

# THE MILITANT

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

## How labor can fight energy crisis



**ALBUQUERQUE**—Independent truckers protest fuel prices and shortages. For national round-up of truckers' actions and analysis of labor's stake in their fight, see pages 6-11.

Militant/Jim Miller

The chaos and disruption of gas lines and soaring fuel prices should hammer home one conclusion: Working people cannot afford for one more day to leave vital energy resources in private hands, where production and distribution are determined by profits instead of social needs.

We must call a halt to the irrational, profits-before-people system that is jeopardizing the well-being of millions. Independent truckers have set an inspiring example by standing up against the energy ripoff. The entire labor movement

### An editorial

should rally to their defense and put union power into the fight to halt this spiraling disaster.

- All the books, financial records, and other "business secrets" of the oil corporations should be opened up to public scrutiny. Workers have a right to know the truth about the hoarding of fuel supplies, the exorbitant superprofits, and other socially irresponsible manipulations of the energy trust.

- The entire energy industry should be taken over by the government and placed under public ownership.

Without decisive action along these lines, shortages and catastrophes are sure to continue. In fact, the current crisis is only a foretaste of what the oil monopoly has in store for us.

The latest reports show U.S. refineries are cutting back production still further. Five of the largest oil companies openly declare that their gasoline deliveries in July will be reduced as much as 19 percent below last year's level.

Looking ahead to winter, the oil companies predict shortages of heating oil and price increases of up to 50 percent.

Under cover of the "shortages," restrictions on pollution of our air and water are being wiped out, while deadly nuclear plants are pushed as essential to keeping the lights on.

In its endless drive for ever-higher profits, the energy trust

*Continued on next page*

## U.S. HANDS OFF NICARAGUA!



Nicaraguan freedom fighter

## ...energy crisis

Continued from front page

is turning our right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness into a cruel joke.

And what is the response of the government? Feigned ineptitude, puzzlement, confusion, promises of further studies, and in the end—nothing. Nothing, that is, to ease the plight of the majority of people in this country.

Carter puts solar energy cells on the White House roof to heat his water. Liberal Democrats such as U.S. Rep. Toby Moffett and other architects of the "draft Kennedy" campaign propose legislation to arrest drivers who use their cars more than six days a week.

Pretending that he too is a helpless victim, Energy Secretary James Schlesinger said June 21 that the government could not use "discipline" to compel the oil companies to refine more gasoline, because "they may well refrain from bringing such [crude oil] inventories into the U.S."

In fact, the *Wall Street Journal* reported June 22, "Several major U.S. oil companies have quietly warned the Energy Department they may have to ship some oil to Europe instead of to the U.S. unless key federal oil-price controls are eased." Schlesinger, the *Journal* added, denied the company tactic was "blackmail" and "expressed some sympathy for the companies' position."

While expressing tender sympathy for the oil companies, the government sent attack dogs and club-swinging cops against gas protesters in Levittown, Pennsylvania, the weekend of June 23. It sent cops and National Guard troops to break up picket lines of independent truckers.

No effort is spared to shift the blame for the crisis onto anyone other than the U.S. oil companies. The Geneva meeting of OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) was the occasion for new diatribes against the Arabs and the Iranian revolution. This racist demagoguery, which aims in large part to prepare American workers to accept U.S. military intervention in the Middle East, is false from beginning to end.

The transportation, allocation, refining, and marketing of "OPEC oil" remain firmly in the hands of the giant U.S. oil companies and a few European firms. These companies buy the

oil from OPEC and control its worldwide sales.

They have driven the world market price of crude oil as high as forty dollars per barrel in recent weeks. The posted price of oil upon which OPEC countries receive their income was less than half this amount. OPEC ministers went to the Geneva meeting trying to recapture a portion of the higher prices that the U.S. oil companies are already collecting.

The truth is what millions of workers already suspect: *There is no shortage of oil.*

A study by the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union—based on data published by the oil companies themselves—revealed that crude oil stocks in this country rose by 107 million barrels over the past fifteen months despite the temporary loss of Iranian oil. Crude oil supplies grew by 6.4 percent from the first quarter of 1978 to the first quarter of 1979, while demand rose only 3.0 percent. Thirty-eight million barrels are unaccounted for by the Energy Department!

The answer to the riddle is simple. The U.S. oil companies (and a few of the biggest corporate users of oil) are *hoarding* oil. First, as blackmail to force an end to all controls on oil prices. And second, to be sure they get top dollar for their oil when the controls come off. John Swearingen, chairman of the board of Standard Oil of Indiana, bluntly stated in the June 4 *New York Times* that the oil companies will not increase production significantly until gasoline hits \$1.50 a gallon.

This is capitalism.

This is the outcome of a private-profit system in which ownership and control of the earth's resources and the wealth of society—wealth created by the labor of millions—is concentrated in the hands of a few fabulously wealthy capitalist families. Rockefeller. Morgan. Mellon. Du Pont. A few others.

Yes, there is a ruling class, and they are it.

Socialists believe that the future of humanity depends on the working class taking power away from the capitalists, making natural resources and the productive apparatus (factories, mines, transportation, and so on) the collective property of society, and reorganizing production to serve human needs.

Our proposals to resolve the energy crisis point toward such a rational reorganization: Abolish the secrecy of the oil industry, which serves only to disguise its plunder of the public. Let the workers learn all the facts

about production, costs, profits, imports, stockpiles, refining capacity, alternate energy sources, and health and safety. Turn the energy industry into a real public service providing abundant energy at a price workers, farmers, and truckers can afford.

The ruling class knows that public ownership of energy is an increasingly popular idea and consciously tries to discredit it. Thus a June 22 editorial in the *Wall Street Journal* sneered: "Do we really want energy provided in the same manner as mail and rail services, at the same expense as defense-cost overruns, and by the same people whose energy policies have given America the only gasoline lines in the world?"

The answer is no!

Public ownership doesn't mean the energy industry should be entrusted to phony government regulators who merely front for corporate interests. Rather, the industry should be managed by an independent, directly elected board that operates completely in the open and is policed by the workers in the industry.

When these socialist proposals are clearly explained, a majority of people would probably agree with them. But we are led to believe that nothing can be done. This is false.

Working people do have the power to solve the energy crisis—if the power of our unions is unleashed. Just imagine the impact if the unions in basic industry, millions of members strong, followed the independent truckers' example with pickets, rallies, and mass demonstrations. Already many angry workers are saying they would like to see a "no gas, no work" policy. *That* would give the oil monopolists and other capitalists something to think about!

One key reason union power is *not* mobilized today is that the union leaderships remain tied to the Democratic and Republican parties, the parties of the oil companies. Capitalist parties.

An independent labor party based on the unions could provide the weapon we need to fight politically for labor's interests.

This is the perspective that socialist workers are putting forward in steel mills, auto plants, mines, railroad yards, oil refineries, machine shops, electrical plants, and scores of other workplaces across the country. If you agree with these ideas, you should join us in the fight to put them into practice. Join the Socialist Workers Party or Young Socialist Alliance!

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### Indochina's 'boat people'

While Washington refuses a humane solution, it cynically exploits refugees for smear campaign against Vietnam. **Page 5.**



### 7 more Trotskyists arrested in Iran

More Socialist Workers Party members have been jailed in Iran as the defense effort for imprisoned Trotskyist and worker militants steps up. **Pages 12, 19.**

### Teachers unions meet

The American Federation of Teachers and National Education Association conventions convene this month amid a growing wave of teacher layoffs and cuts in public education budgets. **Page 14.**



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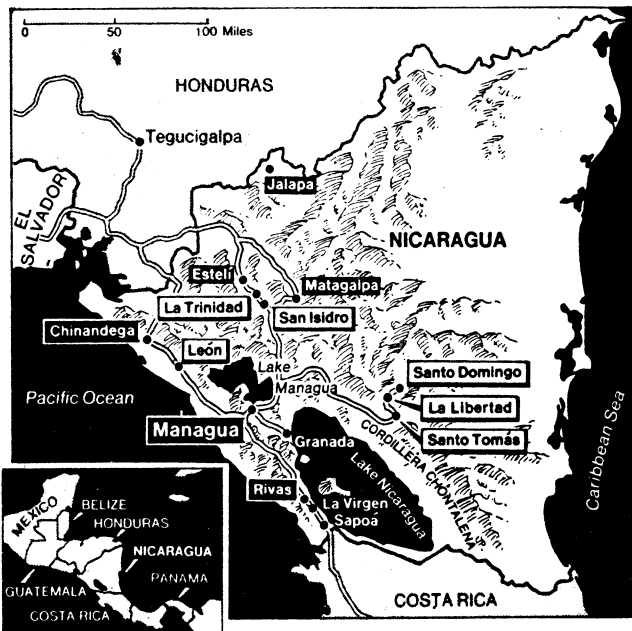
# U.S. hands off Nicaragua!

The following statement was issued June 27 by the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party.

Secretary of State Cyrus Vance's June 21 call for the Organization of American States to send a "peacekeeping force" to Nicaragua was an attempt to organize U.S. military intervention under cover of the OAS banner. To give this scheme an aura of legitimacy, Vance has also called for a transitional government to replace the discredited regime of Anastasio Somoza and to organize "free elections"—under the aegis of the U.S.-dominated OAS, of course.

But the normally obedient OAS rejected Vance's demand. The OAS, which Che Guevara accurately described as the U.S. "ministry of colonies," has not changed its nature. Many of its member governments, however, fear the consequences of association with Washington in a military enterprise like that. They are aware of the gigantic swell of popular support across Latin America for the workers and peasants of Nicaragua who are fighting to topple the hated Somoza dictatorship. The masses rightly suspect Washington of trying to thwart the objectives of the freedom fighters.

Having been rebuffed so far by the OAS, the U.S. rulers are seeking other pretexts to justify military intervention. That's why the Carter administration is sounding the alarm about Cuban "intervention" on the side of the Sandinista freedom fighters. In Carter's eyes, it has been quite all right for Washington to intervene in Nicaragua for forty years to keep the tyrant Somoza in power—but it is another matter entirely for revolutionary Cuba to show



Washington fears freedom struggle in Nicaragua will inspire workers and peasants throughout Central America to challenge military dictatorships and U.S. domination.

solidarity with the Nicaraguan workers and peasants, who are the vast majority of the Nicaraguan people.

Carter knows that a military operation aimed at crushing the struggle against the dictatorship will be unpopular among working people in the United States as well as in the rest of the Americas. And for good reason. The record shows that U.S. mil-

itary interventions are not aimed at helping to establish democracy, but at crushing mass struggles that challenge imperialist domination.

The most recent use of U.S. military forces in Latin America took place in 1965, when 24,000 marines and army troops were sent into the Dominican Republic after a popular uprising toppled the old military dictatorship there. In the name of saving American lives, preventing another Cuba, and assuring an orderly transition to democracy, the dictatorial regime of Joaquin Balaguer was installed. With Washington's support, Balaguer lasted for twelve years, an era in which the Dominican workers and peasants continued to suffer poverty and repression while U.S. corporations continued to reap their profits. While Balaguer is gone now, the Dominican people remain mired in poverty and exploitation due to U.S. domination of their economy. And the threat of further U.S. military moves hangs over their heads if they attempt any basic change.

Washington has intervened in Nicaragua on numerous occasions. The country was invaded by the U.S. Marines in 1912 and was under virtual U.S. military occupation from then until 1933. Beginning in 1926, the marines were supplemented by the Nicaraguan National Guard, which was built up with U.S. military aid and which was at first commanded by American officers.

The U.S. intervention in the 1920s and early 1930s was aimed at putting down a struggle for democratic rights and national independence led by César Augusto Sandino (for whom the present-day Sandinistas are named). Sandino was murdered in

*Continued on next page*

## Cuba urges mobilization against U.S. threat

The following has been excerpted from a statement issued in Havana June 19 by the Cuban Ministry of Foreign Relations. The translation is by 'Intercontinental Press/Inprecor.'

Once again the danger of direct intervention by the United States hangs over the peoples of our America, an intervention that has left its unhappy mark on the history of the peoples of the Caribbean.

The government of the United States of America is maneuvering to gain an opportunity to establish its military presence in Nicaragua, utilizing the Organization of American States as a cover for this intervention.

Cuba denounces this maneuver by the United States and calls upon the peoples and governments of Latin America not to lend themselves to these plans.

Finding that it is impossible to save Somoza, the United States is trying to save Somozaism, to save the butchers of the National Guard and thus to preserve the essence and the bases of a bloody and corrupt neocolonial regime dominated by the United States. This regime has been a humiliation to the peoples of Latin America. It was imposed nearly a half century ago as a result of the intervention of the Yankee marines, an intervention that Augusto

César Sandino, who was assassinated as part of this odious undertaking, fought with exemplary courage and dignity.

President Carter, who has proclaimed himself the champion of human rights, is now trying to rescue the bloodiest and most corrupt criminals in all of Latin America. He is supporting them at a time when they are indiscriminately torturing and murdering Nicaraguans, and he is trying to thwart the self-sacrificing struggle of the Nicaraguan people for their freedom.

The intervention of the United States would create a Vietnam in the very heart of Latin America. The Nicaraguan people and those of Central America would undoubtedly rise up against such foreign intervention, and their other brothers in Latin America and the Caribbean could not remain indifferent to such genocide.

It is necessary to prevent this intervention. It is necessary to forthrightly and courageously denounce it before world public opinion and in international bodies.

Cuba is sure that the new U.S. maneuver will be met by the firm resistance of those governments of Latin America that are true to the anti-interventionist tradition, and that through their presence in the deliberations they will prevent this threat from becoming a reality.



Cuban soldier and Angolan troops. Cubans helped defeat U.S.-backed South African invasion of Angola. Now they are calling for international defense of Nicaraguan struggle.

With this confidence, Cuba also calls on all the nonaligned countries, all the progressive governments, and all the peoples of the world to support the Provisional Government of National Reconstruction of Nicaragua. We must mobilize on an emergency basis to prevent a new and criminal imperialist armed intervention in Nicaragua, and to develop the broadest and firmest

solidarity with the Nicaraguan fighters led by the Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional, in order to aid them in achieving a more rapid, complete, total, and definitive victory. We must put behind us forever the time when the United States was the lord and master of our countries and the Yankee marines decided what government our peoples would have.

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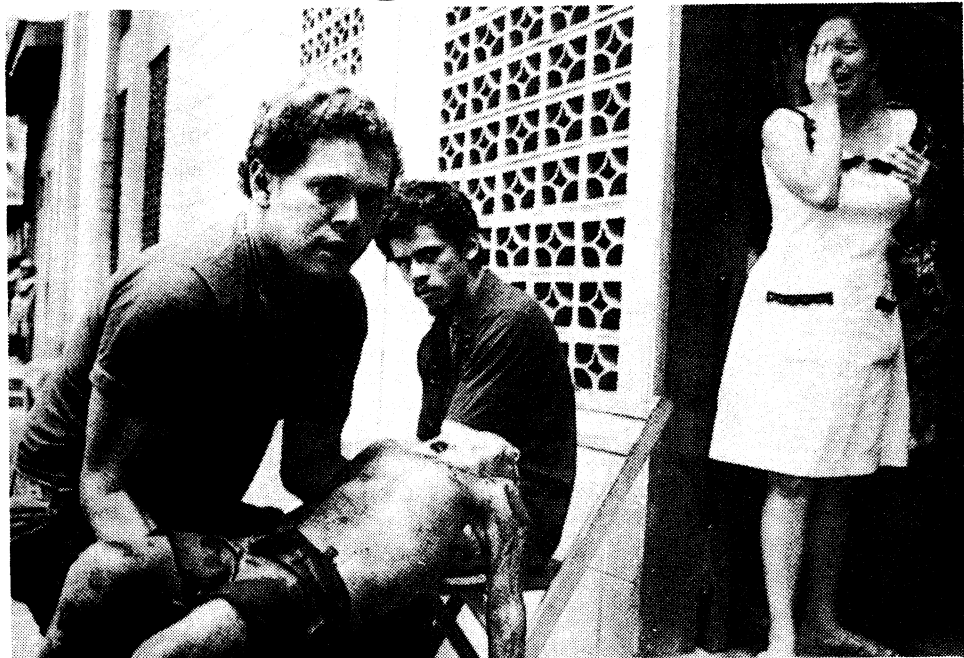
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# Rebels gain despite Somoza butchery



Somoza's National Guard and bombers have killed hundreds.

By Fred Feldman

Carter administration plans for direct military intervention in Nicaragua were set back June 21 when the Organization of American States refused to go along with Secretary of State Cyrus Vance's proposal to send a "peacekeeping force" to Nicaragua.

Under the pretext of "defending democracy," such a force would be used to try to crush the popular rebellion being led by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN).

The OAS instead voted, with U.S. backing, to call for the "immediate and definitive replacement" of President Anastasio Somoza.

The OAS has unfailingly rubber-stamped U.S. imperialism's counterrevolutionary moves in the region for decades. Washington's drive to isolate and topple Cuba's revolutionary regime had OAS sanction, as did U.S. occupation of the Dominican Republic in 1965.

The resistance to the current U.S. moves against the Nicaraguan people

did not stem from any change of heart on the part of the assembled capitalist rulers, but from the massive support that the heroic struggle of the Nicaraguan workers and peasants has inspired.

On June 12 in Lima, Peru, 3,000 people turned out for a protest against the Somoza regime. On June 17, thousands of Dominicans demonstrated at the OAS headquarters in Santo Domingo.

"There is hardly a university in any major Latin American city that does not display slogans in support of the revolt being led by Sandinista guerrillas in Nicaragua," reported the June 23 *Washington Post*.

In Colombia and other countries, young people are volunteering to join international brigades to go and fight alongside the Sandinistas.

Such pressures led the Brazilian military dictatorship to join the governments of Ecuador, Panama, Costa Rica, and Grenada in breaking off relations with Somoza.

The OAS vote did not end the danger of U.S. military moves against Nicaragua, however. Expressing the view of the U.S. ruling class, the June 23 *Washington Post* editorialized that Carter should seek to prevent "the possible appearance, in a region ripe for further such revolutions, of a Cuban-type or Cuban-oriented regime—especially one that takes power in the heat of battle rather than in the cool of the election booth."

This stance was echoed June 26 by Viron Vaky, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs: "Nicaraguans and our democratic friends in Latin America have no intention of seeing Nicaragua turned into a second Cuba. . . . We join them in that important objective."

Somoza is using U.S. guns, planes, and bombs to inflict a bloodbath on the Nicaraguan people. Hundreds have been gunned down. The slums of Managua—which Somoza's National Guard has been trying without success to retake from the rebels—have been subjected to heavy bombing.

The dictator has clearly decided that even if he cannot win he will at least leave behind him a country in ruins.

At *Militant* press time, rebel forces are holding firm in most areas despite Somoza's brutality. FSLN forces control large sections of the country, including the second- and third-largest cities, León and Matagalpa. On June 24 they routed the National Guard of Masaya and Diriamba. In the south, some 1,000 Sandinista troops are putting up a fight against elite guard units as they continue their drive on the provincial capital of Rivas.

The willingness of the workers and peasants to fight on despite massacres has put a heavy strain on Somoza's blood-drenched National Guard. Morale is reported to be low among many of Somoza's infantry troops.

On June 26 the National Guard launched a "recruitment drive" aimed at dragging young peasants, some only thirteen years old, into the fight against the Sandinistas. "The drive reflected both the large number of casualties suffered by the Guard in recent weeks and its need for thousands of new recruits being able to retake cities now in rebel hands," said a June 26 dispatch to the *New York Times*.

## End U.S. blockade of Cuba

Ten thousand petition signatures calling on Washington to normalize trade and diplomatic relations with Cuba were presented to the Carter administration on June 26.

The majority of Cubans living in the United States support an end to the eighteen-year-long U.S. economic blockade, representatives of the Cuban-American Committee for the Normalization of Relations with Cuba told a news conference in Washington.

They added that widely publicized and often violent activities of counterrevolutionary Cuban exile groups do not represent the sentiments of

most Cuban-Americans.

Three-fourths of the petition signatures came from the Miami, Florida, area. Another 1,200 were gathered in New Jersey, where 150,000-200,000 Cubans live.

A State Department official responded to the petitions by saying Carter would not normalize ties "any time soon."

Meanwhile, U.S. Rep. Harold Hollenbeck (R-N.J.) revealed that a poll of his constituents showed a 50-42 percent majority in favor of normalization. Hollenbeck, however, continues to oppose immediate normalization.

## ...Nicaragua

Continued from preceding page

1934 on the orders of National Guard chief Anastasio Somoza, father of the current dictator.

The Somoza family—among the most bloody despots in Latin American history—has ruled Nicaragua ever since, terrorizing and plundering the country and ensuring vast profits for U.S. corporations there.

Carter's goals today are the same as those the U.S. rulers pursued in Nicaragua in the 1920s and in the Dominican Republic in 1965: to preserve the country as an arena for profit-hungry capitalists, and to prevent the example of the workers' and peasants' struggle from spreading.

As long as it seemed likely that Somoza could drown the rebellion in blood, U.S. officials were content to murmur a few words about human rights while secretly funneling arms to Somoza. Now that Somoza's regime seems shaky, Vance has called for him to step down, so that a change of faces can take place at the top, leaving the essential character of the government the same.

But Washington fears that this will not divert the Nicaraguan masses from pressing toward their goals. Even modest concessions to the masses tend to encourage their struggles, producing broader challenges to the completely outmoded social order. Washington's only real guarantee against this is the use of U.S. troops.

The Carter administration demanded intervention once it seemed that the Nicaraguan workers and peasants, despite the slaughter of thousands of their brothers and sisters by Somoza's killers, were not to be deterred from putting an end to the hated dictatorship. This struggle poses a threat to the stability of shaky U.S.-dominated regimes throughout Latin America, and particularly to the nearby military rulers of Guatemala, El Salvador, and Honduras.

Carter wants young working people from the U.S. to fight and die to preserve the foundations of Somoza's tyranny. The U.S. rulers want to preserve the hated National Guard, to salvage Somoza's

corrupt political machine, and to guarantee the security of Somoza's vast wealth.

The Nicaraguan workers and peasants are fighting to be rid once and for all of Somoza's National Guard. They want the right to speak, to demonstrate, to form unions and other organizations that represent their interests—even if that threatens the pocketbooks of some U.S. corporations.

They are fighting so that the ill-gotten gains of the Somozas—including more than half of the country's industry, commerce, and farmland—can be made public property and used for the benefit of the exploited and oppressed.

They are fighting for land to be distributed to those who work it, instead of being monopolized by U.S. firms and a handful of Nicaraguan land barons.

They are fighting for education for Nicaragua's children, good housing for all, health care for the masses, and jobs at decent pay.

And they are fighting to win real independence for their country, so long plundered and treated with racist contempt by U.S. imperialism.

To accomplish those things they want a government that represents the workers and peasants, not the imperialists and a handful of capitalist hangers-on.

That's why the Nicaraguan workers and farmers are inspired by the example of Cuba—and why the U.S. rulers have reason to fear that the workers and peasants, if freed from the tyranny of Somoza's military-political machine, will attempt to follow the Cuban road.

The Cubans accomplished the very things that the Nicaraguan masses are fighting for today. They smashed the brutal Batista dictatorship. And they used their newly won freedom to fight for a workers and peasants government independent of the capitalists and their political representatives, a government that led them in taking the land and overturning capitalism, organizing and arming the toilers to defend their revolution from imperialist attacks.

The identification of the Nicaraguan workers and peasants with the Cuban revolution is being deepened by the Cuban revolutionary government's internationalist solidarity with their struggle. The

Cubans have not caved in to U.S. threats. They have refused to remain silent in face of imperialist moves against the revolutionary fighters.

On June 19, the Cuban Ministry of Foreign Relations declared that Carter was "trying to rescue the bloodiest and most corrupt criminals in all of Latin America" and called for mobilization around the world "to prevent a new and criminal imperialist armed intervention in Nicaragua. . . ."

"The intervention of the United States would create a Vietnam in the very heart of Latin America," the Cubans declared. "The Nicaraguan people and those of Central America would undoubtedly rise up against such foreign intervention, and their other brothers in Latin America and the Caribbean could not remain indifferent to such genocide."

While Carter attempts to twist Cuba's principled stand into an excuse for U.S. moves against the Nicaraguan workers and peasants, the Cubans' demonstrated readiness to put their lives on the line in defense of anti-imperialist struggles is an important factor in the imperialists' hesitations. If the U.S. rulers nonetheless decide to attempt to land troops in Nicaragua, Cuba may also be the target of military moves.

Working people in this country should heed the Cuban call for international action to block imperialist moves against Nicaragua. We have no stake in helping Carter save Somoza's blood-drenched National Guard from destruction. We have no interest in pouring the fruits of our labor into propping up dictators.

The Nicaraguan masses who are fighting under the leadership of the Sandinista National Liberation Front are our brothers and sisters. Their enemies are our enemies. If they win their battle for freedom, all of our struggles will take place on more favorable terms. If they are set back, our rulers will move with new confidence to attempt to crush other struggles of working people around the world and to press their attacks on our rights and gains at home.

Demonstrations, rallies, and public meetings to oppose U.S. intervention in Nicaragua are on the order of the day.

U.S. hands off Nicaragua!

U.S. hands off Cuba!



## U.S. rejects humane solution

# Behind furor over Indochina 'boat people'

By Will Reissner

The current imperialist propaganda campaign regarding the plight of emigrants from Indochina who are now refugees in other countries in Southeast Asia is one of the most brutally cynical political operations in a long time.

No one would dispute that the present situation of these refugees is difficult, in many cases even desperate. But the Western capitalist media is interested only in using their plight as a club against the Vietnamese revolution, while the real solution to the problem goes virtually unmentioned.

For years the U.S. rulers, echoed by the press, have lambasted the Soviet Union for its refusal to allow free emigration.

But now the American government is viciously attacking Vietnam for exactly the reverse policy—Vietnam allows those who wish to emigrate to do so.

On June 13 a United States congressional subcommittee likened Vietnam's policy on emigration to Hitler's expulsion of Jews in the 1930s. Assistant Secretary of State for Pacific Affairs Richard C. Holbrooke added that "the Vietnamese government has embarked on a deliberate effort to rid itself of those elements of society which it considers undesirable."

The only truth to the analogy with Nazi Germany is that the U.S. ruling class was as unwilling to open its doors to Jews from Germany in the 1930s as it is now to Indochinese in camps in Southeast Asia.

### Why they leave

Who are the refugees, and why and how did they leave Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea?

Since the 1975 defeat of the U.S. military intervention in Indochina, somewhat more than 900,000 Vietnamese, Laotians, and Kampuchians have left their native regions. Of these, about 130,000, mostly collaborators with the U.S., left at the time the U.S.-backed regimes fell.

In the past year about 450,000 people have left their homes. Many were fleeing the fighting in Kampuchea, but most left following the overturn of the last bastions of capitalism in southern Vietnam in March and April of last year.

Kampuchians have been going to Thailand and Vietnam. A representative of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees noted that "the Cambodian refugees, as a group, are different from other refugees." They are waiting for developments that will allow them to return to their homes—that is, the crushing of the alliance of U.S. and Thai-backed Kampuchean counterrevolutionary forces.

The question of international resettlement, then, largely concerns those who have left Laos and Vietnam.

Larry Eichel, a reporter for the Philadelphia *Inquirer*, spent six weeks touring the refugee camps in Southeast Asia. His series of articles on the refugees was reprinted in the June 12, 1979, *Congressional Record*.

### 'Not fleeing reprisals'

As a result of his discussions with refugees and camp administrators, Eichel concludes that many of those in the camps "might not be considered refugees in the usual sense of the word."

With only a few exceptions, he states, "they are not fleeing government reprisals such as death or imprisonment." Rather "their motives for leaving Indochina are political, economic and sometimes simply personal." Their reasons "have little to do with ideology."

According to the refugees, "the situation at home is unpleasant rather than desperate. They leave because they



Washington turned down Vietnamese offer to send 10,000 emigrants directly to countries that would accept them. Instead, U.S. warmakers seek to exploit refugees in smear campaign against Vietnam.

choose to—and because the opportunity to do so exists."

The most common motivations expressed by refugees were that their businesses had been nationalized, their incomes had been cut, or they had been told they would have to settle in "new economic zones" that are being set up in the countryside to provide a living for the millions of people who flooded the cities before 1975 to escape U.S. bombing.

Many others are taking the opportunity to join relatives already living in the United States or France.

Nearly three-quarters of the people leaving Vietnam are ethnic Chinese. Both the U.S. government and the Beijing regime in China claim that this is evidence of widespread discrimination in Vietnam.

But the refugees don't agree. Eichel notes that despite growing tension between China and Vietnam, the Chinese in Vietnam found that "their lives remained largely untouched until March 23, 1978, the day communism arrived in Cholon," (that is, the day sweeping nationalizations of remaining industry and commerce were carried out in southern Vietnam). These hit the Chinese population especially hard since historically Chinese predominated in these property-owning classes.

### Many still wealthy

The nationalizations, Eichel notes, convinced most of the former owners that their futures would be better served elsewhere. He points out that a great number of the refugees remained wealthy and that "despite the confiscations, most still had enough gold to buy their way out" on ships.

In addition to merchants and capitalists, there are a large number of professionals, particularly doctors, among the "boat people." According to Eichel, the Palau Bidong refugee camp in Malaysia "may have the highest doctor-patient ratio of any town—let alone refugee camp—in the entire world." Of the 25,000 refugees at the camp when he visited, there was one doctor for every 416 persons.

The same general rules hold true for Laotians in camps in Thailand, according to the *Inquirer* series.

The overwhelming majority of those

leaving Vietnam and Laos want to go to the United States. Eichel points out that "many are so insistent on pursuing their American dreams that they reject offers of resettlement from other nations, thus prolonging indefinitely their residence in limbo."

This desire to move to the United States to improve one's standard of living is not, of course, restricted to the Indochinese refugees. The U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service and Border Patrol spend vast amounts of money and energy trying to turn back "illegal aliens" from all over the world.

The Vietnamese government is allowing those who want to leave to do so. Since they have no means of getting to their preferred destination, the United States, they set sail for various points in Southeast Asia and hope to be settled in camps until they are allowed to enter the U.S. At this point about 330,000 are in such camps.

### Imperialists close door

Recently the governments of Malaysia and Indonesia have been talking about towing boats back to sea and refusing to allow boats to land. This is partly intended to pressure Washington to increase the number of Indochinese it allows in. However, in view of their proven record of brutal disregard for human life, there is no reason to doubt that such threats may be carried out.

Despite this ominous development, Washington and other imperialist governments are refusing to take in any significant number of refugees. Since late 1975, only 70,000 have been admitted to the U.S., and government plans call for the acceptance of another 119,000 over the next seventeen months, a rate of only 7,000 per month.

France has taken in slightly more than 50,000, mostly from Laos, and plans to accept 1,000 per month, including those who emigrate directly from Vietnam to France.

Australia has let in 18,000, and plans to allow in another 14,000. Canada has admitted 8,500, and has agreed to take in another 5,000. Japan has given legal status to 3 refugees, all in one family.

Tan Sri Ghazali Shafie, the Malaysian home minister, has bitterly at-

tacked the U.S. procedures for screening refugees. He notes that while Malaysia, a country of 13 million people, is expected to take in everyone who shows up wanting to go to the U.S., the Americans "do not in fact treat these people as refugees but [as] people from whom immigrants would be selected."

Vietnam acknowledges that many among the former ruling class would like to leave. Nguyen Trong Vinh, Vietnamese ambassador to China, agreed that "it is true that there are quite a few people among the bourgeois, the capitalists, the landowners and some of the high officials of the former regime who detest our system."

### U.S. rejects solution

The Vietnamese government has offered to arrange for orderly emigration of those who want to leave. Foreign Minister Nguyen Duy Trinh proposed in January that arrangements be made for people to leave by plane. In June, Vietnam offered to arrange for 10,000 people to go directly to countries ready to give them permanent homes.

The United States *rejected this offer*. It wants to utilize the present situation to maximize its political campaign against the Vietnamese revolution. The aim is to portray the Vietnamese government as responsible for great human misery and suffering, while the U.S. has only humanitarian concerns.

However, the responsibility lies in Washington alone. The American government plans to spend only \$244 million in fiscal 1980 on resettling refugees. At the peak of U.S. military intervention in Vietnam, in 1968-69, Washington was spending more than \$550 million *per week* to wage war on that country. This is a clear example of the priorities the U.S. rulers follow.

In response to the propaganda campaign, we should point out that it was the U.S. imperialists who devastated Vietnam in their decade-long war against the Vietnamese people. It was the U.S. imperialists who reneged on their promise of reconstruction reparations. It was the U.S. imperialists who promoted the recent Chinese invasion of Vietnam. And now it is the U.S. imperialists who refuse to provide for the refugees.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

# Labor's stake in truckers' shutdown

By Andrew Pulley

I think most workers feel the way I do about the independent truckers' strike. Good—real good.

At last someone's standing up to the oil companies.

Our unions should support the truckers and follow the example they have set. By fighting together we could show up the gas crisis for the fraud it is—and take control of this vital resource out of the hands of the profiteering maniacs who are now bleeding us dry.

That's exactly what our bosses fear. They're pushing the lie that "greedy" truckers are hurting "the public." It's the same line workers hear every time we go on strike.

The government and news media are smearing the truckers the same way they do all striking workers—portraying them as a small gang of violent thugs terrorizing the majority into submission. But who is violent? Cops and National Guard are breaking up the truckers' peaceful protests and arresting strikers. The governor of Alabama says he hopes "to put them in the electric chair."

The ruling rich are intent on dividing the victims of the gas ripoff—workers, farmers, truckers—and pitting us against one another.

In the meantime the tiny clique of millionaires who run this country aren't spending their hours on the gas lines, that's for sure. Nor is the Pentagon hurting for fuel to supply its tanks, missiles, and planes.

## Union stance

Unfortunately, instead of promoting solidarity with the truckers against our common enemies, most top union officials are, at best, silent about the strike. And at worst, they join the antilabor chorus.

Teamsters President Frank Fitzsimmons, for instance, whose union includes some 30,000 independent truckers and thousands of fleet drivers hard-hit by gas shortages, takes aim at the strikers instead of the bosses. The independents are "leadfeet," charges Fitzsimmons, who guzzle gas and drive at unsafe speeds.

This stance plays right into the oil companies' hands. The truckers have started a fight we all have a stake in winning. Obviously, since they drive

Andrew Pulley was the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Chicago this year. A production worker at U.S. Steel's Gary works, he is a member of Steelworkers Local 1066.

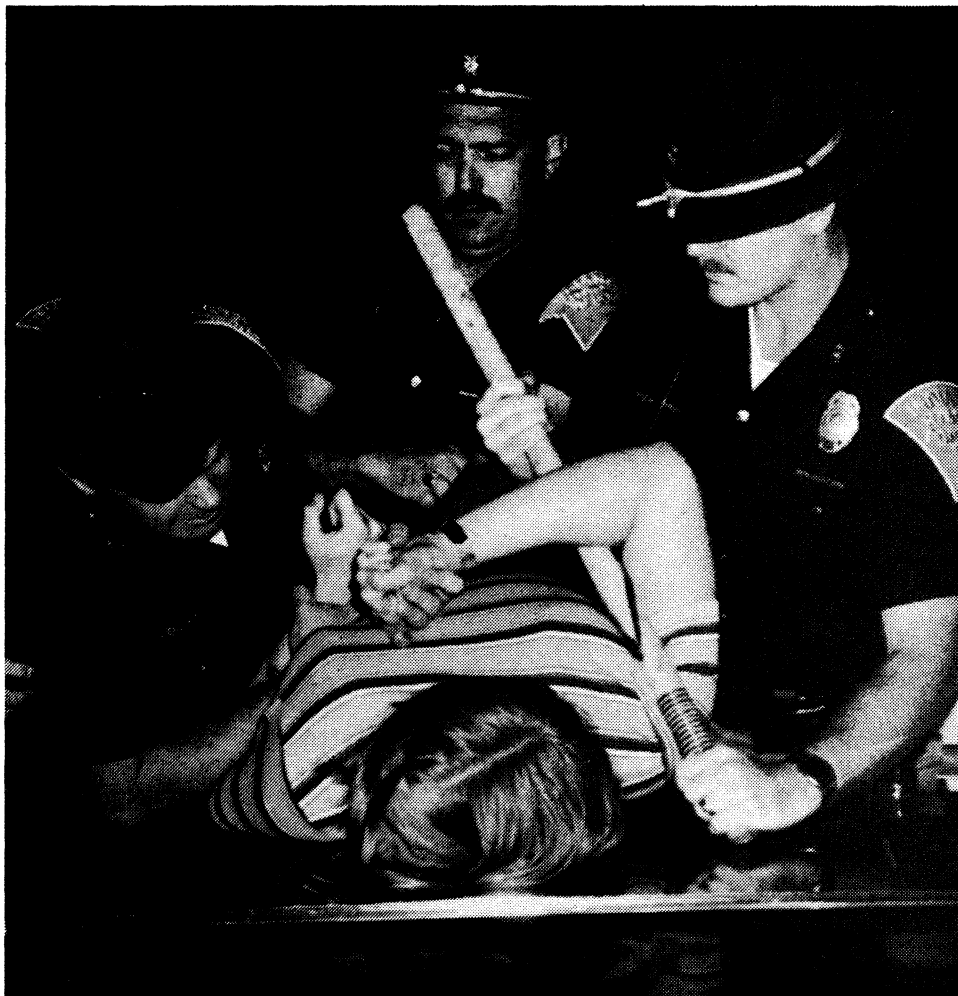


for a living, the truckers suffer most from the gas crisis. But what wage worker can afford gas anymore—or the time it takes to find any?

Our unions should demand that the cops and National Guard stop harassing the truckers right now. And our unions should encourage all working people to honor the truckers' pickets.

Another gimmick the bosses are trying to use to divide us is to cast the truckers as "businessmen" out for profits. This media hype is supposed to stoke up working-class resentment against the truckers and at the same time foster the illusion among truckers that they have more in common with employers. But the real working and living conditions of the truckers show otherwise.

Just who are these independent truckers who have fought their way into the headlines?



Cops attack striking trucker. Unions should demand immediate end to government's strikebreaking violence.

The vast majority of the owner-operators are working people, like you and me. Most have sunk their life savings, and whatever they could borrow, into buying one truck and keeping it running.

Under the laws of this country, written to protect the rights of the rich, most independent truckers aren't allowed to haul their goods directly from shipper to customer. Instead, they're forced to lease their rigs and services to government licensed carriers.

The carriers collectively set the trucking rates. The independents are paid only a percentage of these rates, while the carriers skim 25 to 40 percent right off the top in profit.

Out of the portion they're paid, the truckers must cover all the costs and risks of operating and maintaining their rigs—loan repayment, fuel, repairs, insurance, taxes, and more. To keep up with inflation, many truckers regularly drive fifteen hours a day, six days a week. The same endless grind we go through in the factories and mills with overtime.

Just imagine not only putting up with these hours—and hazardous working conditions—but also being responsible for the costs of breakdowns or defective materials. Now you have an idea of what a trucker's life is like.

With diesel fuel prices hitting a dollar a gallon—and shortages even at these exorbitant prices—truckers are threatened with bankruptcy.

Not only do the truckers share the lot of workers—and act like workers—more and more they've come to *think* like workers. As costs soar and earnings plummet, it's harder for them to really believe they'll ever own a fleet of trucks. It's hard to even hold onto the one they have.

## Steel haulers

This growing recognition spurred on the strike of independent steel haulers last winter over the right to organize their own union.

A few weeks ago I spoke at a public forum on the gas crisis along with Paul Deitch, one of the steel haulers' leaders. We saw eye to eye on the oil industry's phony shortages.

We agreed that working people should demand to see the oil monopolies' books for themselves—all the information about energy sources, stockpiles, profits, and costs.

We also agreed on the need to kick the oil pirates out and nationalize the industry.

Wage workers have every reason to come out in support of the truckers' protests.

Their chief demand is for a fuel surcharge—a pay increase to help compensate for skyrocketing gas prices. The figure most often cited is 10 percent; the government is offering at most 7 percent.

The truckers surcharge demand is modest and absolutely justified. This one-time boost will still leave them behind in the race with gas prices. Some drivers are also calling for a rollback in gas prices, a demand that obviously benefits all working people.

The fact is that unless the truckers get some relief soon many will be forced to park their rigs for good. They are entitled to full compensation from the carriers for all price increases, just as wage workers need full cost-of-living protection for our paychecks.

## More gas

The truckers are also demanding more gas. The government claims they can only give the truckers more by giving farmers less. But this is just another lie—and another attempt to divide us. If we fight together we can get adequate supplies on the market at prices we can afford.

The truckers are asking for uniform weight and length regulations between states. This is entirely reasonable.

Getting behind the truckers is the way to start a real labor fight against the oil profiteers. Just about every worker can see the emperor has no clothes—that the gas crisis is the creation of the oil industry and its bought-off government. We're all enraged over the speed with which gas prices are rising—and the slowness of the gas lines we spend our few free moments on.

We're fuming as individuals. But collectively we belong to the most powerful organizations in this country—our unions. We don't have to face this crisis alone—locked away in our separate cars waiting for gas rations.

Organized labor is more than twenty million strong. We run the industry and transportation of this country.

Imagine if we put this muscle into the fight against the oil industry and

government—if we made our power felt in massive actions.

Imagine if the unions inside the oil industry told the country what they know. "Our perception as employees is that they have plenty of crude," said a leader of the Teamsters local at Exxon's refinery in Linden, New Jersey, last week. What if his perception—multiplied by the knowledge of thousands of workers in the energy industry—was aired by the labor movement on TV, radio, in the newspapers?

Anger in the plants is so high that many workers are already saying, "no gas, no work."

## Political fight

The kind of fight I'm talking about will need a political organization as well. The oil industry already has two—the Democrats and Republicans. To pull the lever for them is to guarantee more gas shortages, meat shortages, housing shortages, lower wages, and more nuclear disasters. There is no better time to run our own independent labor candidates—committed to working class solutions to the gas crisis—than now.

There was a time when such ideas just didn't seem possible or realistic. But that was before we lost our wages to inflation and Carter's guidelines. Before Three Mile Island and three mile gas lines.

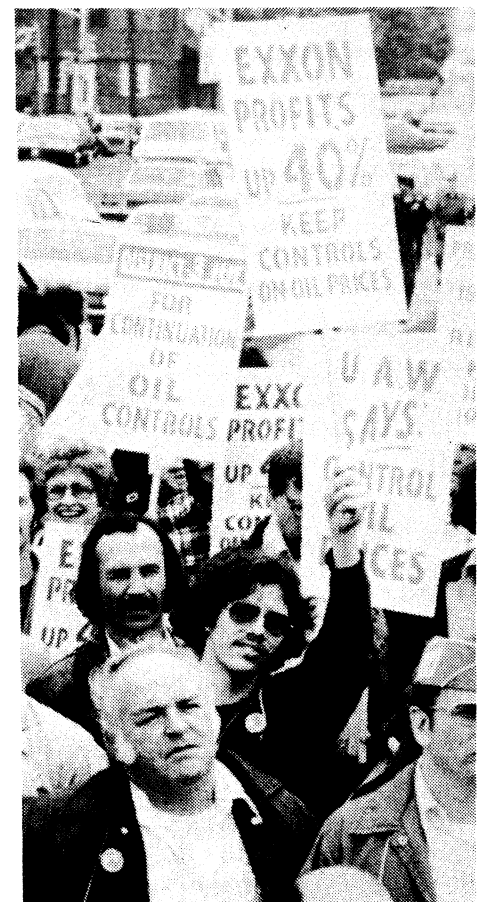
This is today's reality for working people and it promises to get only worse as long as the capitalists are running the show.

We have to start fighting back with the only weapons at our disposal, our unions.

We can begin by flooding our union meetings and seeing that a real discussion of the gas crisis takes place, that solutions are proposed and actions planned. We can invite representatives of the truckers and farmers to these meetings to hear their ideas and discuss our common fight.

Some unions have already carried out local protest actions. United Auto Workers locals in New Jersey led a protest against Exxon. Members of UAW Local 160 picketed the General Motors Tech Center outside Detroit. Unionists rallied in Baltimore against gas prices and shortages as well.

These actions—together with the nationwide truckers strike—are a start. By following their example we can build the massive labor response needed to defeat the energy ripoff.



Militant/Arnold Weissberg  
Union pickets outside New Jersey Exxon oil refinery. Such protests can pave the way to the mass labor actions needed.



## Cops savagely attack protest

# Pa. residents join truckers in gas uprising

By Jay Johnson

PHILADELPHIA—Fed up with the phony energy crisis, interminable gas lines, and the personal hardships of the past few weeks, thousands of residents of the Levittown, Pennsylvania, area took to the streets for two days to join independent truckers in a spontaneous uprising against the gas shortage. Their protest was met with a savage police attack.

The protest began at 6:30 p.m. Saturday, June 23, when truckers began a convoy at Five Points, a large intersection in Bristol Township, a heavily industrialized working-class suburb thirty miles from Philadelphia.

One of the convoy organizers, Lee Stout, told the Philadelphia *Daily News* what happened that night. "We were rolling through the intersection. A line of police got in front of the first truck with their guns drawn. The cops told this guy Brownie to get out of his

truck. He said, 'What for, I'm not breaking any law.' They pulled him out and beat the shit out of him.

"I said to one of the cops, 'How come you need guns?' He said, 'I don't care what happens or who gets hurt, you fucking punk.'

"You can tell they came out for blood. We couldn't find any cops with name tags or badges."

While cops dragged truckers out of their cabs to beat and arrest them, people started to pour out of their houses, shouting at the cops and cheering for the truckers. Some brought food and drink out for the beleaguered truckers. According to the press, the crowd of a few hundred supporters stretched almost a mile down New Falls Road.

At about the same time, a gas station with a very long line shut down. All the people on the line got out and joined the demonstration, which grew to 2,000. Demonstrators were mostly young—under twenty-five years old. People brought signs saying, "We want gas." Some families came out with their children. People carried babies.

As truckers and community residents came together, impromptu rallies occurred, with truckers addressing the crowd from the back of their trucks.

Their theme was unity. They said that everyone who owned a car had common interests and that people should unite and support the truckers because they were fighting for everybody—not against them.

Some 150 cops from four townships and state police with attack dogs and four-foot riot sticks waded into the protest and began beating people.

By the time cops had cleared the area, sixty-nine people had been arrested and thirty-three demonstrators hospitalized—mostly with dog bites.

On Sunday morning several hundred people in the area came out again to protest the gas shortage and the police attack.

Rose Kaser, whose husband and two children stood with her in the crowd, said, "I think it's about time to unite. If we wait any longer we won't be able to heat our homes this winter."

The crowd grew to 3,000 by early evening, blocking the entire intersection.



People poured out of houses in support of truckers

Someone towed a car from a junkyard into the middle of the intersection. Protesters overturned it, doused it with gasoline, and set it on fire. People got tires from gas stations in the area and threw them onto the flames.

About 300 cops from fourteen police departments, including state police and 60 Philadelphia cops with an armored truck, launched another attack on the protesters. The crowd began jeering and throwing rocks, bottles, and firecrackers at the cops to hold them back.

According to the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, "The scene became confused and violent as the police lowered visors on their riot helmets and marched down New Falls Road."

Cops went wild, smashing windshields of cars and beating up the drivers.

Harry Sircely, a photographer for the Bucks County *Courier Times*, said that about fifteen police officers surrounded his car as he tried to drive away from the intersection. One cop reached into the car and struck him with a nightstick, cutting a deep wound over his left eye that required stitches to close.

Cops arrested about 150 people, including those hospitalized from beat-

ings. Township police, according to the *Inquirer*, concerned that they might be the next target for protesters, stationed armed police in the streets outside their headquarters on Bath Road.

Cops with rifles stood on the roofs, and the street was closed to cars. More cops armed with riot guns stood outside the Bristol Municipal building, where arrested protesters were hauled in for booking.

A related protest took place about two miles away. One hundred people converged at the intersection of Route 413 and State Road, blocking it and preventing cars from using the Burlington Bristol Bridge—the bridge to New Jersey—for more than an hour.

A tractor-trailer rig blocked the northbound lane while two automobiles blocked the southbound.

A curfew was set for Monday at 9 p.m.

Meanwhile, in South Philadelphia, on the other side of the city, independent truckers blockaded a number of industrial sites. They shut down an Arco refinery and a food distribution center and closed the Packer Avenue Marine Terminal. Flying picket squads were reported on Delaware Avenue to stop deliveries to and from the docks.

## 'Totally justified'

PHILADELPHIA—Spontaneous outbursts of anger against the gasoline shortage by more than 2,000 Levittown demonstrators this past weekend were "totally justified," says Nora Danielson, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Philadelphia.

"The entire 'energy crisis' is a gigantic ripoff of working people by the big oil companies in collusion with the U.S. government. Protests against this shortage—such as the Levittown demonstration and the independent truckers' strike—should be supported by all working people," Danielson said in a statement released to the news media June 25.

Rail worker Danielson demanded the charges against all those arrested in Levittown be dropped, pointing out that the real criminals in this gas crisis are the oil companies and their politicians in the Democratic and Republican parties.

# Balto. protest rally hears UMW official on coal

By Geoff Mirelowitz

BALTIMORE—"I'm here to talk about coal," United Mine Workers Vice-president Sam Church told a rally organized by the Citizen/Labor Energy Coalition here June 24. Called to protest the gas crisis, the outdoor rally drew seventy-five people on a chilly, rainy day.

The coalition is the local affiliate of a national organization headed by Machinists President William Winpinger.

The rally occurred as the gas shortage reached crisis proportions in Maryland. Thousands of people have been forced to spend up to several hours a week waiting in line for gas or looking for open stations. Odd-even rationing has been imposed as well as a minimum-purchase requirement.

At Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point plant, where I work, stories of workers coming in late due to lack of gas are becoming more common.

The theme of Church's talk was summed up in a button that was distributed by UMW representatives at the rally. "Why Not Coal?" it asked.

"There is so much coal underneath the ground it could provide all the electric power we need for the next 300 years," Church explained.

"It can be burned clean with no

pollution," he said, "if we force the federal government to implement the regulations to do this."

Church asserted that generating more electricity from coal would make more oil available for gasoline and heating fuel.

One big obstacle is that the oil companies also dominate the coal industry. Church told the rally that 55 percent of the nation's coal is owned by the oil companies. Stockpiles of coal that is already mined total 150 million tons, which, Church said, is twice the count normally kept in storage. As long as the energy monopoly can make superprofits from other fuel sources, they will continue to keep the lid on coal production and use, he said.

Church also referred to the danger of nuclear power. The rally listened to his recently released record, "Black Gold," with a verse that goes, "America take warning, there's something you should know. There would be no Three Mile Island if we were burning coal." (According to the UMW *Journal*, sales of this record will benefit the UMW Organizing Relief Fund).

The song on the reverse side promotes coal as a solution to the gas crisis. Unfortunately, it gives the impression that the Arab people share responsibility with the U.S. oil com-

panies for the crisis, an assertion that Church also made at the rally.

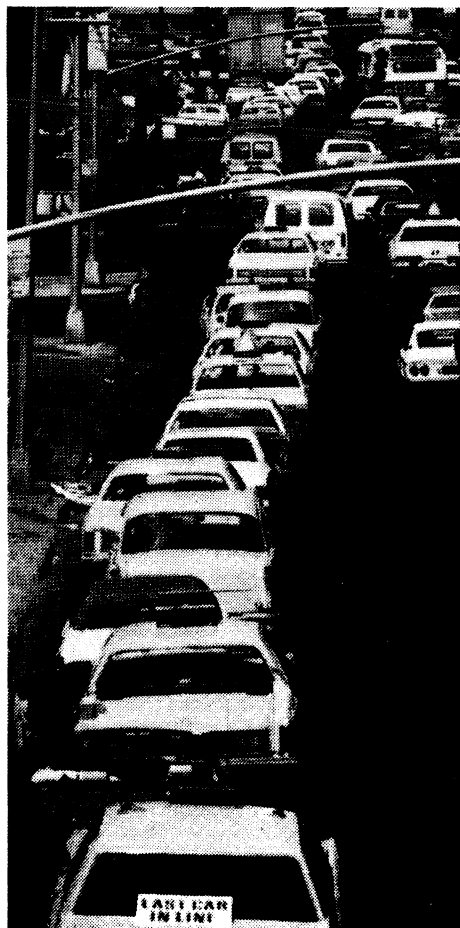
Other speakers at the rally included Ernie Crofoot, an international vice-president of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Mary Pratt Park, a Baltimore city council member; and Chaplain Chester Whickshire of Johns Hopkins University. The rally was chaired by Tom Bradley, president of the Metropolitan Baltimore Council of AFL-CIO unions.

Crofoot brought cheers from the crowd when he referred to the striking independent truckers. He said it would take action like theirs, rather than writing letters to Congress, to "force the government to act."

"We can't let the oil companies run the country," Crofoot said. "The country should run the oil companies."

In closing the rally, Bradley repeated the goals of the coalition, which he said were: end oil profiteering, roll back oil prices, stop manipulated oil shortages, and open the books of the multinational oil companies.

He said that the coalition was considering holding a national demonstration in Washington and similar local protests in other parts of Maryland.



'We can't let oil companies run the country.'

## Nationwide shutdown spreads

# Truckers appeal for support: 'If we win,

### North Carolina

By Doug Cooper

GREENSBORO, N.C.—"Mr. and Mrs. Consumer, we are now helping to lower your food prices. This is just the beginning."

That's what the sign said on a rig picketing the Union 76 Truck Stop on Interstate 40 near Greensboro, North Carolina.

Most rigs picketing the fuel depot had signs that read, "If we win, you win. Support us now!"

On June 24 the strikers on their own initiative began peaceful pickets at the gates of the big fuel depot. Tank truck drivers are honoring the strikers picket lines.

Strikers have responded angrily to attempts to pit them against working farmers, the public, and other truck drivers.

"Farmers don't make anything, we don't make anything," said one striker.

"Big business is getting it—not farmers or independent owner-drivers," said another.

A retired trucker, who joined the Teamsters Union in 1933, explained, "If the general public knew the truth that would help us a lot. We want them to know we have a legitimate reason for what we're doing."

Darrell McGee of High Point, North Carolina, noted that, "the president could step in and freeze fuel prices if he wanted to, but evidently he doesn't want to."

"Last year I could run a Texas Valley trip for \$300. Now it takes \$550. At the rate fuel is going up now, by winter none of us will be able to even heat our homes."

"The government is supposed to keep prices below 7 percent but diesel's gone up 30 percent!" said a striker from southern Ohio.

"I never would have said it before, but our government is getting rotten," said a retired trucker.

### Utah

SALT LAKE CITY—United Steelworkers Local 4208 has passed a resolution supporting independent truckers and will send copies to every steel local in the sub-district area. This includes Utah, Wyoming, Idaho, and Nevada. Local 4208 represents workers at the Elmco Mining and Machining Plant. The resolution reads:

"Local 4208 supports the struggles of the independent truckers to get more

diesel fuel and lower prices. Their fight helps all working people to get more gasoline supplies at lower prices and be able to get to work and take our vacations.

"We further ask that the energy corporations open their books to public scrutiny so that working people can find out the truth about energy supplies and reserves."

### Louisiana

By John Linder

HARVEY, La.—Two hundred fifty Louisiana truckers voted to shut down their trucks in a rally held here June 20.

Many of the independent truckers vowed to stay out as long as is necessary to win their demands.

The rally was held in the parking lot of a giant supermarket near New Orleans. After giving statements to the media, a committee of two truckers from each of the terminals met to discuss demands and tactics.

When the group got back together, a representative from each terminal spoke.

The truckers made plans to organize a convoy to Baton Rouge, the state capital.

Hostility to the government was high, particularly against Jimmy Carter who many truckers called "Peanut Man." Applause was loud when a driver explained, "He's trying to make us work for peanuts."

### New Mexico

By Jim Miller

ALBUQUERQUE, N.M.—Chris Driscoll, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Albuquerque City Council, walked the picket line with independent truckers at a truck stop here June 20.

Driscoll talked to Wayne Winston, New Mexico organizer of the independents' shutdown.

"We're really fighting the oil companies," Winston said. Scoffing at the "fuel shortage" myth, he told Driscoll that "the American public has got to realize that the oil companies have been ripping us off, and it's about time people woke up or we're going to be in sad shape."

Driscoll also spoke with Lisa Helfrich, another picketing independent trucker. She said she had to pay \$300 for 200 gallons of diesel fuel in Oklahoma City, and that she had no choice



Militant/Jim Miller



Militant/Rich Gollub

Truckers picket Albuquerque truck stop (top). Above, truckers vote to shut down at Harvey, Louisiana, rally.

but to fight back.

"They've got us by the neck and they're trying to hang us, so we're going to hang them," she said. "Ain't no way I'm going to be forced out of business."

"I think we're going to win—I know we're going to win," Helfrich declared.

### Georgia

By Tom Fiske

ATLANTA—"We want to get a point across to the general public: Stop letting the big companies dictate," said Frank Hill, national vice-president of the Independent Truckers United.

"We're trying to set an example of unity for the public," Hill told the *Militant*. "It's like the old saying—united we stand, divided we fall. If the public unites together and becomes one, then all these powerful senators and members of government will be able to realize that they work for us and not for themselves."

Hill said the independent truckers have the same interests as the small farmers. "We have received some support from the American Agriculture Movement," he noted.

"If the farmers need help to move their six-wheelers, we will give them all the help they need. We'll drive their trucks—but not ours."

### Florida

By Bill Rayson

MIAMI—Two days after independent fuel haulers and heavy haulers shut their rigs down here June 19, Gov.

Bob Graham ordered out the National Guard.

The truckers, members of the newly formed Florida Independent Truckers Rights Association, demanded a 30 percent across-the-board rate increase.

After a week on strike, the truckers went back to work, having won what they consider to be a partial victory.

During the shutdown, truckers' signs protested the National Guard "occupation" of Port Everglades—now nicknamed Fort Everglades. "The Kent State boys come to Lauderdale. Thanks, Gov." read a sign on Ed Fretz's truck. Another read, "Sparky Graham wants another execution." A popular sign said, "Welcome to Nicaragua."

"If the governor wants to, let him haul the gas," said trucker Larry Scherer.

Trucker Nick Nelson explained that the rates are set by the Florida Public Service Commission. PSC members are appointed by the governor and they "must all be cousins of Florida Power and Light, Southern Bell, and the insurance companies because all of the decisions are in their interest," said Nelson.

The truckers voted to return to work with a settlement that includes a 7 percent increase for the fuel haulers and a 3.4 percent increase for the heavy haulers. The truckers association also won recognition by the PSC, which gives it the right to intervene at upcoming hearings.

Meanwhile, 400 independent truckers remain on strike in Tampa.

## 'Don't blame the Arabs'

The following is excerpted from an editorial in the May/June 1979 issue of 'Land-Line,' published by the Owner-Operators Independent Drivers Association of America.

The full editorial was entitled: 'Fuel Crisis or Oil Company Rip-Off? The tiger that once was in your tank may now be going for your throat!' The section that follows was subtitled: 'Don't Blame the Arabs.'

The finger of blame is continually being pointed at the O.P.E.C. Oil Cartel. But can they really be blamed?

Consider these facts:

1. At the time of the Arab Oil Embargo in 1973-74, we were importing only 5 to 10 percent of our oil consumption. We were exporting much more than we were importing.
2. Since the oil embargo, the Alaskan Oil Fields have been made accessible with the completion of the Alaska Pipe Line.
3. The American people do not buy oil from the O.P.E.C. Nations-

the oil companies do.

4. Since the oil companies are allowed to pass on any increase in the cost of imported oil, they have little if any incentive to negotiate for lower prices. Add to this the fact that higher priced foreign oil will eventually make their domestically produced oil more valuable and the incentive actually leans toward paying more for imported oil instead of less.

Conclusion: If you suddenly found yourself in the rather enviable position of selling your product or services to a customer who wanted to pay you more for them, wouldn't you find it difficult to restrain yourself when rate increases were being considered?

In Senator Church's remarks, he mentioned only the oil he knows is available and is not being marketed because of transportation or refining problems. He did not mention the old oil wells that have been capped off or slowed down, awaiting decontrol of prices. Only the oil companies know for sure and they aren't telling.



# you win'

## Missouri

By Sandi Sherman

KANSAS CITY, Mo.—Chester Dinsmore has been driving a rig for thirty years. He usually makes runs from California to Houston.

But he has been in Oak Grove, Missouri, for the past two weeks, volunteering his time to the national headquarters of the Owner-Operators Independent Drivers Association of America. The association is one of some eight truckers groups that is supporting the national shutdown.

These drivers are demanding a 20 percent surcharge to offset the high cost of diesel fuel. "The government offered us a 5.6 percent surcharge," Dinsmore explained. "If you have \$1 a mile freight you'd have to have at least 7.5 percent to be able to operate. My revenue last year averaged 73 cents a mile." He added it was cheaper for him not to run his rig at all!

"Most of us are operating on a rate that was set when fuel was selling for 45 cents a gallon," Dinsmore added. "It's at least double that now."

The truckers' action reached the Kansas City area June 20 when truckers shut down the Metro Plaza truck stop. Other truck stops in the area were blocked and truckers passed leaflets out as they drove their rigs up to get gas. Most were sympathetic, including union drivers who didn't cross their blockade.

It is a matter of pure survival for these truckers. Karen McAllister, the association secretary, told us that the headquarters has received an astounding number of calls from truckers who were forced to sell their rigs. They simply can't afford to operate them anymore.

When asked his opinion of the government's intervention, Dinsmore said, "They could call out the National Guard, but they're not going to drive our trucks.

"I believe the public should support us on this. We're just the first ones it's hitting hardest. I believe if the general public would shut down for one week, it would solve the problem," he declared.

## Independent driver explains discontent: long hours and trips, but no living wage

By Bill Warrick

INDIANAPOLIS—Generally speaking, independent truckers like their jobs, even though most put in a seventy-hour workweek and spend the majority of their time away from home.

In return for such long hours and extended trips, independent truckers have come to expect a living wage after all our expenses are paid. But in the past few months, oil company price gouging combined with federal and state government policies have drastically reduced the owner-operators' ability to earn a living.

This is why protests by the independent truckers have sharply increased over the past few weeks, culminating in a nationwide strike.

Perhaps the most common form of protest at this point consists of the individual owner-operator driving home, parking his rig, and taking a well-deserved rest.

Since the country's 100,000 independent truckers haul the majority of shipments involving perishable foods, steel, heavy machinery, and household goods, as well as significant proportions of other commodities, these actions have clout.

Buying diesel fuel has become the single greatest operating expense faced by independent truckers—it is even higher than their monthly truck payments. For example, during April I paid \$806.54 for diesel fuel. This compares with a truck payment of \$791. And as a furniture hauler my fuel costs are lower than most owner-operators, who log more miles with heavier loads.

While fuel prices have skyrocketed, the drivers' revenues—which in many cases are regulated by the Interstate

*Bill Warrick is an over-the-road household goods hauler. He is an owner-operator and a member of Teamsters Local 193, based in Indianapolis.*

Commerce Commission—have remained the same. The results have not been pleasant. One driver told me that he decided to shut down after he figured out that his wife was bringing home more money as a clerk at J.C. Penney's.

Other factors contribute to the discontent among owner-operators, such as the lack of uniform rules regarding weight and length in the various states and the fifty-five-mile-per-hour speed limit.

For example, independent truckers hauling produce east from California can legally load their rigs up to a gross weight of 80,000 pounds and have a maximum length of sixty feet. But if they enter Arkansas, they are subject to harsh fines, since the gross weight limit there is 73,200 pounds and the length is restricted to fifty-five feet. They must either risk the fines or haul smaller amounts and lose money.

Most drivers believe that any fuel savings registered by running at fifty-five miles per hour is worthless compared to the time lost. Time is of the essence, particularly on longer trips. An owner-operator's livelihood depends on being able to load, haul, and deliver each shipment quickly in order to be able to reload.

The Carter administration's response to the independent truckers shutdown is a classic example of too little too late. For example, the Federal Highway Administration has asked states with low weight limits to consider "temporarily" raising them. But there are no guarantees that these changes will be permanent.

Other actions taken by the federal government include the 7 percent "pass through" surcharge. Such a small surcharge can hardly begin to provide relief for the owner-operator. Truckers are asking for a 10 to 20 percent surcharge to cover soaring fuel costs.

In the current strike, independent truckers have learned the importance

of reaching out for support—especially since the government has attempted to pit farmers, Teamsters, and other working people against us.

In general, there is a rather close and harmonious relationship between the independent truckers—especially the ones who haul produce—and farmers. Both realize they are in the same boat.

The role of the Teamsters union in the current situation is vital. Approximately 30,000 of the 100,000 owner-operators are "card carriers," or Teamster members.

A couple of months ago Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons called for relief for owner-operators from the rising fuel prices. But now that push has come to shove, the Teamster officials have refused to support the strike.

But the official Teamster position has little relationship to the sympathies of union drivers.

I read in the *Detroit News* that in central and western Michigan, Teamster drivers of tank trucks were not crossing the picket lines set up by independent truckers at oil company terminals.

"We may lose one or two days' pay, but those guys are working for all of us," Ron Payne, a Teamster who refused to take his tanker into the Napoleon tank farm, told the *Detroit News*.

This solidarity of the company drivers with the owner-operators was shown to me while I was driving from Grand Rapids to Detroit to load a shipment before the current shutdown.

I fell in line behind four empty car haulers who were returning to Detroit to load. Soon the talk got around to the plans for the impending strike. Each voiced his support. A couple added that they would like to shut down too, but feared victimization by their company.

The drivers I have talked to who are shutting down feel proud that their group is the one that is challenging big oil. The battle that the independent truckers are waging deserves the support of all working people.

## N.J. auto workers see the over gas crisis

By Nancy Cole

The gas crisis hit the New York/New Jersey area in a big way late in June, and auto workers were front-line casualties of the oil trust's war against working people.

Auto workers from the New York and Newark branches of the Socialist Workers Party got together shortly thereafter to talk about how the crisis was affecting them and their coworkers, and about the angry response it has sparked in Ford's Metuchen and General Motors' Linden, New Jersey, plants.

For one socialist worker, the trip to and from work at Metuchen adds up to seventy-five miles a day. "On the New Jersey turnpike there is a \$3 maximum—or about 3.5 gallons worth," she said. "After the shift we had to wait in line at one gas station, then drive north on the turnpike, get off, drive south to another station, wait in line, get a second \$3 worth, drive south to the exit, turn around and drive home again. Many other workers were forced to do the same.

"But the supervisory personnel at Metuchen simply drive up and get gas from the plant's gas pump that is there to put gas in the cars as they come off the assembly line."

Some workers have been forced to miss work. "Already the gas shortage

has cost me a day's pay and \$16 for a motel room," said another participant in the socialists' discussion.

A third reported, "Workers are forced to leave the plant on our thirty-five minute break to get gas. And as we know, it takes more than thirty-five minutes to get \$3 of gas. So what invariably happens is that many workers come back ten, fifteen, and sometimes thirty minutes late. One older worker told me, 'You can be damned sure that the OPEC nations aren't behind this.'"

That opinion is widespread among auto workers. Few have bought the oil monopolies' line that it's all the fault of "Arab oil."

"No one I spoke to about the gas shortage thought the Arabs or the Iranians were responsible," said one socialist. "They thought Carter, the government, and the oil companies were responsible."

One Metuchen worker took an informal poll of about thirty of his coworkers, asking them if they thought there was a real shortage or if they knew *anyone* who believed the shortage was real. "All answered no to both questions," he reported.

Another informal poll brought the response, "Well, the truckers are inconveniencing a lot of people. But the oil companies are hurting people

a lot worse.

"I know a tugboat captain who's on strike—he knows about twenty barges, and a lot of ships too, that are just filled with oil and staying at sea until the price goes up."

One socialist explained, "Many workers go fishing at Sandy Hook and see the oil barges there waiting for the price to rise."

Particularly enraging for a Linden worker who had just waited an hour and a half to get gas was the news report that Connecticut Gov. Ella Grasso had urged everyone to stay home for their vacations to save fuel. But when reporters tried later to interview the governor, they found Grasso was vacationing in Europe.

Socialists reported that anger over the gas ripoff has spurred worker after worker at these auto plants to propose that they should "all stay home for a week." Or as one put it, "No gas, no work."

"We should get all the auto workers, the steelworkers, everyone in America to take off from work for a week. Then you just watch—the government will get the price of gas down," was one comment in the plant.

At a lunch table discussion at Metuchen, "someone mentioned there would be a home-heating oil shortage," a socialist reported.

"Another worker angrily responded, 'Then it's time to tear down a millionaire's house to use for fuel.'"

The crisis has provoked other radical remarks as well. One former coal miner, who's worked at Metuchen for nearly twenty years, said, "When all those kids were rioting in the sixties, I was against it. But I've changed my mind. If they want to riot now, I'll support them."

Others have proposed nationalization of the oil companies—"take 'em over."

One worker said, "What they're going to do is make us wait in line until we say, 'OK, we'll pay the \$1.25 a gallon—just give us the gas.' There's no shortage. They've got all this new oil too. It's the oil companies holding back. Things are going to get so bad—then it'll go like Iran."

Another Metuchen worker noted, "The press just makes it easier for the oil companies to get away with their lies."

Socialists concluded after their discussion that they could do their part to make it *harder* for the oil profiteers to get away with their lies. Socialist auto workers plan to go on a campaign to sell the *Militant* on the job and at the gas lines, where they regularly join their coworkers these days.

# How Teamsters union organized

Today, as in 1974, independent truckers are leading the protests against the fuel shortages imposed by the oil trust. They have the sympathy and support of millions of union members, including Teamsters. But officials of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and other unions have failed to promote solidarity with the truckers and have even attacked them.

The following article by Farrell Dobbs tells how class-struggle-minded Teamster organizers took a very different approach to the independent truckers in the 1930s. Dobbs was a leader of the 1934 Teamster strikes in Minneapolis that won union recognition for General Drivers Local 574 (later 544). He went on to become the central organizer of an eleven-state organizing campaign of over-the-road drivers. This first real effort to unionize the long-distance haulers resulted, after a six-month strike against Omaha trucking bosses, in the Teamsters first areawide contract. It was a turning point in transforming the IBT into a powerful union organized on industrial rather than craft lines.

Farrell Dobbs joined the Communist League of America (forerunner of the Socialist Workers Party) in 1934 and has been a central leader of the Trotskyist movement since the late 1930s. He has recounted in four books the history and lessons of the battles that built the Teamsters union. The following is taken from "Teamster Politics."

## By Farrell Dobbs

During the depression of the 1930s individually owned trucks appeared in the transportation industry in ever-increasing numbers. A major factor in this development was an intensive sales campaign by the auto corporations. Their caper was to induce the unemployed to buy themselves a job by buying a truck. Workers who could scrape up the down payment were allowed to meet the balance of the purchase price on a long-term installment basis. Incentive for such purchases was given by the federal government, which used individually owned trucks on its "make work" projects for the unemployed of that period. State, county, and city engineering departments followed suit, especially in connection with road work.

Comparable trends developed within private industry. Firms having their own fleets of trucks often kept a surplus of rigs on hand by hiring independent owner-operators, who usually found themselves payless—despite the time put in—when they were not actually hauling something. Fluctuations in business volume were thus compensated for at the expense of the owner-operators and to the profit of the fleet owners. Broker setups appeared in the form of companies that relied entirely on individual truck owners to move goods. In such cases virtually the entire overhead cost of trucking operations was shouldered upon the owner-operators, thereby impairing their capacity to earn a living. These and other practices of a comparable nature held sway in coal and ice delivery, construction hauling, motor freight, and elsewhere in transportation.

Immediate profit-taking along the foregoing lines was not the only object the capitalists had in mind. Advantage was sought from ambitions that developed among independent owner-operators to expand their holdings and go into business for themselves. Illusions were fostered that such prospects were open to all individual owners, so as to trick them into identifying themselves with the problems of management. To the extent that the scheme worked, divisions were sown between owner-operators and the drivers of company fleets. Unionization of the industry was thereby impeded; the laws of the open-shop jungle could better prevail; and the trucking bosses were able to wax fatter in all respects.

These dangers to both categories of drivers were further accentuated by misleadership within the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. Little attention, if any, was paid to the problems of the owner-operators. Although sporadic efforts were made to organize fleet drivers, IBT policy was so ill-conceived and so poorly executed that not much headway could be made in that sphere either. As a result the union remained weak, at best, and in several important respects it was quite impotent.

Such were the prevailing conditions throughout the trucking industry when Trotskyists in Minneapolis began to win leadership influence within the



Teamster pickets battle cops during 1934 Minneapolis strike

IBT during the second half of the 1930s. In shaping our overall class-struggle policy, close attention to the independent owner-operator question was included. On that score we began by taking full account of the realities of the existing situation. Drivers owning their own trucks had become a factor of major dimensions within the industry. To consolidate the union power, they had to be brought into an alliance with the fleet drivers. Before that could be done, however, a course had to be developed that would serve the owner-operators' interests.

Careful examination of all the factors involved convinced us that those owning one truck, who did their own driving, should be approached by the union as fellow workers. Proceeding accordingly, we set out to organize as many of these individuals as possible. They were then extended the democratic right to shape the demands that were made upon their employers, the leasing companies. On that basis the union as a whole followed through by backing them in struggles to improve their take-home pay.

The validity of that policy was confirmed by the results that followed. In the major struggles of that period against the trucking employers generally, the union's owner-operator members served loyally. They both volunteered their trucks to transport pickets and shared in the picketing. A significant number of our casualties in battles with the cops were from among this category of workers. After the union had been consolidated, they continued to play a constructive role. Like other members of the organization, they looked upon those of their own kind who took an antilabor stance as finks and dealt with them accordingly.

## Bosses checkmated

Our course had checkmated the divisive schemes of the bosses. In Minneapolis the truck drivers and allied workers had emerged as a power, and the union was able to march forward in advancing the interests of all its members.

These experiences became an important asset when we launched an organizing drive in the over-the-road industry in 1938. There we found an even more complicated situation concerning independent owner-operators. Firms holding carrier rights issued by the government employed many of these independents, paying them flat rates by the mile, ton, or trip for rig and driver. It was truly a cut-throat setup. Diverse methods were used to heap inordinate trucking costs upon the owner-operators, thereby shaving down their earnings as drivers. At the same time devious patterns were woven to confuse the true nature of the employer-worker relationship and turn the individuals involved in an antiunion direction.

Propaganda attacks were launched—especially

by legal tricksters claiming to speak for the owner-operators—which were calculated to discredit the IBT campaign. One such blast came from David I. Lipman, who purported to head a "Truck Owners and Operators Association." Through an article in the December 1939 issue of the *Transport Driver*, a publication circulated among owner-operators, he sharply criticized Teamster Local 710 of Chicago. He charged the union with "lack of regard for the truckmen's interests" and claimed that the IBT had no right to represent his clients.

John T. O'Brien, then head of Local 710, asked me to prepare a statement for the local in reply to Lipman. I did so and sent the draft to him on Jan. 3, 1940. It contained a quite extensive account of the owner-driver situation in over-the-road trucking. Concerning the confused patterns of employer-employee relations in the industry, the statement said:

"The individual owner-operator is by the very nature of his position a composite in one degree or another of the two distinct factors in the over-the-road motor freight industry—the owners of trucks and the drivers. There is a more or less clearly defined category of individual owner-operators, and there are other categories called by that name but who are in reality something entirely different.

"There is the individual who owns one truck which he himself drives. Ordinarily he operates under lease in the exclusive service of one operating company. He represents the owner-operator type of driving service in its purest form and deserves the fullest measure of consideration for his special problems.

"It must also be recognized that even in this group there is a tendency to operate free-lance on a catch-as-catch-can basis. These individuals who operate in this manner are commonly referred to as gypsies, skimmers, wildcatters, etc., and are found hauling for one company today, another tomorrow, and the next day trying to drum up business as a one-man company. They are a serious problem to the industry.

## Owner-driver-employer

"Even the most clearly defined type of owner-operator has a general tendency toward expansion, and the individual frequently becomes the owner of additional units of equipment. During this gradual process of accumulation he will first acquire one or two more pieces of equipment and will employ men to drive these while he continues as a driver of one of his units. As he continues to accumulate units he hires more and more men. This process transforms him into a combination owner-driver-employer.

"Finally he acquires enough equipment and hires enough men so that he must devote all or nearly all of his personal time to the problems of the management of his operations. He then is no longer in any



# independent truckers in 1930s

sense a driver and is transformed into the status of an owner of trucks and an employer of men who does business with an operating company as a small fleet owner who hauls by subcontract under a lease system. Yet he continues to pose as an individual owner-operator and is erroneously posed as such by many others. We thus arrive at the ridiculous circumstance whereby, assuming such an individual to be the employer of ten men, which is not uncommon, the group is referred to as eleven individual owner-operators instead of being identified as an employer and ten employees, which is the true state of affairs.

"Occasionally a small fleet owner succeeds in acquiring the necessary operating certificates and permits and enough direct accounts to enable him to abandon his service under lease to an established operating company and to launch his own company. This action, which represents the realization in fact of the secret ambition of every 'gypsy' individual owner-operator, brings into the full light of day the true nature of the employer-employee relationship between the small fleet owner and the men who drive his trucks.

"It now becomes clear how many operating companies have cleverly devised a scheme whereby they obtain driving service at substandard wages. The drivers are held in a state of continuous confusion by the ever-changing employment and equipment ownership relations between the drivers and small fleet owner on the one hand and between the small fleet owner and the operating company on the other. The operating company evades all responsibility for employment relations with the drivers by hiring through the small fleet owner, who in turn far too frequently pays for driving service at varying substandard wage rates by a wide variety of methods."

With reference to the scope of Teamster jurisdiction in dealing with this situation, the answer to Lipman asserted:

"A man who owns the truck which he drives is merely an employee who is required to furnish his own tools as a condition of employment. He has a full legal right to be represented by a labor organization. The IBT will not relinquish this right, nor will it permit the issue to be confused by parading in alleged individual owner-operators who are in reality something entirely different. The true nature of these masqueraders has already been carefully defined above. . . .

"Those who are genuinely interested in the problems of the men who drive motor freight trucks across the highways will recognize that the IBT is approaching the problems of the individual owner-operators with the same serious consideration that it gives to the problems of the employed drivers [drivers employed on company-owned fleets]. The proper place for the individual owner-operator to get effective results is in the ranks of the IBT, shoulder to shoulder with the employed drivers."

An area committee, composed of representatives from key local unions, had been set up to lead the Teamsters' over-the-road campaign, to which Lipman and his kind were opposed. In dealing with the owner-operator question the committee had a clearly formulated perspective from the outset. The aim was to require leasing companies to pay individual owner-operators the cost of operating their equipment, plus its replacement value, plus the union scale as drivers.

It will be noted that the union was concerned only with the cost of operating the equipment, not with helping to secure any profit from the operation. If we had supported any notion of earning a profit on the vehicle itself, impetus would have been given to the petty bourgeois aspirations inherent in the ownership of trucking equipment. Our aim was the opposite. We approached the equipment as expensive tools the individual owner-operators had been required to provide in order to get jobs as drivers. This served our objective, which was to make the leasing companies pay for the use of those tools, as though they were the owners. That would reduce their advantage down to having the owner-drivers buy the equipment initially, and there wouldn't be much percentage for the operating companies in such an arrangement. To the extent that we could succeed in that course, the trend toward an increase in the use of owner-operated rigs could be reversed; and a healthier situation could be established, with trucking firms again using their own fleets, operated by drivers paid on a regular wage basis.

## Fleet drivers win gains

In striving toward that goal we were aided by gains registered in securing higher wages and better conditions for fleet drivers. Those accomp-

lishments were noted by the owner-operators, many of whom began to realize that they, too, would be better off as fleet drivers. As matters stood then and there, however, they needed immediate help to secure the cost of operation of their equipment. In the rebuttal of Lipman's allegations, union policy on this matter was described as follows:

"Payment for equipment service has been computed in a wide variety of forms, consistently to the benefit of the operating company and to the detriment of the owner-operator.

"Whatever the declared rate may have been, an elaborate system of deductions made the real earnings something considerably less. Almost all of the hazards of the road, including cargo damage and equipment layovers, not to mention personal layover expense, were transferred by the operating company onto the shoulders of the owner-operator. Fake charges for 'spotting,' 'backup,' 'inspection,' etc., further reduced his income until the owner-operator received very little actual compensation in the form of earnings which could be taken home to meet the household expenses.

"The IBT has again in this case sought to attack the problem at the root. Equipment service must now be paid for the full mileage operated, and there can be no deductions by the operating company for any reason whatsoever. A statement of legitimate charges may be presented to the owner-operator. However, if they are not legitimate he protests in advance of payment and is no longer in the position of trying to get money refunded which was improperly withheld from his pay."

## Company gouging quashed

"The operating company is now required to provide insurance, certificates, permits, travel orders, out-of-state vehicle tax, bridge tolls, etc., and to pay any legal charges involved if these are not properly provided. The owner-operator has been freed from the gouging methods of those companies which made compulsory the purchase of gasoline, oil, tires, repairs, etc., through a company agency, with an unearned profit extracted by the company at the expense of a further reduction in the owner-operator's earnings."

Apart from the cost of equipment operation, the union required that individual owner-drivers enjoy the same wages and conditions as all other drivers. These earnings had to be paid separately from money received for rental of equipment. This made it harder for the leasing companies to cheat the individual owner-operators. A passage in the reply to Lipman outlined the union's approach:

"The International Brotherhood of Teamsters has sought through the new Area Over-the-Road Contract to correct this condition by placing employment responsibility where it rightfully belongs—on the shoulders of the operating company, which is now held responsible for the driver's wages, social security tax, compensation insurance, etc., regardless of whether he is employed by the operating company or through a small fleet owner.

"Not least in importance in the general problem is the driver who is given a paper title to the truck by the operating company, usually on a deferred payment plan, and is then paid as an individual owner-operator, not as a legitimate business relationship, but as a subterfuge to escape the payment of the union wage scale.

"Thus we find that while there are men who drive

as actual individual owner-operators and who have a real employment problem, there are other categories incorrectly referred to as owner-operators who vary, in different shades, from the truck driver who is being cheated out of his just compensation by the subterfuge of a fake truck sale, to the individual who is in reality a small fleet owner and an employer. If we intend to be logical we must begin by recognizing that the first problem for the individual owner-operator is to identify the malpractices committed in his name by the operating companies and then join hands with the employed drivers for their mutual protection."

As can be seen from this sketch of the earlier situation, progress was being made in shaping a viable policy toward independent owner-operators in over-the-road trucking. But the process was suddenly cut short when the Trotskyists were witch-hunted out of the IBT and its leadership in 1941.

## Teamster bureaucracy

Since then the Teamster bureaucracy has reversed the trends we had set into motion. Democratic procedures used by the union's area committee in the pre-1941 period have been replaced by dictatorial methods in the present-day IBT conferences. More concern is shown for the wishes of the employers than is manifested toward the needs of the workers. The problems of the fleet drivers are neglected in many respects. At the same time, there has been an increasingly pronounced growth of independent owner-operators; and the union officialdom has little inclination and even less ability to cope with the situation.

As a result, the owner-operators are ceasing to look upon the IBT as the organization through which they can undertake to alleviate the difficulties now confronting them. Those who remain members of the union are tending to organize themselves into factions, which act independently of the Teamster bureaucrats and, to an increasing extent, in cooperation with nonunion groups of owner-operators. Formations of this kind are springing up in various parts of the country. Cut loose as they are from trade-union influence, factors that cause individual owner-operators to dream of becoming small fleet owners assume greater weight in the shaping of their policies. The negative aspects of that outlook impair the interests of all over-the-road drivers at a time when the union has become enfeebled because of bureaucratic misleadership.

## Bosses' strategy

Under those circumstances it becomes possible for the big trucking firms to mount a major attack on the IBT by maneuvering to intensify the hostility of owner-operators toward the organization. To the extent that they may succeed in promoting such antiunion bias, every worker behind the wheel of a truck—owner-operators and fleet drivers alike—will be the ultimate victims. Only the bosses will be the gainers.

This danger can be averted through a shift in union policy toward application under modern conditions of the basic course that was being shaped prior to 1941. That would block the bosses from splitting the owner-drivers away from the organized labor movement. Instead, the catch-all category of independent owner-operators could be separated into its component parts. Individual owner-operators could be brought back into effective alliance with the drivers of company fleets. Small fleet owners, who masquerade under the designation "owner-operators," could be sorted out and placed in the employer category where they belong. Class lines within the industry would again become much clearer; and the workers would be in a better position to fight collectively in defense of their mutual interests.

There is an objective potential for such a turn in union policy which is manifested in diverse, confused form within the present opposition to the Teamster bureaucrats. What the situation now requires is the shaping of a course of action in support of the workers' just demands, aimed in the first instance at the bosses and their government. Within that framework, steps can be taken to oust the IBT bureaucrats from office, establish democratic procedures within the union, and make it a fitting instrument to serve the workers' cause.

Achievement of those ends requires an oppositional formation at all levels of the IBT based on a class-struggle program and capable of using class-struggle methods. Every militant worker and especially the socialists among them should be on the alert for realistic openings to help get such a movement started.

## TEAMSTER POLITICS

Farrell Dobbs

This is the third in the four-volume series on Teamster history. It describes how unions fought off FBI attacks and how the Minneapolis Teamsters campaigned for independent labor political action. 256 pages, paper \$4.45.

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## 'Free socialists, oil workers'

# NY pickets hit jailing of Iranian revolutionaries



June 22 protest outside Iranian consulate in New York City

Militant/Lou Howort

By Bob Roberts

NEW YORK—One hundred fifty people picketed the Iranian consulate here June 22 and 125 attended a public meeting afterward to demand release of worker militants imprisoned in Iran. The actions were part of the international campaign in defense of arrested oil workers and Socialist Workers Party (HKS) members in Iran, and in support of the Iranian revolution.

The picket was called by the U.S. Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. Demonstrators chanted, "Defend the Iranian revolution—Free the workers now!" and, "Free the fighters against the shah—free the socialists now!"

Later that night, many of the protesters attended a Militant Forum on "Iran: The Revolution Continues."

Chairperson Barbara Mutnick opened the meeting with reports of some of the protests around the world in response to the jailing of the Iranian revolutionaries. She read one mail-gram sent to the Khomeini-Bazargan government from Cincinnati by eight members of United Steelworkers Local 1858.

The two speakers at the forum were *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor* staff writer Gerry Foley and *Militant* associate editor Cindy Jaquith. Both have traveled to Iran to report on the revolution there.

Jaquith spoke on the defense case, explaining that the arrests took place in the midst of important battles in the oilfields for workers' control and for Arab rights. In the context of deepening struggles by workers, oppressed

nationalities, and others, she said, opposition to the arrest of the socialists and oil workers is widespread in Iran.

This was confirmed by a statement read at the meeting from Hormoz Rahimian, national secretary of the HKS (see box).

An appeal for the release of the HKS prisoners, being circulated nationally in the United States by supporters of the Iranian revolution, was circulated for signatures at the meeting. Among the prominent new signers of the appeal are Jim Grant, Charlotte Three defendant; Robert and Michael Meerpol, sons of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg; and South African exile Dennis Brutus.

The meeting approved by acclamation the following telegram, which was sent to the Iranian government:

"One hundred twenty-five of us gathered at a New York meeting June 22 to support the Iranian revolution vigorously protest the imprisonment of nine members of the Socialist Workers Party and oil workers council leaders by your government. These anti-shah fighters—who were in the forefront of overthrowing the Pahlavi dynasty and its imperialist backers—should be freed at once!"

In his presentation, Gerry Foley answered the imperialist propagandists who claim that the revolution in Iran represents a "triumph of religious reaction."

"It was the heroic Iranian masses who won in the revolution," Foley said. "They won after a year of gigantic and militant mobilizations. They crippled one of the most repressive machines that has ever existed and dealt a major blow to world imperialism."

Foley described the inspiration the revolution gave to the struggle of oppressed nationalities in Iran, using the Turkmenis as an example. "As the repressive machine of the shah crumbled after the February insurrection, the police in Turkmenistan just quietly slipped away. When the Turk-

## New arrests in Ahwaz

Seven more members of the Socialist Workers Party of Iran (HKS) were arrested in Ahwaz on June 23. The Trotskyists were picked up as they circulated petitions at the city's main oil works in defense of nine HKS members who have been in prison for a month. Many oil workers were signing the appeal.

The seven arrested were Haid Adib, Kambiz Lajejardi, Firooz Farzinpour, Mahmoud Kafaie, Hojabr Khosraji, Ali Hashemi, and Kia Mahdevi.

On June 24 the HKS national leadership held a successful news conference in Tehran to denounce the arrests and demand release of all sixteen HKS members and other worker militants. The earlier arrests, involving nine Trotskyists, leaders of the oil workers council, steelworkers, and others, occurred as the central government sent troops into Khuzestan Province against protests by Arabs and other workers.

The government still refuses to announce any charges against the arrested socialists and oil workers.

Protests demanding their release are urgently needed. They should be sent to Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan, Office of the Prime Minister, Tehran, Iran; Revolutionary Islamic Council, Tehran; and Iranian Embassy, 3005 Massachusetts Avenue NW, Washington, D.C. 20008. Send copies to the 'Militant.'

## Message from HKS leader

Following are excerpts from the message sent to the June 22 protest meeting by Hormoz Rahimian, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party of Iran (HKS).

The nine members of our party in Ahwaz are entering their fourth week in jail.

Since our party is the most consistent fighter for democratic rights in Iran, we have come under the most severe pressure from the government.

But we don't think the Iranian masses will allow this attack on the HKS to take place. Many lawyers; many writers; Sheik Ezzedin Hussein, the leader of the Kurdish nationality, have all sent letters of protest to the Iranian government asking for the immediate release of our nine comrades.

We are sure that because we are

consistent fighters to extend the Iranian revolution that we will manage to gain the release of all our comrades.

Just to give you an example. We have been able to increase the sales of our paper by 3,000 copies in the last week. Since we have established a public address, we are being flooded with letters from groups, individuals, and even organized working-class groups, asking for further information and asking how they can join the HKS.

We have also managed to increase our roots inside the working class. The turn our party has taken to the working class is already showing its results. We have built six or seven industrial branches in just the last month.

So we are very hopeful we can gain more support and gain the immediate release of our nine comrades.

These were a clear echo of imperialist propaganda against the Iranian workers and peasants, propaganda that has centered on portraying their revolution as a step backward from the "modernizing" regime of the butcher shah.

Associating the revolutionaries now in jail in Iran in any way with this counterrevolutionary line would seriously jeopardize their defense, providing ammunition for the frame-up against them.

But rather than respect the needs of

the defendants and the purpose of the picket line, the SL members attempted to physically force their way onto the line, assaulting demonstrators. The attack was quickly repulsed and the disrupters ended up holding their counterrevolutionary picket line on another street corner.

That evening some twenty Spartacists insisted on entering the Militant Forum held on "Iran: The Revolution Continues." Organizers of the forum stopped this group at the door. They explained that the Spartacists could choose two representatives to enter

and participate in the discussion.

The SL refused this offer, and instead began picketing the forum in an attempt to discourage others from entering. Their chants included "Your comrades may die—But you defend Khomeini" and "They defend the mullahs—we defend the left."

These provocative attempts to disrupt the forum failed. Inside, 125 people gathered to hear firsthand reports on the Iranian revolution and the defense case, and discussed how U.S. workers can support the struggles of their sisters and brothers in Iran.

## Spartacists foiled in attempt to sabotage defense

By Bob Roberts

NEW YORK—A small sectarian group—the Spartacist League—attempted to sabotage the two protest actions held here June 22 in defense of revolutionaries imprisoned in Iran.

About forty SL members brought provocative signs to the picket line held outside the Iranian consulate and were told by picket organizers that the protest was not open to opponents of the Iranian revolution. The Spartacists' slogans focused on such demands as "Overthrow Islamic reaction" and "Down with Khomeini."



# Pressure grows in Iran for constituent assembly

Sentiment is intensifying in Iran for the immediate election of a constituent assembly, particularly since late May, when the Ayatollah Khomeini came out against an elected government.

On June 22, 15,000 rallied at Tehran University for a constituent assembly. The protest was sponsored by the National Democratic Front, a procapitalist formation.

The Socialist Workers Party (HKS) was invited to present a statement to the rally, although the HKS disagrees with the National Democratic Front politically.

Right after the HKS statement was read to the crowd, a gang of rightist thugs calling themselves the Party of God attacked the speakers platform and seized the microphones. They chanted, "Death to communists!" to which the thousands of demonstrators responded, "Down with reaction!"

Although the demonstrators felt completely prepared to defend their rally from the several hundred goons, the National Democratic Front leaders failed to mobilize the crowd to stop the rightists. The disrupters succeeded in ending the rally.

Printed below is an earlier HKS statement on the need for a constituent assembly. It appeared in the June 13 issue of 'Kargar,' the Trotskyist weekly.

After months of promises and several contradictory statements, the Khomeini-Bazargan government has finally made it clear that it intends to reject the demand for a constituent assembly. Behind closed doors, it has decided that the constitution will be imposed from above and that the Iranian people will not be given any real chance to discuss it.

Thus, the government has decided to go against the broad upsurge of the Iranian people, who fought to take their fate into their own hands, seeking a government based on the mass movement itself.

The deep crisis into which our society has been plunged by the Pahlavi monarchy and world imperialism can only be solved through the setting up of a constituent assembly based on free elections. This would make it possible for direct representatives of the working people and oppressed to conduct a broad discussion of the new constitution and on that basis determine the form of the future government.

Establishing a genuine constituent assembly is the most basic step that needs to be taken to defend and consol-

idate the achievements of the insurrection carried out by the people of Iran. The attempt to prevent the holding of a genuine constituent assembly is a plot against our revolution. Unless the government's steps in this direction are defeated by mass struggle, we will lose an opportunity to force respect for popular sovereignty.

The authorities' proposal for a yes-or-no referendum on a prefabricated constitution represents an attack on the right of the people to run the country. By taking these steps to set up a mere façade of a constituent assembly, the authorities want to lay the basis for suppressing the demands of the great majority of the society.

This government's aim is to legalize capitalist oppression in Iran. The authorities want to open the way again for the imperialists to extend their influence in our country, for denying the right of self-determination of the oppressed peoples, for keeping women in slavery, and for continuing the exploitation of the workers and poor peasants.

The course of the Iranian revolution is toward establishing a government of the workers and toilers. But the present government wants to consolidate a capitalist state. Every day it places new obstacles in the road of the revolution. The experience of the past months has shown that the program of the state machine is not the program of the revolution.

A victory for the program of the capitalist state would mean the defeat of the program of the revolution; it would mean poverty, repression, slavery, and civil war for the people of Iran. The present government came to power talking about holding a constituent assembly. By failing to honor such promises, it has revealed its real aims. It is clear that only by relying on their own strength will the masses of workers and the oppressed be able to win their rights.

The time has come for the working class, taking the leadership of all the oppressed layers of society, to put forward its own action program for solving the present crisis. And this involves offering a strategy for breaking the power of the capitalists.

By going back on its promises, this "provisional" government is trying to turn back our historic revolution. The only way to advance the revolution is to build independent mass organizations that can guarantee that the constituent assembly will be held. This government, which is the defender of the capitalists, has dropped the banner of democracy. In fighting for a constituent assembly, the oppressed masses will raise it again from the dust and carry it aloft.

Long live the constituent assembly!



'Establishing a constituent assembly is a basic step toward defending the achievements of the insurrection carried out by the people of Iran.'

# Campaign launched to defend Blanco



Intercontinental Press-Inprecor/Fred Murphy

Huge crowds turned out to welcome Blanco when he returned to Peru last year.

By Arnold Weissberg

Protests are urgently needed to stop the frame-up of Peruvian Trotskyist leader Hugo Blanco.

The military dictatorship has charged him with a long list of crimes including "wrecking and sabotage" and "attacks against the state." But Blanco's "crimes" actually consisted of nothing more than his vigorous support for the struggles of workers and peasants as a deputy in the Peruvian Constituent Assembly.

Blanco was arrested June 8, held for several hours, and then released on the orders of the Assembly's Executive Committee. Thirty-five deputies have signed a petition calling for a special session to hear the charges against Blanco.

Ominously, no deputies of the two main bourgeois parties would sign, indicating that the ruling class is seriously pressing ahead with its frame-up. The Assembly's term expires July 15. If it fails to act on Blanco's case by then, he could again be jailed.

Blanco's arrest was part of a general government crackdown on the labor movement. SUTEP, the national teachers' union, has been on strike since June 5. As of June 22, some 1,200 teachers were in jail, but the strike

remained solid.

The regime hopes that by silencing Blanco, one of the best-known and most articulate representatives of Peru's working masses, it will terrorize them into accepting the austerity measures the military has in store.

Meanwhile, a vigorous international campaign to defend Blanco is underway. Some of the most impressive activities have taken place in the Dominican Republic.

The news of Blanco's arrest was reported there by the major newspapers and radio stations. Several major trade unions, including the metal workers union, signed a statement demanding his release. The statement was also signed by virtually every left group.

The Falconbridge miners union, which signed the statement, also sent a telegram demanding Blanco's release. The mine workers union at Rosario, a big U.S.-owned gold mine, paid for a big newspaper ad. The telephone workers union also sent a telegram demanding Blanco's release.

In Canada, a telegram signed by four New Democratic Party members of Parliament and several unionists was sent demanding Blanco's release. The NDP is Canada's labor party.

## How you can help

The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) has launched a major campaign to expose the frame-up of Hugo Blanco and force the Peruvian junta to drop all the charges against him. USLA is also campaigning for the release of striking teachers and students from Peru's jails.

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

Fatland urged unionists who support Blanco and the Peruvian strikers to seek support from their unions. "A worldwide campaign saved Hugo Blanco's life once before," Fatland noted, "and a similar campaign can win again."

Send telegrams demanding the dropping of all charges against Blanco to Gen. Francisco Morales Bermudez, Palacio Presidencial, Lima, Peru, with copies to USLA, 200 Park Avenue South #810, New York, New York 10003



HUGO BLANCO Militant/Pedro Camejo

# The challenge for t

## AFT and NEA convene in midst of assault c

By Jeff Mackler  
and Erich Martel

Both national teachers unions will hold their annual national conventions during the first week of July.

The 1.8 million-member National Education Association will meet in Detroit, Michigan, while the 500,000-member American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO, convenes in San Francisco, California.

Eleven thousand NEA delegates and 2,500 from the AFT are expected to attend these conventions to map out policy positions and union strategy for the coming year.

The task is big. The offensive against teachers and public education has escalated to an unprecedented height during the last year.

Teachers have been hit with more layoffs and challenges to our collective bargaining rights. Working conditions have worsened. Funding for crucial educational programs has been slashed. And new attacks on desegregation and bilingual-bicultural education are brewing.

Discussion and debate on how teachers can mobilize our power, independently of our so-called friends in the Democratic and Republican parties, to beat back these assaults should be at the top of the agenda for the AFT and NEA conventions.

### Gutting education

Despite massive lobbying efforts by both unions at the state and national levels, including millions of dollars in contributions to Democrats and Republicans, funds for education continue to be slashed by a bipartisan alliance intent on gutting public education and other social services.

President Carter's proposed 1980

Jeff Mackler is a delegate to the NEA convention from the Hayward (California) Unified Teachers Association. Erich Martel is a delegate to the AFT convention from the Washington (D.C.) Teachers Union, AFT Local 6.

education budget threatens to drastically undermine the already pitiful federal support to education.

In spite of repeated yearly efforts by both the NEA and AFT to increase federal education funding (the NEA's program calls for one-third U.S. funding to education), the federal government today contributes less than 7 percent of all funds spent for schools.

The bulk of the remaining funds come directly from local property taxes paid mostly by working people or from state revenues derived from the personal income tax, sales tax, and other regressive taxes on U.S. workers.

The crisis in educational funding is reflected in the deteriorating job situation for teachers. Last year there were 175 teacher strikes in the U.S. One hundred fifty were conducted by NEA affiliates, and the remainder by locals of the AFT.

In virtually every strike, teachers were compelled to fight to hold on to gains won over the past two decades and to prevent wholesale firings, elimination of programs, and attacks on salary and fringe benefits.

These strikes, some of them among the longest and most bitter teacher battles in this country's history, were met with undisguised hostility by local school boards, state legislatures, and Democratic and Republican party officials.

Faced with court injunctions, arrests, imprisonments, massive fines, and in a growing number of instances, the hiring of thousands of strikebreakers; teachers from coast to coast were forced into defensive battles to maintain their unions and elementary right to collective bargaining.

In almost every strike, the employer's response was, "There is no money. We have no choice but to impose the cuts."

But in state after state, those same politicians who were endorsed and supported by teachers voted additional cuts in school funding. In several states, legislation was introduced to ban teacher strikes outright and/or otherwise restrict the right of teachers to organize (see box).

This past year, California's Democratic Gov. Jerry Brown froze the salaries of 1.5 million state workers including 300,000 teachers. The freeze was subsequently ruled unconstitutional by the State Supreme Court, but by that time most teacher contracts had been signed with zero percent salary adjustments.

The July 1979 CTA Action, the publication of the NEA state affiliate in California, reports that the CTA has filed suits in twenty-four districts to overturn the firing of some 2,500 teachers. Thousands of additional teachers have been fired in California's 1,100 school districts. In one week alone recently, 1,198 were dismissed in San Francisco—24 percent of the city's teaching staff. This included nearly all teachers hired since 1967.

In the year following passage of the so-called tax-cutting Proposition 13 in California, 118,000 public workers were fired, many of them teachers. Yet Governor Brown has opposed all NEA and AFT-sponsored legislation to provide desperately needed funds for California schools.

If allowed to stand, Brown's 1979-80 school budget proposals will result in the additional firing of thousands of teachers next year.

Across the country the story is the same. While corporate profits soar to record highs, and inflation proceeds at a double-digit rate, teachers and other working people face deeper attacks on our standard of living.

Equally serious developments have emerged that threaten to eliminate public schools altogether.

### Voucher system

In several states, including California, ballot initiatives are being considered to introduce the reactionary voucher system to replace public education. Rather than a fully funded public system of education, proponents of the voucher plan argue that state and federal education funds should be allotted to parents on an individual basis to be used to send their children to the school of their choice.

In this way, voucher supporters

## Bill targets r

By Stephanie Coontz

TACOMA, Wash.—A coalition of the Washington State Labor Council, AFL-CIO—including the Washington Federation of Teachers—and the Washington Education Association has been formed to combat Initiative 363, a well-financed right-wing attack on teachers' rights.

This initiative would make it illegal for any teacher or teachers' organization, "directly or indirectly, to induce, instigate, encourage, authorize, ratify or participate in a strike."

The proposed bill also allows the employer to automatically fire any teacher who engages in any of the above activities. It imposes heavy fines on employees and their unions

Stephanie Coontz is an AFT member at Evergreen State College.

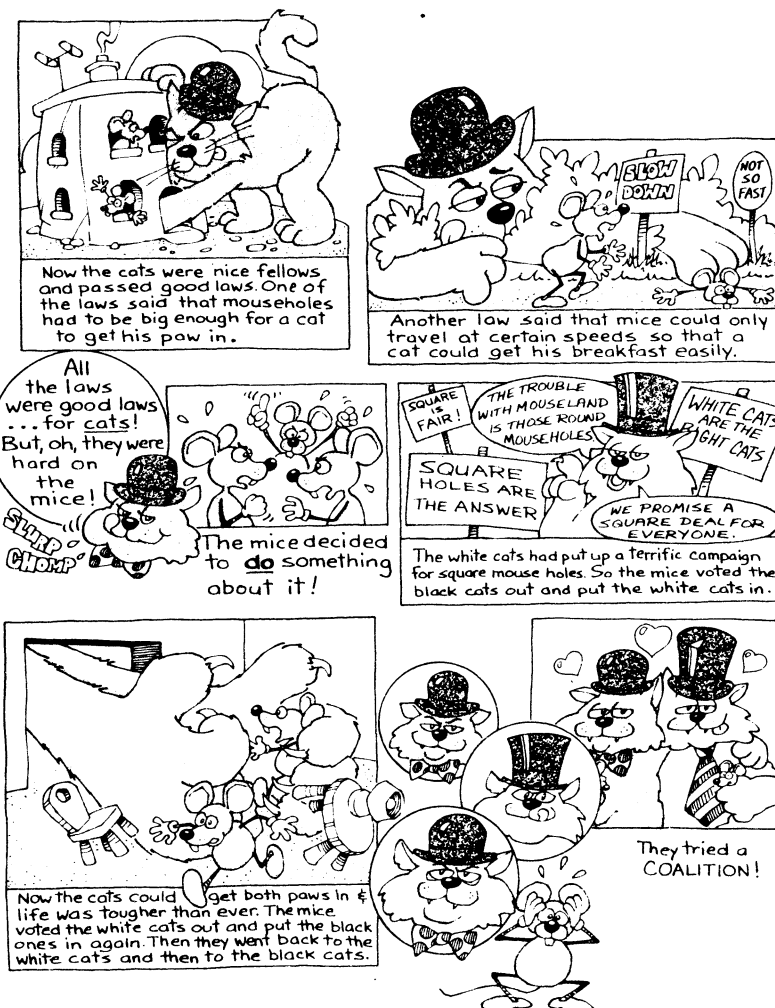
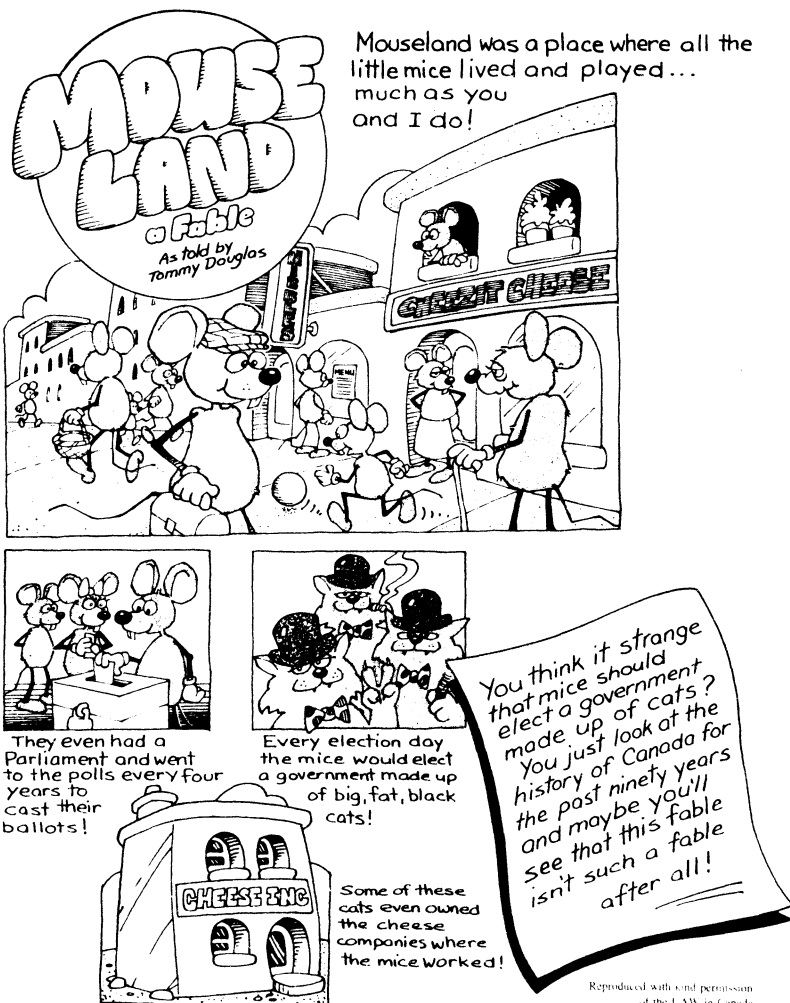
argue, the resulting competition among schools, 'public' and private, for education dollars will result in improvements in the quality of education.

The voucher scheme would destroy the already embattled public school system and reduce education to a profit-making basis like any other capitalist business. Even more than is the case now, the rich would be educated, the poor would not.

In truth, it means that public funds will be used to support religious schools and private schools that are set up to avoid desegregation.

Another attack on public education and the right of minority students to equal education is the drive against school desegregation through busing.

Initiatives are under way to place anti-busing amendments on the ballot in various states. In California, with the support of the Democratic Party, such an initiative has passed the legis-





# Teachers on public education

## Right to strike

for so doing, and decertifies any union that participates in a strike.

If passed, of course, this bill would cripple the fundamental right of teachers to strike. It is part of a general campaign against all public employees.

But the bill is actually aimed even more broadly at the democratic rights of working people. In addition to penalizing even the advocacy of a strike, the bill defines strike so broadly as to include any deviation from arbitrary employer demands. It also allows the school board to declare that a strike is occurring whether or not a strike is actually in progress.

Labor groups in Washington have declared that this bill is an attack on all workers, and the coalition plans an educational campaign to reach labor groups and community organizations.

lature and is slated for the November election.

Behind the racist attempt to eliminate busing and maintain a segregated and unequal school system is an attack on all working people and public education.

While the NEA has supported school desegregation through busing, the AFT, led by Albert Shanker, has yet to take a clear position on this issue. In fact, Shanker has opposed efforts to unite the AFT with civil rights groups to fight to desegregate schools.

Related to the attack on busing is the effort in a number of states to undermine bilingual-bicultural education. Rather than support such education as a worthy end in itself, many states are moving to enact legislation in which bilingual education is seen only as a tool for learning English. The implication is that once a degree of proficiency in English is acquired then the lan-

guage and cultural programs would be ended.

Since teachers and other working people obviously do not benefit from the cutbacks and attacks on public education, who does? The chief beneficiaries are the giant U.S. corporations and the superrich capitalist families that own them.

To ensure their profits in the midst of the economic crisis, they are insisting that working people make sacrifices. It is the capitalists who make us wait in gas lines and pay exorbitant prices because of shortages they have contrived. It is the capitalists who have said that equal rights for minorities and women are too costly, as is government regulation of job safety and the environment.

And it is the capitalists who insist that working people "lower our expectations," including about education, health care, and other critical social services.

In the political arena, both the Democratic and Republican parties defend these antilabor attacks and loyally carry them out.

Thus, it is understandable why neither the AFT nor NEA leadership, which both rely on the Democrats and Republicans, has developed an alternative tax program for education, placing the burden of funding education on the rich and the corporations.

To the contrary, AFT President Shanker has not only supported the continued use of the property tax—although in a somewhat modified form—he has opposed increased corporate taxation. This is based on his mistaken notion that only a "healthy" business community, that is, one making record profits, can create jobs and investment funds for economic recovery.

Shanker also remains labor's most fervent advocate of increased military spending and a supporter of President Carter's \$135 billion military budget.

Yet the leaderships of the NEA and AFT continue to urge support to the parties and their politicians controlled by the corporate structure which opposes the interests of teachers and public education. In fact these very same Democratic and Republican politicians have led the drive to cripple funding for schools and social services.

The December 1978 *NEA Reporter*, the official publication of the NEA, indicated that the association's National Political Action Committee (NEA PAC) contributed \$331,127 toward the election of congressional candidates last year. "Candidates endorsed by NEA PAC won 197 of 247 House contests and 13 of 24 Senate races for an overall win average of 77 percent."

The *Reporter* said, "A proeducation Congress was virtually assured for 1978-80 as almost four out of five teacher-backed candidates endorsed by the NEA Political Action Committee were successful in their bid for House and Senate seats in the November 7 congressional election."

### 'Key legislation'

Among the "key legislation" NEA will press for in the 96th Congress, according to NEA President John Ror, are a Cabinet-level Department of Education, collective bargaining for teachers, increased federal funding for schools, tax reform and health security.

To date, however, no legislation of any of these priorities has been forthcoming from the "proeducation Congress."

On the AFT side the record shows the same dismal results. AFT's National Committee on Political Educa-

tion (COPE) contributed some \$185,000 to congressional candidates. Significantly larger sums came from several state federations, the NYSUT (New York State United Teachers).

In New York, Democratic Gov. Hugh Carey's proposed budget for education would result in cuts to nearly one-third of the state's school districts. As in the past, Shanker's own New York City local faces grave cutbacks. According to Sandra Feldman, staff director for the United Federation of Teachers in New York City, Mayor Edward Koch's proposed budget for 1980 "will totally cripple our educational system."

### How to fight back

Both the NEA and AFT conventions will have important opportunities to discuss how to fight back against the cuts and attacks on public education and the real alternatives to their present unsuccessful strategies.

A key factor which has limited the effectiveness of the NEA and AFT is the continued factional warfare between the two unions. Millions of dollars of members' dues are spent each year in raiding operations, decertification elections, and propaganda campaigns geared to discrediting the AFT or NEA in the eyes of teachers.

A current example of the phony debate between the two unions is the ongoing battle over the NEA-sponsored proposal to establish a cabinet-level Department of Education, that is, to remove the education functions from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

NEA claims that the formation of such a department would focus much needed attention on education, consolidate existing programs in a single department, improve financial management, and eliminate much of the bureaucracy which currently oversees

educational planning.

AFT opposes the plan on the grounds that it would create more bureaucracy, weaken lobbying efforts by those who also support improvements in health and welfare, and weaken local control of education.

Central to both the NEA and AFT leadership positions is the false assumption that lobbying Democrats and Republicans is the way to win improvements in education.

NEA's position is supported, among others, by the right-wing National School Board Association. Meanwhile, the AFT has formed an alliance to oppose the bill, including such notorious anti-education figures as New York Sen. Daniel Moynihan, and California Sen. S.I. Hayakawa.

While both unions lobby for their respective positions, both have tended to deemphasize efforts to mobilize teachers to use their power to fight for real education improvements.

### Need for merger

The stated reason preventing merger of the two unions at this time is the AFT's insistence that any merged organization be affiliated with the AFL-CIO. According to the AFT, such affiliation guarantees that teachers will remain part of the labor movement.

Shanker's equation between AFL-CIO affiliation and being part of labor bears no resemblance to the reality of the American labor movement today. Huge national unions such as the United Auto Workers, United Mine Workers, and the Teamsters are not affiliated with the AFL-CIO. Does this make them any less part of labor?

When the United Mine Workers struck last year they received support from unions throughout the country regardless of AFL-CIO affiliation.

*Continued on next page*

## AFT locals rap Weber

By Robert Pearlman

Several state federations and locals of the American Federation of Teachers have submitted resolutions to the AFT convention in defense of affirmative action and in opposition to the *Weber* case now before the U.S. Supreme Court.

Brian Weber, a white lab technician at Kaiser Aluminum's Gramercy, Louisiana, plant, filed suit to overturn the affirmative-action plan negotiated by the United Steelworkers. Under the plan, half of the openings in a craft training program were to be filled by Black and women employees.

AFT affiliates that have sent anti-*Weber* resolutions to the convention include the California and Pennsylvania state federations, the 6,000-member Washington, D.C., Teachers Union, and the Philadelphia local, one of the largest in the country.

According to Erich Martel, a delegate from the Washington Teachers Union, AFT Local 6, "The resolutions on affirmative action before this year's convention come from a wider spectrum of the union's ranks than ever before."

When Allan Bakke's challenge to affirmative action came before the Supreme Court last year, the AFT Executive Council led by President Albert Shanker voted to file a court brief in opposition to affirmative action. Divisions within the AFT prevented it from acting similarly in the *Weber* case.

Shanker has been reluctant to champion Brian Weber as he did Allan Bakke because he has become more and more isolated in the labor movement on this issue.

*Robert Pearlman is a delegate to the AFT convention from the Boston Teachers Union, AFT Local 66. He was co-chair of the AFT Caucus on Desegregation and Equality in Education.*

Many unions strongly condemned Weber's attempt to outlaw union-negotiated affirmative-action programs and filed court briefs against the *Weber* decision. These include the National Education Association, United Auto Workers, United Mine Workers, International Union of Electrical Workers, International Woodworkers, and American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

The AFL-CIO also joined the United Steelworkers in upholding its affirmative-action plan, as did the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, Coalition of Labor Union Women, NAACP, and the National Organization for Women.

Unionists, including AFT members, have participated in efforts across the country to educate working people on the need to strengthen the entire labor movement by defending affirmative action.

The resolution submitted by the California Federation of Teachers calls on the AFT to "join with the AFL-CIO, the USWA and others in publicly supporting the right of unions to negotiate binding affirmative action contract provisions, including specific goals and quotas."

The Washington Teachers Union states that "there is little reason to believe that voluntary action of employers will produce the desired results in either employment or education. . . ."

Martel expects the battle for affirmative action to continue in the coming years regardless of the Supreme Court's ruling.

"There is no law, the Supreme Court notwithstanding, that can prevent working people from fighting to end racist employer practices. That was the case when the Supreme Court ruled that 'separate but equal' education was constitutional and that will be the case if the Court rules in *Weber's* favor," Martel says.



# Activists set plans for D.C. antinuke march

By Arnold Weissberg

WASHINGTON—About 150 activists gathered here June 16-17 to lay plans for an antinuclear march on Washington set for April 26, 1980. The march was called earlier this year around the slogan "March for a non-nuclear world."

The latest meeting added "Zero nuclear weapons" and "Ban nuclear power," as demands, as well as slogans for safe energy and full employment.

The broad gathering included representatives of virtually all the major anti-nuclear power alliances in the eastern half of the country, including Clamshell, SHAD, Palmetto, and Bailly.

Representatives of more than twenty national groups also came. These included Public Interest Research Group, Mobilization for Survival, Communist Party, War Resisters League, and Socialist Workers Party.

About half a dozen people introduced themselves as union members. Their participation marked the increased concern of unionists over the deadly dangers of nuclear power and a grow-

ing willingness of the labor movement to do something about it.

During discussions, many activists noted the presence of union members and said that it showed antinuclear sentiment was spreading.

There was a positive response to the campaign of the United Mine Workers against nuclear power and for expanded use of coal.

Linda Slodki, a New Jersey rail worker and member of the Brotherhood of Railroad and Airline Clerks (BRAC), explained that her co-workers were overwhelmingly against nuclear power and that many of them like the idea of using coal instead. She urged the activists to try and get the UMWA involved in the anti-nuclear power movement.

Another demonstration of the movement's spread was the dozens of anti-nuclear actions announced for Hiroshima Day, August 6. It took nearly an hour to go around the room and make all the announcements.

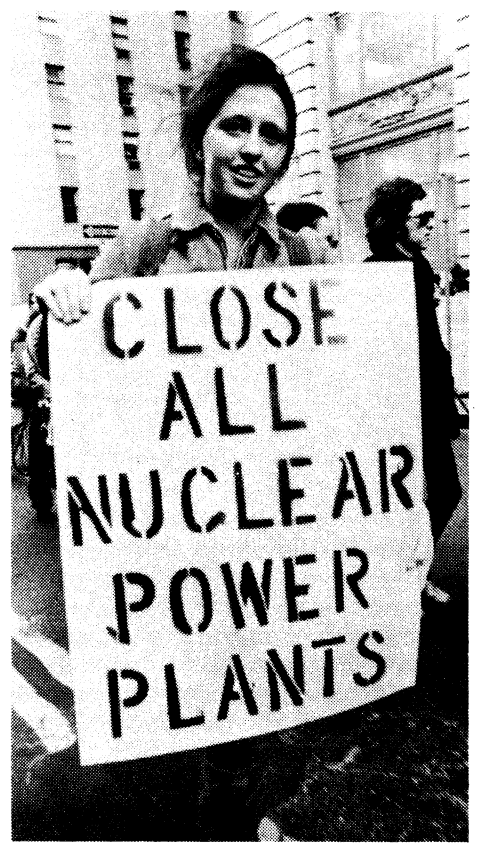
Several unionists met towards the end of the two-day meeting with Jerry Gordon, the assistant director of District 2, United Food and Commercial

Workers Union. Gordon's district in the former Meat Cutters union (which has since merged with the Retail Clerks) adopted a strong anti-nuclear power resolution, and Gordon has spoken at antinuclear rallies.

Gordon had agreed to head up the job of reaching out to the labor movement.

"Getting the labor movement involved will strengthen the local alliances," Mitch Rosenberg, a member of United Steelworkers Local 1066 in Gary, Indiana, and of the Bailly Alliance, told the *Militant*. "We already have a lot of steelworkers in the Bailly Alliance. I hope all the alliances do their best to get unionists working with them. We are already getting a big boost from the United Mine Workers' campaign against nukes."

The gathering adopted the name "April 26 Coalition" and chose four national coordinators. They are Kitty Tucker and Ada Sanchez of Supporters of Silkwood; Bob Moore, national secretary of Mobilization for Survival; and a representative of Clergy and Laity Concerned. Another meeting will be held in the early fall.



Militant/Lou Howort

## Is labor party answer for Newark teachers?

By Andy Farrand

NEWARK—Earlier this year, teachers here went through an experience similar to what teachers all across the country have recently been faced with: some 1,000 of our ranks were laid off.

Closed-door discussions between Carol Graves, president of the Newark Teachers Union, and Carol Shariff, president of the Newark Board of Education, resulted in the recession of several hundred layoffs. But these discussions excluded the ranks of Newark teachers from any fight against the cutbacks.

The private deal amounted to an acceptance of the board's first-round attack on Newark teachers. It was a defeat for us and for the entire Newark education system.

What's more, the memorandum of agreement provided no defense against further cutbacks. Already the board of education has announced a \$3 million budget deficit for the coming school year.

Over the past several years, every struggle by working people—whether teachers, miners, steelworkers, or farmworkers—has run into head-on conflict with the Democratic and Republican officials in government. They run the White House, Congress, courts,

city administrations, and school boards—all in the interests of the employers.

So in devising a strategy to fight against the cutbacks, we must consider the political arena.

Realization that labor's fight is political is one of the factors that led the Newark Teachers Union, Service Employees Union, Local 133 of Cafeteria Workers Union, Newark Cabdrivers Association, and representatives of the New Jersey Industrial Unions Council to spearhead an effort to recall Newark Mayor Kenneth Gibson.

Despite Gibson's protestations, his role has been to insure the implementation of the cutbacks. Other than a few closed door discussions in Trenton and Washington, Gibson has made no effort to stop the cutbacks.

He has never tried to mobilize the political strength of Newark's working people.

The unions backing the recall effort were correct in pointing out that life for working people in Newark has deteriorated under the ten years of Gibson's administration. Gibson doesn't run the city in the interests of working people—and he should be recalled.

However, the recall drive led by the NTU was weakest precisely at the point where it could have been the strongest. That is, who should replace Gibson if he is recalled? On this crucial question, the NTU leadership was silent.

ing to Local 3544, "there is a need for a political party to advance the causes of working people as its top priority."

Such a party, financed and controlled by the labor movement, including the NEA and AFT, would have no interest whatsoever in gutting public education or social services.

A labor party would be a tremendous pole of attraction for the millions of American working people who are beginning to realize that only their unions, organized in the political arena, are capable of fighting for a reversal of the priorities set up by the corporations who rule the Democratic and Republican parties.

A first step in this direction would be the implementation of a policy position adopted by the 1977 NEA national convention which called for a national conference of all public employees organizations for the purpose of "creating a united strategy to organize against the cutbacks and budget cuts being perpetrated at all levels of government across the country."

If we recalled Gibson and replaced him with another Democrat or Republican, we would only trade a wolf for a fox.

The problems of Newark's working people stems not from the personal failings of Kenneth Gibson, but from the political program of both the Democratic and Republican parties. The attacks on the living standards and rights of working people have continued whether the elected official is a Democrat or Republican.

Meanwhile corporation after corporation reports record profits. The Democratic and Republican officials tax our homes into decay while nearly 100 wealthy U.S. corporations paid no income tax whatsoever in 1977. And the Port Authority paid \$1 million to Newark instead of the \$67 million it would have owed at homeowner's rates.

What union would elect a foreman or a supervisor as a union officer? Why then do we continue to sell ourselves to the bosses' political foremen? Newark teachers should have declared that they would seek to replace Gibson with a representative from their ranks, with a candidate from a political party of labor.

In a public forum this year I had the chance to discuss the idea of a labor party with Clara Dasher, one of the NTU vice-presidents.

Dasher stated her agreement with the labor party concept but then questioned its seriousness by noting it has

been discussed since the 1940s with no action.

This is a genuine problem. The idea of a labor party should stop being treated as a topic of armchair discussions. It should be placed on labor's agenda for immediate action.

Dasher also stated that she felt the biggest obstacle to a labor party was the jealousies and rivalries between different union leaderships.

This is also a real problem that cripples the power of labor. But it will be solved only when unionists begin to take united action against the anti-labor attacks and hammer out a common labor political program.

The formation of a labor party will spring from the experiences and struggles of the rank and file, not from peace treaties between power-jealous union leaderships. As with other powerful social movements—like the building of the CIO, the anti-Vietnam war movement, the civil rights movement—the birth of a labor party will most likely begin in local struggles.

Across the country today, there are scores of cities facing crises similar to Newark's. Millions of working people are looking for a solution, a positive example. Newark teachers, by extending the recall proposal to a call for the organization of a labor party in Newark, could set the example.

Newark workers could take the first small step in another much-needed giant step for labor.

## ...teachers

Continued from preceding page

Both AFT and NEA locals have in the past supported each other's strikes.


In truth, Shanker's opposition to merger stems more from a bureaucratic fear of being swallowed up by the larger NEA than from a belief that the lack of AFL-CIO affiliation would weaken the position of teachers in the labor movement.

The only beneficiaries of the continued factionalism between the AFT and NEA are those who continue to press for more cutbacks. Teachers have no stake in continuing this war.

The AFT convention will have an opportunity to discuss a crucial issue facing the labor movement—a real alternative to support to capitalist politicians. It will come this year in the form of a resolution introduced by the Graduate Teaching Fellows Federation, Local 3544.

Their resolution calls for the formation of a labor party because, accord-

### Teachers Under Attack



An alternative to the "business unionism" of Albert Shanker

by Jeff Mackler

- How can teachers organize effectively against massive education cutbacks?
- Why should teachers stop supporting Democrats and Republicans?
- Why have the present policies of both the NEA and AFT proved so inadequate in defending teachers' living standards?

This thirty-two-page pamphlet offers a program for teachers to fight to defend public education.

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

Such a united conference could develop an independent political strategy for teachers based on the full mobilization of labor and its allies.

It would provide an arena where

teachers and other public workers could jointly organize a powerful show of strength in defense of their rights and the social services vital to all working people.



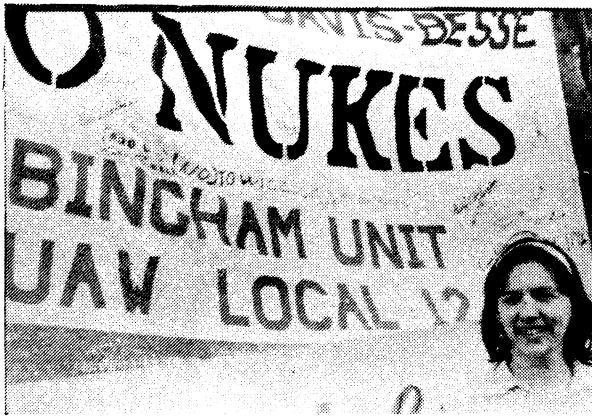
# Toledo auto workers discuss SWP campaign

By Sue Skinner

TOLEDO—During June the Toledo Socialist Workers Party petitioned to place two candidates on the ballot for next fall's city elections: George Windau for city council and me for mayor.

Like many industrial workers in Toledo, George and I are members of the United Auto Workers. And we're both finding that the people we work with on the assembly line and stamping presses, who live in our neighborhoods and share our problems, are really warming up to the idea of workers like themselves running for political office.

I've taken our petitions into my plant, Bingham Stamping, which employs some 300 workers. The reception was beyond my expectations. On my shift alone, in one week's time, forty co-workers signed up to put my name on the ballot. Even more exciting have been the wide-ranging political discussions sparked by our election petitions—and by word spreading that a Bingham worker is running for mayor.



Sue Skinner with union banner at recent demonstration against nuclear power.

One of the first discussions I had about our campaign took place in the company cafeteria. Five or six workers were sitting around talking about how awful the gas prices, gas lines, and oil industry lies are.

They jumped at my suggestion that we open the oil industry's books to public inspection. Sure, they said, that's how we can prove there's plenty of oil and show the real reasons the companies are upping prices.

By opening the companies' records, I added, we'll also get access to research findings about the deadly dangers of nuclear power and about energy alternatives such as coal. Everyone agreed that nukes should be shut down right now, but they weren't sure what we could use for energy instead.

Few knew about the coal backup systems that

are already set up in some nuclear generating plants. They considered this the most convincing case for coal.

We talked about the safety and environmental dangers of coal mining. When I explained that expanding coal production would strengthen the United Mine Workers—the best guarantee we have for mining coal safely and cleanly—everyone felt reassured. They liked this pro-union way of looking at the energy problem.

My co-workers were a bit more surprised when I argued that the energy crisis shows why we need a labor party. They turned toward me, waiting to hear what I meant by that. So I explained.

Carter and Congress are the ones deregulating the oil industry, I said. They're giving the oil trust a free run on prices. None of us at the table—or any worker in their right mind—would do the bidding of the oil profiteers if we were in Washington. Right?

Right, they said.

So we should think about running labor candidates for office, I said.

Some doubted the unions could get together to run candidates. I pointed to the resolutions several unions have adopted calling for opening the books of the oil trust, and to the demonstrations the UAW and other unions have initiated against oil price hikes and nuclear power. We share the same interests; we take action together. Why not combine our forces in a single labor-run political campaign?

Labor candidates have run for public office in the past. If the unions get something going in Toledo, I said, we could set an example for workers across the country. We have to start somewhere; why not here?

By this point people were seriously weighing what I was saying. "You might just have something there," they said.

## Tax ripoff

On another occasion, one young worker was complaining about the interest the banks wanted to charge him for a car loan. It's sick that they can make so much money off of my money, he said.

The same thing happens to our tax money, I pointed out. We pay higher and higher taxes for schools and social services while they continue to go to rot. One reason is that our hard-earned money is spent to pay interest on city loans—lining the bulging pockets of the banks and corporations.

We continued talking about political issues, before work and during breaks, over several days. When I explained to him that I was running for mayor, he volunteered to help with

our election campaign. I told him about the petitioning we have to do. He said he wasn't registered to vote but that he would register so he could sign. And that's not all.

When I brought our petition to the cafeteria, he passed it on to the next person at the table and explained what it was about. Before I knew it the petition was traveling down the lunch table. Three tables later, twenty workers had signed.

Since then I've been bombarded with questions about the campaign—from workers I know and others who have seen the petitions. I usually explain briefly it's not so much that I personally want to be mayor, but that I think it's time some workers like us ran for office. That's the only way we'll ever deal with inflation or the gas shortage, etc.

Everyone I've talked to likes the labor party idea, so I also raise ideas such as having a candidates night or a debate with me and the other candidates at one of our union meetings. People generally like that idea and often say they never come to union meetings but they would come to one like that.

This burst of political discussions has even broken up the regular poker game. Every day, during every work break, six to nine workers sit at the same table to play poker. Always—without fail. But three regulars didn't play the other day. They were waiting at the opposite end of the poker table to talk politics with me instead.

## What about bureaucracy?

They wanted to talk about how we can make the unions strong when the bureaucrats are such an obstacle. They viewed it as three classes of people: the rich, the workers, and "the union" (meaning the bureaucrats). I pointed to the example of the 1934 Autolite strike in Toledo—Bingham was one of the plants involved—how the strike was organized, how it included the unemployed, how it fought red tape by ignoring it. I suggested we have little educationals on things like the Autolite strike at our union meetings.

We also talked about small businessmen, which several workers there are, and about individual freedom under socialism. I cited the gains of the Cuban revolution and said we could do much more in this country. At first some disagreed. But when we talked about the education system and health care in Cuba they were all surprised—they just never knew that before.

There were still big questions about how it would work here, would democracy exist? That's up to us and our unions to make sure that's the case, I said. We need to involve all workers in discussion, debate, and decision making. And that's a process that can start in the kinds of political discussion we've been having.

# Nazis picket Socialist Workers' office in St. Paul

By Libby Moser

ST. PAUL, Minn.—The Socialist Workers Party 1980 campaign office here was the target of Nazi activity for the second time this month on Saturday afternoon, June 23.

Four young white males in Nazi dress—boots, brown shirts with swastika arm-bands, brown trousers, and visored white helmets—picketed the office for half an hour.

They carried signs saying "A good red is a dead red." A young Black woman passer-by was called a

"nigger" and told to "go back to Africa" by the Nazis. It took two calls to get the St. Paul police to come to the office while the Nazis were there and some effort to convince them to stay for the duration of the picket.

On June 7, the SWP office had been defaced with a Nazi "white power" poster.

This latest incident comes on the heels of a number of Nazi provocations in the Twin Cities area. Campaign posters of a candidate for the state senate were painted with swastikas

and anti-Jewish epithets on June 15 and June 16. Nazi pickets were reported at a May 31 appearance in Minneapolis by U.N. Ambassador Andrew Young and on June 23 outside a Democratic party fundraiser.

The picket line represents an escalation of Nazi activity against the SWP. The intent of the pickets is to encourage physical violence against the SWP and its supporters.

The St. Paul SWP is intensifying its public campaign to get Mayor George

Lattimer to reopen an earlier investigation of Nazi activity in St. Paul.

Nick Gruenberg, the St. Paul SWP organizer, said, "Along with the recent fire bombings of the Planned Parenthood Center in St. Paul, the Nazi incidents represent a resurgence of right-wing vandalism. The SWP is demanding not only a reopening of the investigation but to see the files from the previous investigation. The Nazis will be encouraged as long as they know that St. Paul authorities are not treating this as a serious matter."

## Gay freedom parades

Some 300,000 people marched and lined the streets June 24 in San Francisco for the annual city-sponsored Gay Freedom Day Parade.

The march ended in a rally at Civic Center Plaza, where police recently attacked demonstrators protesting the lenient sentence given Dan White, the

ex-cop who killed gay city supervisor Harvey Milk last year.

Speakers at the rally included city supervisors Harry Britt and Carol Ruth Silver, as well as comedian Robin Tyler.

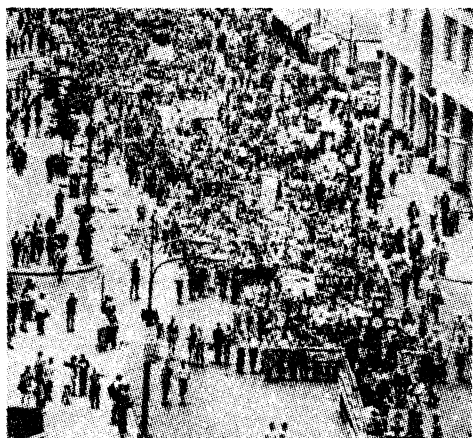
One hundred thousand turned out in New York City June 24 for a parade that was the culmination of Gay Pride Week. The marchers rallied in Central Park afterward.

There they heard a speech by Rev. John Kuiper, a gay who just won permanent custody of his adopted thirteen-year-old son through a court fight. Paul Guilbert, a Providence,

Rhode Island, high school student, also spoke. Guilbert fought recently for the right to take a male companion to his school prom.

The New York action marked the tenth anniversary of the "Stonewall Riot" of June 28, 1969.

On that night cops raided the Stonewall Inn in New York City to harass gay patrons. While such raids had happened many times before, this time gays fought back in defense of their rights. Their action inspired others to begin organizing the first big protests for the full civil rights of gays and lesbians.



New York, June 24

## 'Proceso' interviews Marroquín

# 'Asylum denied because I am a socialist'

The following has been excerpted from an article by Rafael Rodríguez Castañeda in the May 14 issue of 'Proceso,' a widely read weekly newsmagazine published in Mexico City. The translation is by 'Intercontinental Press/Inprecor.'

NEW YORK—"Are you a communist?"

The answer to this simple question is apparently the key to whether or not one receives political asylum in the United States.

Other ingredients are also involved in the case of the Mexican Héctor Marroquín Manríquez, to whom the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) denied asylum last month: racism ("He's just a wetback," the prosecutor said), and the U.S. government's desire not to harm its relations with Mexico.

Marroquín has lived in the United States since 1974, when, falsely accused of involvement in terrorist acts, he entered the country illegally to flee persecution by the Mexican police. For five years Marroquín's life has been one of flight and illegality—his only crime having been political activism in Monterrey, where he was born twenty-six years ago.

Marroquín firmly believed a year ago that he would obtain asylum. But on April 11 of this year, Immigration Judge James Smith of Houston, Texas, ordered him deported within thirty days. The young Mexican has taken his case to the INS Board of Appeals, where it is still pending. If the response there is negative, he can still go to the U.S. Court of Appeals and finally to the Supreme Court. "I will appeal that far if it is necessary," Marroquín says.

### State Department's role

Interviewed here at the headquarters of the Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee—organized by the Socialist Workers Party, to which he belongs—the Mexican refugee says:

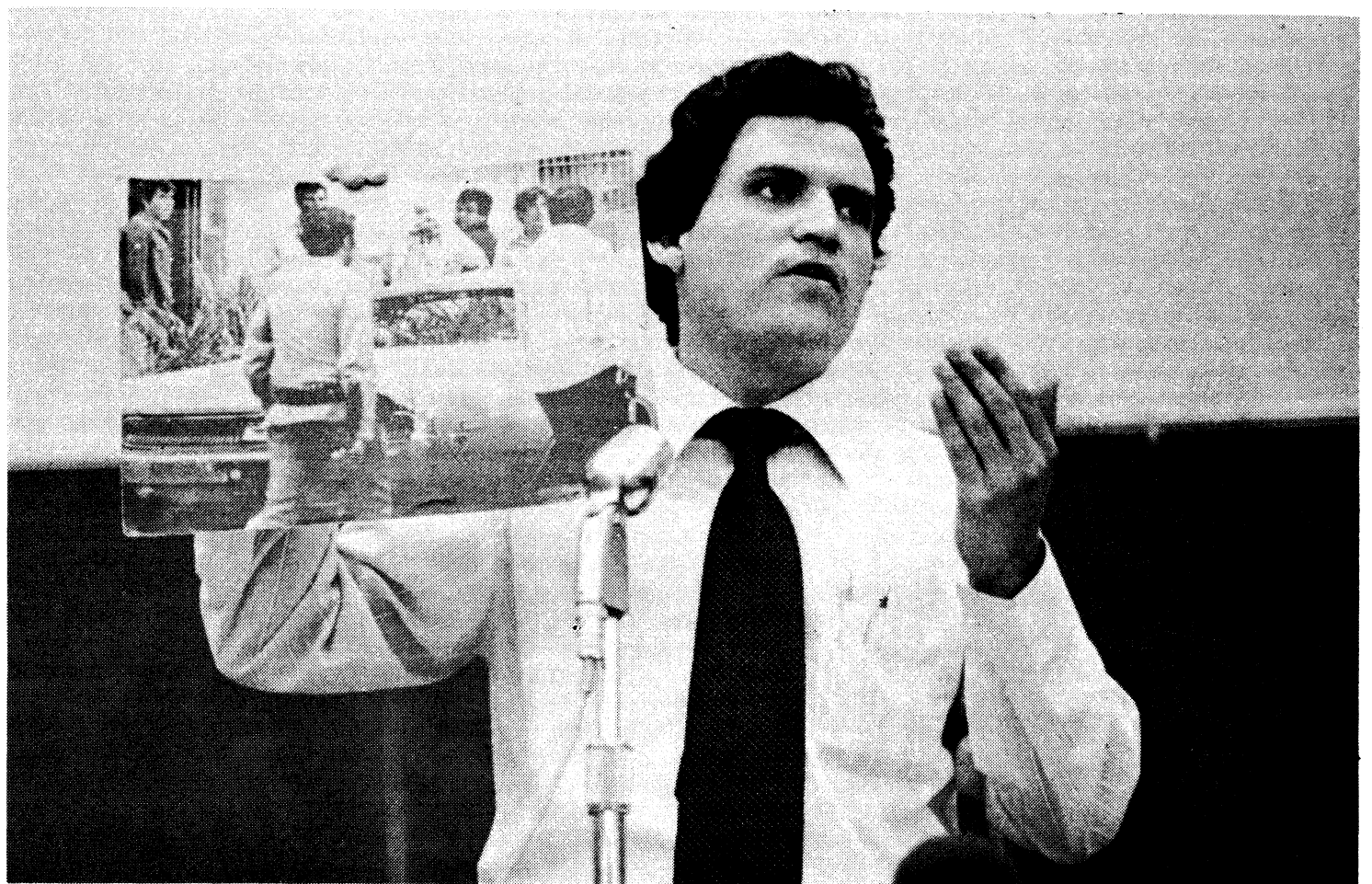
"The judge's decision focuses on two questions. Political asylum is denied because of my ideology, since I am a socialist. This was very clear at the hearing from the type of interrogation the prosecutor conducted—are you a Marxist, do you support the U.S. government, and so on.

"Secondly, the question of political repression in Mexico. The judge admitted that it once existed, at least until September 1978. But he tries to give Mexico a democratic image based on the fact that an amnesty law was decreed at that time."

"For the judge, that is the philosopher's stone," Marroquín adds. "The amnesty has converted Mexico into the most perfect bourgeois democracy. We presented documentary evidence that the amnesty was partial and conditional, and by no means guarantees that political repression has ceased. It was only an attempt by the Mexican government to wash its hands and recover the democratic image that it had been able to maintain abroad."

Behind the judge's decision, Marroquín finds the guiding hand of the State Department, whose main concern is to protect the prestige of the Mexican government. Accordingly, the United States cannot grant political asylum because that would mean exposing Mexico as a violator of human rights, as repressive. They will not do that because they do not want to damage their diplomatic and political relations with the Mexican government—particularly at a time when oil and gas negotiations are under way.

"Do you think the denial of asylum is inconsistent with Carter's human-rights policy?" [Marroquín was asked.]



Marroquín shows photograph of plainclothes Mexican cops kidnapping political dissident

Militant/Della Rossa

"On the contrary—it is perfectly consistent. The U.S. government's human-rights policy has been selective and hypocritical. It is applied only to socialist countries or to countries that are not allies of the United States. When it is a question of human rights in the USSR or Cuba, there is a big hue and cry. But if it's the situation in Chile or in Nicaragua, or the situation that once existed in Iran, you never hear them say anything. In denying me asylum, Carter has been consistent with his own policy."

Marroquín was jailed for several months after having been captured as an "illegal alien." Now free on bond, Marroquín cannot work or attend school in the United States. Every two weeks he must secure a renewal of his permit to leave New York City, and he has to keep the Immigration Service informed of where and how he intends to travel.

Using the Freedom of Information Act, the Marroquín Defense Committee obtained a series of documents from the FBI's archives last year. According to these, the U.S. federal police have had Héctor Marroquín's name in their files since he participated in a demonstration in Monterrey in 1968, when he was fifteen years old. Although extensively censored by the FBI, the documents show how this agency has infiltrated Mexico and even uses its agents to interfere in Mexican political parties and organizations.

"In my particular case," Marroquín explains, "I have every reason to believe that the FBI was involved in fabricating charges against me. The way that I and other Monterrey activists were persecuted was quite similar to the tactics the FBI utilized in its COINTELPRO plan (Counterintelligence Program), which was launched to combat the Black, Chicano, feminist, and socialist movements. It involved using spies and provocateurs, and discrediting political activists by publishing their pictures in the press, accusing them of crimes. They did that here for some time.

### Gutter press backed frame-up

"They worked in collaboration with the gutter press, just as in Mexico the press accused me of being a guerrilla and a terrorist—even on Jacobo Zabludovsky's *24 Horas* program. Zabludovsky took the trouble to accuse me of

having participated in a confrontation with the police, but he has not taken any time to publicize even the smallest bit of news about the type of campaign we have carried out here, the trial we had, or the evidence we presented of my innocence. The magazine *Alarma*—I don't know how similar this is to *24 Horas*—published several photos putting me in the gallery of the worst enemies of the people."

Marroquín explains that according to his committee's findings, the so-called legal attachés of the U.S. embassy in Mexico are no more than FBI agents, whose duties involve gathering information about political parties and activists. The FBI also used spies, provocateurs, and informers inside political organizations—an enormous network of political espionage.

According to the documents obtained from the files of the FBI itself, [Marroquín says,] "Everything indicates that the U.S. police rely on the collaboration of the Mexican government, or of high-level officials. They apparently have infiltrated all departments of the government."

Judge Smith's ruling claims that Marroquín cannot prove that if he returns to Mexico he will really be the victim of political persecution.

### Repression in Mexico

"The judge wanted me to tell him just when, where, how, and at what moment I would be detained if I arrived in Mexico. That is impossible. We explained to him that there is political persecution against me. They are accusing me of crimes, of clashes with the police, of assault, and even of homicides. Two of the others accused along with me were murdered; the third (Jesús Piedra Ibarra) was disappeared. This is the basis for my belief that I cannot return to Mexico.

"Although the Mexican government has approved an amnesty, it continues to hold political prisoners, continues to use torture, continues the activities of the Brigada Blanca [White Brigade—a paramilitary terrorist group organized by the Mexican government]. There is talk of a political reform, but this has not meant any substantial progress toward democratic procedures in Mexico."

According to Marroquín, the Mexican police remain in close touch with the FBI regarding his case. Last year, at a time when his defense was gain-

ing important support—from the United States Student Association, the National Education Association [the largest U.S. teachers union], and other organizations—Marroquín's name was included on the second list of those amnestied for political crimes.

"The amnesty was only a maneuver to deny me legal standing. And the immigration prosecutor understood this. 'If you have already been amnestied,' he asked, 'what makes you think you are going to be a victim of political repression?'"

"I answered him that that was what happened to two other compañeros, and they were rearrested and tortured again. We presented a report from *Proceso* as proof of that."

Marroquín believes that the best thing he can do to fight repression in Mexico and to defend his own safety is to proceed with his campaign demanding the right to asylum in the United States for citizens of Latin American countries (the U.S. has never granted political asylum to a Mexican) and exposing the real situation of political freedoms in our country.

### Widespread support

At the same time, the fact that the INS prosecutor carried on the deportation hearing in the style of a "witch hunt" has brought Marroquín further support among independent political organizations, large sectors of combative trade unions (such as Steelworkers Local 1010), and student groups throughout the country.

"Before he asked anything else," Marroquín says, "the prosecutor asked all my witnesses, 'Are you a communist?' His entire line of questioning was just a cheap imitation of McCarthy. But people here are tired of McCarthy-style anticommunism, and they don't want to see it repeated. The racist, anticommunist judge is my best hope of obtaining still more support for winning the appeal."

Marroquín concludes: "I don't have many illusions, but I'm not pessimistic either about the asylum effort. Whatever happens, it is helping to expose ideological repression in the United States, and political repression in Mexico, and at the same time it is showing the possibilities for solidarity toward the cause of Latin American liberation among U.S. workers, students, and community groups."



## Incensed at Trotskyist gains

# Why Stalinists fear open debate in Iran

Iranian Trotskyist Babak Zahraie debated Abu al-Hassan Bani Sadr, the main ideologist of the Khomeini-Bazargan government, on April 10 over national television. Zahraie is a central leader of the Hezb-e Kargar-e Sossialist (HKS—Socialist Workers Party).

Bani Sadr had challenged all the groups claiming to be Marxist to publicly debate him. The Trotskyists were the only ones to take him up. The debate, which Zahraie used to present a socialist program for solving the crisis in Iran, was viewed by an estimated 22 million persons, virtually the entire adult population of Iran. It provoked a groundswell of interest in socialism among the masses of Iranian workers and toilers. As a result the HKS came overnight to the center of political discussion in Iran.

After the debate, many members of the Tudeh Party (the Iranian Communist Party) called Zahraie to congratulate him for presenting the socialist alternative as it had never been presented before in the country. The Tudeh leadership did not share this enthusiasm. In the May 18 issue of 'Kargar,' the weekly newspaper of the Iranian Trotskyists, the HKS published a response to the CP's attack, which we print below. The translation is by 'Intercontinental Press/Inprecor.'

Issue No. 6 of the Tudeh Party's national organ, *Mardom*, has an article entitled "Trotskyism, Handmaiden of Imperialism." It levels heavy fire against the HKS and the national radio-TV network for setting up the debate between Abu al-Hassan Bani Sadr, spokesman for the Islamic Republic, and Babak Zahraie, defender of revolutionary socialism.

The Tudeh Party contends that by broadcasting this debate, the radio-TV network is responsible for "helping to mislead the people," "besmirching socialism," "dimming the luster and weakening the attractive power of scientific socialism," and promoting "division, confusion, and deviation among the revolutionary forces."

The original sin of the HKS, according to the Tudeh Party, is that it is a "grouplet" that was "recently organized in the United States by a handful of people, and lacks the slightest roots among the Iranian people." Slander and abuse are heaped on the HKS from all sides.

"The Trotskyists . . . are interested only in revising and falsifying, adulterating scientific socialism, and perpetrating intrigues and splits in the world workers and Communist movement and the national liberation movements." Furthermore, "they do nothing except assist in the imperialists' war against Communism and revolution." The article continues in this vein.

The radio-TV network could make amends, the Tudeh Party suggested, by "exposing the real nature of the organization Mr. Babak Zahraie represents" and by "giving an opportunity to the Tudeh Party, which is the true and legitimate proponent of scientific socialism in Iran, to explain its policies to the people of Iran."

### What debate showed

Obviously, this is a very important question; that's for sure. When the Tudeh Party, the defender of the Islamic Republic, attacks the voice of this government, it is certain that a very important question is involved. So, let's look at what this debate showed, and why the Tudeh Party was so upset by it.

The debate aroused an unprecedented response from millions of viewers. Despite the fact that it was held a month ago, it is still a frequent topic of conversation. This debate was important in a number of ways.

First of all, it was an experience of freedom. And it was high time for that. The TV and radio were the voice of the revolution that triumphed over one of the most savagely despotic and oppressive regimes that ever existed. The most basic demand was for an end to censorship and for freedom of expression and thought. But under the direction of Mr. Ghotbzadeh, the radio and TV were turned into a miserable organ of the most outrageous propagandists, the most infantile censors, and the most shamelessly demagogic falsifiers.

Since the first day after the insurrection, this free debate was the first breath of democracy that has been let into this dungeon of censorship. For the first time, millions of people in Iran saw how the TV could be made into an instrument of the revolution.

This debate showed that if socialists had the same possibilities as the ruling class to disseminate and propagate their views, how quickly the socialists' program for solving the present crisis could attract the masses and offer the focus they need to organize themselves. It showed that the arguments of the Council of Ministers and the supporters of the

Islamic Republic cannot stand up in debate and they only seem to be accepted because the government monopolizes the means of communication.

The fundamental importance of the debate was that it was an experiment in democracy and in the presentation of socialism. This debate was not a personal victory for Babak Zahraie, or even for our party. Basically, this victory opened up the road for all those forces that support democracy and socialism, and this is well illustrated in the vast response it got from the people.

So, why does the Tudeh Party, which considers itself one of the "democratic forces" and "the true and legitimate proponent of scientific socialism" feel indignation rather than satisfaction over this debate? Is this simply the result of sectarian shortsightedness?

There is a sectarian shortsightedness in this reaction by the Tudeh Party. But it has deeper political roots. Despite all the claims this party makes about being a defender of democracy and socialism, in reality it is totally antagonistic to democracy for the broad masses and does not have the slightest interest in advancing the socialist revolution. It is an unconditional defender of the Kremlin bureaucracy. It unconditionally defends this government's policy of repression. And it supports the suppression of all those who have opposed this policy.

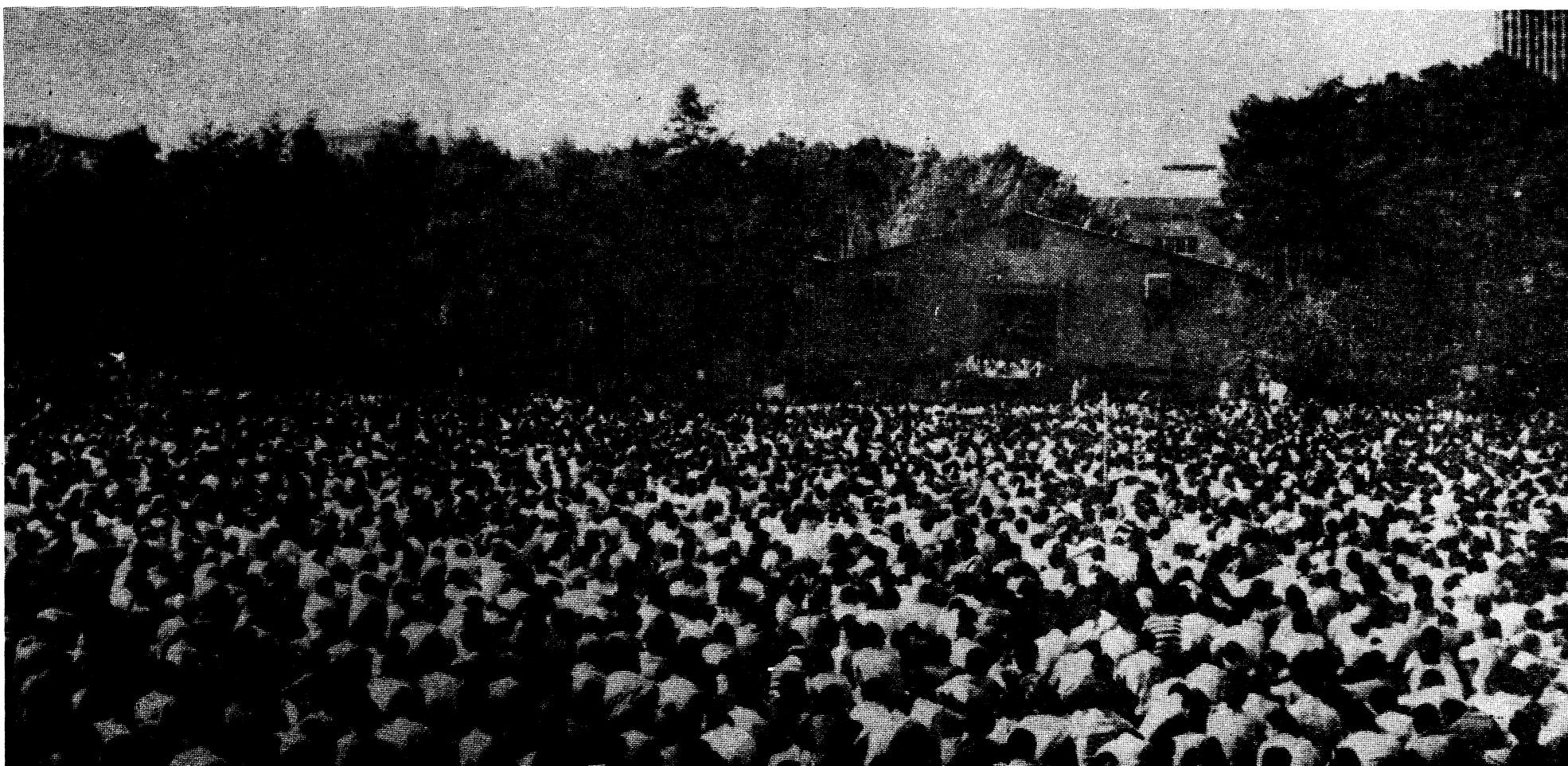
The Tudeh Party defends a bureaucratic stratum that maintains itself in power by such means as censorship, the suppression of ideas, and monopolizing all the means for communication and for educating the masses. So, it is obvious why this first experiment in democracy would terrify the Tudeh Party.

Moreover, any prolonged and real democracy for the masses will lead to an extension of the revolution in Iran and a continuation of the mass movement toward socialist revolution. This is another reason for the Tudeh Party's fear of this experiment in democracy and presentation of socialism, and for their furious reaction to the TV debate.

### Fear advance of revolution

The Soviet bureaucracy, and the Tudeh Party, which is the mouthpiece for its policies in Iran, fear an advance of the revolution in Iran and seek to defend the present government and the status quo. They both defend the Islamic Republic—the government of the capitalists and the rich—which is trying to ride out the revolutionary upsurge and

*Continued on page 22*



Crowd of 70,000 at Tehran Teachers Institute May 30 hears Trotskyist leader Babak Zahraie debate defender of 'Islamic Republic'

Kargar

## Reply to appeal by exiled dissidents

# Why socialists oppose boycott of USSR

By George Saunders

During the past year a number of calls have been made for boycotting the Soviet Union as a way of supporting the struggle for democratic rights there. These have been proposed or endorsed by various former Soviet dissidents. Such demands raise important questions of principle and have provoked a sharp debate that is worth looking at more closely.

One such call, an "Appeal to Western Socialists and Communists" by nine Soviet civil-rights campaigners in exile, was issued in France in late 1978. An English version appeared in the "Letters" section of the British publication *Labour Focus on Eastern Europe* in its January-February 1979 issue.<sup>1</sup>

In addition, a Committee to Boycott the Moscow Olympics (COBOM) has been formed in France, with the support of a number of left-wing intellectuals. A statement by exiled Soviet civil-rights activists Leonid Plyushch, Viktor Fainberg, and Natalya Gorbanevskaya has been issued separately, endorsing the call for boycotting the 1980 Moscow Olympics.

Supporters of the boycott tactic argue that such campaigns have been used by the left against repressive regimes elsewhere in the world.

Cited as examples are boycotts against sports representatives from South Africa, against the shah of Iran's cultural festival in 1976, and against the World Cup soccer match in Argentina in 1978.

Therefore, they conclude, there is no reason why the labor movement and its allies should not turn the weapon of a boycott against the repressive regime in the Soviet Union. The nine, for example, state:

"Communists, Socialists and trade unionists should have started a struggle for a boycott of the Soviet Union and its representatives by social, trade union, academic, cultural and athletic organisations and associations in the West; for the exclusion of the USSR from all social international federations; for the refusal of workers, including by means of strike action, to carry out any work for the Soviet Union, except food deliveries."

Would such a boycott of the Soviet Union aid the struggle of antibureaucratic fighters for democratic rights? Should such a campaign be supported by those in the labor movement who defend the conquests of the Russian Revolution, despite the character of the bureaucracy and its crimes against the world working class?

The answer is clearly no. Such a campaign serves only the interests of imperialism.

### A false analogy

In the first place, the main argument in favor of a boycott of the USSR is based on a false analogy. Lumping together the shah's Iran, Argentina, South Africa, and the Soviet Union completely leaves out of account the most fundamental difference between them—their class character.

The first three countries are capitalist. South Africa, moreover, is an impe-

rialist power. Their brutal regimes have only one goal—defense of private property and the superexploitation of the toiling masses. They represent the interests of their own capitalist classes in alliance—above all—with U.S. imperialism.

The Soviet Union, on the other hand, is a workers state. Private ownership of the means of production was eradicated by the workers of the Soviet Union under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party in one of the greatest mass mobilizations in history. When capitalism was overturned in Russia at the end of World War I it represented a historic blow against imperialism.

The aim of the imperialist powers is to turn back any extension of this deadly threat to their class rule, and ultimately to crush it altogether. They are driven to regain for direct exploitation the one-third of humanity that now lives in countries where capitalism has been abolished.

### Who the nine dissidents are

It is not the conscious intent of the nine Soviet dissidents to strengthen the drive by the imperialists against the most powerful of the workers states. Many of the nine consider themselves socialists. All were leading figures in the just struggle for democratic rights in the USSR.

Turchin, Alekseyeva, and Shragin have endorsed statements defending such American political prisoners as the Wilmington Ten and Charlotte Three.

Turchin and Shragin have defended the right of asylum in the United States for the victimized Mexican socialist Héctor Marroquín.

Plyushch spoke out for Chilean political prisoners and for the right of the sons of the Rosenbergs to have access to the government documents concerning the frame-up of their parents.

Lubarsky is publishing a newsletter in exile that provides detailed information on a current case involving a large "revolutionary communist youth" movement in Leningrad.

Boris Weil and Vadim Belotserkovsky participated in the West Berlin conference in defense of the East German dissident Marxist Rudolf Bahro.

And Pyotr Grigorenko, although he has now become religious and anti-Leninist, once understood that the Soviet workers and peasants were the first in the world to show they could run their own country without any capitalists.



Militant/Peter Seidman

But precisely because the appeal for a boycott comes from such figures its disorienting impact is greater.

What is involved is not a question of tactics. The appeal assumes that the way to combat the Soviet bureaucracy is by mobilizing the labor movement to support the anticommunist campaign of the imperialist governments.

This is made explicit by the section of their appeal that openly calls for communists, socialists, and trade unionists in the West to "organise pressure on their own governments to demand that they adopt real diplomatic and political methods" to counter violations of human rights by the Soviet authorities. (Emphasis added.)

In other words, they are telling the workers to place confidence in and give backing to their deadliest enemy—their own capitalist class.

This stance, if consistently carried through in action, would provide a left cover for imperialism's drive to turn back the gains won by the workers of the USSR. Economic boycotts have been used by the imperialists against every workers state since the Russian revolution.

### Earlier boycott of USSR

When they imposed a blockade on the Bolshevik government in the Soviet Union during the civil war of 1918-21, it was part of their drive to restore capitalism in the USSR by directly backing counterrevolutionary White Russian armies and actually invading Soviet territory.

Although the attempt to restore capitalism failed, the imperialists nonetheless accomplished a secondary purpose. They bled the new workers government and caused it endless difficulties that could then be denounced as "proof" that socialism was economically unsound.

After World War II, the imperialists imposed a trade blockade against the new workers states that emerged out of that vast upheaval.

They imposed the same economic isolation on the new Chinese workers state for nearly thirty years.

### Blockade of Cuba & Vietnam

In 1960, when the revolutionary government in Cuba expropriated the million-dollar investments of the American trusts, ending more than half a century of U.S. imperialist domination, Washington's response was to organize an economic blockade that continues to this day. Not even medicine is allowed through.



Militant/Anne Teesdale

Signers of appeal include former Marxist Pyotr Grigorenko (left) and Boris Shragin, who has opposed political repression carried out by U.S. government.

In Vietnam, imperialism has mounted an all-out effort to isolate and bleed the newest workers state. A total blockade has been imposed.

In each instance, revolutionists opposed these campaigns, exposing their reactionary nature. This position was correct in 1918, 1950, and 1960. It is still correct today.

Any support for maintaining or reinstituting such boycotts—whatever the aims of the organizers—can only aid imperialism, and can thereby be used to discredit the cause of antibureaucratic fighters in their own countries.

Such proposals to line up behind the ruling classes of the capitalist countries are also guaranteed to lose the support of the only real ally the dissidents in the workers states have in the West—the working class. A recent incident is instructive in this regard.

### Case of Georgy Vins

Georgy Vins, one of the five imprisoned Soviet dissidents exchanged for two alleged Soviet espionage agents, was being treated to dinner by the mayor of New York City on May Day this year. Outside, thousands of workers employed by New York City were demonstrating against the mayor's plan to close down nine hospitals.

Referring to the labor demonstration, Vins told reporters, "I felt that these people are demanding something that is just—I had a desire to join them."

"But," he added, "I'm the guest of the Mayor."

Guest? Or captive?

The workers of New York City would be a powerful ally in defense of Soviet citizens' basic rights, including the rights of Soviet workers. But they will not be won over to support that fight if they identify the dissidents with the mayor who is slashing their wages, cutting back their social services, and eliminating their jobs.

Imagine the powerful impact if Vins had walked out on New York's mayor and unambiguously demonstrated his support for those exploited and oppressed by capitalism. That would have brought a rise in sympathy with the cause of Soviet dissidents.

But if they are seen as dupes of Western capitalist politicians and part of the imperialist drive against the workers states—as the appeal by the nine makes them sound—they will lose the very allies they themselves acknowledge to be "an important influence."

### Tamara Deutscher response

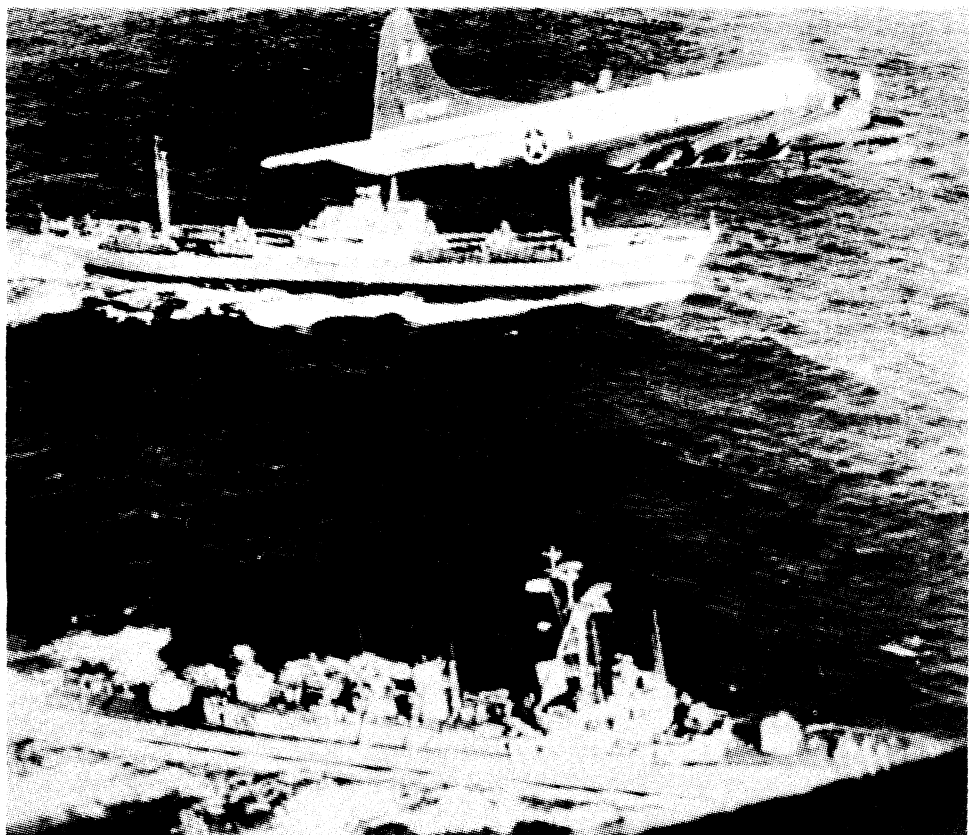
Tamara Deutscher, for example, a distinguished figure who in the past has written effectively and influentially in behalf of Soviet dissidents, has expressed this clearly.

Following publication in *Labour Focus* of the boycott appeal by the nine, Deutscher wrote to the editors asking that her name be withdrawn as a sponsor of the journal. Her letter, published in the March-April issue, said in part:

"The Appeal calls for nothing less than a wholesale boycott of the USSR and a complete break of all relations between West and East—in other words, for isolating the Soviet Union and putting it into quarantine. Such methods in no way help the process of democratisation in the East. On the contrary, they would only strengthen all reactionary forces in both camps. The not so distant past has taught us that Stalinism was at its worst in the

1. The appeal was signed by Ludmilla Alekseyeva, Pyotr Grigorenko, Valentin Turchin, Vadim Belotserkovsky, Anatoli Levitin-Krasnov, Kronid Lubarsky, Boris Weil, Leonid Plyushch, and Boris Shragin. Its publication provoked a debate in the "Letters" column of the following issue of *Labour Focus* (March-April 1979).





U.S. government enforced blockade of Cuba in early 1960s, and even today continues economic boycott. Dissident appeal plays into hands of imperialism.

period of the Soviet Union's isolation."

The right road for dissidents is an alliance with the labor and social protest movements under capitalism. It is not an easy road. There would be no soft university jobs, lucrative contracts for books that might not sell, disguised but lavish CIA subsidies, and well-financed attentions of every sort. But it is the only road that will ultimately lead to the release of those in prisons, labor camps, and psychiatric hospitals

today—and the mobilization of the Soviet workers to wipe out the bureaucracy that maintains its power through such methods.

COBOM's appeal for a boycott of the Moscow Olympics appears to try to avoid some of the pitfalls of other proposals. It explicitly opposes Carter's "human-rights" campaign and stresses the imperialist nature of U.S. foreign policy. It also points out that some of the facilities to be used for the

Winter Olympics in the U.S. in 1980 are to be slated to become prison buildings after the games. That is a symbol no less telling than the fact that Soviet prisoners' labor is being used to build facilities for the Moscow Olympics.

But at bottom COBOM's appeal is just as reactionary. It is a dangerous breach of principle to advocate *any measure* against a workers state that can be seized on, carried further, and incorporated in the imperialists' ongoing offensive against the workers states.

Even on a purely practical level, far more effective than a boycott of the Olympics would be to have left-wing supporters of the struggle for democratic rights in the USSR go to Moscow and express that support right there.

### What Kremlin fears most

This prospect already has Soviet leaders worried as the games draw closer. This was made clear in a recent speech by Viktor V. Grishin, head of the Moscow party committee and a Politburo member.

As reported in the May 9 *New York Times*, Grishin told a writers meeting that there was a need for "strengthening the patriotic and internationalist upbringing" of Moscow's citizenry.

"This assumes special importance in connection with the 22nd Olympic Games," he explained. "It is necessary to insure that, in relations with foreigners, residents of the capital show cordiality and hospitality, stress the advantages of the Soviet way of life and the achievements of our society, and at the same time repulse the propaganda of alien ideas and princi-

ples, the onslaughts on our country and on the ideas of socialism and communism."

This sounds like a good opportunity precisely to discuss the "ideas of socialism and communism." For example, why does the Communist Party of Comrade Grishin put workers in psychiatric hospitals?

The residents of Moscow may have some interesting comments on these cases. They may even appreciate information on them, in case Comrade Grishin hasn't informed them of these particular advantages of the current way of life under the Soviet bureaucracy.

### West German appeal

Taking a different line from COBOM, a group of socialist activists in West Germany has appealed to those who will participate in the Moscow Olympics to "transform them into an international tribunal for the defense of human rights both East and West."

They propose to hold a protest in Moscow, organized by individuals who are known for their activity in combating violations of human rights by the Western capitalist regimes.

The signers of the appeal include Heinz Brandt, Jacob Moneta, Daniel Cohn-Bendit, Rudi Dutschke, and Peter Von Oertzen. All have been active in the fight for civil liberties in West Germany and in the campaign to free East German Marxist Rudolf Bahro.

It is only campaigns such as this, free of any taint of complicity with the reactionary aims of imperialism, that can genuinely help to advance the cause of fighters for democratic rights in the Soviet Union.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

## Hong Kong: demand release of Trotskyists

By S.S. Wu

HONG KONG—Three members and a sympathizer of the Revolutionary Marxist League, a Trotskyist group supporting the Fourth International, were sentenced to jail June 5 for "unlawful assembly." Another three members received suspended sentences.

The four who were imprisoned are: Leung Kwok-hung, a twenty-two-year-old garment worker, who was sentenced to two months in prison; Chan Chung-wah, a twenty-three-year-old student, three months; Wong Chung-ching, a twenty-one-year-old shopkeeper, three months; and Hou Man-wan, a thirty-year-old delivery worker, two months.

They were accused of having taken part in an illegal demonstration on April 5 in front of the Hong Kong offices of Beijing's Xinhua news agency. The RML had called a rally on that date to commemorate the third anniversary of the Tien An Men demonstration in Beijing and similar demonstrations in other major Chinese cities, and to protest recent repression against the movement for democratic

rights in China. Official approval for the rally was not received until the day before it was scheduled to be held.

At the end of the rally it was decided that representatives of the RML be sent to the Xinhua offices to hand in a letter of protest to the Beijing government. It is this action that was deemed illegal by the colonial government of Hong Kong.

Although it is not uncommon for the colonial government to use the reactionary "unlawful assembly" laws to attack the development of mass movements in Hong Kong, this is the first time since 1967 that protesters have been jailed under this legislation.

The sentences thus represent a step-up of colonial repression. It is not surprising that the RML has been selected as the first group to be victimized in this way. Since its foundation in 1973, the RML has been the most active and outspoken opponent of the British government here and the first organization to rally support for democratic rights in China.

The imprisonment of the four activists must also be seen in a broader context.

On the one hand, in the past couple

of years protests against the housing shortage and lack of adequate educational facilities have been on the rise. Although many of these movements, thanks to their reformist leadership, have been kept from developing into generalized social confrontations, the ruling class is frightened by their scope and intensity.

On the other hand, the ruling class is concerned about the impact of the coming economic recession. For in the past few months spontaneous actions by workers to defend their living standards have erupted sporadically, some involving up to 1,000 workers.

It is precisely this objective trend that compels the government to begin to drop its democratic façade and

resort to outright repression. In fact, prior to the sentencing of the RML militants, repression had already been unleashed against other social movements.

In these circumstances it is very important for the mass movement in Hong Kong and the workers movement abroad to speak out against these moves by the colonial government. Any possible form of support from abroad—whether from trade unions, human rights groups, or individuals—is badly needed. Protests should be sent to British embassies around the world, with copies to the RML, 9 Bailey Street, 7/F, Hungghum, Kowloon, Hong Kong

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## ... Iran Stalinists angry over Trotskyist gains

Continued from page 19

block any further advance of the revolution.

The Tudeh Party's anger was also a response to its seeing the voice of the forces that want to advance the revolution reach the ears of millions of toilers in Iran. The Tudeh Party was so furious that while it finds it impossible to answer the "accusations of others," it devoted a fourth of a page to an attack on the HKS. In the same issue of *Mardom*, Kianuri, the first secretary of the Stalinist party, tells his comrades: "If we answered all the accusations flung at us, we wouldn't have the time to use these few pages that we are bleeding ourselves white to pay for to disseminate our party's program."

But the impression made by an experience of democracy and an explanation of socialism by the spokesman of a little "grouplet" that "lacks the slightest roots among the people of Iran" was such that special attention had to be paid to it.

There is another reason for the Tudeh Party's raging against "little grouplets." The HKS represents a worldwide revolutionary Marxist current that has fought against Stalinism for decades in defense of the achievements of genuine Bolshevism. By offering a program for political revolution, it has pointed out the revolutionary road for fighting Stalinism in the Soviet Union and other such bureaucratically ruled workers states.

The Soviet bureaucracy's alarm at the appearance and consolidation of this international Marxist current in Iran is well founded. The Iranian revolution will give a boost to the struggle against the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union. The resurgence of the Bolshevik tradition in our country will smooth the way for this same development in the Soviet Union as well. So, a small "grouplet" can now be a thorn in the side of Brezhnev, who formerly got along so well with the Pahlavis.

In conclusion, we should ask "Comrade" Kianuri what he wants to do with the TV time he is demanding. The policy of the Tudeh Party is to defend and justify the policies of the present government. In his interview in the current issue of *Mardom*, Kianuri is asked the question: "Are you convinced that this government can meet the demands of the workers and toilers?" He answers:

"We don't want to get involved here in a discussion of ideology and class. In the present stage we will seek to guide the government and to defend it."

But the government has its own advocates and supporters and they are constantly on TV defending the regime. Does the Tudeh Party want to use the TV to present a better program for defending the government? That is their right, and we demand that the Tudeh Party and all other organiza-

tions be granted the right to present their views and programs on TV. Then it will be shown who is "the true and legitimate proponent of scientific socialism."

The readers of the current issue of *Mardom* will not find the slightest hint about socialism. In fact, with the exception of the article that attacks us, they will not even find the word "socialism" mentioned—much less any defense of it.



Lenin addressing workers and soldiers in 1917. Stalinists fear participation of masses in politics and despise real heritage of Bolshevism.

### 'We're fed up with capitalists'

## Tabriz: 12,000 carpet workers hold sit-in

The following article appeared in the May 18 'Kargar,' the Iranian Trotskyist weekly. The translation is by 'Intercontinental Press/Inprecor.'

Carpet weavers in Tabriz, along with the unemployed, dismissed, and part-time workers of the city, have been waging an extensive struggle against unemployment and for respect for their trampled rights since late March.

The weavers met and issued a statement calling on the government to immediately meet thirteen specific demands, the most important of which are the following:

- Immediate interest-free loans.
- Free medical insurance.
- Abolition of reactionary labor legislation, and the drafting of new laws with direct participation of genuine representatives of the workers.
- Reduction of the workday to seven hours, and of the workweek to thirty-five hours.
- Establishment of state cooperatives to purchase and market woven rugs.

- Participation of workers representatives in such cooperatives to set a fair price for the carpets.

- Retirement at full pay for old and disabled workers.

The unemployed, fired, and part-time workers held their own assembly, approved the thirteen demands of the weavers, and also raised their own, which include the following:

- The immediate rehiring of dismissed and unemployed workers at their old jobs, with full back pay.
- Equal pay for equal work for women.
- Establishment of an unemployment fund.
- An end to interference by capitalists, foreign or otherwise.

In support of these demands, 7,000 weavers and 5,000 unemployed gathered for more than a week at the Tabriz Workers Club. In an interview with *Kargar*, one of the representatives of the weavers told us:

"The goal of the revolution was to raise the standard of living of the workers and toilers and to bring down the capitalists. But nothing at all has been done so far to accomplish this.

"We have the necessary means at our disposal to build houses for all working people who need them—architects, cement, everything. So why doesn't the government take advantage of our being unemployed and use us to build houses? All of us know that most Iranians need better housing, but the government has not taken a single step toward this.

"Didn't we take part in the revolution? Why does the government ignore our demands?"

When asked if they had a message for our readers, the weavers' representatives said:

"We members of the Weavers Guild of Tabriz who have gathered here for nine days are neither homeless nor crazy. We have been exploited by the capitalists.

"We workers who played an important role in the revolution ask the provisional revolutionary government to grant us interest-free loans so that we can meet our daily expenses, so that the merchants and bosses can no longer suck our blood.

"We ask the Islamic government to set up workplaces where the only boss is the government. If it is

incapable of doing this, it should give us sufficient funds to organize a cooperative so that we can work for ourselves, purchase directly the goods we need, and sell our own products. We are completely fed up with the capitalists, and that's that.

"We, the Weavers Guild, need the help of the government and of all workers, for our livelihood is directly endangered. We want pensions for old workers, and for those who do not have the capacity to work.

"Our income—from what is in fact a cultural skill—has been drastically reduced. We have always labored but everything has been taken from us.

"If the Islamic government wants to protect the weak we are the first it would be appropriate to help and pay attention to.

"We are asking that the government set up factories to provide us with work, for there is no security in weaving. And we don't want the pay of a new employee.

"For example, we who have worked for fifteen years should be hired at a pay equal to that of workers with fifteen years seniority, and not that of new employees."



# Jericol miners' strike in nineteenth month

By Nancy Cole

CLOSPINT, Ky.—Coal miners at the Jericol mine here are still walking the picket line after nineteen months on strike.

When they walked off the job as part of the national miners' strike in December 1977, they were one of fewer than a handful of United Mine Workers locals in coal-rich Harlan County.

Jericol's owners, James and Charles Sigmon, decided the time was ripe to try and rid the area of another union mine. When the national agreement was signed at the end of March 1978 by the UMWA and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association, the Sigmons balked. They are not members of the BCOA and they claimed they wanted to negotiate their own agreement this time around.

The contract they proposed was even worse than the first national BCOA offer that was so overwhelmingly condemned by the ranks of the UMWA.

"The biggest things are pensions and safety," Clinton Turner told the *Militant*. "They want their man in charge of safety. Just how long would you last with that?" Turner, a miner since 1947, struck with the Jericol miners and has since retired.

"That's their business—breaking the union," Turner says of the Sigmons. "That's where they've been and that's their business at Jericol."

The Sigmons bought the mine in 1973 and it is now their only UMWA mine. They aim to clear the decks with this strike.

Striker Rondie Mink says that about a year and a half ago he went into the company office and saw a book titled, "How to Maintain Your Nonunion Status."

Government officials have pulled out all the stops in aiding this union-busting drive.

For a visitor it doesn't take long to grasp this fact. Before reaching the picket line situated on a major high-

way, our *Militant* reporting team was flagged down by a state cop. Four police cars were parked off to the side of the road. Driver's license and all car lights and turn signals were checked. We were advised menacingly that we were "a long way from home."

"Sometimes they stop us two or three times between here and Harlan and check our trunk and stuff," a picketer explained.

## Scab parade

In the morning and right before the shift ends in the afternoon, the cop cars line up close to the mine entrance. Then the scab parade begins. Several cars, two steel-plated school buses carrying scabs, and a state police armored truck—what strikers call the SWAT tank—form the caravan out of the mine and down the road. It ends at the state police barracks in Harlan.

State police Captain Otis Campbell is responsible for three Kentucky counties. "They must be the peaceablest counties in the country, because he has the time to be here every day when the scabs go in," notes Mink.

The courts have done their part as well. Circuit Court Judge Sid Douglass has kept the strikers in court as much as possible. His court order limits pickets to twenty, prohibits "interference" with scabs entering the mine, and disarms the strikers.

Eleven strikers were convicted in March for violating the court order—they allegedly threw a rock—and were sentenced to ninety days. Douglass denied them bail during their appeal and they served eight days before the judge was forced to reverse his no-bail ruling.

One scab went to jail for the same incident—an incident that strikers charge he initiated by firing at them.

At a meeting called by Douglass June 13, the judge explained the "moral" problem now faced by the state police because of the long hours they have to put in at the mine. He proposed a partial arming of each side of the strike so that some of the state police could be withdrawn. The Sigmons, who like things just the way they are, declined the judge's offer.

## One-sided NLRB

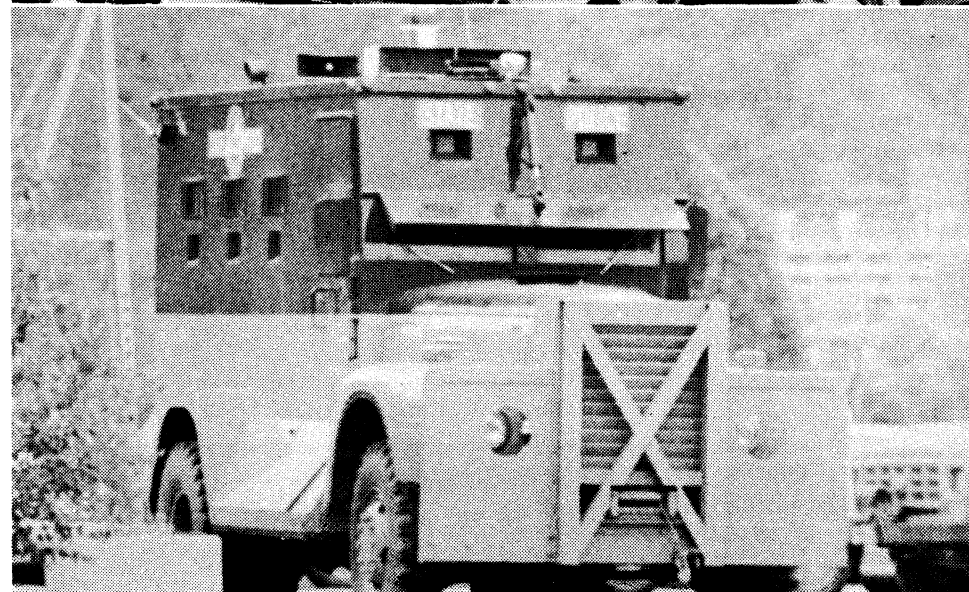
Strikers haven't fared any better with the National Labor Relations Board. Last December, a representation election at the mine reaffirmed the UMWA as the bargaining agent.

But that didn't mean the NLRB took any action to force the company to settle the strike.

"The labor board is an arm of the Tart-Hartley law, and Taft-Hartley was set up to bust the unions," says striker Mink.

"We had an election and we won, and what happened? Nothing. But if they [scabs] have one and win, we'll be out. We won't be able to have picket lines or anything. It's one-sided."

As for the Democratic and Republi-



Every day Jericol picketers (top photo) are confronted with scab parade, including state police tank.

Militant photos by Nancy Cole

can politicians, says Mink, "the only one who took a stand is Gov. Jullian Carroll—and that was *against* us. He sent the state police up here."

Support has come from a few other unions and numerous locals of the UMWA. Local 8771 President Gerald Cornette says that contributions have come in from locals in West Virginia, Illinois, Pennsylvania, and even New Mexico. At a Memorial Day support rally, a western Kentucky local brought a check for \$1,000.

Most locals in UMWA District 19, covering southeastern Kentucky and Tennessee, have assessed their members \$10 to aid the strike. The nearby Brookside local, which won an organizing battle in 1972, gives a voluntary assessment every month.

More than 90 percent of these contributions go for legal expenses, explains Cornette.

For about a year the miners received weekly strike benefits from a UMWA international fund. That, unfortunately, came to an abrupt end recently.

## Strike benefits end

In a May 30 letter, UMWA Secretary-treasurer Willard Esselstyn informed each striker that the International Miners Relief Fund was depleted and thus their assistance would end with the next check. Hospitalization coverage, the letter continued, would continue for only another thirty days.

"The discontinuance of your IMRF checks at this time does not mean that the International Union has given up hopes of your securing a contract," Esselstyn went on. "The International Union will continue to assist you and your District officers in any way possible to explore all avenues to bring your strike to a successful conclusion with a new UMWA contract."

District 19 President Joseph Phipps then wrote UMWA President Arnold Miller and other officers explaining that the strikers in Jericol, as well as the several other locals where contracts were not signed, "are long time members of the UMWA, and they need our help and our support." Phipps

suggested that each UMWA district ask its locals to assess UMWA members as provided for in the union constitution to aid the strikers.

No sign of support for this idea or other additional aid has thus far come from the international officers.

"I believe the coal operators might be a little better united than we are," Clinton Turner told the *Militant*. "They help one another. Jericol is not alone in that battle up there. They're backed by all the coal operators."

Kentucky produces more coal than any other state in the country, but only about half of it is union coal. In District 19, the several thousand union miners compare with what one district representative estimated at 50,000 non-union miners.

The importance of the strike is certainly evident to most UMWA members in this area, especially to those old enough to remember what it was like before Harlan County was organized in the 1930s.

## 'It'll be like that again'

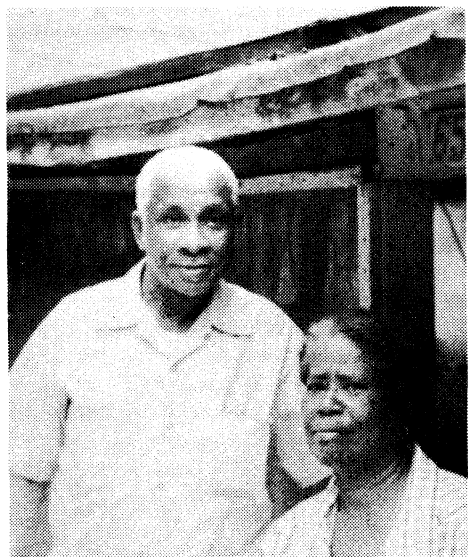
"They worked seven days a week, day and night," explains Turner. "Children didn't even know who their daddy was. If you got killed in the mine you just got killed. It's the way it was. And it's just the way it'll be again if they get rid of the union."

"They don't want the union because they don't want anyone to check up on them. They don't want safety rules. They want you to go in there and cut coal with it falling in on you. They want the coal moving and don't stop!"

Local president Cornette believes that a winning strategy in the strike depends on the whole union backing the fight here. "We need 5,000 or 10,000 people in Harlan County, like at Brookside, marching to show people that the United Mine Workers is together—to show people that what you do to one, you do to all."

\* \* \*

Contributions and messages of support can be sent to the Jericol Miners Relief Fund, Box 119, Closplint, Kentucky 40927



Militant/Nancy Cole  
Clinton and Eva Mae Turner. 'I believe coal operators are better united than we are,' says veteran miner Turner. 'Jericol is backed by all coal operators.'

## Stearns: 'Holding it together'

WHITLEY CITY, Ky.—After a three-year battle with the Blue Diamond Coal Company to win recognition of the United Mine Workers union, Stearns miners were forced to end their strike here in May.

A rigged election, which allowed 110 scabs to vote but only 60 strikers, brought recognition for the company union.

There were 122 strikers still on the picket line, and most of them are now out of jobs and deeply in debt. In addition, some still face trumped-up criminal charges stemming from the strike. A trial of three strikers ended in a hung jury

recently, so another trial has been set for August. At least \$15,000 for legal expenses will have to be raised by that time.

The Stearns miners still meet together once a week to discuss ways of raising funds and to help each other find jobs. The Stearns Women's Club also continues to meet weekly.

"We're trying to hold it together," Darrell Vanover told the *Militant*. "We don't want to see Blue Diamond run anyone off."

Contributions can be sent to the Stearns Miners Relief Fund c/o Mahan Vanover, Route 1, Whitley City, Kentucky 42653. —N.C.

## Quote unquote

**"As long as you have the link between despair and profits, you'll have an enormous problem."**

—A New York City official explaining why they can't cope with the drug dealers.

### LABOR SECRETARY SUED ON UNIROYAL BIAS

A group of women workers at the Uniroyal plant in Mishawaka, Ind., have sued Secretary of Labor Ray Marshall to compel him to act on a finding of discrimination against women and minority workers.

A federal investigator had found that the company was guilty of hiring and promotion discrimination. He recommended that, in accordance with federal statutes, all the company's government contracts be cancelled.

Such a recommendation requires review by the secretary of labor. Although the recommendation was made a year ago, Marshall has failed to act.

A spokesperson said, "In my experience, these cases take time."

The women workers are also demanding \$2.25 million in damages for the 521 workers involved in the company victimization.

Uniroyal has had military contracts totaling more than \$36 million.

### NOW YOU CAN RELAX

Some people were concerned that Carter's appointment of a "citizens' committee" to investigate the Three Mile Island accident would result in a whitewash.

Now we can be assured. The Nuclear Regulatory Commission will conduct a separate probe. The job has been contracted out to a Washington law firm. The NRC will provide forty-five staffers to do the work. Total cost will be about \$2 million.

Heading the probe will be attorney Mitchell Rogovin, described by the *Washington Post* as "respected on all sides of the political spectrum."

An assistant attorney general under Lyndon Johnson, Rogovin later represented the CIA before congressional probers.

The Atomic Industrial Forum, the nuclear trade association, expressed satisfaction with Rogovin's appointment.

## Antinuclear protesters convicted

Thirty more antinuclear protesters were convicted June 22 of trespassing at the Rocky Flats nuclear weapons plant near Denver.

This raised to 183 the number convicted as the result of an April 20 demonstration at the plant. A total of 295 protesters are involved in the trespassing charges.

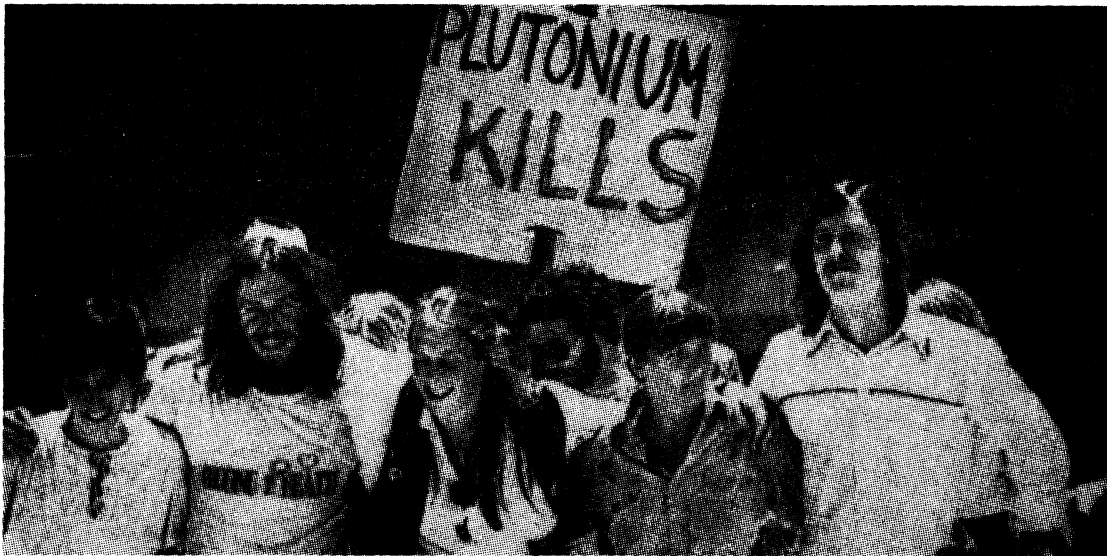
Among those convicted

was Daniel Ellsberg, who helped expose the roots of U.S. aggression in Vietnam by releasing the Pentagon Papers.

Meanwhile, in Portland, Oregon, in what was said to be the largest mass jury trial in U.S. history, 192 people were convicted June 22 of second degree criminal trespassing at the Trojan Nuclear Power Plant. They had

joined in a four-day non-violent protest at the plant in August 1978 sponsored by the Trojan Decommissioning Alliance. Judge Robert Redding refused to allow evidence on the dangers of nuclear power or on the First Amendment rights of the defendants.

The conviction carries a maximum sentence of thirty days and \$250 fine. Sentencing date has not been set.



Protesters outside Denver courtroom at trial of Rocky Flats demonstrators.

"We'll support him in any way we can," a spokesman assured.

### U OF MD CENSURED IN OLLMAN CASE

The American Association of University Professors voted June 8 to formally censure the University of Maryland for violating academic freedom by refusing to hire Prof. Bertell Ollman, a Marxist professor.

A university search committee had selected Ollman from more than 100 applicants to head the university's department of government and politics at its College Park campus.

The nomination was rejected by university president John Toll after Ollman came under attack from right-wing columnists, university trustees, and members of the state legislature.

Ollman invented the board game "Class Struggle," which has sold well in book and department stores.

### HIGH COURT PUTS NEW CURB ON RIGHTS

The Supreme Court has ruled that Americans have no right to expect privacy about who they make phone calls to.

In an added curb on First

Amendment rights, the court decided June 20 that police do not need a warrant to install a device which records the numbers dialed from a particular phone.

The device which does this has become popular among snoopers because you don't have to break in to install it. Instead, it can be installed at the offices of the always cooperative Ma Bell.

Legally, cops are still not supposed to tap your phone without a warrant.

However, there's no assurance that the high court will not rule next that since there's no privacy involved in who you call, obviously there's also none involved in what you say.

### GOV'S PARLEY DEAF TO FARM WORKERS

Members of the Southwest Border Regional Commission, which includes the governors of Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico, met in Brownsville, Texas, June 23 to discuss a plan to import Mexican workers to harvest crops and then throw the workers out again.

Texas farm workers who

marched fifty miles through the Rio Grande Valley to be heard at the conference were excluded by security guards.

According to a *New York Times* report, among those voting to exclude the farm workers was Tom Hayden, who was at the gathering representing Governor Brown of California. A liberal Democrat, Hayden is now part of Brown's political machine.

The gathering had before it a proposition by Gov. William Clements of Texas to permit Mexican immigrants to enter the U.S. temporarily as "visiting workers" when the growers need cheap labor to harvest their crops.

The Clements plan stipulates that such workers would be ineligible to join a union, guaranteeing they would be used to combat farm unionization and depress wages even further.

The commission was denounced by Texas Farm Workers leader Antonio Orendain, one of those excluded, and Rubén Bonilla, newly elected president of the League of United Latin American Citizens and formerly head of Texas LULAC.

The Clements proposal would be a repetition of the "bracero" program which was used in the 1940s and 1950s to provide superexploitable farm labor.

The move to revive the program comes at a time when the Texas Farm Workers union is pressing a drive to win passage of a state farm labor law establishing the right to unionize.

### MOBIL: BARELY BREAKING EVEN?

While waiting in a gas line, do you ever spend some time reading one of those Mobil "public service" ads? One theme is that with the inducement of added income, the oil companies will be spurred to produce more of the liquid gold.

It's never been stated how much more incentive they need, but it must be quite a bit if the present markup isn't sufficient.

According to Mobil figures provided the Securities and Exchange Commission, it costs them an average of \$1.52 to produce each barrel of oil pumped domestically. The average selling price is \$8.33. That's a solid 448 percent markup on each barrel. But it doesn't seem to satisfy Mobil's appetite.

### 'BUDGET BUSTERS' AND BUDGET BONANZAS

The U.S. government spends a reported \$3 billion annually to provide school lunches for children in need. It's a good deal less than it should be.

But not everyone thinks so. In early June a bill was introduced into the House to continue the lunch program for two years.

An alert House Speaker Thomas O'Neill (D.-Mass.) realized what was happening and blew the whistle.

If the bill had continued toward passage, it would not have included the \$500 million slash currently proposed by the Carter administration.

Yanking the uncut measure off the House calendar, O'Neill denounced it as a "budget buster."

Yes indeed. Feeding those children might have been at the expense of Carter's current favorite project, the MX mobile nuclear missile project.

That little item will cost an estimated \$30 billion. And, after all, you can't have kids taking food out of the mouths of the munition makers.

# What's Going On

## CALIFORNIA

### SAN JOSE

**WHY AMERICAN WORKERS NEED A LABOR PARTY.** Speaker: Wendy Lyons, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Sat., June 30, 3:30 p.m. 942 E. Santa Clara. Donation \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (408) 295-8342

## COLORADO

### DENVER

**PROTEST ENERGY RIPOFF.** Speakers: Sue Adley, Socialist Workers Party; Jim Archer, president, Independent Truckers Association, Colorado chapter; others. Fri. July 6, 8 p.m. 126 W. 12th Ave. Donation \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (303) 534-8954.

## MINNESOTA

### MINNEAPOLIS

**SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY & BANQUET.** Speakers: Gayle Swann, SWP candidate for mayor; 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 JERSEY

### NEWARK

**REVOLT IN NICARAGUA.** Speaker: Héctor Marroquín, leader of Socialist Workers Party and former Mexican student leader, now fighting for political asylum in the U.S. Sat., July 7, 7:30 p.m. 11-A Central Ave. Donation \$1. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

## NEW YORK

### UPPER MANHATTAN

**TRADE UNIONS AND THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY, PART I.** A tape by Tom Leonard, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Mon., July 9.

**TRADE UNIONS AND THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY, PART II.** A tape by Tom Leonard. Mon., July 23. Both classes held at 1:30 p.m. and 6:30 p.m. 564 W. 181st St. 2nd floor. Donation \$1. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (212) 928-1718.

## PENNSYLVANIA

### PHILADELPHIA

**WHY WORKERS NEED A LABOR PARTY.** Speaker: James Harris, member, United Auto Workers and Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Sun., July 8, 7 p.m. 5811 N. Broad St. Donation \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) 927-4747

## SAN DIEGO

### SOCIALIST WORKERS '79 CAMPAIGN RALLY

HEAR:

**RAUL GONZALEZ**, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor speaking on 'Wilson? Casady? Why Working People Need Their Own Mayor'

**ED HEISLER**, Socialist Workers National Committee member, author of 'A Struggle for Union Democracy,' speaking on 'Labor Party—1980 Elections'

International Association of Machinists  
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### Va. foundry workers strike

By Greg Kobey  
and Rachel King

LYNCHBURG, Va.—A strike by 3,500 Steelworkers here—at the center of the Virginia Piedmont's metals foundry industry—entered its ninth week amidst company vows to "open the gates" to scabs June 26.

But on that day, according to the Steelworkers, only 60 out of 2,500 union members at the Lynchburg Foundry, a division of Mead Corporation, crossed picket lines.

The Steelworkers in Lynchburg and neighboring Radford walked out April 30. At issue are Carter's wage guidelines and company stonewalling on payment of worker insurance plans.

The unionists have been working without a contract since March 30. On April 30 Mead offered a paltry \$1.60 raise over three years, with no increase in paid holidays or other benefits. The proposal was rejected by 70 percent of the union's membership.

One worker on picket duty at the Lynchburg foundry told the *Militant* that workers are particularly angry over the company's

delay in paying off on insurance plans and its proposed three-cents "peanuts" night-shift bonus increase.

"The starting rate of \$5.10 an hour is about \$1 below other foundries," said a worker with thirty years seniority. "And one thing that angers me is that for twenty-nine years I've been stuck at step four, the highest step I can go in my foundry job."

"Nobody wants to go back under these conditions," this worker told the *Militant*. "We lost eight weeks of pay. We're not going to crawl back for a nickel or a dime. We are more determined now to stick it out until the company comes up with a better offer."

Following the lead of Tenneco's shipyard in Newport News, Virginia—where Steelworkers recently struck for three months for union recognition—Mead is running full-page newspaper ads to recruit scabs beginning July 2. But the example of the Newport News strike has also inspired the Lynchburg strikers—to close ranks and fight on until victory.

**Strangelove lives**—The office of Vice Admiral Robert Monroe, director of the Defense Nuclear Agency, is decorated with color photos of mushroom clouds.

**With input for all**—Rep. Les Aspin, the liberal Wisconsin Democrat, has an authentically liberal solution to the problem of draft boards. To avoid the face-to-face confrontations that occurred during the Vietnam era, he recommends that young men and women be registered for the draft by computer. He said a list of potential draftees could be compiled from Social Security and IRS records.

**Of course**—Radioactive isotopes were found in algae in a creek that is fed by water used as a coolant at the Rancho Seco nuclear plant in California. A local official assured, "There's no immediate problem."

**Safeguarding their investment?**—The president of the Vatican Bank also serves as personal bodyguard to the pope.

**Really dumb**—HEW says most Americans are uninformed about energy prob-

lems. Why? Because a survey showed that two-thirds favored windmills over any other kind of energy producer within twenty-five miles of their home.

**Why not underwear?**—"Taking off one's coat is such a pure and simple act that it suggests a natural force at work."—A *New York Times* editorial favoring the president's proposal not to turn on air conditioners until the temperature passes 80 degrees.

**Hardly pays the light bill**—An official of the ultraright Reunification Church—the Moonies—denied they had raised more than \$100 million in street hustling last year. It was, he said, no more than \$20 million.

**The corner grocery**—Baron Enrico DiPortanova is suing Associated Press for \$200 million for reporting that the huge mansion he's building in Acapulco is intended for the ex-shah of Iran. The Baron said he never met the shah and has never even been in Iran "except to stop off at the airport to buy caviar."

## Capitalism Fouls Things Up

Arnold Weissberg

### Price of 'national security'

Hundreds of people will die of cancer because the federal government lied to them. They are innocent victims of the government's nuclear weapons program.

In the 1950s, 250,000 soldiers were exposed to dangerously high levels of radiation during atom bomb tests in Nevada. Now many have developed cancer, and some have died. The Veterans Administration generally refuses to pay benefits, denying that the cancers are service-related.

But recently released government documents reveal that the Atomic Energy Commission and the military knew perfectly well what the possible consequences were of exposing the GIs.

"They knew the implications," said former AEC member Eugene Zuckert of a decision to put GI radiation safety in the hands of the army.

Zuckert told a Senate committee that when there was a conflict between public health and military needs, "the balance was allowed to tip to the military."

In 1958 the AEC noted that while a low-fallout bomb could be developed, "there was a desire by the military for some degree of off-site radiation for troop training purposes."

In other words, the generals wanted a high-fallout bomb so they could use U.S. soldiers as guinea pigs, exposing them to the deadly radiation.

To achieve this goal, the Pentagon demanded that the AEC give up its responsibility for protecting the GIs from radiation. Which the AEC did.

The GIs were given a handbook assuring them there was no danger. "The radiation from an atomic weapon, when burst in the air, is all gone in a minute and a half," it said.

Some soldiers were ordered to a point slightly more than a mile from ground zero—despite AEC warnings that it wasn't safe to be within seven miles.

Only hours before he died of cancer, former lieutenant colonel Louis Benne told his wife, for the first time, about the atomic tests in which he had been exposed to radiation. His wife, Dorothy, taped his story.

The army assured Benne that 20 roentgens of exposure was nothing to worry about. At the time, the official limit was 1.3 roentgens a month. (Today the government limit for the general population is an average dose equivalent to no more than .17 roentgens yearly, and many experts consider that dangerously high.)

In the first test, at Eniwetok in the South Pacific, although the army said he would probably only get five roentgens, Benne got between ten and fifteen. And that was only the first of seven shots.

Sitting in his office decorated with color photographs of mushroom clouds, Vice Adm. Robert Monroe, director of the Defense Nuclear Agency, assured *New York Times* reporter Jo Thomas that "there was immense concern to avoid excessive radiation exposure. . . . The average exposure was less than half a rem [a rem is roughly equivalent to a roentgen]."

Uranium miners were also heartlessly used by the government. As early as 1948, an Atomic Energy Commission scientist warned that the miners were receiving dangerous doses of radiation. But the AEC refused to set any kind of standards until 1968—and didn't begin to enforce them until 1971.

Dr. Merrill Eisenbud told the AEC that radioactive radon gas, found in uranium mines, had caused cancer fatality rates as high as 70 percent. Eisenbud urged the AEC to force mine owners to take some minimal precautions.

Such standards would have had an important effect, because the government was the only customer for the uranium. Virtually all of it went for the atomic weapons program.

But the AEC declared it preferred to leave the matter to the states, thereby ensuring that nothing at all would be done.

George Snow, a former uranium miner, told a senate committee that he and other miners used to breathe into Geiger counters and make them "go off the scale." His father and brother, both miners, have died of lung cancer. So have twenty-two of the forty-two miners he worked with in the early 1950s.

That's the price of "national security."

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**The  
Militant  
INDEX**

### Still no justice



WILMINGTON TEN

Confirming that the U.S. system of justice doesn't provide much justice, a federal district judge on June 20 denied a new trial to the Wilmington Ten.

Sitting in Raleigh, North Carolina, Judge Franklin Dupree denied the ten were political prisoners and had not received a fair trial.

The nine Blacks and one white were railroaded on an arson charge after organizing community resistance to

white racist violence in Wilmington in 1972.

Witnesses against Rev. Ben Chavis and the other defendants have since testified that their testimony was false and that they lied under instructions from local officials who have given them gifts and other inducement in return for their perjured testimony.

Attorneys for the ten said Judge Dupree's decision will be appealed.

## 1932 Hunger March

On June 20, 1941, the Ford Motor Company signed its first contract with the United Auto Workers. The agreement followed a two-week strike that April in which thousands of UAW pickets shut Ford's huge River Rouge complex down tight.

The contrast in how top UAW officials and union members marked this anniversary says worlds about what has happened to our union in the intervening years.

The occupants of Solidarity House together with Ford executives chose this occasion to throw a testimonial dinner for the UAW's outgoing Ford director, Ken Bannon. Bannon, UAW President Fraser, and Henry Ford reminisced arm in arm about the battles of days gone by—and the mutual advantages of pursuing labor peace.

I marked the day—with several other UAW members—at Dearborn's Woodmere Cemetery, which overlooks the River Rouge complex. We came to mourn four victims of the class war between auto workers and Ford. A war that continues unabated in Ford plants every day.

The four were the martyrs of the 1932 Ford hunger march. Until this day, gravesite number nineteen held these brave working-class fighters in unmarked graves. But the retirees chapter of Ford Local 600 raised more than \$1,000 to purchase gravestones. And on the thirty-eighth anniversary of our first Ford contract, markers went up over the graves of Joe York, Joe Bussel, Joe DeBlasio, and Kalman Leny—"His Life for a Union. Ford Hunger March—1932."

The story of the Ford march was told in the March 12, 1932, issue of the *Militant*.

"On Monday, March 7, Ford's cossacks fired on a crowd of jobless workers demonstrating before his plant at Dearborn, Michigan," reported the *Militant*. "Four workers were shot and killed because they had come to demand from the apostle of 'class peace'—work, a chance to earn their living. . . . Communist workers were in the first ranks of the struggle, were the first to be wounded."

"The demonstrators, upon the call of the Unemployment Council of Detroit, were marching in orderly fashion and intended sending up a committee to the management of the Ford plant to present their demands."

The 3,000 marchers were demanding jobs, an end to speedup in the plant, and above all, unemployment relief to be paid for out of Ford's bulging profits.

Ford's answer, reported the *Militant*, was to "pour lead into the masses calling for work and bread."

"The heroic manifestation of the Detroit workers, coming in the midst of a general depression, will be a lighthouse of courage to the millions of unemployed workers all over the country in their fight against starvation," predicted the *Militant*. "Their fearless march, in the face of tear-gas



Cops attack Ford Hunger March

bombs, in the face of icy cold fire hoses and machine-gun fire will be an inspiration and standard of battle for all those who share their miserable fate under the abominations of the capitalist system. The most powerfully developed industry in the world and in history can give the masses of the population only what the blackest regimes of the past have given them: hunger and lead."

The ruling class immediately tried to turn the tables and portray the march victims—the four dead and fifty wounded—as the criminals. Red-baiting the marchers as "communist rioters," the bosses unleashed a witchhunt against members of the Communist Party and the Auto Workers Union, a radical-led union-organizing committee that had been all but driven out of the Ford plants.

The *Militant* sounded the alarm and appealed for solidarity with those persecuted.

"The entire working class of the country must come to the defense of those attacked like a solid stone wall. Every worker's fate, every worker's elementary right to existence, is at stake."

Working class solidarity was not long in coming. The very next week 10,000 Detroit workers and unemployed poured down Woodward Avenue in a mass funeral procession, culminating in a rally of 30,000 in Grand Circus Park. Support rallies were held in cities across the country.

These demonstrations brought the crimes of Henry Ford and the entire auto industry into the court of working class opinion for the first time. While the bosses got off scot free for these murders, only nine years later Ford was brought to his knees by the newly organized UAW.

Remembering that victory—June 20, 1941—by honoring the Hunger March martyrs is an expression of the solidarity and pride that built our union—and that can rearm it for the battles ahead.

—Tony Dutrow

### Two questions

I have two questions to ask you: First, will you ever write a larger version of "What Socialists Stand For"? I thought it was interesting, but I found it too small. Second, judging by the mood of the American people, what are the prospects of a widespread socialist movement?

P.S. Your paper is good, and I'm renewing my subscription. F.P.

Long Island City, New York

[In reply: The book *Prospects for Socialism in America* is a more extensive explanation of the issues facing American working people and the socialist strategy for how to fight back. It should also go a long way in answering your questions.

[You can order a copy of *Prospects*, for \$2.95, from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Include fifty cents for postage.]

### Gas and retirees

For the past forty-nine years, my recently retired parents have worked and faced the same hardships that many working people face. My dad quit high school in the depression to be the sole money maker in a family of eight. He has had a number of blue-collar jobs. My mother has worked as a homemaker.

Three times, they packed me and our belongings up and moved from one end of the country to the other in search of a job. One whole year my father just beat the streets every day looking for employment. The past fifteen years he worked as a warehouse person organized by the Teamsters.

Upon retirement, they had a seven-year-old pickup truck with a camper and enough savings to make a down-payment on a modest home in Detroit. They get a monthly fixed income of \$657.

The thing that my parents enjoy the most is to each day go for a ride to a nearby park. They take along a thermos of coffee and take in whatever is happening—be it a softball game or a ship passing on the Detroit River.

But as a letter from them said recently "with gas at 90¢ a gallon we don't go out so much anymore."

This pisses me off. The one thing my parents do for pleasure on their retirement is ruined. Carter, the oil companies, and capitalism have made house prisoners of my parents. We should nationalize the oil companies and let retirees have free gas.

A reader  
New York, New York

### Power backdown

The New England Power Company recently announced that it is "postponing" efforts to license a nuclear power plant in Charlestown, Rhode Island. This decision to postpone

comes just one month after a rally at the Charlestown site where 2,000 people demonstrated their opposition to the proposed nuclear power plant.

The vice-president of New England Power admitted that public opinion against nuclear power in the wake of the Three Mile Island accident was a factor in the company's decision although he tried to minimize the impact that mass antinuke demonstrations have.

But we should not be fooled. If antinuke demonstrations can cause the building of new nuclear power plants to be postponed, then continued demonstrations can cause such building plans to be canceled forever, and the nuclear plants now operating can be forced to shut down.

Annette Gagne  
Central Falls, Rhode Island

### Correction

An editorial error appeared in the review of *The Punished Peoples* in the June 29 issue of the *Militant*. Reference is made in the published text to a conflict over the nationalities question in 1922-23 between Lenin and Trotsky. The conflict, of course, was actually between Lenin and Stalin.

There was no conflict between Lenin and Trotsky over the nationalities question in 1922-23. They were united in defending the rights of the non-Russian peoples against the Great Russian chauvinist practices and proposals which Stalin was advancing.

Marilyn Vogt  
Brooklyn, New York

### Contamination cover-up

The Chicago *Sun-Times*, in a copyrighted article, recently reported that from 1968 to 1977 the Cotter Corporation falsified occupational health reports to the government while repeatedly overexposing its uranium mill workers to radioactivity.

Several past and present employees charged that it was almost routine for the company to fabricate or fudge the figures on how much radioactive dust workers were inhaling. The Cotter Corporation, which operates the uranium mill at Canon City, Colorado, is a wholly-owned subsidiary of Commonwealth Edison Company of Chicago, which owns more nuclear power plants than any other utility in the country.

Despite the falsified reports, the Colorado Health Department knows of nineteen cases of overexposure at the mill, with some workers subjected to nearly seven times the maximum permissible concentrations of air-borne radioactivity.

I think the article makes pretty clear the disregard these corporations have for the lives of workers, and the willingness of government "regulators" to look the other way when workers are endangered so that profits can be increased.

The Cotter Corporation wants to expand this mill, and

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# Learning About Socialism

## What is a planned economy?

several experts believe that the result will be the pollution of the Arkansas River with radioactive materials. The Colorado Health Department is expected to approve the expansion, despite public opposition.

Alan Gummerson  
Denver, Colorado

### Chinese economy

The May 18 issue of *Xinhua* has several interesting articles on the status of peasants in China. The first concerns the 30,000 free markets where peasants sell privately produced goods to increase their income, saying that these are now "necessary adjuncts to the state's socialist economy." The other article is entitled: "China encourages some peasants to take the lead in achieving prosperity."

It goes on to explain how members of the Liuzhuang Production brigade of the Qiliying People's Commune were paid more than 170 yuan a month last year. The average peasant salary is twenty to forty yuan a month. The average industrial worker's wage is sixty yuan a month. *Xinhua* cites this example to "illustrate the importance of the newly adopted policy of encouraging peasants who are more efficient or have better conditions to take the lead in achieving prosperity through collective labour. The policy represents a further step away from egalitarianism [which the CCP says is bad—M.F.], which used to be prevalent under Lin Biao and the Gang of Four. . . . So in accordance with the principle of 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his work,' people in Liuzhuang and other better off villages are entitled to a better life."

Although not restoring capitalism in China, the bureaucracy is fostering the development of a layer of rich peasants. In addition, their financial compensation to former landowners and capitalists serves to further social inequality.

M. Friedman  
San Diego, California

### Cuba health care

A June 29 article by Harry Ring on health care in Cuba contained a typographical error. Describing the experiences of a Cuban doctor, the article as published read: "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." The word "problem" should have been "project."

J.G.  
New York, New York

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

Whether to rely on nuclear power or switch to coal; whether to refine more gasoline; whether to build new factories or close existing ones down—all these decisions affect working people deeply. Our rulers say we don't know enough to make a decision on these questions.

They present themselves to us as the "experts" who have the inside dope and know what must be done. But in reality they judge these issues by one criterion and one only: how to defend and expand the profits of the big corporations.

Under a workers government, we would have access to all the information about what is produced and how much it costs. We could be able to discuss this data collectively, and then to democratically decide on economic priorities. By taking industry, mining, banking, and transport out of private hands and making them public property, a workers government would be able to set economic priorities on the basis of what working people want and need.

The basic power to direct economic life *must* be held by working people, even though special commissions to carry out technical studies and make recommendations will be needed.

As long as the workers and their allies are not in power, the capitalists will continue to pull society downhill in the interests of private profit.

How would a planned economy be different from what we have today?

How would such an economic set-up affect our everyday lives?

To begin with, it would eliminate artificial shortages such as the current fuel crunch.

There is only one reason for the fuel shortage—the corporations are manipulating production in order to jack up prices.

Although the oil trust is particularly blatant in its disregard of everything but its own profits, the basic mechanism that is at work in the fuel shortage is the same that underlies the whole capitalist economy.

During the Great Depression of 1929-39, for example, factories closed, millions were thrown out of work, farmland was left untended, and hunger stalked the land.

Why?

None of the raw materials needed to produce the necessary goods had disappeared. The machines, farms, and factories were still there. Millions of workers were ready to operate them.

Only one thing was missing—the capitalist owners could not make the profit they wanted. So they closed down until they could.

Or take the trap that working farmers are continually caught in. Because they must sell their crops on the market, bumper crops often mean a fall in wholesale prices that

spells disaster for them. In a world where millions go hungry, the capitalist solution is to tell working farmers to restrict their production!

People in earlier ages could have easily understood the idea of food shortages due to drought, flood, or fire. But the systematic creation of shortages amid plenty is a unique contribution of capitalism.

From the point of view of society as a whole, this is irrational. An economy planned in the interests of working people would put an end to it.

Another thing a planned economy would do would be to eliminate unemployment.

Working people have plenty of unmet needs. We need massive housing programs, more schools and health care centers, more teachers and doctors, parks and mass transportation systems, water purification plants and other conservation projects.

It would be one thing if we did not have the physical ability to expand the pace of such projects. But that is not the case. In fact, this kind of social spending is being continually *cut back* by the capitalist government despite the fact that there are millions of unemployed workers and enormous productive capacity that goes unused.

Once again, the pressing needs of the working masses are subordinated to what is profitable for the individual capitalists who control the economy.

Not only would a planned economy eliminate shortages, depressions, and unemployment, it would also eliminate pollution and unsafe working conditions.

When industry is controlled by individual capitalists, they naturally oppose any safety measures or antipollution practices that would cut into their profits. But in doing this they are merely forcing working people to bear additional burdens in the interest of their profits. The price is paid in the form of industrial accidents, higher cancer rates, and polluted rivers and streams.

Opponents of socialism often argue that a planned economy would be "drab," "colorless," and eliminate "free choice."

Actually, free choice would be qualitatively expanded under a planned economy. Under capitalism, working people don't get to vote on the economic policies followed by Exxon or GM, even though these policies affect every aspect of our lives. A planned economy would give us the ability to consciously control such economic decisions for the first time in history.

Such an economy would provide the objective basis for eliminating war, racial and sexual discrimination, and other forms of oppression.

And on top of all this, it would enable us to do away with the advertising industry.

—David Frankel

## If You Like This Paper, Look Us Up

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**CONNECTICUT:** Hartford: YSA, c/o Joe Carmack, Univ. of Hartford, 11 Sherman St. Zip: 06105. Tel: (203) 233-6465.

**DELAWARE:** Newark: YSA, c/o Stephen Krevisky, 638 Lehigh Rd. M4. Zip: 19711. Tel: (302) 368-1394.

**FLORIDA:** Miami: SWP, YSA, 8171 NE 2nd Ave. Zip: 33138. Tel: (305) 756-8358.

**GEORGIA:** Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 509 Peachtree St. NE. Zip: 30308. Tel: (404) 872-7229.

**ILLINOIS:** Champaign-Urbana: YSA, 284 Illini Union, Urbana. Zip: 61801. Chicago: City-wide SWP, YSA, 407 S. Dearborn #1145. Zip: 60605. Tel: SWP—(312) 939-0737. Chicago, South Side: SWP, YSA, 2251 E. 71st St. Zip: 60649. Tel: (312) 643-5520. Chicago, West Side: SWP, 3942 W. Chicago. Zip: 60651. Tel: (312) 384-0606.

**INDIANA:** Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University. Zip: 47401. Indianapolis: SWP, YSA, 4163 College Ave. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 925-2616. Gary: SWP, YSA, 3883 Broadway. Zip: 46409. Tel: (219) 884-9509.

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**KENTUCKY:** Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952 University Station. Zip: 40506. Tel: (606) 269-6262.

Louisville: SWP, YSA, 1505 W. Broadway, P.O. Box 3593. Zip: 40201. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

**LOUISIANA:** New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3319 S. Carrollton Ave. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.

**MARYLAND:** Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2913 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013. College Park: YSA, c/o Student Union, University of Maryland. Zip: 20742. Tel: (301) 454-4758.

**MASSACHUSETTS:** Amherst: YSA, c/o M. Casey, 42 McClellan. Zip: 01002. Tel: (413) 537-6537. Boston: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

**MICHIGAN:** Ann Arbor: YSA, Room 4120, Michigan Union, U. of M. Zip: 48109. Detroit: SWP, YSA, 6404 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 875-5322. Mt. Pleasant: YSA, Box 51 Warriner Hall, Central Mich. Univ. Zip: 48859.

**MINNESOTA:** Mesabi Iron Range: SWP, P.O. Box 1287, Virginia, Minn. Zip: 55792. Tel: (218) 749-6327. Minneapolis: SWP, YSA, 23 E. Lake St. Zip: 55408. Tel: (612) 825-6663. St. Paul: SWP, 373 University Ave. Zip: 55103. Tel: (612) 222-8929.

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**NEW JERSEY:** Newark: SWP, YSA, 11-A Central Ave. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

**NEW MEXICO:** Albuquerque: SWP, 108 Morning-side Dr. NE. Zip: 87108. Tel: (505) 255-6869.

**NEW YORK:** Binghamton: YSA, c/o Larry Paradis, Box 7261, SUNY-Binghamton. Zip: 13901. Capital District (Albany): SWP, YSA, 103 Central Ave. Zip: 12206. Tel: (518) 463-0072. Ithaca: YSA, Willard Straight Hall, Rm. 41A, Cornell University. Zip: 14853. New York, Brooklyn: SWP, 841 Clason Ave. Zip: 11238. Tel: (212) 783-2135. New York, Lower Manhattan: SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 260-6400. New York, Upper West Side: SWP, YSA, 564 W. 181st St., 2nd Floor. Address mail to P.O. Box 438, Washington Bridge Sta. Zip: 10033. Tel: (212) 928-1676. New York: City-wide SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 533-2902.

**NORTH CAROLINA:** Piedmont: SWP, P.O. Box 733, Greensboro. Zip: 27401.

**OHIO:** Athens: YSA, c/o Balar Center, Ohio University. Zip: 45701. Tel: (614) 594-7497. Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 970 E. McMillan. Zip: 45206. Tel: (513) 751-2636. Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 13002 Kinsman Rd. Zip: 44120. Tel: (216) 991-5030. Columbus: YSA, Box 106 Ohio Union, Rm. 308, Ohio State Univ., 1739 N. High St. Zip: 43210. Tel: (614) 291-8985. Toledo: SWP, YSA, 2120 Dorr St. Zip: 43607. Tel: (419) 536-0383.

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**PENNSYLVANIA:** Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16412. Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, 5811 N. Broad St. Zip: 19141. Tel: (215) 927-4747 or 927-4748. Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, 1210 E. Carson St. Zip: 15203. Tel: (412) 488-7000. State College: YSA, c/o Jack Craypo, 132 Keller St. Zip: 16801.

**RHODE ISLAND:** Kingston: YSA, P.O. Box 400. Zip: 02881. Tel: (401) 783-8864.

**TEXAS:** Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Dallas: SWP, YSA, 5442 E. Grand. Zip: 75223. Tel: (214) 826-4711. Houston: SWP, YSA, 608 Elgin St. #1. Zip: 77006. Tel: (713) 524-8761. San Antonio: SWP, YSA, 112 Fredericksburg Rd. Zip: 78201. Tel: (512) 735-3141.

**UTAH:** Logan: YSA, P.O. Box 1233, Utah State University. Zip: 84322. Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. Zip: 84102. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

**VIRGINIA:** Tidewater Area (Newport News): SWP, P.O. Box 782. Zip: 23607.

**WASHINGTON, D.C.:** SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7612.

**WASHINGTON:** Olympia: YSA, The Evergreen State College Library, Rm 3208. Zip: 98505. Tel: (206) 943-3089. Seattle: SWP, YSA, 4868 Rainier Ave., South Seattle. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330. Tacoma: SWP, 1306 S. K St. Zip: 98405. Tel: (206) 627-0432.

**WEST VIRGINIA:** Morgantown: SWP, YSA, 957 S. University Ave. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

**WISCONSIN:** Madison: YSA, P.O. Box 1442. Zip: 53701. Tel: (608) 255-4733. Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 3901 N. 27th St. Zip: 53216. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

# THE MILITANT

## VICTORY FOR CIVIL RIGHTS

### Labor's stand key to affirmative action ruling

By August Nimtz

Blacks, women, and the entire labor movement scored a major civil rights victory June 27 when the U.S. Supreme Court rejected Brian Weber's challenge to affirmative action.

The five-to-two ruling is one of the most significant civil rights decisions since the one on school desegregation twenty-five years ago.

The decision was hailed by civil rights and union leaders. George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, called it "a victory for all who believe in racial justice and who are committed to private voluntary action to end discrimination."

At the NAACP convention in Louisville, executive director Benjamin Hooks noted labor's increasing support for affirmative action. He declared the ruling "gives the labor movement now the right to move forward."

The court ruled that private employers can legally "adopt affirmative action plans designed to eliminate conspicuous racial imbalance in traditionally segregated job categories."

Weber, a white lab technician at the Kaiser Aluminum plant in Gramercy, Louisiana, had charged that the affirmative-action training plan at his plant constituted "reverse discrimination" against white male workers.

Under the plan, which had been negotiated by the United Steelworkers as part of its 1974 contract with Kaiser, half of the openings in a craft training program were to be filled by Black and women workers.

Two lower courts upheld Weber's charges of "reverse discrimination."

The Supreme Court majority opinion, written by Justice William Brennan, said that "it would be

ironic indeed if a law triggered by a Nation's concern over centuries of racial injustice . . . constituted the first legislative prohibition of all voluntary, private, race-conscious efforts to abolish traditional patterns of racial segregation and hierarchy."

Last year the same court ruled in favor of Allan Bakke, throwing out affirmative-action admission programs in higher education. The decisive difference this time around was the broad opposition to Weber by the labor movement. The AFL-CIO and most major unions backed the United Steelworkers' defense of the affirmative-action plan.

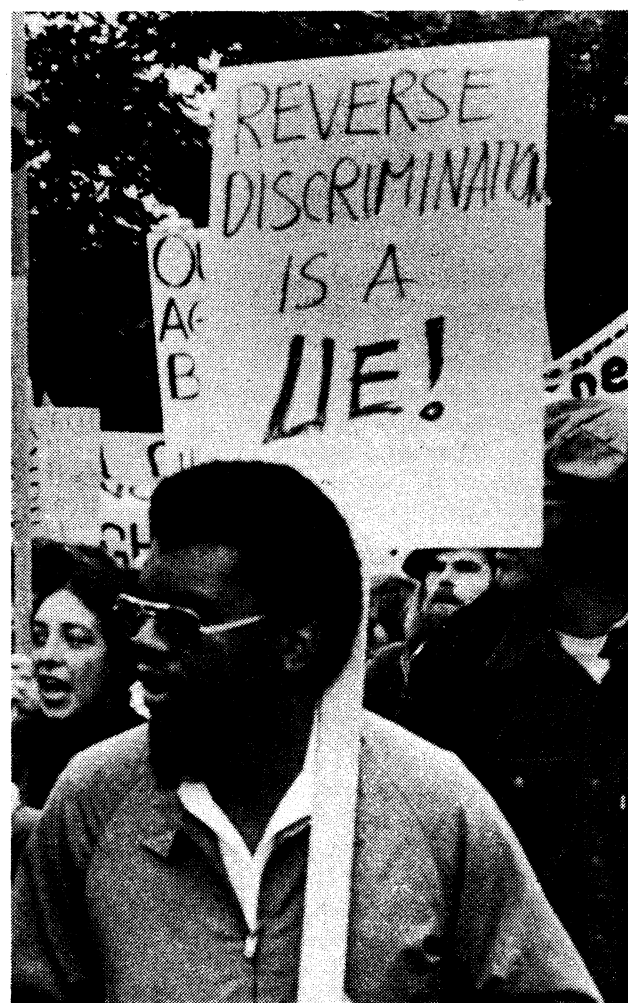
Educational efforts were begun in some unions, exposing the phony argument that white males have to sacrifice when Black and women workers win affirmative-action plans.

A pro-Weber ruling would have been seen—correctly—as a broadside attack on basic union rights. The Supreme Court justices, while they are no more partisans of affirmative action this year than they were last year, did not feel able to take that step at this time.

The decision is not the end of the battle over affirmative action; rather, it means the battle can go forward on more favorable terrain.

"We're going to make this [affirmative action] a part of contracts as a result of this decision," declared William Oliver at the NAACP convention. Oliver is director of the United Auto Workers Fair Practices and Anti-Discrimination Department.

That is the real significance of this ruling. It can spur the labor movement to fight on a new scale for goals, quotas, and meaningful affirmative-action plans to help counter centuries of discrimination and to strengthen the unions.



Militant/Wayne Glover  
'Weber' overturned. 'A victory for all who believe in racial justice,' said AFL-CIO's George Meany.

## 'U.S. Steel doesn't speak for people of Birmingham'

By Cathy Sedwick

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—The grand opening of the Socialist Workers Party bookstore and campaign headquarters here will take place July 7.

The opening will be kicked off with a rally featuring Andrew Pulley, a national leader of the SWP and the party's candidate for mayor of Chicago earlier this year. Pulley, a member of the United Steelworkers of America, will be joined by SWP supporters and other defenders of civil liberties.

The *Militant* and the Socialist Workers Party have become much better known in this highly industrialized city over the past few weeks. The SWP has led a campaign against a company-instigated attack on two socialists selling the *Militant* at U.S. Steel's Concord coal mine June 7. This campaign has won backing from civil rights leaders, unionists, and other supporters of free speech.

A news conference held here June 19 to announce the filing of a \$2 million lawsuit against U.S. Steel was covered extensively in the media. The suit charges U.S. Steel with conspiring to send twenty-five to thirty club-wielding thugs to assault Eric Flint and Nelson Blackstock and deny them their constitutional rights.

Flint, a machinist, said that the day after the news conference a number of his co-workers came up to congratulate him for standing up to U.S. Steel. They were interested in discussing socialism and wanted to know what kind of

newspaper the *Militant* was. Two of them bought copies of the *Militant* for the first time.

While participating in the regular Saturday sales of the *Militant* carried out by the SWP branch here, Flint was recognized several times. Two young Black GIs introduced themselves to Flint. They said they had seen him on television and wanted to meet him and check out the *Militant*.

Several young women in a car also recognized Flint and called him over. They wanted to know if he had been on TV. Wasn't he suing someone? What is the paper the *Militant* all about?

Since the news conference, two sales in Hueytown have taken place. Hueytown, a community where many miners and steelworkers live, is right next to the Concord mine. Chris Gauvreau, from the branch sales committee, reported that the response was excellent.

"Everybody we talked to knew about the attack and the suit," she said. "They were very sympathetic and supportive because Hueytown has been the site of increased Klan activity recently. Many people urged us to go over to Hueytown Manor, where the miners live, so they could buy copies of the *Militant*. We sold the paper to several people who worked at the Concord mine. In all, more than thirty papers were sold."

Ed Warren, cochairperson of the Birmingham SWP, said, "All our experiences show that U.S. Steel doesn't

speak for the people of Birmingham. Working people in this city want to hear the ideas of the Socialist Workers Party and we intend to see that they get that chance."

The opening of a headquarters and bookstore will establish the SWP as the first publicly functioning socialist organization in the city. While there are other political currents in Birmingham—the Revolutionary Communist Party, the Communist Party USA, and several others—none of them has a public office.

The bookstore is located across the street from Kelly Ingram Park, the assembly point for many of the civil rights demonstrations in Birmingham in the 1950s and '60s.

It is also across from Sixteenth Street Baptist Church, an organizing center during the civil rights move-

ment. This is the church that was bombed by Klansmen in 1963, killing four Black girls.

Nelson Blackstock, recently released from the hospital and recovering from surgery, summed up the excitement of establishing the SWP here.

"In many ways we are similar to the pioneer civil rights fighters of this city," he said. "The government, big business, and the Klan tried to stop them by violence and intimidation. But the support for their cause and the timeliness of their ideas made that impossible."

"The same is becoming true of socialist ideas here in Alabama. People in this city, in this state, and throughout the South are ready for the ideas of the *Militant* and the SWP. U.S. Steel will not stop us, because the ideas of the SWP are the ideas that working people in Birmingham want to hear."

### BIRMINGHAM RALLY GRAND OPENING OF SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY BOOKSTORE AND HEADQUARTERS

Saturday, July 7, 8 p.m.

1609 Fifth Avenue North

#### SPEAKERS:

ANDREW PULLEY, 1979 SWP candidate for mayor of Chicago, member of United Steelworkers Local 1066.

DARRYL TURNER, Young Socialist Alliance

Donation: \$1.50. For more information call (205) 323-0168 or 785-1304.