, if a coal car derails you simply put the coal back in and send it on to its destination. If radioactive material spills out we better have our cemetery plot payments up to date. And the D & H, like all the other railroads, has a derailment almost every day.

Railroaders should start agitating seriously in their unions to refuse handling this stuff, and joining antinuclear groups like the one I'm active in, the Capital District Anti-Nuclear Alliance.

Dick Roberts is so right when he points out in his June 15 article, "The key to the struggle of railroad workers is to recognize and to mobilize the tremendous potential power of the railroad union movement."

Sam Chetta  
Albany, New York

### Talking socialism

Many times during these past weeks of the *Militant* circulation campaign I have wanted to write of the exciting experiences that came about day after day.

I found the residents near the Wayne County Community College extremely interesting

to converse with and sell subs to.

Seldom were these women and men who came to their doors too busy to invite me in to talk.

One young Black woman who has been employed for five years at the Fleetwood auto plant in southwest Detroit explained she had been laid off for over six months simply because she had been successful in organizing women in her union to get "some important changes implemented." She had been warned on several occasions to "cool it."

One particular young man who is employed by the city of Detroit sanitation department stated that the three-person trucks are being replaced by a one-person truck. "Now you know what that means," he said. "Drive the truck, all the pick-up, working twelve to fourteen hours including Saturday, which has happened many times."

A young woman high school graduate stated while overhearing our conversation that she could understand the importance of the *Militant*, to her it was an education in itself. She used it many times in her classes. Her classmates agreed the socialist ideas came across on what all working-class persons can do if they so desire, in their unions, or wherever, to get discussions and action moving.  
Helen Sue Millington  
Detroit, Michigan

### Profits vs. safety

What can you say about the safety mentality at a plant where workers are told to run their machines when the roof in another section of the same building is on fire?

Doehler-Jarvis Castings Division is one of the largest independent aluminum die casting firms in the country. We make all sorts of medium-to high-complexity parts out of different alloys of aluminum. Most of the jobs we run are auto transmission housings for Hydramatic (General Motors) or Ford.

One day an aluminum casting machine sent hot metal out through the parting line of the die. The stuff hit the forty-foot-high roof and ignited the grease and dust that clings to the steel rafters in our building. (This roof is low for aluminum machines—the machine I operate is on a line where the roof is sixty-feet high.)

The plant fire brigade was summoned. They might have been able to put out the fire—if the first three fire extinguishers they tried to use

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# Learning About Socialism

## What is a workers state?

worked, or the hose they brought up reached more than thirty feet.

After five minutes the fire took off down the zinc casting line, rolling in billows along the rafters until the whole line was on fire.

"Why haven't they ever cleaned that crap off the ceiling?" was one comment.

Operators had just enough time to turn their machines off before the fire was directly overhead. Then, hot streams of tar, grease, and whatnot—all aflame—came pouring down. A welder who is on the fire brigade was injured by one of these flaming streams.

In the meantime my line kept working! We could see the fire from where we stood. No order came from the company to evacuate until the fire marshals arrived and took over.

The next day, under charred and twisted steel rafters, the zinc line was back at work. My line went back to work the minute the fire was out—as if nothing happened.

Jeff Stephenson  
United Auto Workers  
Local 1058  
Toledo, Ohio

### Inhuman treatment

The Kentucky State Penitentiary is forcing prisoners, one stranger to another, to live together in cells that were designed for one man. The cells are forty-eight square feet with no ventilation, built approximately 100 years ago. Now they do not meet the minimal federal standards to house one prisoner.

The excuse given for forced double-celling is that the penitentiary is overcrowded. That is no justifiable reason to inflict cruel and unusual punishment on human rights.

The cells have a double bunk in each. In order for one man to stand the other must remain in his bunk. When one uses the open commode, the other is no more than a few feet away. No foul odors can escape from the cells due to the criss-crossed latticed doors that are nearly solid. The cells are totally windowless.

An emergency exists now that is chilling and real. Your support is needed by writing letters to Warden Dewey Sowders, Kentucky State Penitentiary, P.O. Box 128, Eddyville, Kentucky.  
A prisoner  
Kentucky

The 'Militant' special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help out, send your contributions to: Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

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.

"I notice that the *Militant* often uses the term workers' state to describe Cuba, Vietnam, and some other countries," a *Militant* subscriber recently wrote. "The United States is always called a capitalist state. I would appreciate it if you would explain what these terms mean."

When socialists call the United States a capitalist state, we mean that the entire machinery of government—the president, the armed forces, Congress, federal and local bureaucracies, and all the police forces—defend the interests of the small minority who own the factories, mines, railroads, banks, and other big business.

The capitalist state defends the basic social set-up that allows billionaires to make huge profits at the expense of the great majority who work for a living.

In addition to its basic task of protecting the private property and profits of the superrich, the capitalist state serves the employers in countless ways—from imposing "guidelines" on workers' wages while prices soar, to collecting stiff taxes from working people while the fortunes of the rich pass unscathed through "loopholes."

The capitalist state forces working people to fight and die in wars to defend the property and profits of the billionaires. And whenever the bosses think they need it, the cops are on hand to brutalize workers trying to organize a union or win decent pay and working conditions.

A workers state is different. It defends a more advanced economic system than capitalism. This system is based on taking the factories, mines, railroads, and banks out of the hands of the capitalists and making them public property. This form of economic organization makes it possible to provide for basic human needs rather than the profits of a minority.

Establishing this new economic system requires replacing the capitalist state with a workers state. This is the next big step forward for the human race, the culmination of all the struggles of the workers and oppressed against the exploiting minority.

Accomplishing this goal requires the mobilization of the working class and its allies to establish a workers and farmers government, dismantle the capitalist state apparatus and replace it with one of their own, and transform industry and banking into public property.

So far the workers and farmers have succeeded in achieving this in fourteen countries—ranging from fairly advanced countries like East Germany to very poor countries like Cuba and Vietnam. In every case this has meant big advances for working people.

Some of the most striking accomplishments have been scored in Cuba, where a workers state has existed since 1960.

In Cuba—where 25 percent unemployment was the rule under capitalism—everyone now has a job. Industry has

expanded significantly. In a country that had an illiteracy rate of 20 percent, virtually everyone now can read and write. Education is provided free of charge to Cubans of all ages.

Medical care is also free and universal. As a result, life expectancy has increased by twenty years. Epidemic diseases have been eliminated, and infant mortality is the lowest in Latin America—and lower than for Black people in this country.

Millions of Cubans never ate meat under the old regime, but today rationing assures an adequate diet for all. Extensive child-care centers have freed women of a big part of household drudgery.

Instead of being forced to fight for capitalist interests against other working people, Cubans volunteer to help African peoples fight for freedom against imperialist-backed forces.

All this has been accomplished in a small agricultural country, in the face of a U.S. economic blockade, and persistent counterrevolutionary attacks.

If such accomplishments can be scored in a poor and isolated country like Cuba, imagine what can be done to improve the lives of American working people when socialist revolution triumphs in the United States.

The socialist revolution in the United States will assure the victory of socialism on a world scale. The capitalist rulers in this country have been the most powerful force combatting the struggles of the world's working people.

The campaign against Cuba, like the current imperialist-inspired attacks and war propaganda against Vietnam, is part of imperialism's drive to contain and, if possible, reverse socialist revolutions.

The fact that capitalism—U.S. capitalism above all—continues to exploit most of the world's people and wealth, imposes scarcity and isolation on all the workers states. It forces them to devote substantial resources to armaments.

The pressures and tensions that result are the main reason for the bureaucratic regimes that exist in all the workers states except Cuba. These bureaucratic regimes stand in the way of progress within the workers states, most grossly in the area of democratic rights.

Getting rid of capitalism in this country will change all that. With the solidarity of the American working people behind them and freed from the threat of military attack by imperialism, working people in the bureaucratically governed workers states will be able to sweep away the bureaucrats and install workers democracy.

The liberation of the vast resources of this country from capitalist control will make it possible to establish a planned economy on a world scale—opening up a new era of well-being, equality, peace, and human solidarity.

—Fred Feldman

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# THE MILITANT

## PROTEST ENERGY RIPOFF!

### Independent truckers lead the way

By Suzanne Haig

Independent truckers have taken the lead in resisting the fuel shortage ripoff engineered by the oil profiteers.

Already up to their necks in debt and constantly skirting bankruptcy, the truckers face disaster as diesel supplies grow scarce and prices soar to more than a dollar a gallon.

Their strike spread rapidly over the past week, with a nationwide shutdown called for midnight June 20.

The action was launched by various regional and national truckers groups, including the Independent Truckers Association and the newly formed Independent Truckers Unity Coalition, initiated by the Fraternal Association of Steel Haulers.

The truckers' action is the most organized expression yet of the anger felt by millions of working people as the oil companies tighten their stranglehold on the American public.

Regional gasoline shortages are sweeping the country, bringing long gas lines, purchase limits, odd/even rationing, and staggering price hikes.

Utility companies are also moving to cash in on the crisis atmosphere, threatening an unprecedented rise in electricity bills along with rotating blackouts and brownouts this summer. And they hope to use the energy panic to slash pollution standards that would cut into their profits.

Working people are seething with rage—on gas lines, at plants, mines, factories, railroad yards, and offices. Although unorganized, this rage is increasingly directed at the government and the oil companies.

Despite attempts to turn the public against the truckers, there appears to be wide support for their strike among other workers. At refineries in New Jersey, Indiana, and elsewhere, tank truck drivers have refused to cross the independent truckers' picket lines.

The press has painted the truckers as violent and irrational gunslingers—just as they tried to smear the miners during the 1977-78 coal strike.



Convoy heads for Plains, Georgia, to protest government refusal to deal with plight of independent truckers.

The governors of Minnesota and Alabama called up the National Guard to "escort" trucks through picket lines and blockades. Arrests of picketing truckers are increasing throughout the country.

In an effort to stem the shutdown, the White House offered a fuel surcharge of 5.6 and then 6 percent, to be passed to the truckers by the carriers that hire them. This pittance, which comes nowhere near matching diesel price hikes, was angrily rejected.

Many truckers groups are calling for

a 10 percent surcharge.

"What we really need is a price rollback," said Don Swanson of the Independent Truckers Association.

The government is making a special effort to pit truckers and farmers against each other. Washington tells truckers they are short of diesel because farmers have been given priority. And it tells farmers their crops will rot in the fields because of the truck shutdown.

The energy industry is also bombarding the public with propaganda

blaming the crisis on Arab oil producers and the Iranian revolution. One major aim of this propaganda is to soften up American workers to accept stepped-up U.S. military intervention in the Middle East.

But working people remain skeptical. A growing majority rightly believes that the oil companies are withholding supplies in order to push through decontrol of domestic oil prices and to maximize profits.

The real oil supply situation remains

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## 'National Guard can't make us run our trucks'

### Kansas

By Sandi Sherman

KANSAS CITY, Mo.—A "Shut your trucks down now!" banner adorns a rig at the Metro Truck Stop.

Members of the Owner-Operators Independent Drivers Association of America handed out leaflets here June 20, as well as at the American Truck Stop in Olathe, Kansas, and the Phillips refinery.

"Due to the increased cost of fuel," the leaflet said, "we are unable to continue operating our trucks. We will not move until our demands are met."

When approached by the strikers, most tanker drivers agreed not to drive their trucks into the refinery.

I asked about the 6 percent surcharge offered by the government. "It's like using a thumbtack instead of a railroad spike," responded one driver.

He also told the *Militant* that union support for the strike was good in this

area. "All the union drivers I know are honoring the blockade."

Truckers here are not intimidated by government threats. "They might get an injunction and move us away from this pump, but they can't make us run our trucks. The National Guard are not truck drivers," retorted one trucker at Metro's.

"The energy crisis is just about as phony as the last one," another said.

"We run forty-eight states. We see where it's at. They've got salt mines in Louisiana filled up with crude oil 'cause they don't have any place else to put it," explained a striker.

### Minnesota

By Dale Green  
and Jeff Page

TWIN CITIES, Minn.—Gov. Albert Quie never dreamed of using his powers against the oil barons who have

been holding back fuel supplies and making the whole country suffer.

But as soon as striking independent truckers moved their protest over fuel prices and shortages from truck stops to oil refineries, Quie declared a "state of emergency" and mobilized the National Guard and state police.

Such strong-arm tactics, however, are not about to intimidate angry truck drivers.

Fifteen drivers from all over the country were in front of the Pine Bend Refinery in Minneapolis June 19, talking to people and asking for their support. During the previous twenty-four hours, only one person had crossed the truckers' line at Pine Bend.

A trucker from Texas told the *Militant*, "It's very important that there be solidarity between working people and independent truckers. Because everybody has to understand that everybody is getting screwed."

One New York driver was glad to see

the *Militant*—he remembered its coverage of the 1974 truckers' strike.

"A lot of people come here and want to talk to us, and I usually turn them away," he said. "But when I know someone is from the *Militant*, I'll sit down and talk to them."

Striking truckers—some have already been out two weeks—have shut down more than half the truck stops in Minnesota. The strike is also affecting grain shipping terminals in Winona and Duluth, and barge traffic on the Mississippi River.

At the Stockman's Truck Stop, in the St. Paul stockyard area, trucks from Massachusetts, Oregon, Louisiana, Tennessee, and Virginia were lined up June 15.

Since January, the price of diesel fuel in Minnesota has gone up 33 percent, to 86 cents a gallon. And strikers pointed out that prices in Louisiana and Oregon are ranging

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