

THE MILITANT

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

CARTER'S ENERGY PLAN: WAR ON WORKERS

—PAGES 4, 5



'But blame OPEC!'

Halt U.S. aid to Somoza terror!

Costa Rican labor blocks American troop threat



Sandinista guerrilla in Esteli. Nicaraguan rebels have answered U.S. demands for compromise with renewed military offensive.

By Fred Murphy

They're trying to bargain with the blood of our people," declared Fr. Miguel D'Escoto, a leading spokesman of the Nicaraguan rebel forces, on July 8.

D'Escoto was denouncing the Carter administration's direct collusion with the Somoza dictatorship as the U.S.-trained National Guard pounded Nicaragua with bombs and carried out mass slaughters of youth in the capital city of Managua.

The most blatant threat of intervention by the U.S. government to date came on July 8. Thirty-five U.S. Air Force personnel landed in two helicopters and a transport plane near Costa Rica's northern border with Nicaragua.

Contrary to official statements that the operation was only to prepare for a possible "evacuation" of the U.S. embassy in Nicaragua, the troops began setting up sophisticated electronics gear and monitoring the radio communications of the Sandinista National Liberation Front.

News that U.S. troops had landed in Costa Rica reached the capital, San

José, on July 9. Protests broke out immediately. By midday, the trade unions had issued a call for a mass demonstration to demand withdrawal of the troops and aircraft. Two thousand persons turned out on a few hours' notice.

Costa Rica's constitution requires that the Congress approve any foreign military presence, but President Rodrigo Carazo's government had ignored this provision and O.K.'d the U.S. landing illegally.

As trade unionists and other supporters of the Nicaraguan people's fight against Somoza marched through San José, a heated debate took place in the Congress. Finally, at 11 p.m., deputies voted 29-20 for an opposition motion demanding withdrawal of the U.S. forces within twenty-four hours.

Facing a deepgoing political crisis if he refused, Carazo complied with the vote and ordered the U.S. troops to leave on July 10.

The U.S. military moves were part of a broader effort by Washington and

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Cuban prisoners

Last April the Soviet Union released five imprisoned dissidents. Washington turned handsprings. It was the top story in the capitalist media.

On July 9, Cuba announced it would release 610 prisoners, mostly criminals from the old Batista dictatorship.

The news merited two-and-a-half inches in the *New York Times* and dead silence in Washington.

Washington's unhappy response is a devastating indictment of its hypocritical mouthings about "human rights." It demonstrates that the Carter administration's alleged concern about the Cuban prisoners is in reality nothing but a pretext for attacking the Cuban revolution and its support to anti-imperialist struggles around the world.

The action of the Castro government in releasing the prisoners has swept this pretext out of Carter's hands, exposing his maneuvers and deepening support for the Cuban revolution in this country.

It is closely tied to the dialogue Havana opened last fall with the Cuban community in the United States. The Cuban government recognized that this community was never united in opposition to the revolution. Many left Cuba as children or were born here. Many others had experienced the reality of class exploitation and racism.

Last November, a delegation of prominent Cubans of varied political views journeyed to Havana to open the dialogue. After discussion they announced that Cuba had agreed to release 3,600 political prisoners. Those who wanted to go to the United States would be allowed to.

These prisoners were not simply ideological dissidents—quite the contrary. They were people convicted of sabotage, arson, murder, and other counterrevolutionary crimes. Their re-

lease was in and of itself a testimony of the strength of the revolution and the self-confidence of the Cuban people.

Washington was stumped. With obviously diminished enthusiasm, Attorney General Griffin Bell said prisoners coming to the United States would have to be carefully screened to weed out "spies, terrorists and common criminals."

This created a scandal in the Cuban community. Washington reconsidered and said it would accept 400 prisoners a month. Still, once the prisoners began to be released, the U.S. government stalled, slowing emigration down to a trickle.

Recently Cuba accelerated the releases, promising that all 3,600 would be out by September.

Counterrevolutionaries abroad fell back on their last issue. What about the 610 people—war criminals who fought against the overthrow of Batista—that weren't included in the dialogue amnesty? These, claimed the counterrevolutionaries, were the *real* political prisoners.

Cuba's July 9 response was: Take them.

The Castro leadership has shown how a revolutionary government, one that is genuinely based on defending human rights, can effectively counter the capitalists' propaganda lies.

Is science a menace?

Skylab's fiery descent over western Australia instead of the Indian Ocean (where NASA "controllers" said they were maneuvering it) underlined the complete lack of control over the potentially deadly satellite.

Washington, of course, had repeatedly assured us there was no cause for alarm. But no one believed it. Why should we? People have had a lot of experience with government lying about everything from Three Mile Island to the alleged gas shortage. Now the first reaction is to assume: They're lying again.

Some in government, science, and industry are complaining about what they see as popular disillusionment with science and technology. They say people are "overreacting" to such unfortunate incidents as Three Mile Island and the DC-10 crash. We don't recognize, as a July 10 *New York Times* article put it, that science and technology are mixed

blessings.

One former NASA official complained to the *Times*, "people in general are willing to take fewer and fewer risks." They don't realize, he said, that there's no such thing as "absolute safety."

A science writer interviewed by the *Times* bemoaned the changed American attitude toward technology. From 1850 to 1950, he said, the engineer was a hero. Then, in 1950, when the government exploded the hydrogen bomb, "the average citizen began to have misgivings."

Isn't that strange.

The problem, he explained, is intellectuals who "go around wringing their hands and treating technology as something out of human control."

That isn't the problem at all. People are not turning against science and technology. The same *Times* article cited four polls in which people put science and technology at the top of the list of problem solvers.

But people have every reason to be angry and concerned.

If it's unreasonable to expect risk-free progress, does that mean we have to fly in shoddily made, improperly maintained, and negligently inspected planes?

Does "progress" mean we have to accept deadly chemicals in our food?

Or the prospect of a catastrophic nuclear core meltdown?

Or the possibility of global annihilation in an atomic war?

The problem is not that science and technology provide "mixed blessings." The problem is those who control them. And for what purpose.

Science need not be "out of human control." But under capitalism it's getting to be.

That's because under capitalism the development and uses of technology are geared to one thing and one thing only: profits.

Today science and technology capable of sending spacecraft to explore the universe are no threat to humanity.

But the capitalist rulers and their government, which pervert science and technology to fatten profits and make war, most surely are.

When the working class takes political power out of their hands and puts science at the service of humanity, undreamed of vistas of progress will open up. That's the great promise of socialism.

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Antiwar leader takes on Joan Baez
Signers of 'Open letter to Vietnam' are aiding U.S. efforts to militarily intervene around world, says Dave Dellinger. **Page 14.**



NAACP meets

Delegates at Louisville convention hailed 'Weber' ruling upholding affirmative action. **Page 9.**

Czech dissident

Petr Uhl, now imprisoned in Czechoslovakia, explains his development as a Marxist and human rights activist. **Page 20.**



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...halt U.S. aid to Somoza terror

Continued from front page

the Costa Rican, Venezuelan, and Panamanian governments to pressure the leaders of the anti-Somoza rebellion. The imperialists and their Latin American clients are demanding guarantees that private property will be respected and that Somoza's National Guard will remain intact if he is ousted.

Despite Washington's well-publicized claims that it has demanded Somoza's resignation, the real U.S. aim has been to keep the tyrant in power while his air force and artillery devastate as much of the country's productive resources as possible, thus making sure that any new government will be deeply dependent on the United States and neighboring Latin American countries for aid.

"Nicaragua's economy will take years to rebuild," the July 16 issue of *Newsweek* reported. "The industrial zone of Managua, where 40,000 people had worked, has been reduced to rubble. . . . Much of the cotton crop, which normally accounts for 200,000 jobs and a third of Nicaragua's exports, is already lost. The war has caused much more damage than Nicaragua's last great catastrophe, the 1972 earthquake that leveled much of Managua."

In Managua, Somoza's troops launched a reign of terror after the Sandinistas were forced to retreat from the city on June 28. "Most mornings the bodies of youths detained by the National Guard are found, still bound and blindfolded, in now-familiar dump-

ing grounds," *New York Times* correspondent Alan Riding reported July 11. "Most are teenagers because youthfulness alone is cause for suspicion. And, in the guards' grim security cells behind the President's fortified 'bunker,' dozens more 'suspects' are awaiting a perhaps similar fate."

Somoza himself exposed Washington's tacit collaboration in an interview with *Washington Post* correspondent Karen DeYoung on July 6. "Somoza acknowledged an agreement with the United States in which his resignation is being postponed while U.S. and Latin American diplomats and members of the moderate Nicaraguan opposition negotiate with a guerrilla-backed provisional government junta," DeYoung wrote.

On July 9, Sandinista field commanders unanimously rejected U.S. demands to include more conservative figures in the provisional junta (which already has several representatives of capitalist parties). The commanders called instead for "redoubling our military offensive."

The U.S. troops landing in Costa Rica came the day after the Sandinistas rejected Washington's demands.

By July 11 the rebel offensive appeared to be gaining fresh momentum throughout Nicaragua, with a new assault on the capital and Somoza's "bunker" in preparation. "The Somoza dictatorship is being defeated," a Sandinista broadcast declared. "We call on all the peoples of the world to be ready



Nicaraguans search for their son among bodies of youth executed en masse by National Guard.

to defend our struggle and our victory."

The danger shown by Washington's military moves in Costa Rica signals the need for the greatest possible solidarity with the Nicaraguan people against the Carter administration. As the Cuban government declared in its international appeal June 19:

"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. . . .

"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. . . ."

Marroquin urges solidarity with rebels

NEWARK—"Somoza may be a son of a bitch, but he's *our* son of a bitch."

This 1930s appraisal by Franklin D. Roosevelt was cited by Héctor Marroquín at a Militant Labor Forum here July 7.

Marroquín, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party now fighting deportation to Mexico, spoke on the present revolutionary struggle in Nicaragua. He outlined the background events that gave rise to today's civil war.

Washington, Marroquín said, is "terrified that the Nicaraguans will do what the Cubans did twenty years ago—replace the dictator with a government of the workers and peasants, throw out the American exploiters and their Nicaraguan counterparts, and start planning the country's economy on the basis of what the Nicaraguan people need rather than what the U.S. and local capitalists want to increase their profits."

The information Marroquín gave about Nicaragua showed that Washington has good reason for such fears.

The crimes against Nicaragua have been many. U.S. domination through the thieving, murderous Somoza dynasty, Marroquín demonstrated, has brought the country untold misery.

Sixty percent of the population suffers extreme poverty.

Among the rural people, it's 95 percent. Half the rural population earns

less than thirty-nine dollars a year.

In proportion to population, Nicaragua spends less on health care than any Central American country. And more than any on guns.

Illiteracy, Marroquín added, stands at 60 percent nationwide and as high as 85 and 90 percent in the countryside.

These have been the fruits of imperialist domination.

Nicaragua won independence from Spain back in 1821 but then fell under the domination of the British. Toward the end of the century U.S. imperialism began moving in.

The intervention became direct in 1912, when U.S. Marines occupied the country. They stayed until 1925, Marroquín said, but returned a year later.

One patriot among the Nicaraguan military staff refused to accept that domination.

General César Augusto Sandino took up arms. His guerrilla forces battled 4,600 marines for seven years.

"In many ways," Marroquín said, "it was a preview of Vietnam."

Sandino enjoyed the support of the great majority of workers and peasants. Among the Nicaraguan troops forced to fight alongside the U.S. Marines, there were ten mutinies in the course of the war.

But U.S. military might prevailed. A process of "Nicaraguanization" began,

Marroquín said.

A new, murderous military force was established, the National Guard. The U.S. Marines armed it, trained it, and initially even provided the officers.

In 1933, Marroquín continued, the U.S. found a Nicaraguan to head the Guard. General Anastasio Somoza García, father of the present butcher.

Somoza I, Marroquín commented, had been a used car salesman in Philadelphia. His main qualifications were a fluent command of English, previous employment with the Rockefeller Foundation, and total subservience to the U.S.

In the best tradition of his trainers, Somoza had Sandino murdered during a peace discussion.

In 1936, Somoza was "elected" president. When he died, someone else took over briefly, then the present Somoza was put in charge.

Under the Somozas, Marroquín explained, the National Guard played a dual role.

It was the instrument for capitalist rule, guaranteeing perpetuation of the exploitation of the Nicaraguan people by U.S. business interests and native landlords and capitalists.

At the same time, the Somozas used their power to steal the country blind. They emerged as the principal native capitalists.

The Somoza family, Marroquín said, is one of the richest in the world. Its empire includes Nicaragua's only airline, the only shipbuilding company, the only cement manufacturer, the biggest fishing fleet, a bank. They have huge agricultural holdings, owning some five million acres of land.

Victory for the Nicaraguan people today will mean the end of that dynasty, Marroquín said. "It will mean gaining the right to speak, to demonstrate, to organize trade unions and political parties.

"It will mean turning the vast holdings of the Somozas into nationalized property and using them for the benefit of the workers and peasants.

"It will mean distributing the land to those who work it, and providing education, adequate medical care, good housing, and decent jobs for all Nicaraguans.

"The experience of the Cuban revolution," Marroquín declared, "proves that such goals are within reach for the peoples of Latin America. Cuba has shown that this can be done."

Marroquín closed by explaining why a victory for the Nicaraguan workers and peasants is in the interest of U.S. workers as well. He urged the building of a broad movement here of solidarity with the Nicaraguan struggle and opposition to U.S. intervention.

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Oil workers expose gas shortage fraud

By Arnold Weissberg

The Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union (OCAW), whose members are in a good position to know, has confirmed what millions of Americans suspect—the gas shortage is a fraud.

"We are dismayed by the manipulation of oil product supplies by the oil industry, and the failure of the Department of Energy to take the necessary steps to correct the situation," OCAW President Al Grospiron told a congressional committee last month. His remarks went largely unreported in the big-business news media.

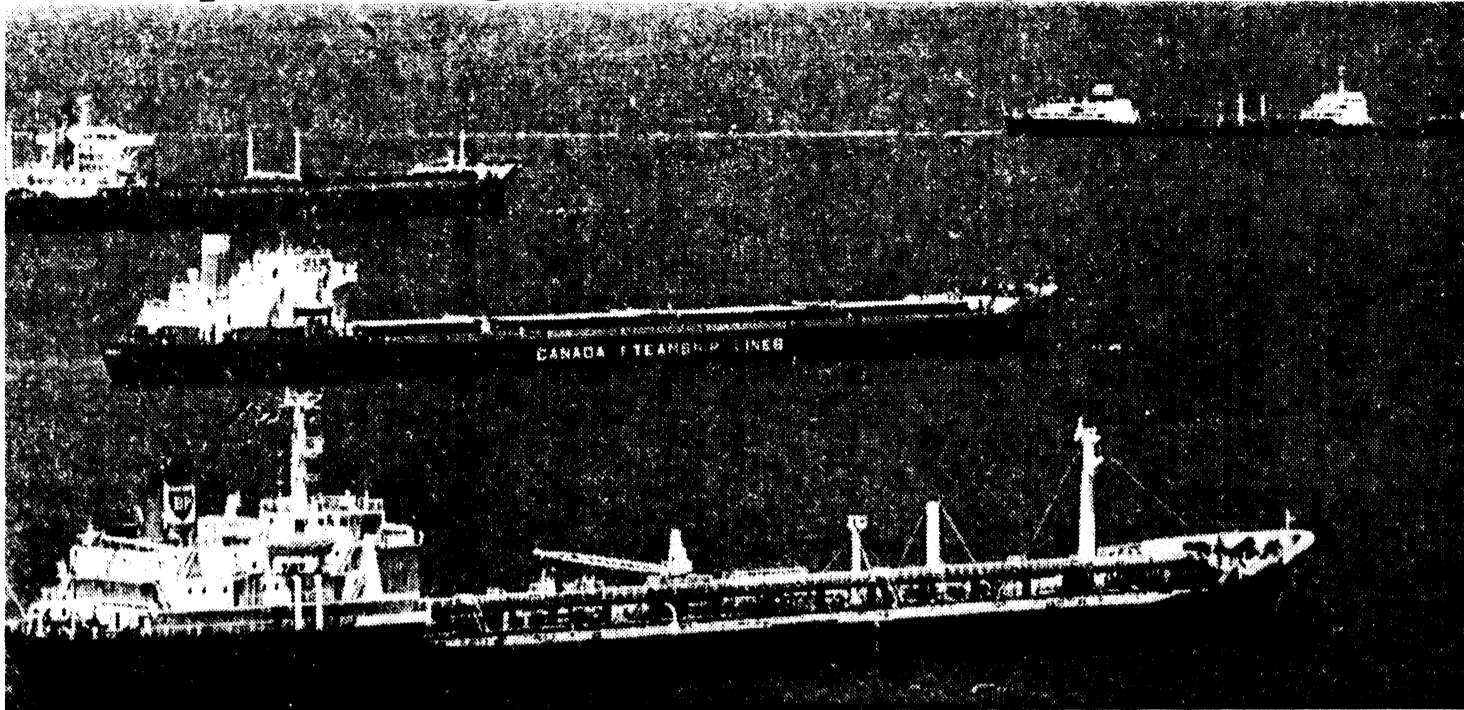
As well as refinery and petrochemical plant workers, OCAW's membership includes seamen on Mobil Oil Company tankers. Part of the evidence exposed by Grospiron was tanker slowdowns in the Gulf of Mexico.

In May, for example, the tanker *Mobil Aero* sailed from Beaumont, Texas, bound for oil storage tanks at three sites in Florida. The *Mobil Aero* returned to Beaumont with 132,000 gallons of gasoline in her hold, unable to completely unload because the storage tanks were full.

This came at the same time motorists in California were lined up for miles at gas stations.

And the *Mobil Aero's* sister ship *Mobil Fuel* returned to Beaumont with 115,000 gallons of gasoline in her holds, also unable to completely unload in Florida.

Between April 16 and May 10, the union revealed, Mobil's Gulf Coast tankers operated at an average speed of ten knots instead of the usual sixteen or seventeen. The trip from Beau-



Tankers waiting in Delaware Bay. Hoarding by oil companies is real cause of shortages.

mont to Boston went from four days to nine. Tankers that normally take sixteen hours to load took four days, and tankers that normally took twenty hours to unload took thirty-six.

Mobil's explanation for the slow motion: a shortage of crude oil in Texas. Grospiron rejected this as "a very lame excuse."

"How do you load slow if you're out of supplies? If you're out of supplies, you don't load," he said.

Meanwhile, OCAW said, oil storage tanks up and down the East coast are full.

A tanker crew member said, "We knew that the tanks were full, and we'd go into town and see the gas stations closed, and people told us there was no fuel."

Grospiron's suspicions were backed up by independent tanker expert Arthur McKenzie of the Tanker Advisory Center. McKenzie said it was "most unusual" for tankers to return to their home port with part of their cargo.

"At least 95 percent of the time, the tankers discharge all their cargo. When you're pumping your products into these terminals, they're able to

take it all," he said.

McKenzie explained that slow unloading from tankers occurs when the storage tanks are nearly full.

Grospiron charged that the oil companies were manipulating supplies to bring higher prices.

"The public is understandably suspicious of the whole situation," he said. "A little scarcity goes a long way in making price increases palatable. The largest increases in gasoline prices for several years have been posted by gasoline dealers during this time of market shortage."

'Shift blame to OPEC'

White House memo bares frame-up plan

By Dick Roberts

The unbridled cynicism of top government officials was thrown into sharp focus last week with the release of White House adviser Stuart Eizenstat's recommendations to President Carter on how to deal with the energy crisis.

Eizenstat argued in a lengthy memorandum that the White House must mobilize "to shift the cause for inflation and energy problems to OPEC."

Eizenstat labeled the political crisis touched off by the American people's anger at gas lines as the worst governmental crisis since the Vietnam War.

"Nothing else has so frustrated, confused, angered the American people—or so targeted their distress at you personally, as opposed to your advisers, or Congress or outside interests," Eizenstat said.

"While the Vietnam analogy is a strained one in many ways," he continued, "it is one which this week press accounts are beginning to make. The similarities between problems of credibility and political opposition from the left are real."

Eizenstat particularly singled out "the continuing problem of conflicting signals and numbers from D.O.E. [Department of Energy]. . . . The enormous credibility and management problems of D.O.E. . . . equal in public perception those which State or Defense had during Vietnam."

"All of this is occurring at a particularly inopportune time," Eizenstat said. "Inflation is higher than ever. A recession is clearly facing us."

But the White House has a real chance to get off the hook, Carter's chief adviser for domestic affairs declared: "We have a better opportunity than ever before to assert leadership over an apparently insolvable problem, to shift the cause for inflation and energy problems to OPEC. . . ."



Unionists protest energy ripoff. Carter administration faces biggest crisis of confidence in government since Vietnam War.

"Use the OPEC price increase as the occasion to mark the beginning of our new approach to energy. It must be said by you—and by us—time and again publicly to be a watershed event. We must turn the increase to our advantage by clearly pointing out its devastating economic impact and as the justification for our efforts against the OPEC cartel. . . ."

It must be repeated "time and again. . . ." Wasn't it Hitler who espoused in similar fashion the political effectiveness of the Big Lie?

What are the actual facts?

1) OPEC did not initiate price increases in international oil. OPEC followed the price increases that were caused by international hoarding in anticipation of Carter's decontrol of U.S. domestic oil prices.

2) OPEC did not cause the gasoline shortages in the United States. In fact oil imports throughout the Iranian crisis in 1978-79 were higher than in the same period the year before. The gasoline crisis was caused by domestic gasoline hoarding.

3) Inflation is on the rise, caused by government deficit spending, especially for the Pentagon war machine. It is exacerbated by monopoly price gouging, with the energy industry a prime example. Gasoline prices have risen 55 percent since January.

4) A classical capitalist recession is in the works. Automobile sales are falling sharply and housing starts have been declining for several months. The downturn of these two major sectors of the American economy always precipitates a recession. They reflect deep-seated contradictions in the private-profit system.

5) Americans are angry. A Pennsylvania Democrat recently quoted in the *New York Times* said bluntly: "No one trusts Congressmen, no one trusts Presidents, no one trusts oil companies, no one trusts the Department of Energy."

What to do about it? Blame OPEC. That is the White House message, it is Walter Cronkite's message, and it is on the front cover of *Time* and *Newsweek*.

Eizenstat's memorandum is reminiscent of the Pentagon papers: The politicians who rule this country view the public as *adversaries* to be manipulated, lied to, and cajoled in order to ram through the policies of the ruling class.

And that is the real nature of this government. The Democratic and Republican politicians represent the capitalists, not working people.

They never look to the working people for answers. There is no thought of seeking a solution to the energy crisis in this country where it could be solved—by democratic discussion, debate, and planning among the working populace.

The capitalist solution is the Big Lie. . . . and maybe, if they can get away with it, a war in the Middle East to boot.

Carter energy plan: war on workers

By Dick Roberts
and Andy Rose

"Extraordinary measures . . . similar to those taken during wartimes."

That's how the July 10 *Wall Street Journal* described Carter's energy mobilization plan prepared at Camp David.

War is exactly the word for it.

War against the living standard of workers at home. Ever higher oil and gas prices. New subsidies to the oil monopoly. Drastic weakening of environmental protection.

And stepped-up war threats against the Middle Eastern oil producing countries

As Camp David began, Sen. Gary Hart, a Colorado Democrat, declared to the Air Force Academy, "We may be forced to use military force to preserve the oil flow." Hart is a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee; what he says reflects military thinking at the highest levels of the U.S. government.

William Simon, former Treasury Secretary, snarls, "I find it abhorrent that a small group of nations nobody had ever heard of 10 years ago holds the future of the industrial world hostage."

An op-ed column in the July 4 *New York Times* quotes an unnamed ruling-class figure: "For the West, Japan and others now to land paratroops in the Persian Gulf oilfields and marines on Persian Gulf shores . . . would be an act of supreme sanity and justice."

The war threats are real. The reasons given—opposition to price increases by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)—are phony.

The U.S. oil corporations and their government in Washington have no objection to higher oil prices. They themselves have been driving world prices upwards. And decontrol of domestic crude oil prices is the centerpiece of Carter's energy plan.

It is the specter of the Iranian revolution that drives them into a frenzy. The Iranian masses, with the oil workers in the front ranks, drove out the shah, Washington's favorite dictator. They cut off oil to the imperialist outposts of South Africa and Israel. And they are pressuring the new government in Iran to use the country's oil wealth for the benefit of the impoverished people there.

But the owners of U.S. industry believe they have the god-given right to plunder the oil supplies of the entire

world (not to mention other resources), on their own terms, and with 100 percent of the profits accruing to them alone.

They fear more Irans.

If and when they do try to land marines in the Persian Gulf, their aim will not be to meet the energy needs of working people in the United States or anywhere else. It will be to crush struggles by the workers and peasants of the Middle East and to safeguard U.S. corporate profits.

U.S. workers have no interest in the anti-OPEC hysteria being whipped up by Washington. We should—as the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union (OCAW) has begun to do—refute the lies blaming OPEC for the gas crisis here. And we should defend the right of these countries to control their own resources.

Domestic plans

The Camp David war drives against OPEC and against U.S. workers are intimately linked. These are the key elements:

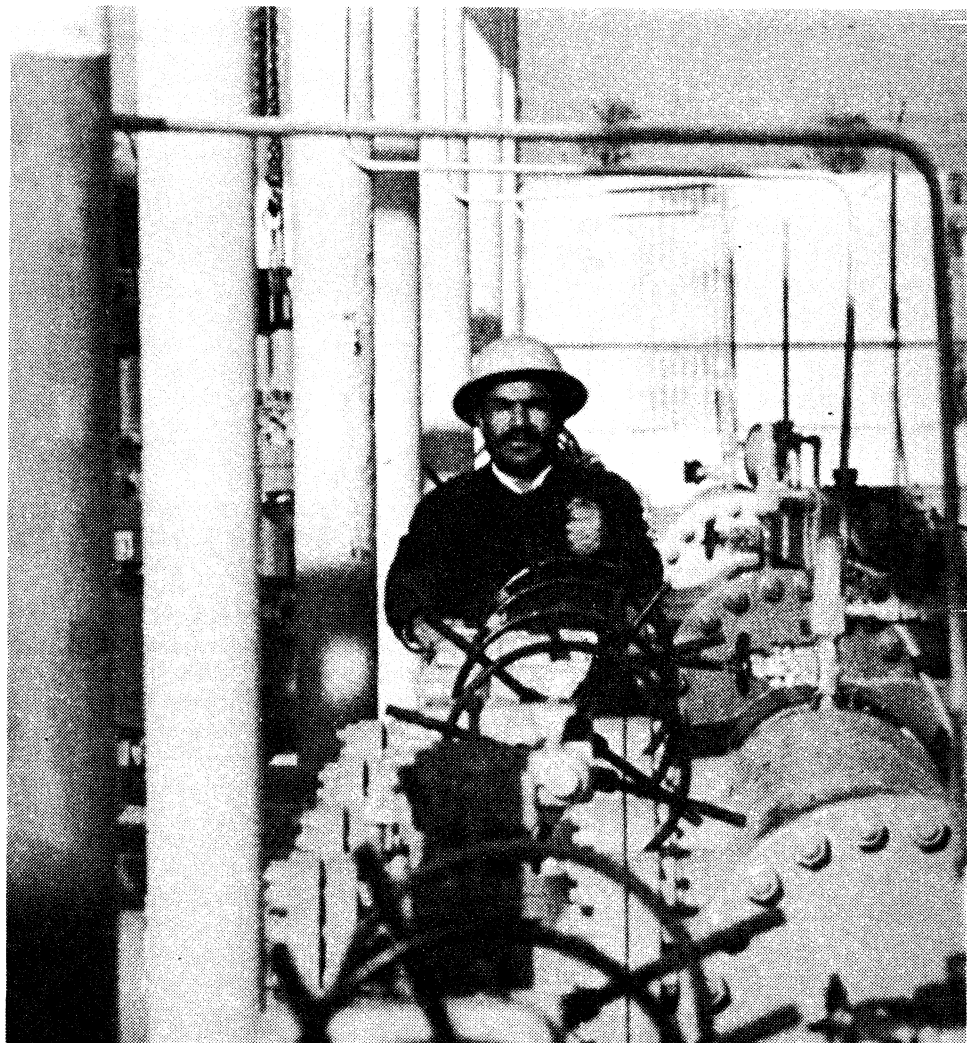
1) **PRICE DECONTROL:** The Carter administration is ramming through decontrol of domestic oil prices so the full benefits of higher world prices flow to the U.S. oil companies. The recent shortages were caused by these companies hoarding oil—in the ground, in tankers, and in refineries—waiting for price controls to come off.

The "windfall tax" thrown into the package earlier to disguise this massive profit grab will now be pared down in the name of "incentives" for more domestic production.

2) **SYNTHETIC FUELS:** To develop synthetic fuels, the July 11 *New York Times* reports, "the President would create a corporation . . . with the authority to offer loan guarantees, to share costs, to promise to buy the output and to have plants built on its behalf."

Synthetic fuels—mainly coal gasification and liquefaction and shale oil extraction—may provide useful energy sources in the future. But what Carter proposes is a multi-billion-dollar swindle to pour our tax money into developing a brand new *private industry* with the profits, of course, going to the oil companies.

The cost of these synthetic fuels is now projected at thirty-two to thirty-five dollars a barrel and is sure to go higher. *Washington is counting on oil prices going at least that high so these fuels can be profitably marketed.*



Iranian oil worker. Washington's Middle East war threats are aimed at crushing demands by Arab and Iranian masses for control over their countries' resources.

3) **'CLEAR AWAY ROADBLOCKS':** "Chief among these war-type actions" that Carter is weighing, reports the July 10 *Wall Street Journal*, ". . . is the formation of two federal boards or authorities with unusual powers. One would build the synthetic fuels industry. . . . [The other] would be empowered to clear away legal, environmental and regulatory roadblocks to the synthetic fuel plants and a wide range of other energy-related projects, including refineries, pipelines, coal mines and possibly nuclear power plants."

Talk of "regulatory roadblocks" to nuclear power boggles the imagination. Every minute of the Three Mile Island crisis revealed that the so-called Nuclear Regulatory Commission hadn't regulated this death-trap and had no intention of doing so.

Despite the lethal near melt-down, the administration remains deter-

mined to drive ahead with more nuclear power plants.

Coal is a good alternative to nuclear power. But the Carter administration hinges coal use on eliminating "roadblocks"—such as environmental protection, pollution controls, and the safety standards coal miners have fought for.

Carter blames OPEC for energy shortages and soaring prices. But the last thing his energy plan aims to do is provide abundant energy at prices working people can afford. He claims it cannot be done.

The Socialist Workers Party believes it can and should be done. But society's energy needs can be met only when ownership and control over energy is taken out of the hands of a few profit-greedy capitalists. The entire crisis has been caused—not by OPEC, not by depletion of the world's fossil fuels—but by the capitalists' insistence that energy can be provided *only if it returns a profit they consider adequate.*

That system has proved to be irrational and socially destructive. *There is a better way.*

Open the books

The labor movement can fight to open all the books and secret records of the energy industry. Workers have a right to the truth about costs, profits, reserves, stockpiles, and about all alternative energy sources.

Labor can fight for the government to nationalize the energy industry and place it under public ownership.

Workers in the industry themselves—like the OCAW members who are exposing oil company lies—should police the functioning of the nationalized industry. They know best how to make sure that the public is not swindled, that stockpiles and profits are not hidden. They should have the right to control conditions on the job, especially health and safety.

Management of the nationalized industry should not be given to the Department of Energy, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, or any other such front for private interests. Rather it should be in the hands of a publicly elected board whose meetings and decisions are all out in the open.

That should be labor's answer to the sacrifices, austerity, and war that Carter is demanding.

Texas socialist confronts oil profiteers

By Jimmy O'Rourke

HOUSTON—Some 200 people jammed a room at North San Jacinto Junior College July 3 in a protest against the gasoline crisis. Many of the people at the meeting work at the nearby Houston Ship Channel or in oil refineries.

Gary Dillard, plant manager of the giant Shell Deer Park refinery and chemical plant, sought to pin the blame for shortages on the Iranian revolution and the Arab oil-producing countries. But he admitted that the industry had the ability to make the gasoline flow if the price was raised.



DEBBY LEONARD

Militant/Regina Dotson

Also speaking were U.S. Rep. Bob Eckhardt and a representative of the U.S. Department of Energy.

Speaking from the floor, Debby Leonard, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, charged that the oil companies were lying about the crisis. Leonard works at Atlantic Richfield's Houston refinery and is a member of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 4-227.

"As workers in the refinery," Leonard said, "we can see the pipelines and crude [oil] tanks full, and we can see the gasoline units running at low rates." Her remarks brought vigorous applause.

Leonard challenged Dillard to allow a public inspection of the refinery's records. He reluctantly agreed to show some unspecified company figures to some future delegation.

The socialist candidate was able to speak despite an effort of the chairperson, a city council member, to cut her off after thirty seconds. The crowd insisted on hearing her.

"People are angry," Leonard told the *Militant*. "They're looking for radical solutions."

Leonard's supporters distributed

copies of a statement on the energy crisis to the audience.

"We are being swindled by the huge energy corporations and their partners, the Democrats and Republicans," the statement read. "There is plenty of crude oil available.

"The energy czars are deliberately cutting back on gasoline and diesel production by refining only a small portion of available crude. By creating a shortage of fuel, they are forcing working people to pay outrageous prices for smaller and smaller amounts of gas.

"We want to know the truth. How much in profits are they really making? How much oil is in storage and in the ground? The books of the oil cartel should be opened to public scrutiny.

"To pull the lever for the Democrats or Republicans 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."

Rail unions set Milwaukee Road protest

By Doug Hord

CHICAGO—United Transportation Union (UTU) Locals 1258 and 1433, representing workers on the Milwaukee Road, have announced plans to hold a public meeting here on July 31 to protest the railroad's threatened shutdown.

Since the Milwaukee Road was placed in receivership nineteen months ago its management has conspired to shut down service it considers unprofitable and to fire the majority of its workers. Last week the railroad announced plans to abandon all track west of Miles City, Montana, and furlough at least 2,200 employees indefinitely.

Milwaukee Road employees have begun to fight the railroad's threats. Chicago's meeting was inspired by a similar meeting held in Minneapolis June 5. Three hundred rail workers and others gathered in Minneapolis's United Labor Center to give the Milwaukee Road workers' side of the story.

A featured speaker there was Kendall Gustafson, a Milwaukee Road sales representative who has since been fired for protesting the railroad's financial manipulations. Gustafson exposed company moves designed to hand the Milwaukee Road's track and assets over to the Burlington Northern, Union Pacific, and others, while relieving them of all responsibility to the



Protest of Milwaukee Road bankruptcy brought 300 rail workers to open-mike meeting in Minneapolis last month. Meeting has inspired more such actions.

Milwaukee Road workers.

Gustafson will also speak at the Chicago meeting. Other speakers will include John McGinness, UTU Illinois state legislative representative, and Bill Brodsky, a former top-level Milwaukee Road management officer who pointed out discrepancies in the railroad's financial books to the Chicago press.

The meeting will feature an open microphone.

Rail workers in the Chicago area and surrounding states have responded rapidly to the idea of a meet-

ing where they can air their grievances and contribute to the exposure of the Milwaukee Road's callous plans.

So far five Chicago UTU locals have endorsed the meeting. UTU Local 577, which represents workers on the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad, has established a solidarity committee that is actively helping to build the July 31 protest meeting.

Bill Peterson, a representative from the UTU Local 911 Save the Milwaukee Committee in Minneapolis, found that delegates to the recent UTU international convention in Miami were

highly receptive to the idea of a protest meeting in Chicago.

The response to the call for this meeting goes beyond the Milwaukee Road. Officers from rail unions on the Indiana Harbor Belt, Chicago and Northwestern, and Norfolk and Western are among the initial endorsers of the meeting.

The meeting will be held at the Midland Hotel at 7 p.m. on July 31. Solidarity messages can be sent to the July 31 Committee, c/o Ken Ewert, Secretary Treasurer, UTU Local 1258, 11 West Green Street #125, Bensenville, Illinois 60106.

Individual endorsers include Bill Hughes, local chairman, UTU Local 1382 in Milwaukee; Michael Audsley, delegate, UTU Local 1407, Kansas City; Thomas Derouin, local chairman, UTU Local 1883, Indiana Harbor Belt, Chicago; Michael Richter, local chairman, UTU Local 207, Chicago Northwestern, Chicago; Walter Binner, local chairman, UTU Local 1895, Norfolk and Western, Chicago; Ronnie Norman, president, Brotherhood of Railway Carmen Local 720, Indiana Harbor Belt, Chicago; David Gray, president, UTU Local 528, Chicago Northwestern, Chicago; George Stahley, local chairman, UTU Local 650, Chicago Northwestern, Minneapolis. (Unions listed for identification purposes only.)

Va. unionists building labor ERA conference

By Ken Eardley

ROANOKE, Va.—Steel workers, auto workers, and teachers are among the Virginia trade unionists building the Equal Rights Amendment Conference planned for August 12 in Norfolk.

The conference, sponsored by major labor organizations in the state, will discuss mobilizing support for winning the ERA in this unratified state. The conference developed out of the activity of Labor for Equal Rights Now, which sponsored a pro-ERA demonstration on January 22, 1978, in Richmond. The 1978 march and rally were the first labor-initiated actions for the ERA and attracted over 3,000 unionists and other ERA supporters.

Jerry Gordon, assistant director of District 2, United Food and Commercial Workers International Union, who is one of the key organizers, reported on the broad trade union support at a meeting of area coordinators in Roanoke on June 24.

- The Virginia AFL-CIO has sent out a mailing to 500 delegates to the Committee on Political Education conference in Norfolk to stay over an extra day to attend the conference. Their newsletter, *Highlights*, has run an ad for the conference.

- The International Association of Machinists state executive board has endorsed the conference and mailed copies of the call to each local lodge.

- The United Steelworkers international union is sending three people from its civil rights department including a keynote speaker, Marsha Zakowski.

- United Auto Workers Region Eight in Virginia has promised good representation.

- The Virginia Education Association has sent a mailing to all its local presidents. VEA is working to develop a contact network for the conference in all its Tidewater locals. It has a grant from the National Education Association to help defray registration costs for its members.

- The United Mine Workers will be sending out a mailing to its sixty-eight

Virginia locals. The Women Coal Miners Conference held June 8-10 in Charleston, West Virginia, passed a resolution supporting the Virginia ERA campaign.

- The Lynchburg Central Labor Council voted to send four delegates.

- The president of the North Carolina AFL-CIO has promised some delegates from that state.

In addition the Virginia National Organization for Women is mailing a conference call to its Tidewater members. The Northern Virginia chapter of NOW reports that ten people already plan to attend the conference. In addition the Richmond American Civil Liberties Union is mailing out 500 conference calls.

San Jose socialist headquarters is vandalized

By Steve Iverson

SAN JOSE, Calif.—On July 4, Independence Day, the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance offices and the Militant Bookstore here were twice vandalized in political attacks.

At noon a closet window in the back of the headquarters was broken and the closet set on fire. A nine-year-old boy saw the smoke and got his mother to call the fire department, which managed to restrict the fire to the closet.

If the fire had burned just a few moments more it could have ignited a gas line, endangering the entire building, which includes several small businesses and a child-care center.

Seven hours later, as several SWP members were assessing the fire damage, a young man stopped in front of the bookstore and heaved a chunk of concrete block through the front window. Splinters of glass narrowly missed a locksmith who was repairing the door the fire department had broken down earlier that day.

Party members chased the attacker down the street and finally apprehended him, holding him until the police arrived. As he was picked up off the ground he began cursing "commies" and complaining to the cops that the socialists "want to shut down all our nuclear plants."

He readily admitted smashing the

window—according to the police report, because he "hates communists."

Identified as twenty-four-year-old Steven Ray Norris, he was initially charged with malicious mischief. He was also connected by the cops to the earlier arson attack and held on \$10,250 bail. But at his arraignment on July 6 the cops dropped the arson charge and slashed his bail to a mere \$250.

Socialists here are demanding to know: Why was the arson charge

dropped? If the cops don't have enough evidence, why not? Who is Norris? What is his past record? Does he have any connections with government spy agencies or right-wing groups?

San Jose SWP organizer John Lemon told the *Militant*, "If this had been the Democratic Party headquarters the arson charge wouldn't have been dropped. We demand the city guarantee socialists equal protection under the law."

Far from being an isolated incident, Lemon said, the attack is part of a pattern of right-wing violence. The Bread and Roses Bookstore, associated with the Communist Party, has had its windows shot out at least twice. Last November two phone calls were received at the Militant Bookstore here warning that "one of you commies is going to die within three months." And just a couple of weeks ago the Ku Klux Klan surfaced in nearby Fremont, site of a big General Motors assembly plant.

Socialists throughout the San Francisco Bay Area have begun a campaign to publicly expose and isolate this right-wing violence. One TV station reported the July 4 attack, with film footage of damage to the hall and a brief interview with Lemon. An article on the arson vandalism also appeared in the morning daily *San Jose Mercury*.

Socialists are demanding that Norris be prosecuted to the full extent of the law and that the charge of "malicious mischief" be changed to reflect the fact, in Lemon's words, "that Norris knowingly threatened the safety of those standing behind the window" he shattered.

Lemon told the *Militant*, "We demand that the city and county administrations repudiate these acts of violence and order a full-scale investigation."



Left, SWP front window broken. Right, closet burned out by arson.

Militant/Steve Iverson

Iran nationalizations: victory for masses

By Cindy Jaquith

The Iranian revolution dealt another major blow to U.S. imperialism July 5, when the Khomeini-Bazargan government declared a sweeping nationalization of major industry and enterprises.

The takeover of the plants and mines is a victory for the Iranian working masses. For months they have demanded that the capitalist government take decisive action to halt sabotage of the economy by imperialist and Iranian businesses.

Announcing the nationalizations, Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan said that auto, ship, and aircraft manufacture, as well as steel, copper, and aluminum production, would be affected. On June 8, the government nationalized the banks and on June 25, privately owned insurance companies.

The oil, gas, rail, and fishing industries had been nationalized under the shah's regime.

Bazargan said the nationalizations were aimed at "ending the control of agents of imperialism." The expropriated property, he explained, included "industries and mines that, through illegal connections with the past regime, have made illicit benefits and have plundered public rights. . . ."

U.S. companies had some \$700 million invested in Iran before the February revolution. Among the corporate giants who exploited Iran's resources and turned a huge profit off the labor of the workers are General Motors, Exxon, Standard Oil, Du Pont, B.F. Goodrich, General Tire and Rubber, Phelps Dodge, and Pfizer. Bazargan did not indicate how these firms will be affected, or whether there will be any compensation.

The property of fifty-one Iranian capitalists, who were closely tied to the corrupt royal family, were expropriated. This included the holdings of multimillionaire Habib Thabet, who ran the Pepsi-Cola and Volkswagen concerns in Iran, and the Khayami brothers, who owned the Iran National car factory, the largest auto plant in the country.

Most of these industrialists had huge debts to Iran's banks and had fled the country, abandoning their factories and throwing thousands of employees out of work.

The closing down of plants, combined with foreign and Iranian capitalists' refusal to invest in the country since the revolution, has wreaked havoc with the economy. Unemployment stands at 35 percent, a conservative estimate. Inflation is rampant. There is a desperate need for housing, schools, hospitals, and development of the rural areas of the country.

In the face of this deepening crisis, the working masses intensified their

demands on the Khomeini-Bazargan government in the past few months. Oil workers in Abadan, site of the country's largest refinery, demanded that 200 corrupt, pro-shah managers be fired. The government fired at least 60.

Thousands of carpet weavers in Tabriz called on the government to establish a state cooperative on rugs to alleviate massive unemployment in the industry and guarantee benefits to workers.

Fishermen in Bandar-e-Enzeli on the Caspian Sea have demanded workers' control of the fishing industry. As one of their leaders explained, "We expect the government to help us solve this vital question. . . . We expect it to help us so that we fishermen and toilers working on the sea and rivers can make the decisions concerning our livelihood and be the shapers of our own fate and that of Iran."

This pressure coming from the masses, combined with the capitalists' sabotage, forced the regime to finally expropriate major corporations July 5.

Minister of Planning and Budget Ali Moinfar explained that the concept behind the nationalizations was "popular ownership and the transformation of industries into enterprises working for the interests of the people. . . ."

"Though we will need Western technology, we don't want to become prisoners of this technology, or foreign experts to interfere in our affairs and attempt to colonize us."

But achieving genuine independence from imperialism and a reorganization of the economy to meet the country's needs can only be accomplished by the mobilization of the working masses themselves. The nationalizations can spur a deepening of the class struggle in Iran as the workers demand that the goals announced by the capitalist regime actually be carried out.

There is already a running debate in the factories over who should make the decisions on production and work conditions. If industry is now to be under "popular ownership," shouldn't the workers make these decisions, through democratically elected factory committees, instead of having leaderships imposed on them by the government? Shouldn't the workers have the right to form unions, currently banned by the regime?

In addition to having the right to organize, the workers need access to the records of the corporations. If the government says there is no money to pay back wages, give raises, and expand benefits, the workers can demand that the company books be opened to public inspection. The oil workers have already raised this demand to determine what contracts were signed by

the shah with imperialist oil trusts.

Struggles around these issues—which point toward workers' control of industry—will deepen the confrontation between the capitalist government and the employees.

The Khomeini-Bazargan government is well aware of this logic of the nationalization move. In an effort to curb the workers, it has announced a new penal code.

The code, adopted by the Revolutionary Islamic Council, would establish special courts to try "counterrevolutionaries." According to the June 30 *Economist*, the British business weekly, "The offences which will come under the new courts' jurisdiction include: inciting workers to strike or disturbing the work of the factories; bringing about the closure of business; instigating soldiers to flout military discipline (for example by taking part in political demonstrations); and separatist activities." The last "offence" refers to advocating the right of self-determination for oppressed nationalities.

"To make it clear whom these courts are meant to deal with," the *Economist* continued, "the published text refers to those articles of the Shah's former penal code which made it an offence to engage in 'collectivist activities.'"

The capitalist rulers risk provoking new protests with this attempt to reimpose laws from the hated shah's regime.

The government is under increasing pressure for more democratic rights. One of the most elementary rights—free elections—is moving to center stage in the revolution.

The government has announced that national elections will take place some time in the next month. Five months after the February insurrection, the masses are still saddled with an appointed government.

The capitalists propose that a national body of seventy-five "specialists" be elected to approve a constitution. They say candidates must be "believers in the Islamic Republic." Soldiers are to be excluded from running for office, as are people under thirty years of age.

It is unclear whether the government will be able to make these outrageous regulations stick.

Thus far, the only political party to issue a statement on the election proposal is the Hezb-e Kargar-e Sosialist (HKS—Socialist Workers Party). The socialists explain that genuinely democratic elections must include the right of youth and soldiers—who played a heroic role in the revolution—to run for office. They demand guaranteed representation for oppressed nationalities.

Continued on page 8

Cops amnestied, socialists still in jail

While keeping workers, socialists, and other revolutionaries locked behind bars, the Iranian government declared a wide-ranging amnesty July 9 for cops and armed forces personnel who served under the shah.

In making the announcement Ayatollah Khomeini said the declaration would cover all security forces, including those already in jail, except for persons involved in murder or torture. He also said it would be a crime punishable by a two-year sentence to falsely accuse individuals of crimes under the old regime.

Meanwhile, fifteen members of the Hezb-e Kargar-e Sosialist (HKS—Socialist Workers Party) and other anti-shah militants remain in jail. But pressure is growing on the government to release them.

On July 5 the HKS held a news conference to announce the freeing of one imprisoned member of the party, Hojabr Khosraji. He was among seven Trotskyists arrested in Ahwaz June 23. The group had been petitioning among oil workers on behalf of nine HKS members imprisoned earlier in the city.

No charges have been pressed against any of the HKS members, who were rounded up during protests by Arabs, oil workers, and others in Khuzestan Province. But the government has now been forced to allow all the HKS prisoners the right to receive visitors regularly.

One of the Trotskyists, Omid Mirbaha, has been moved out of prison to a hospital. He is suffering from a severe kidney ailment.

Protests demanding the immediate release of the HKS members and other anti-shah fighters in Iran are urgently needed. Send telegrams to: Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan, Office of the Prime Minister, Tehran, Iran; or to the Iranian Embassy, 3005 Massachusetts Avenue NW, Washington, D.C. 20008.

—C.J.

Iranian activists demand release of Ahwaz socialists

By Alicia Merel

SEATTLE—A July 10 news conference here, called by Ali Shokri, demanded the release of the fifteen members of the Hezb-e Kargar-e Sosialist (HKS—Socialist Workers Party) imprisoned in Ahwaz, Iran.

Shokri, who defected from the Iranian Air Force in 1973, is well known in the Northwest for his campaign to gain political asylum in the United States and his opposition to the shah.

Other speakers at the conference included Margaret Trowe, chairperson of the Seattle Socialist Workers Party; Morteza Aalavi, an Iranian activist; and Dr. William Cate, executive director of the Church Council of Greater Seattle.

Also present were the parents and sister of Fatima and Hormoz Fallahi, who are two of the imprisoned HKS members, and other Iranian supporters of the revolution.

Shokri said he had met some of the HKS prisoners while working with the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual



Speakers at Seattle news conference, left to right: Rev. William Cate, Morteza Aalavi, Ali Shokri, Margaret Trowe.

Freedom in Iran (CAIFI), the U.S.-based organization that helped win the release of many Iranian political prisoners during the shah's regime. CAIFI had helped to defend Shokri from deportation to Iran.

"I was active in exposing the nature

of the shah's regime as were those whose release we're now demanding," Shokri explained. "The HKS members fought against the shah to the very end and gave their full support to the revolution. These people have committed no crime except to continue the

revolution."

Morteza Aalavi, a former University of Washington student and CAIFI supporter, spoke in behalf of the Fallahi family. "We are demanding the release of the fifteen HKS members, as well as imprisoned oil workers and members of the Fedayeen. Freedom for these activists will be a great victory for the Iranian revolution."

One reporter asked, "Isn't this type of repression what the people wanted, since they wanted an Islamic revolution?"

Both Shokri and Aalavi explained that the force driving the revolution forward is not religion, but the aspirations of the Iranian people for social and economic progress.

In response to the question, "What are you asking the U.S. to do?" Shokri answered: "We are asking the U.S. government to keep its hands off Iran. We are asking the American people who supported the Iranian revolution to support the right of these people to be free."

GE workers condemn wage losses in new pact

By July 11 the results of two days of contract voting by General Electric workers were in. With seventy out of eighty-two locals reporting, members of the International Union of Electrical Workers had reportedly ratified the new three-year pact by about 35,000 to 25,000. According to union officials, the 17,300 members of the United Electrical Workers had accepted the contract by a two-to-one margin. The GE contract was ratified over the opposition of the two biggest IUE locals, Local 761 in Louisville and 201 in Lynn. In Louisville 6,259 voted to reject; 3,874 to accept. On-the-spot reports from these locals follow below.

Louisville

By Chris Rayson

LOUISVILLE, Ky.—At a mass meeting held at Louisville Downs July 8, 3,000 electrical workers voted unanimously to recommend rejection of the tentative contract settlement between General Electric and thirteen unions.

International Union of Electrical Workers Local 761, with 15,000 production workers at GE's Appliance Park in Louisville, is the biggest local in the IUE.

After Dennis Cassady, Local 761 president, reviewed the proposed contract at the July 8 meeting, speaker after speaker blasted GE's offer.

Most attacked the wage package as inadequate. GE is offering a 50-cents-an-hour increase the first year and measly increases of 17.5 cents and 15 cents per hour the second and third years.

Cassady pointed out that only half of the first-year increase represented new money. Under the old contract, GE workers were already due a twenty-five-cents-an-hour cost-of-living increase.

"Not only that, we were behind \$1.05 to begin with," Cassady added, referring to losses due to inflation since 1976.

While some improvements were made in the cost-of-living formula, workers will lose even more to inflation over the next three years if the contract is accepted.

The piecework system under which many electrical workers are paid makes the settlement even worse. Only twelve cents of the increase will be added to base pay, on which piece rates are calculated.

"If you include piece rate," said one worker, "we'll lose 16 percent over

three years and GE will still get more parts out of us. We lose more if we accept the contract than we would if we strike."

Workers also attacked a contract provision prohibiting piece workers from bidding for jobs rated lower than the ones they already have.

"Does this mean," one worker asked Cassady, "that a new hire who starts as an R-10 fiberglass insulation worker can't bid on another job until he has enough seniority to bid higher?"

When Cassady answered yes, boos and shouts of no echoed through the grandstands. Fiberglass insulation is one of the most difficult and unhealthy jobs on the line. New hires are often assigned these jobs because no one else wants them.

In addition, under the new contract, workers can bid on another job only once a year, thus freezing workers into monotonous assembly-line jobs for long periods of time.

Other workers criticized new contract language enabling GE to make "nondisciplinary" discharges. This category was first used by GE here to fire six elderly employees.

Workers view the proposed agreement as a "giveback" contract.

One young worker put it this way, "If we get this contract rammed down our throats, we'd better have savings, because over the next three years we'll need it."

One worker got a round of applause when he said, "If we take what we found out here back to the plant and let others know and convince them to vote no, we can get a big majority to vote it down."

More than fifty members spoke during the discussion. Two open mikes were set up with lines forming around each mike. Everyone spoke who



1969-70 strike against General Electric. Largest union locals were ready to do it again this year to defeat 'giveback' contract.

wanted to. Not one worker spoke in favor of the contract.

Workers had various suggestions for how an effective fight could be waged.

"We need special union meetings to keep the members informed," said one.

"We need a regular newsletter to counter the company's lies during the strike," said another.

Two Black workers emphasized solidarity as the key to an effective strike. "When one building walked out over speedup last month, the rest of the plant stayed. We can't have that. When one building or one section goes out, everybody should go," one said.

Lynn

LYNN, Mass.—Two thousand members of IUE Local 201 cheered as union leaders denounced the proposed GE contract at a mass membership meeting July 8.

The meeting culminated a week of activity by the union executive board aimed at assuring a big "no" vote on the contract from some 8,000 union members here. When the ballots were counted July 8 and 9 the proposed contract had been rejected 3,451 to 2,209.

At the July 8 meeting IUE business agent Peter Teel blasted Carter's 7 percent wage guideline. "We had an invisible enemy at the bargaining table," he said. "And that enemy was the federal government."

A worker about to retire pointed out that for the vast majority of workers who will retire over the next three years, the proposed contract would

mean absolutely no increase in benefits despite company claims to the contrary.

IUE 201 board member Frank Emspak, representing workers at the Wilmington, Massachusetts, GE plant, tossed a machine part into the crowd. "I brought you something that a lot of us make in Wilmington," he said, "It represents what GE is trying to give us. It's a big screw."

Local President Al Hamilton said, "Workers ask me, what hope is there that we'll get a much better offer by going out on strike?" Hamilton argued that by not making a stand against the company now, GE workers would simply be postponing the fight for another three years and losing against inflation in the process.

Schenectady

By Nancy Rosenstock

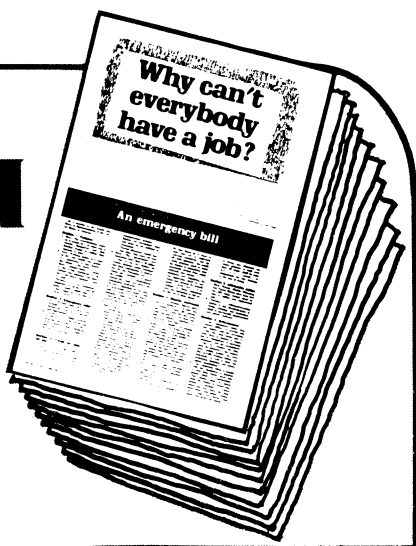
SCHENECTADY, N.Y.—In a blatant attack on free speech, the *Schenectady Gazette* refused to run an ad directed toward General Electric workers here.

Seven hundred members of IUE Local 201 in Lynn, Massachusetts, raised \$550 to place the ad in the *Gazette* in an effort to reach out to their brothers and sisters in IUE Local 301 in Schenectady.

Members of IUE Local 301 have been treated to a barrage of propaganda from both GE and their union leaders plugging the contract. The effectiveness of the company campaign was reflected in the local's vote favoring ratification by 5,345 to 2,511.

Help get it around

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



...Iran

Continued from preceding page

nalities. They condemn the attempt to exclude candidates with a working-class program under the "Islamic Republic" restrictions.

The HKS says a constituent assembly, with broad representation from the workers, peasants, and other toiling masses, is what is needed to discuss out the nationalizations, investigate corporate corruption, and reorganize the economy. A body of

seventy-five procapitalist specialists cannot carry out this task.

As the debate around the elections heats up, and as the workers try to use the nationalizations to advance their interests, the U.S. imperialists will be watching closely.

They are determined to roll back the nationalizations and every other threat to their right to rob Iran's resources at will. Supporters of the Iranian workers and peasants around the world should be alert to the need for full solidarity against every move by the U.S. rulers to sabotage the new gains of the revolution.

Socialist candidates hit GE

Among the thousands of electrical workers rallying against the GE contracts in Louisville and Lynn were socialist candidates Mary Gutekanst and Luis Castro.

Gutekanst, a member of IUE Local 761, is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Louisville Board of Aldermen in the 12th District. At the IUE rally her campaign supporters distributed 2,000 copies of a statement by Gutekanst.

"GE Profits Up—Real Wages Down," was the headline. "That will be the result if the proposed GE contract is approved," Gutekanst said. "This contract is like many attempts being made around the country to make working people suffer, so corporations can protect their profits."

Gutekanst's supporters also sold forty-seven copies of the *Militant* to GE workers at the rally and at GE's Appliance Park plant.

Castro, a member of IUE Local 301, is the SWP candidate for mayor of Boston. At the IUE meeting in Lynn his supporters distributed 1,500 copies of a statement by Castro blasting Carter's 7 percent wage

guideline and urging the labor movement to field its own candidates against the corporations' Democratic and Republican mouthpieces. The back of the statement announced a July 21 meeting in Lynn at which Castro will speak on "GE's Drive Against Our Standard of Living—How Labor Can Fight Back."

At the Lynn meeting Castro's campaign supporters sold fifteen copies of the *Militant*.



Militant/Carole Coates
MARY GUTEKANST

3,300 attend

NAACP convention hails 'Weber' ruling

By Osborne Hart

LOUISVILLE, Ky.—“Go tell it!” was the theme of the seventieth annual convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) held here June 25-29.

To tell the story of Blacks in the summer of '79 is to tell a tale of woe. Inflation, unemployment, and the energy crisis are all hitting hardest at Blacks and other victims of discrimination. The “takeback” offensive of the capitalists includes rolling back many of the civil rights gains made through the battles of the '60s.

Affirmative action is one of those gains that was under attack during the week of the NAACP gathering.

On the third day of the convention, the Supreme Court ruled against Brian Weber. Weber, a white employee of Kaiser Aluminum in Gramercy, Louisiana, sought to overturn affirmative-action provisions of the United Steelworkers contract, which he portrayed as “reverse discrimination.” Lower court rulings in Weber's favor, if upheld, would have gutted affirmative action throughout industry.

Anticipation of the court's decision was a big topic of conversation among the more than 3,300 people who attended the convention.

Anxiety over the Weber case was heightened by the setbacks and elimination of many affirmative-action programs since the Supreme Court's Bakke decision a year ago, which outlawed quotas in university and college affirmative-action plans.

'Agonizing year'

“This has been an agonizing year for the NAACP, as we have awaited with great anticipation for the outcome of this case,” responded Benjamin Hooks, executive director of the organization, after hearing the news on Weber.

Relief would be the most accurate description of the NAACP leadership's reaction to the decision.

Association officials were pessimistic and unsure at the outset of the convention. They dreaded another defeat for affirmative action. Hooks and Margaret Bush Wilson, chairperson of the NAACP board, carefully avoided public comment before the ruling was announced.

Once the favorable ruling was made, the top NAACP leaders gave credit to the “objectivity” of the court and to Carter's appointments.

In an impromptu speech to the convention after the Weber ruling was known, Hooks declared, “We got Carter in office. If it wasn't for Carter, who appointed [attorney general] Griffin Bell, we wouldn't have [assistant attorney general] Drew Days and we wouldn't have had this decision.”

But this “explanation” doesn't ex-



NAACP delegates voted on such issues as busing, Rhodesian sanctions, and the military draft.

D. Michael Cheers/Jet Magazine

plain why the Weber ruling was different than Bakke. Carter was in office during Bakke. Bell and Days were responsible for the government's position in that case. What has changed?

Hooks and other top NAACP leaders gave little credit to the role of the unions in fighting Weber. They failed to explain the new stance labor is taking in defending civil rights and the new opportunities this presents to the NAACP and the fight for Black rights.

But the NAACP did respond to the decision as the great victory it is. Lewis Carter, NAACP labor director, said: “We view this as a mandate to encourage all unions to follow the lead of the United Steelworkers to incorporate in their bargaining agreements affirmative-action programs.”

Energy policy

Last May, the NAACP national board reaffirmed its 1978 energy policy favoring deregulation of oil prices and building more nuclear power plants.

This reactionary stance echoes the lies of the oil and utility companies. Decontrol of oil means Blacks and other working people will pay more for gas, while record profits are made. Nuclear power, already a major contributor to the cancer epidemic in this country, threatens the future of all humanity.

Yet the NAACP board complains that “an energy policy with an overriding concern for the protection of the environment may cause government policymakers in this area to lose sight of other more compelling economic and social objectives that are more impor-

tant to black Americans.”

More important than life?

“If we do not move ahead now with nuclear,” the board says, “the next generation is likely to be sitting around in the dark blaming the utilities for not doing something. . . .”

The NAACP board claims that nuclear power is cheap and will provide jobs.

Even if the nuclear industry provided more jobs, what person wants a job that guarantees cancer and death? The posts that a few NAACP officials have acquired on energy industry payrolls seem to have blinded them to the fact that nuclear power offers no solution to the mass unemployment afflicting the Black community.

As for being cheaper, one only has to ask the victims of the Three Mile Island nuclear accident. As if loss of jobs, property, and possible loss of life were not enough, the utility company is raising their rates to cover the cost of the disaster!

Coal alternative

Contrary to the NAACP board's “sitting around in the dark” prediction, the United Mine Workers union explains there is an abundance of coal to keep electricity flowing. Coal can be mined safely and burned cleanly. It could provide thousands of jobs for miners and railroad workers—many of whom are Black.

In a packed “Energy and Black Survival” workshop at the NAACP convention, the speakers came from Westinghouse Corporation, Pacific Gas and Electric Company, Commonwealth Edison, U.S. Department of Energy, and the NAACP national board.

“No one has ever died from nuclear radiation,” they insisted. They castigated the anti-nuclear movement as one that only “frightens and scares.”

No floor discussion was allowed. Questions could be submitted only in writing to the moderator. Obviously, the NAACP officials fear dissent on this question.

The first question read, “How much are you being paid to lie to us?”

The pronuclear position did not represent the sentiments of most NAACP members. Antinuclear proposals were brought in by the Nashville, Tennessee, and Chelsea, New York, branches. Members of both branches have been active in antinuclear protests recently. Neither resolution was allowed before the convention for discussion.

The Chelsea proposal called for “the immediate closing of all presently operating nuclear facilities, including both power plants and atomic weapons

production plants.” It resolved “that the NAACP pledges to place itself in the forefront of the growing antinuclear movement; to work in coalition with other organizations to build a massive political opposition to this threat to human survival.”

Copies of the Chelsea resolution and the May issue of the United Mine Workers Journal were distributed at the convention. The Journal features coverage on the Three Mile Island accident and the coal alternative.

The Militant asked Julian Bond, president of the Atlanta NAACP, what he thought of nuclear power. “I'm opposed to it,” Bond replied. “It is dangerous.”

Dick Gregory, comedian and activist, gave a humorous but hard-hitting address to the NAACP youth banquet about the inherent danger of nuclear energy.

Gregory also drew applause when he explained that the Arabs are not the cause of the gas crisis.

Retreats

On some other issues as well the NAACP convention retreated on the interests of Blacks and our allies.

• **Equal Rights Amendment:** The NAACP supports the passage of the ERA. But a proposal to honor the boycott of unratified states by not holding NAACP conventions in them was killed.

• **South Africa:** Last year, the NAACP took a step forward by calling for the complete withdrawal of U.S. support, including corporate investment, from the racist South African regime. But it retreated on this position, and is now urging U.S. corporations there to “initiate steps to treat Blacks equally” and encouraging their reinvestment in other parts of southern Africa.

The convention did unanimously approve an emergency resolution supporting continued economic sanctions against Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and condemning the recent fraudulent elections.

• **Draft:** A proposal to oppose the reinstatement of the military draft was voted down at the convention.

Despite Carter's betrayal of his promises to Blacks and the dismal record of bipartisan assaults on Black rights and living standards, the NAACP leadership ruled out any break with the two capitalist parties in the upcoming 1980 elections.

The NAACP remains formally “non-partisan,” carrying out its political action through a “voter education” campaign.

While praising Carter, Hooks hinted

Continued on next page

Defend school desegregation

The NAACP is continuing its activities in defense of busing for school desegregation.

The convention passed an emergency resolution to “mobilize our branches, state conferences and youth units” to fight the Mottl amendment.

U.S. Rep. Ronald Mottl (D-Ohio) introduced a constitutional amendment to prohibit busing for school desegregation or any other purpose. Two hundred and eighteen House members have signed the bill to bring it out of committee onto the floor. A vote is expected around July 23.

The AFL-CIO has called upon unions to cooperate with civil rights groups in fighting the antibusing bill.

Meanwhile, on July 2, the Supreme Court upheld two Ohio busing

plans that have been fought for by the NAACP. The ruling on the Dayton and Columbus plans upheld the power of federal courts to order systemwide desegregation in northern schools.

The court found that local school boards in the two cities had deliberately and illegally kept schools segregated for more than twenty-five years. The decision marked a partial retreat by the Supreme Court from the “intent” doctrine it has been evolving, which puts the burden of proof on Blacks to show that segregation throughout the school system was caused with specific intent to discriminate.

According to the July 9 New York Times the Columbus school board is considering defying the busing order.

Marroquin takes case to AFT convention

By August Nimtz

SAN FRANCISCO—Héctor Marroquin got a warm response from many teachers when he took his case for political asylum to the American Federation of Teachers Convention, held here July 1 to 6.

The AFT Executive Board appointed a special sub-committee to look into the case. More teachers endorsed his struggle in addition to the 200 who signed statements of support at last year's convention. Also, hundreds of teachers took literature to learn more about his case.

Last year the 1.8-million-member National Education Association, the nation's largest teachers union, voted to support Marroquin. Other official

Further coverage of the American Federation of Teachers and National Education Association conventions will appear in future issues.

union backing includes United Steelworkers Local 1010 in East Chicago and United Electrical Workers District Council 11.

Marroquin, a former high school teacher, faces imprisonment and possible death if he is deported back to his native Mexico. Authorities there have framed him on charges of terrorism and subversion because of his active participation in the Mexican student movement.

After fleeing Mexico in 1974, Marroquin became an active trade unionist and later joined the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party. He is presently appealing a deportation order from the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS).

The Executive Board's decision is a step forward in Marroquin's quest for the AFT's support. At last year's con-

vention, the Progressive Caucus, which includes the majority of the delegates and is dominated by AFT President Albert Shanker, blocked an attempt to have the union even consider endorsement.

The Washington (D.C.) Teachers Union, AFT Local 6, which had previously endorsed Marroquin's case, submitted a resolution to this year's AFT convention. It called for the AFT "to go on record supporting Héctor Marroquin's simple democratic right of political asylum as provided by the 'United Nations Protocol and Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees,' ratified and acceded to by the United States."

Before the convention as a whole could consider the resolution, the International Relations committee, which comprised about eighty delegates, had to make a determination. Progressive Caucus delegates again tried to defeat the resolution, this time on the grounds that the AFT did not know enough about the case.

Indicative of the mentality of Shanker's followers is the remark of a New York delegate who led the opposition to the resolution. This same delegate opposed another resolution condemning human rights violations in Nicaragua. He said, "I am for Somoza . . . what do you want—another Iran?"

Ron Repps, a delegate from New Orleans, made an impassioned plea for the committee to hear Marroquin, who was standing outside the meeting room. "If this convention can hear Aleksandr Ginzburg [the exiled Soviet dissident who was scheduled to speak the next day to the convention], then we certainly ought to hear Marroquin."

Fearful that sentiment was building up among the delegates to hear Marroquin, a caucus member from Local 2, Shanker's United Federation of



Militant/T.J. Grillo

Héctor Marroquin. His appeal for political asylum has won broad support among teachers, prompting AFT executive board to consider resolution on the case.

Teachers in New York, moved that the issue be referred to the Executive Board.

Although the motion passed by a large majority, there was much dissatisfaction with the outcome. A Black delegate for Chicago angrily told the meeting after the vote that "this was another example of how Local 2 prevents discussion of controversial issues and dominates the AFT."

Shortly after the vote, Marroquin got a hearing before the Executive Board. Although Shanker attempted to red-bait Marroquin and to cast doubt on his innocence, the board decided to establish the three-member subcommittee composed of three board members. One of them, Bill Simons, as President of Local 6, has already endorsed the case. The subcommittee is to report back to the board at either its Sep-

tember or October meeting.

Shanker carried his red-baiting tactics to the floor of the convention. When a delegate asked some time later about the outcome of the board's deliberations on the Marroquin case, Shanker resorted to a thinly veiled attack on Marroquin. In what may have been his most extensive reply to any question raised from the floor during the entire convention, Shanker began by saying that there was not enough information about Marroquin. "We do not know, for example, if he was a terrorist."

Referring then to the endorsers of the case, Shanker said, "the list of supporters does not inspire confidence. It includes people and other organizations that have supported terrorist groups like the National Lawyers Guild."

This comment was greeted with some hissing in the audience. Shanker recognized that he would have to refer to more traditional villains in order to be convincing.

The supporters list "includes several types of communist organizations," Shanker went on. "The references he comes with are not groups we would accept."

Shanker's red-baiting, however, was far from successful. After his remarks, Marroquin said, "Many people came up to me and said that they couldn't believe what Shanker had said—how could he have attacked the case. They disliked very much what he had said."

Marroquin remains hopeful about eventual endorsement for his case from the AFT. "After all, it took the AFT two years to endorse the more well-known Wilmington Ten case. The establishment of the subcommittee is a small victory. It shows pressure from the rank and file. This is because the case has already won broad support both in and outside the AFT."

Workshop and debate on Latin America

SAN FRANCISCO—More than sixty delegates and guests at the American Federation of Teachers convention heard Héctor Marroquin speak at a special workshop on repression in Latin America.

In addition to Marroquin, Serapio Lariano, an AFT delegate from Puerto Rico and member of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, and Martin Vega of the Committee on Political and Human Rights in Nicaragua made presentations.

Marroquin gave a broad overview of human rights violations in Latin America and Mexico in particular. He discussed the role of Washington and the hypocrisy of Carter's human rights policy. He then went into the specifics of his own case and his recent hearing before the INS, which denied him asylum.

Following his talk, delegates took the opportunity to ask Marroquin about the specific charges against him.

Some of the organizers of the workshop submitted a resolution on Nicaragua to the convention the next day. The resolution called for the AFT to urge the U.S. government "to support all efforts to force Pres. Somoza to resign and leave the country" and to oppose "any direct or indirect military intervention by the United States . . ."

A delegate from the Shanker-dominated Local 2 moved immediately to amend the resolution by calling on the AFT to ask for intervention by the Organization of American States—Washington's discredited maneuver to gain cover for

military action—and to oppose "Cuba and any other foreign powers."

Speaking on behalf of the amendment, delegate Jeanette DiLorenzo of Local 2 said that "dictators shouldn't have to leave their countries."

Joel Aber, a delegate from New Orleans, spoke against the amendment and for the original resolution. Aber pointed out that the amendment would allow U.S. intervention through the OAS and violate the right of self-determination for Nicaraguans.

Further debate on the issue was squelched. A vote was taken with the majority, led by Local 2 and the Progressive Caucus, voting to support the amended resolution.

...NAACP

Continued from preceding page

that if the incumbent doesn't work out, support may go to Sen. Edward Kennedy or even Republican Sen. Howard Baker.

Dissatisfaction with the rightward course of the leadership flared up around the term of office of national board members. The NAACP board members have life terms and final rule over any policy of the organization. Often times, policies such as the one on nuclear power are formulated at board meetings and not conventions.

In an attempt to revitalize and change the direction of NAACP policies, a resolution was introduced that

would limit board terms to twelve years.

After a heated floor fight and several votes, the resolution lost by only nineteen out of more than a thousand voting delegates.

Wilson responded with a demagogic attack on the delegates who supported the proposal. "There are forces at work in this convention to create internal divisions to keep us from dealing with external problems," she said. She slandered those who would limit the board term as supporting the "status quo" of Blacks in America.

Such absurd accusations could not disguise the crisis of the NAACP leadership.

Their strategy of looking to the cor-

porations and capitalist politicians is putting them on a collision course with their own membership, the Black community, and all working people.

Growing numbers of Blacks—and white workers as well—are looking for ways to fight back against the corporate assault on their rights and living standards. Examples of this combativity abound—from protests against police brutality and Ku Klux Klan terror to the united strike of Black and white workers for union recognition in Newport News, Virginia.

Black workers, who make up the overwhelming majority of the Black population, are in the forefront of this resistance. Numbers alone give them

an increasing weight in the unions.

But beyond that, events such as the union opposition to Weber show growing recognition that the labor movement must champion Black rights, that it is in the interest of all workers to fight against racial discrimination. Attitudes are changing among many white workers.

These developments point the way forward for the NAACP and for any organization that dedicates itself to advancing Black rights. The road to Black liberation is to reach out and ally with the combative ranks of Black and white workers to forge an independent political alliance against the ruling rich and their political parties.

Marroquin exposes Mexican gov't lies in accusations against him

With this issue the 'Militant' continues its publication of major excerpts from Héctor Marroquín's deportation hearing. The hearing took place April 3-5 in Houston, Texas, before immigration Judge James Smith.

Marroquín—who is seeking political asylum in this country—is a trade unionist and a member of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. He was forced to flee Mexico in 1974 to avoid being victimized by the regime for his political beliefs.

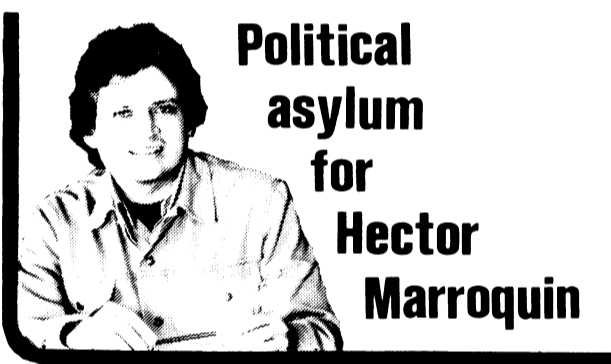
At the deportation hearing, Marroquín testified and offered documentary proof and expert witnesses on behalf of his claim for asylum. In the testimony below Marroquín refutes the accusations that he participated in criminal acts in Mexico at the time he had come to the United States and was living in Texas.

Six days after the hearing, Judge Smith, ignoring the evidence, denied asylum and ordered Marroquín deported from the U.S. Smith's decision is now under appeal to the Board of Immigration Appeals in Washington, D.C.

In the excerpts below, Margaret Winter is Marroquín's attorney, James Smith is the immigration judge, and Daniel Kahn is the Immigration and Naturalization Service prosecuting attorney.

Kahn: I want to object at this time that we are not deciding his guilt or innocence on any charges that he may be accused of in Mexico.

Winter: Your honor, as I mentioned before, the Immigration Service has put in issue whether there is substantial reason to believe that Marroquín has committed any violent crimes, thereby removing



Political asylum for Hector Marroquin

him from the protection of the U.N. Protocol Relating to Refugees. That very clearly makes these things most relevant.

My second reason is that when it becomes cumulatively apparent how transparently false these charges are, it tends to make more credible Mr. Marroquín's claims that he fears being persecuted on his return. There was a campaign against him by the Mexican police.

Smith: Your point is well taken. . . .

Winter: Did you read any other articles in the Mexican press during this period in Houston that made you worry about your safety?

Marroquín: Yes. A few days later, after I was accused of participating in a shoot-out by the Mexican police, one of the students who had been accused along with me [of murdering a school librarian] was killed by the Mexican police.

Winger: Is this the article?

Kahn: Does it refer to Mr. Marroquín?

Marroquín: It refers to me insofar as that person was accused with me the first time, and insofar as that person was murdered, it represented the same danger for me.

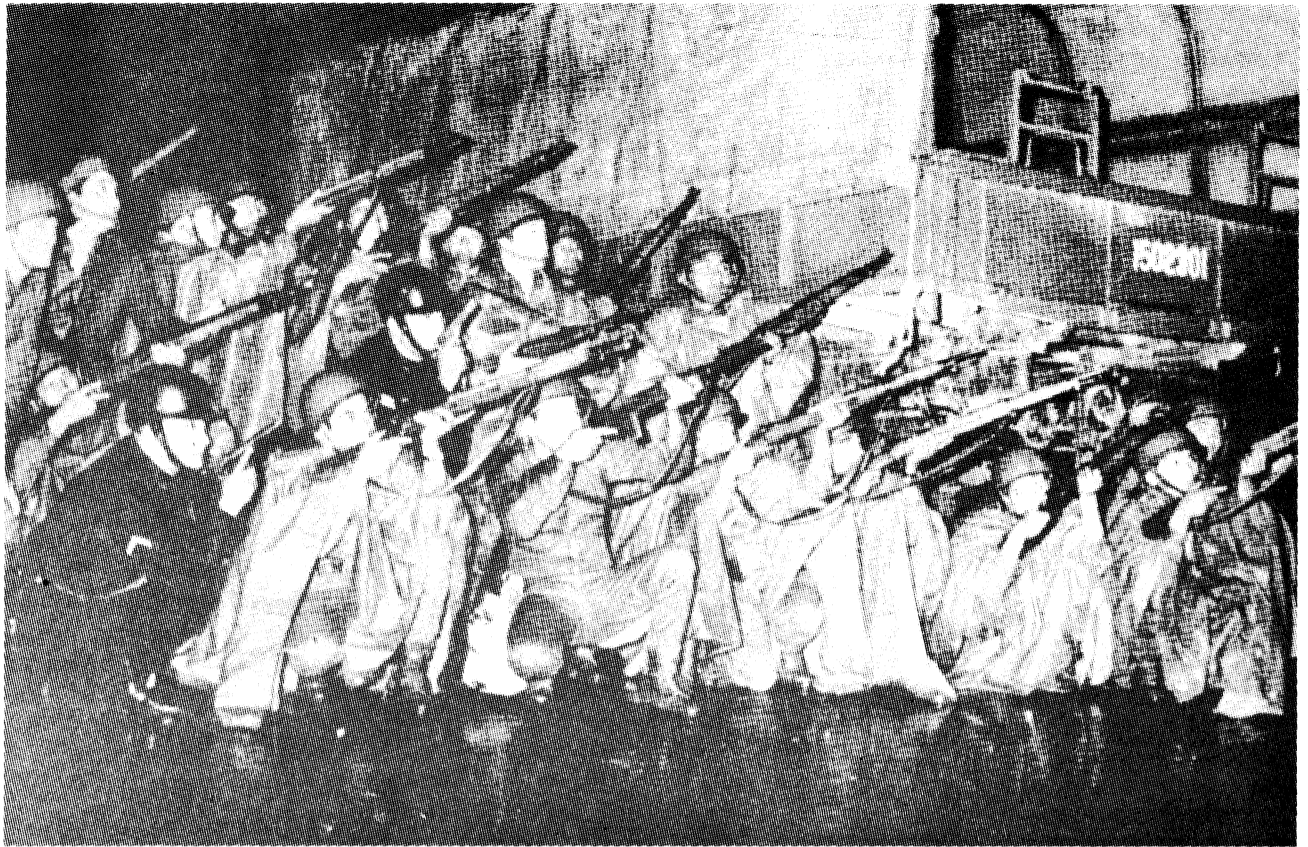
Torture and false confession

Winter: Mr. Marroquín, do you recognize this article from *El Norte* dated May 20, 1974? Can you just briefly sum up what this article said and what impression it had on you at the time.

Marroquín: Well, this article says that Fernando Miguel Ruiz Diaz, who was a student political activist on my campus, has declared that many, many individuals were involved in terrorist activities in Mexico, in Monterrey, and he mentioned a lot of names, many of them whom I knew.

Winter: Do you know what became of Fernando Miguel Ruiz Diaz after he made this confession?

Marroquín: Immediately after he made this confession he retracted the things he said. He declared that he had been subjected to brutal torture, and that he had been forced to say every one of these things.



Mexico City, 1968. Troops prepare to fire on peaceful demonstration in Tlatelolco. This brutal attack left 400 demonstrators and onlookers dead. Continuing reign of terror forced Héctor Marroquín to flee Mexico in 1974.

Winter: And what was the effect of this article on you?

Marroquín: Well, it only convinced me that I couldn't go back to Mexico because I could receive the same kind of treatment that this student received. I would be subject to torture, and forced into giving false confessions.

Winter: Your honor, I would like to also submit an affidavit by Fernando Miguel Ruiz Diaz, a sworn statement taken in jail. In this statement, Mr. Ruiz Diaz elaborates on what happened to him, that he implicated people under torture, and that when he retracted his confession that he was nevertheless kept in jail without trial or sentencing up to [the time] this statement was taken.

Your honor, I want to call your attention to one paragraph in this exhibit. After describing the kind of torture under which the confession was obtained, Fernando Ruiz Diaz states, "After thusly being forced to sign the confession, the following day I was moved to Monterrey and brought before the chief of police at that time, Carlos Solana Macias. He . . . asked some questions about my activities, including if I knew 'El Pecas,' Héctor Marroquín, indicating with his voice a profound hatred toward this person. I answered him that I did not."

Sensationalist charges

Winter: Mr. Marroquín, do you recognize this article?

Marroquín: Yes, that's an article that appeared in a newspaper called *Alarma* in Monterrey, which is a sensationalist newspaper, which publishes the pictures of many individuals accused of being subversive.

Winter: Now is it correct, to briefly summarize what this article says, that it makes broad charges that you and many, many others who are named here were terrorists?

Marroquín: That's what the article says.

Winter: This article, from early August 1974, accuses you of engaging in terrorist activities in Mexico. Where were you in early August 1974?

Marroquín: I had been in Houston continuously since April 9.

Winter: Your honor, there are a number of exhibits that I would like to introduce simply to corroborate the claim that he was continuously in Houston.

Marroquín: These are copies of the paychecks that I received while working at the time. That's a copy of the apartment lease that I rented in the Marshall House apartments in Houston on May 31, 1974.

Winter: Under what name?

Marroquín: Roberto Zamora.

Winter: Is that your signature in that name?

Marroquín: Perfectly, my handwriting.

That's a copy of the receipts of rent that I paid after I moved to another apartment in Houston.

Winter: They are made out to Roberto Zamora, and they are dated June 29, July 3, July 16, August 14, and September 18.

Mr. Marroquín, you testified to several newspaper

articles during this period that caused you increasing fears about returning to Mexico. Do you recognize this article?

Marroquín: This is an article in which the Mexican police accuse me of having participated in a robbery of a bread factory in Monterrey. The robbery took place on Saturday, August 30, 1974.

The Mexican police chief says that I participated with several other individuals and that in order to carry out this robbery we had to jump a big fence to get into the factory. . . . At the time when the robbery occurred I was in a hospital in Galveston, Texas, with a broken leg, a broken pelvis, and a punctured lung.

Car accident

Smith: On what date were you admitted to the hospital?

Marroquín: On August 11, 1974, as a result of a car accident, in Galveston, Texas. We were hit on the right side of the car. I was picked up by an ambulance and transported to the University of Texas Medical Branch Hospital.

Winter: Do you recognize these hospital statements? They are dated for every day from August 11 through 29. What name are these hospital statements in?

Marroquín: Roberto Zamora.

Smith: Were those bills ever paid by Mr. Marroquín?

Marroquín: I never had an opportunity to make enough salary as an undocumented worker to pay for those bills.

Kahn: So the taxpayers got stuck with that one?

Winter: Mr. Marroquín, questions have been asked as to whether you are the same person as Roberto Zamora. You said yes, that was the name that you assumed.

We obtained from the University Hospital the X rays that were taken of Roberto Zamora in August 1974. There are X rays of the leg, the broken leg before the surgery, and there are X rays from later after the leg was put together with a metal plate. Now these are from a person named Roberto Zamora. Now we also obtained X rays from New York City Metropolitan Hospital Center.

Kahn: I don't know what X rays have to do with whether he's going to be persecuted if he goes back to Mexico.

Smith: I think the theory, as I understand it, is that he couldn't be two places at once and he was in fact in the hospital in Galveston, Texas, when some of the alleged crimes took place.

Winter: Yes. Now what we did was to submit the set of X rays in the name of Roberto Zamora and the set of X rays of Héctor Marroquín that were taken recently, to a doctor in New York.

And this letter compares the X rays. It says both sets were presented and the conclusion is there is no doubt that this set of X-ray films, that is, from New York, from Héctor Marroquín, is of the same patient as the previous set of films, that is, from Galveston. And I'd like to submit the letter in evidence.

...Ala. socialists rally: 'We're here to stay'

Continued from back page

Turner described the recent police killing of a Black woman, Bonita Carter, in Kingston, and subsequent KKK violence there.

"We are ready to join with the Black community and other working people to fight the government-Klan violence against the rights of all working people," Turner said.

Rally participants then sent a telegram to the family of Bonita Carter, with a copy to the chief of police, protesting the killing and calling for the killer-cop to be brought to justice.

The rally was chaired by Ellen Bobroff, a member of United Mine Workers Local 2245 and chairperson of the Birmingham YSA.

Delegations from SWP branches across the South attended the rally, including the Atlanta; New Orleans; Miami; Greensboro, North Carolina; and Newport News, Virginia.

Mary Gutekanst, Socialist Workers Party candidate for alderman in Louisville, Kentucky, also spoke. Gutekanst is a member of the International Union of Electrical Workers at the huge General Electric plant in Louisville.

She described the "New South," not as the chambers of commerce promote it, but as she as a working person has found it.

"We've seen Black and white workers united against their common enemy in union organizing campaigns in Newport News and in the textile mills in North Carolina. That same dynamic is unfolding on a smaller scale throughout the South—workers fighting harassment from their foremen, company speed-up plans, inadequate wages, and unsafe working conditions."

Gutekanst went on to describe the campaign of right-wing harassment in Louisville that had been carried out against the SWP, in particular against



From left: Andrew Pulley, Nelson Blackstock, Ellen Bobroff, Darryl Turner, Mary Gutekanst.

Militant photos by Nancy Cole

Jim Burfeind, and the effective counteroffensive the party organized against it.

The rally's featured speaker was Socialist Workers Party leader Andrew Pulley, the SWP candidate for mayor of Chicago earlier this year. Pulley is a production worker at U.S. Steel's Gary Works.

Pulley brought with him statements protesting the attack against Blackstock and Flint signed by United Steelworkers union officials in the Chicago-Gary area (see box).

This support, Pulley said, "is an indication that the old labor concept, an injury to one is an injury to all, is

alive and growing. It's growing nationally and it's also growing here in the South."

Corporations like U.S. Steel resort to anything to protect their rule over society, Pulley went on. "They use the courts, the police, and all the politicians in the Republican and Democratic parties. And if necessary, they use right-wing organizations like the KKK."

"But let them be forewarned that others have tried to stop us and have failed."

"They tried to drive us out of Houston in 1971 by firing into our headquarters. They failed there."

"They tried to drive us out of Louisville. They failed there as well."

"Ever since the 1930s the FBI and right-wing groups have collaborated to harass our members and try to get us fired. All in an effort to stifle us. They failed. They not only failed, but we're on the offensive against them."

Pulley went on to discuss two questions with particular meaning for southern workers: the *Weber* case and the Steelworkers' organizing drive in Newport News.

The Supreme Court's ruling overturning *Weber* and upholding affirmative action "was a major victory for the working class, for Black workers, for white workers, for women and men," Pulley said.

Before the victory of the civil rights movement most white people accepted the system of segregation, he explained. "But the profits that the capitalists got by discriminating against Black workers were never given to white workers. White workers actually received less because Black workers received less. In reality, the whole working class nationally received less because the union movement was not firmly implanted in the South."

A big gain of the civil rights movement was that white workers learned from its successes, Pulley said.

And that consciousness is now showing up in such struggles as the Newport News organizing drive. "There is genuine unity between Black and white workers," Pulley reported. "And it's scaring the cops and companies."

On the Monday after the socialist rally here, a white delivery man stopped by the bookstore to pick up the chairs rented for the meeting. On his way out, he asked if he could look through the bookstore and immediately went for the pamphlet, *Who Killed Jim Crow? The story of the civil rights movement and its lessons for today*. Before he left, he bought a *Militant* subscription.

Unionists protest attack

BIRMINGHAM—New support for the Socialist Workers Party's democratic rights boosted spirits even higher at the rally here July 7.

A letter to U.S. Steel from Wayne Crosby, president of United Steelworkers Local 8888 in Newport News, Virginia, was read to the meeting. A similar statement was sent by L.L. Johnson, president of Steelworkers Local 8417, which represents marine designers in Newport News.

"The constitution guarantees to all Americans the rights of freedom of speech and freedom of the press," Crosby wrote. "The brutal attack on Nelson Blackstock and Eric Flint, salespersons for the *Militant* newspaper, which took place outside your Concord mine on June 7, was a violation of these basic rights."

"As victims in our own town, Newport News, Virginia, we can see the violence that can result when the company and the police ignore the rights of individuals. We have protested these violations in Newport News and we also protest them wherever they may take place."

From Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point plant in Baltimore, David Wilson, president of the 6,000-member USWA Local 2609, wrote:

"I was shocked by the treatment given Messrs. Blackstock and Flint on June 7 outside your Con-

cord facility, apparently by people in your employ. Let me assure you that that kind of treatment does not end a problem, it starts one.

"I am informing my membership of the event and will be watching closely for future developments."

Twenty local USWA officials in the Chicago-Gary area District 31 have signed a statement protesting the attack. They include Ed Sadlowski, subdistrict director; Don Jordan, editor of *Local 65 News*; Mike Olszanski, Local 1010 executive board; Cliff Mezo, Local 1010 vice-president; Doreen Labby, editor of the District 31 Women's Caucus newsletter; and Patrick Clark, president of Local 1026.

The statement was also signed by Linus Wampler, director of USWA District 33, which includes the Mesabi Iron Range.

Additional statements of protest were signed by Clayton Nedd, president of USWA Local 2341 in Detroit, and Charles Kimbroegh, president of the Nashville NAACP. Five rank-and-file members of USWA Local 4208 in Salt Lake City also signed a protest statement.

Telegrams of support have been received during the past week from Rev. Fred Taylor, Southern Christian Leadership Conference director of chapters and affiliates; Steve Torney, District Council 7 of United Electrical Workers; and Staughton Lynd. —N.C.

'Courageous fellows who don't give up'



Militant/Nancy Cole

GERALD CORNETTE

BIRMINGHAM—"It's an honor for me to be here with Nelson and Eric—courageous fellows who don't give up on struggles. Mine workers don't give up on struggles either," said Gerald Cornette in his greetings to the Socialist Workers Party rally here.

Cornette is president of United Mine Workers Local 8771 at the Jericol mine in Harlan County, Kentucky. Local 8771 has been on strike now for nineteen months (see story, page 18).

Cornette explained how in Harlan County, after miners had won union recognition at the Brookside mine in 1972, there was an attempt to organize the KKK.

"It failed, and in six months you didn't hear anything more about the Klan. It is an attempt to use working people, Black and white, against each other. It cannot be tolerated. We have to stop it."

Cornette went on to offer his opinion on the two capitalist parties. "The Republicans never promise workers anything. The Democrats promise, but they never deliver."

"There must be an upsurge in this country toward unionism like the '30s. And we must all work together, Black and white workers, to make a workers party so that we can all enjoy the fruits of our labor."

"This society has used Black and white against each other for 100 years. It is time it stopped. I think this is beginning in Birmingham. You people are showing the Klan."

North Carolina workers say 'Go Teamsters!'

By Bill Rogers

GREENSBORO, N.C.—“Go Union Carbide,” says the T-shirt being given away to employees of the company in nearby Asheboro. Only five workers wear it.

Most of the 1,400 workers at Union Carbide's two nonunion plants there prefer another T-shirt. “Go Teamsters,” it says.

Union Carbide is worried. What is happening in Asheboro is reminiscent of events that have already unfolded in Lexington, just twenty miles away.

Last summer the waitresses at the cafe on Lexington's main street wore the union T-shirt as they served their customers. So did the workers at five plants around Lexington who rallied at plant gates and paraded through town in their pickups. A quarter of the work force around Lexington—3,500 workers—joined the union.

Since December 1977, more than 9,000 workers at twenty-odd plants throughout the North Carolina Piedmont have signed up with Teamsters Local 391.

“Small towns in North Carolina are big in American industry,” boasts the state's Department of Commerce in a

recent *Business Week* advertisement.

“Of course, something besides wholesome livability makes our towns attractive to new business,” the ad says. “The work ethic still exists here.”

This “work ethic” for workers at Binnings, Inc. in Lexington meant wages of \$3.72 an hour, or \$2.65 an hour less than the national average manufacturing wage. It meant poor hospitalization insurance and no right to be recalled if laid off.

Workers at Binning voted for the union last May.

“It's the people themselves who are demanding the unions,” says Teamsters organizer Vicki Saporta. “We're getting calls from around the state.”

In one case, more than fifty workers drove to the Teamsters' office after work to see how they could get a union.

A worker at Hanes Dye and Finishing, a textile plant in Winston-Salem, walked into the Teamsters' office one day and picked up a stack of union cards from a temporary secretary. He signed up 300 of his 375 co-workers. The Teamsters filed June 5 for a union election at Hanes.

Saporta and other union organizers

have become favorite targets of the companies and their anti-union mouthpieces.

Lexington Chamber of Commerce Vice-president Rhodes Batson compared Saporta to the Rev. Jim Jones and Adolph Hitler. “It's charisma,” he says. “These people have the ability above and beyond the normal person.”

But workers are not joining Teamsters Local 391 because of the supernatural.

For more than a decade, big business has tried to convince its workers that they would eventually benefit from industrialization in the South. And while the personal income for southern workers lagged behind the nation as a whole, it did increase at a quicker rate from 1963 as the South's industrial output grew faster than the rest of the country.

From 1963 to 1976 the difference between the southern worker's income and his or her national counterpart narrowed from 16 to 12 percent.

However, in North Carolina the trend has reversed in the past two years. While industrial investments in the state reached a record \$3.45 billion

in 1977 and 1978, personal and per capita income growth have fallen below the national average.

While more and more industry is moving into the state, the standard of living is getting worse.

North Carolina's workers are turning to the unions for solutions.

“People want to join the winning team. If they think you're going to win, they'll be with you,” says Vicki Saporta.

Part of the reason for the success of Teamsters Local 391 is its forty-one-year history in the area. Yet, in less than two years it has nearly doubled its membership.

A Teamster contract at the Miller Brewery in Eden, North Carolina, set a wage rate of \$9.25 an hour for the nearly 1,000 brewery workers. In Eden, as in Lexington and Asheboro, the union campaign spilled over into the town and country, raising the expectations of textile and tobacco workers. These workers' unions have been weakened and isolated by the companies through the years.

Edna, Lexington, and Asheboro are only the beginning. There are a lot of “small towns” in North Carolina.

Unorganized workers want unions, poll finds

By Harry Ring

The union movement could double in size tomorrow.

This is one conclusion of a University of Michigan survey conducted for the U.S. Department of Labor.

The survey found that among unorganized blue-collar workers, 39 percent would vote right now in favor of union representation. Among Black and other minority workers it's a solid 67 percent.

In the South, fully 35 percent of all unorganized workers—white and Black, white-collar and blue-collar—would vote for unions.

These findings were published in the April issue of *Monthly Labor Review*, a Department of Labor publication. The figures are from a study made in 1977. It's safe to assume that the runaway inflation of the past two years has boosted the pro-union figure even higher.

And those figures, of course, are in the absence of any major national unionizing drive.

The study estimates there are 79 million people employed in the nonagricultural work force today and about 22 million of these are union members. With 33 percent of the remaining 57 million ready to vote union, another 19 million workers could be added to the ranks of organized labor.

The survey has special significance for the great challenge facing labor today—unionizing the South.

In every category of southern workers, the study reports, pro-union sentiment is not significantly different from in the North—with the only measurable exception being southern white-collar workers.

This study gives the lie to the employer claim that worker opposition to unions is the reason the South remains an open-shop stronghold. The real reason is to be found in the employer-government conspiracy to block the unions.

They've used right-to-scab laws as an anti-union weapon. Where that isn't enough, the federal government steps in to strangle unionism in the red tape of the National Labor Relations Board and the courts. And, as was demonstrated in the recent Steelworkers' strike at Newport News, Virginia, they're always ready to unleash cops and dogs against workers fighting to establish a union.

It must be added that the lack of stomach for a fight on the part of the union bureaucrats, along with their readiness to rely on government “friends” instead of the strength of the workers, doesn't help. But the problem is not the workers.

The strikingly higher pro-union sentiment among Blacks confirms—as the Newport News strike showed in practice—that they will be vanguard fighters for the union cause. It also



Newport News, Virginia. Poll confirmed that highest pro-union sentiment is among Black workers.

illustrates why union defense of Black and women's rights, such as the labor victory for affirmative action in the *Weber* case, is crucial for success in organizing.

This growth of pro-union sentiment marks a great step forward for labor.

It wasn't always that way. When the CIO began in the 1930s, the union movement was tiny. There was only a relative handful of skilled workers organized into mainly lily-white AFL craft unions.

When the CIO started organizing in industries such as auto, steel, and rubber, it took a lot to persuade the first groups of workers to sign up. They had to be convinced they weren't sticking their necks out for a losing cause.

But once the drive got going, workers poured in. In a wave of strikes—including sit-ins occupying the factories—they made the industrialists do something they had sworn they never would: sign a union contract. (“Not til hell freezes over,” vowed old Henry Ford.)

Today, with working people under fierce attack by the employers and government, it's a matter of life and death for the unions to finish the job. The alternatives are clear: either the South will be unionized, or “southern” conditions of low wages and job insecurity will move north, east, and west.

A big challenge? Of course. But not because the unorganized workers are unready for it. Or that the already unionized workers wouldn't rally to the cause.

Union members today are deeply committed to the union movement. And that's *despite* their keen sense of the defects of their officialdom.

The survey found, for example, that the greatest dissatisfaction is with the way grievances are handled, or not handled, and the general lack of responsiveness by officials to the rank and file. Despite that dissatisfaction, the pollsters said, 73 percent of union members say they are either “satisfied” or “greatly satisfied” with their unions.

The consciousness goes deeper. Wages and hours are key. But workers want something more from their unions. They want less dehumanization on the job. They want more meaningful work. Some two-thirds of those polled said they wanted their unions to exert effort toward “improving the quality of work aspects of their jobs.”

This finding coincides with other studies about working people today. One sociologist told the *New York Times* recently, “This work force . . . postulates human rights as a given, not a gift.”

And the vice-president of a major polling company added, “People are coming to work with different expectations. . . . Americans are more interested in social fulfillment; there is a demand for personal recognition, for respect, for a chance to be heard.”

A powerful, organized, united labor movement is the key to advancing toward that goal.

Union and nonunion workers alike are ready for it. It's time to move.

Dellinger exposes Bae

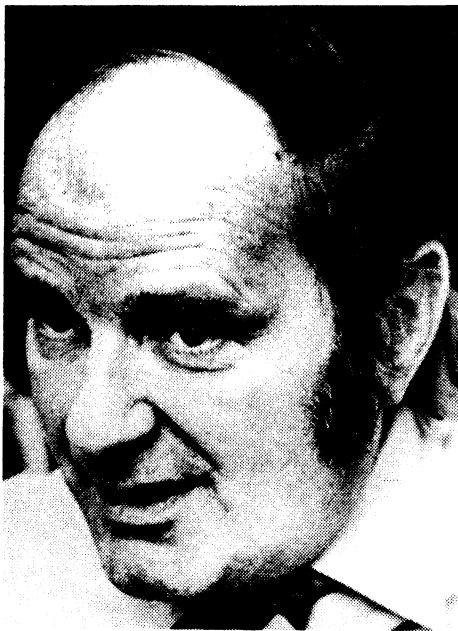
Anti-Vietnam 'open letter' based o

The following is excerpted from an article by Dave Dellinger, a leader of the movement against the war in Vietnam. It appeared in the June 29 issue of 'Seven Days' magazine under the title, 'American Roulette: In war or peace, it's always the Vietnamese who get shot at.'

About two weeks ago I was looking over *The Pentagon Papers* in preparation for a speech to be given the next day at a rally protesting a University of Chicago award to former "Defense" Secretary Robert McNamara for his "contribution to peace and international understanding."

The phone rang; it was Joan Baez, asking me to sign an "Open Letter to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam." To my amazement, the letter said that "the cruelty, violence and oppression practiced by foreign powers in your country for more than a century continue today under the present regime."

The next day, 3,000 demonstrators protested the award to McNamara. Speakers cited the incredible devastation imposed on Vietnam by carpet bombing; chemical warfare; and the



DAVE DELLINGER

Phoenix program of assassinating an estimated 70,000 individuals suspected of belonging to the "infrastructure."

Speakers also pointed out that the United States is currently continuing its hostile policies by other means, through an embargo on trade, aid, and credits, despite acute shortages of food, medicine, and other necessities.

A week later, Joan Baez's "Open Letter" appeared as a full-page advertisement in five major newspapers. Ever since there has been a nationwide spate of news stories and columns, most of them less interested in weighing the accuracy of the charges or checking their source (other than Baez) than in commenting on the supposed virtues of the signers and defects of those who refused to sign.

Jack Newfield wrote in the *Village Voice*:

"I view authoritarianism and totalitarianism as the great crimes of the 20th century. To be silent, or neutral . . . is to be an accomplice to these historical felonies. . . . Those who signed this manifesto . . . should be honored for the universal consistency of their conscience. . . . Those who refused . . . lack the intellectual honesty of the single standard."

I won't accuse Newfield, Baez, or most of the signers of intellectual dishonesty. But I do accuse them of failing to do their homework on either Vietnam or the CIA. By lining up uncritically behind wildly inflated charges from discredited sources, they have made it easier for the United States to continue its present policies of denying the Vietnamese people the emergency relief they desperately need—let alone the reparations, trade and credits.

As an indication of Newfield's honesty, he writes that "there is no evidence of systematic physical torture in Vietnam." But as a sign of his charging prematurely into print and being gored by his own material, he failed to notice that the "Open Letter to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam,"

which he condemns some of us for not signing, asserts unequivocally that "thousands of innocent Vietnamese . . . are being tortured" and appeals to the Vietnamese "to end the torture."

The material circulated by Baez includes reprints from *Le Monde*, the *London Observer*, and *Washington Post*, and *Newsweek*. But all four stories originated from interviews with one individual, Doan Van Toai, who also visited Baez in her home.

Two of the most widely known individuals whom Toai claims have been arrested have specifically denied it. They did so personally, to Paul Quinn Judge, a Quaker relief worker who returned to Saigon in August 1978 and, two months earlier, in an indignant letter to the Association of Vietnamese in Paris.

One is Nguyen Van Hieu, one of the commanders of the 1968 Tet offensive whose arrest was falsely reported in *Le Monde*, courtesy of Toai. The other is Ton That Duong Ky, identified by Toai as former vice president of the NLF.

Toai lists Ky as one of the eight signers of "The Disinherited Vietnamese Manifesto on Human Rights," a key document in Toai and Baez's arsenal. The *Washington Post* has pointed out that Toai claimed that he smuggled it out of Vietnam in his rectum but "lost it . . . and had to rewrite it from memory."

Ky calls the document "a cruel and stupid trick, for its cruel but stupid CIA style."

In a similar vein, I have read or been told several times that Mme. Nguyen Thi Binh, Mme. Ngo Bha Thanh, Huynh Tan Mam, and Ngo Cong Duc, prominent resisters of varied political views during the war, have been incarcerated by the new regime. Three of the four I saw personally in Hanoi or Ho Chi Minh City after the rumors were circulated. The fourth has been seen recently by American visitors.

Huynh Tan Mam (whom I know personally and consider reliable), former president of the Saigon Student



Open letter 'is being used to strengthen

Association, writes that Toai was indeed arrested, as he claims, along with Mam himself in December 1969. Mam says that "under the relentless pressure of the struggle movement, the Thieu regime was forced to release us two weeks later."

"However [he continues] Toai's life changed a great deal after that; he went to work in a private car and lavishly spent money. . . . Students began to let it be known that he had been bribed and now was in the pay of the Thieu-Khiem clique. . . . In 1970, Toai traveled to South Korea, Japan, Thailand and the Philippines . . . organizing an "Asian Student Anti-Communist League."

Pro-Beijing Stalinists back im

By Fred Feldman

The "Open Letter to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam," signed by United Auto Workers President Douglas Fraser and pacifist folksinger Joan Baez, among others, was a vicious attack on the Vietnamese revolution. It appeared in major newspapers May 30.

Using unsupported allegations of human rights violations as a pretext, the open letter denounced the Vietnamese revolution as a "nightmare." It declared the practices of the new regime to be as bad as, if not worse than, the "cruelty, violence and oppression practiced by foreign powers."

The open letter is right in step with the current propaganda campaign aimed at justifying the U.S. rulers' war against Vietnam and preparing public opinion for new Vietnams.

The organizers of the open letter followed it up with a high-pressure effort—heavily supported by the capitalist press—to line up other liberals behind the attack on the Vietnamese revolution. Those who refused have been the subjects of red-baiting attacks.

Among those who have buckled under this pressure is Aryeh Neier, former executive director of the Ameri-

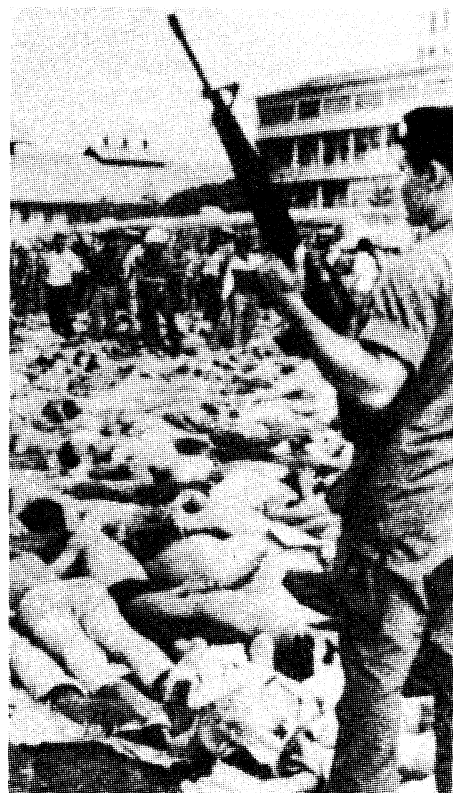
can Civil Liberties Union. In the June 23 issue of the *Nation* magazine, he hails the open letter even though he himself admits there is no proof for many of its charges.

While the support of some former antiwar activists for the open letter may come as a surprise, one recent endorsement is no surprise at all. The Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) enthused over the anti-Vietnam pronouncement in the June 18 issue of its newspaper *The Call*.

In its June 25 issue the *Call* also published an interview with Baez, in which she denounced the Vietnamese role in toppling the Pol Pot tyranny.

The CPML tries to earn its keep by parroting the positions taken by the Stalinist regime in Beijing (Peking). Since the Beijing rulers are helping U.S. imperialism's efforts to contain the Indochinese revolution, in exchange for diplomatic and economic deals, the CPML's support comes as part of the package.

But the CPML doesn't think the signers of the open letter went far enough in fabricating charges against the Vietnamese revolution. So it attributes to the open letter a few of its own inventions.



Students under military guard after bloodbath that accompanied 1976 coup in Thailand. CPML fears Vietnamese revolution undermines stability of Thai dictatorship.

The *Call* asserts: "The appeal gives several examples of human rights violations specifically charging . . . that even those who fought alongside the National Liberation Front are being detained, tortured or executed because they disagree with the government."

Not even the open letter dared charge that prisoners are being executed in Vietnam. It is too well known that executions on any charges have been extremely rare since the war ended in 1975.

And the *Call*—like the organizers and signers of the open letter—conceals the fact that the 1977 and 1978 reports on Vietnam issued by Amnesty International do not list a single verified instance of torture.

"The thrust of [the open letter] is a progressive one," declares the *Call*, "especially in the light of the role Vietnam is playing in the world today. With Vietnamese troops occupying Kampuchea (Cambodia), threatening Thailand and carrying out provocations on the Chinese border, and with hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese becoming destitute refugees . . . the statement addresses itself justifiably to what type of social system the Vietnamese leaders are creating at home."

Baez slanders

on CIA lies



the current campaign to justify the war retroactively.

In 1970, Toai also visited the United States. Doug Hostetter and other activists in the U.S. National Student Association (NSA) suggested at the time he might be a CIA agent. Hostetter, who currently is a resource specialist . . . for the United Methodist Federation, tells me that he concluded this was the case, because of the speeches Toai made and also because he found out that Toai's trip was not paid for by the Saigon Student Association, which he claimed to be representing. Later, the NSA learned that Toai had been expelled from the association and denounced as an informant.

When I remonstrated with Joan Baez about the danger that her infor-

mation was inaccurate and her charges exaggerated, she replied: "I'm not worried. If there are only 20 individuals unjustly imprisoned in Vietnam, I want to speak up for them. That's the least I can do."

But that isn't the least she has done. She has spoken up for "thousands upon thousands."

Unfortunately [Baez's open letter] is being used to strengthen the current campaign to justify the war retroactively. Along with the McNamara award, the *Deer Hunter* calumny, the Stratton book, etc., the Baez charges make it easier to restore the draft and send U.S. military troops to the Middle East, Africa, and other "trouble spots."

imperialist drive

This is a rehash of the imperialist propaganda that portrays Vietnam as an aggressor for resisting imperialist-inspired attacks, and denounces it for daring to overturn capitalist property relations in the South.

Completely unmentioned by the *Call* are the murderous attacks the Pol Pot regime in Kampuchea launched against Vietnam's border regions, forcing the Vietnamese to defend themselves. Completely unmentioned is the Thai military dictatorship's active role in supporting the Khmer Rouge, including the use of Thai troops inside Kampuchea. Completely unmentioned is the invasion Beijing launched at imperialism's behest, which resulted in the devastation of large areas of northern Vietnam.

And, of course, the *Call* omits the fact that the "destitute refugees" leaving Vietnam are the wealthy and highly privileged classes, who are leaving because the workers and peasants of Vietnam have made a socialist revolution.

The reference to Thailand and Kampuchea should tip off an alert reader to the *Call's* program for human rights in Indochina. Their model is the Pol Pot regime, which was toppled last

January. Ieng Sary, second in command in that government, has admitted the regime's complicity in the slaughter of hundreds of thousands of Kampuchean.

If the Pol Pot regime is too blatant for your taste, the *Call* also offers the Thai regime as an alternative to the horrible regime in Vietnam. This military dictatorship has hung onto power by murdering thousands of workers, peasants, and students. The main goal of U.S. imperialism in Southeast Asia—and therefore of its suitors in Beijing—is to prevent the Thai masses from following the example of those in Vietnam.

Pol Pot and his Thai allies meet the *Call's* high human rights standards for one reason and one reason only: both are opposed to socialist revolution in Indochina.

There was a time when—echoing the Beijing bureaucrats in an earlier incarnation—the leaders of the CPML were fond of calling opponents of all stripes "running dogs of imperialism." It would be hard to find a more apt description of the CPML today, as it does its little bit to help imperialism's war drive against the peoples of Indochina.

Hamtramck workers hit plant closing

Taking the United Auto Workers by surprise May 29, Chrysler announced plans to shut down its Dodge Main assembly plant. Citing its need to cut costs and boost profits, the company targeted 1,000 Dodge workers for layoff this summer. The remaining 4,000 will be out on the streets a year from now.

Dodge Main is the chief employer in Hamtramck, a working-class Polish-American community surrounded by Detroit. At seventy years old, it is one of the oldest assembly plants in the area.

Two 'Militant' correspondents, both Detroit auto workers, visited the plant during shift changes to speak with members of UAW Local 3 about their impending layoffs.

By Mac Warren and Elizabeth Ziers

HAMTRAMCK, Mich.—Workers at Dodge Main are still stunned. In a year their plant will close its doors for good and they'll all be out of a job. This to look forward to in an urban area already suffering from catastrophic unemployment.

As they get over their initial shock at Chrysler's announcement, Dodge workers are growing angry. More than 2,000 swelled a protest march and rally called by the United Auto Workers here June 3.

The workers we spoke with want to do something—to fight back. But no one is sure what to do, what will work, how they can save their jobs.

James Turnborg is close to retirement. He knows very well how ruthless Chrysler can be when its profits are at stake.

"Corporations are always trying to make more money. That's the only reason they're moving out. They don't care anything about people. They'll move South where they can get cheaper labor."

Some believe Chrysler's threat is a bluff—a cynical maneuver to rip off more tax breaks and loans from the working people of Detroit and Hamtramck.

"It's a gimmick to get some extra money for remodeling," said Willie Copeland.

Another worker called Chrysler's plan a "game." "If I know I can get you scared," he explained, "you'll bring your ass into the gate every day. You'll make more cars and my profits will go up."

Chrysler claims it will "relocate" most of the laid-off workers—1,800 at its Jefferson Avenue plant and the bulk through "attrition" at other plants in Detroit. But few take the company's promises seriously.

"They won't relocate very many," said a worker named Jake. "They've got too many people out on the streets now."

What workers do take seriously is the news that Chrysler's Supplemental Unemployment Benefits fund will run dry this August—just in time for the first wave of layoffs.

We asked workers whether they believe Chrysler really can't afford to keep Dodge Main open or pay SUB benefits.

"If you're asking me if Chrysler is as broke as they seem—no, no, no," answered a worker nicknamed "C.C." "They're not as broke as they're putting on. But you know that's what business is all about."

The workers we spoke with are looking in two directions for help—to their union and to the government.

They sense that the scope of this

disaster demands a political response.

"If things keep on like this, people are just going to start dropping on the streets," said one laid-off Dodge worker. "I'm serious. That's the reality. It's going to happen. The government's got to do something."

"The government has to step in," said one woman. "I don't know just what they should do. But they should step in on the people's side."

Mixed with this sentiment for government action is plenty of frustration with the performance of Democratic and Republican politicians so far.

"I have no faith in [Detroit mayor] Coleman Young as far as Hamtramck is concerned," said Jake. "He's too busy worrying about whether the Democrats come into office next year."

"Every time we have a problem we go to the Democrats, who are supposed to be our friends," said Edith Fox, a Dodge worker for thirty-one years. "But every problem we bring to these 'friends' gets resolved in the interests of the corporations, not the workers."

What should the UAW do to stop the shutdown? we asked.

"We need all the support we can get to keep this plant open," Willie Copeland told us. "And all the power we can get."

Some workers point out that the UAW is weakened when some members are laid off while most auto workers are on overtime.

"Dodge Main's got us on nine and a half hours on Saturdays and nine hours all week long," Kenneth told us. "Now they're talking about closing the plant. They're making us dig our own graves."

Fighting the threatened shutdown in the course of the UAW's upcoming contract talks is one concrete proposal we heard.

Many, however, are doubtful that the union will defend their jobs. They complain of lack of communication from UAW leaders and disinterest in their views of what should be done.

"The unions have to be changed," said Kenneth. "My father was a chief steward in Local 9190 during the 1940s and '50s. They used to sit down in the plant to get what they wanted. The whole thing was about organizing a union for the people—because the company was taking too much from them, and they're still doing the same thing."

Moments later, an impromptu rally got started outside the plant gates. Workers took turns speaking out on the layoffs.

"People say we ain't got no union," Sam Johnson told the crowd. "But who do you think the union is? We are the union. We just haven't decided to fight yet. When we start fighting and stop running, Chrysler won't know what hit them."



'C.C.'



JAMES TURNBORG

Militant/Elizabeth Ziers

New attempt to sell the frame-up of Julius

By Harry Ring

Confronted with a deepening social crisis, the U.S. ruling rich are trying to reassert their military might and intensify their attacks on democratic rights at home and abroad.

To legitimize this, they are attempting to revive anticommunism. But they have a problem. Today their 1950s-style cold war hysteria has been thoroughly discredited. The credibility of the two capitalist parties is at a low ebb.

If American working people are to be conned into believing that communism, not capitalism, is at the root of their escalating problems, a more credible anticommunist voice is needed.

Recently, three figures associated with the left offered their services toward this end. Ronald Radosh, a member of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, and Sol Stern, a former editor of *Ramparts*, wrote an article in the June 23 *New Republic* titled "The Hidden Rosenberg Case."

Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were executed in 1953 on the charge of stealing the "secret" of the atom bomb. The *New Republic* article tries to establish that the case was not the monstrous frameup that millions of Americans have come to recognize it as.

The authors claim to have unearthed new evidence which "badly undermines the argument of total innocence" in the case of Julius Rosenberg. On the basis of testimony from a "uniquely placed source," they assert, it can now be established that Julius Rosenberg was in fact a Soviet spy.

Their "source" is none other than James Weinstein, editor of the social-democratic weekly, *In These Times*.

Stern and Radosh do agree that Ethel Rosenberg was framed by the government and offer some recent information confirming this. This

"clearing" of Ethel Rosenberg is apparently intended to give greater weight and "objectivity" to their allegation that Julius Rosenberg was "guilty."

The article is introduced by a *New Republic* editorial which treats the story as a bonanza for the magazine's liberal variety of anticommunism.

The Stern-Radosh article "attacks the very heart of the Rosenberg defense," the editors say.

"The new evidence," they proclaim, "confirms Julius's role in a spy network composed of ostensibly ordinary people whose prime political conviction happened to be a belief in the special world mission of communist Russia."

Pillar of cold war

The trial of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, and the execution of both, was a major pillar of the cold war and anti-communist witch-hunt of the 1950s.

Their murder was used to intimidate union militants, socialists, members of the Communist Party, liberals—anyone with a dissenting view.

The case became the major symbol of the 1950s witch-hunt, when the government moved to purge the unions and house-break the labor movement. The government was determined to crush any opposition to its aggression abroad, particularly in Korea.

Thousands of unionists lost their jobs and were blacklisted. Leaders of the Communist Party, writers, and others went to jail.

The attempt to give new credence to the now thoroughly discredited frameup of the Rosenbergs is aimed at rewriting the history of the whole witch-hunt. It comes at a time when revelations about the government's spying—and its role in the Rosenberg case in particular—have exposed the myth of "American democracy" for millions.



This cartoon marking the execution of the Rosenbergs appeared in the 'Militant' June 29, 1953.

What do Radosh and Stern try to prove in this new article about the Rosenberg case?

They write that "new evidence had led us to the inescapable conclusion that Julius Rosenberg was indeed at the hub of an espionage network that continued to operate until his arrest in 1950."

Their star witness is James Weinstein. In an interview with Weinstein,

they write, he told them that in 1948-49 he roomed with a man named Max Finestone at Cornell University. Both were members of the Communist Party.

One day, according to Weinstein, Finestone told him he was quitting the party to do "secret work."

Later in 1949, Finestone once asked Weinstein to drive a friend to New York City. The friend was introduced only as "Julius."

Weinstein reports, according to the article, that "Julius" sat in the back of the car and never said a word."

In 1950, the same "Julius" appeared at Weinstein's door one day looking for Finestone.

Soon after, Weinstein read about the arrest of Rosenberg and recognized him from the news photos.

The significance of this story, Radosh and Stern assert, is that it confirms the details of a story told to the FBI by a stool pigeon named James Tartakow.

Tartakow was in the same prison with Rosenberg while Rosenberg was awaiting trial. According to Radosh and Stern, he gained Rosenberg's full confidence. "In conversations stretching over six months," they write, "Julius divulged details about the [spy] network during the period before his arrest."

"It's hard to believe Julius Rosenberg really talked about these things in jail," the authors quickly admit.

Yet, we're asked to assume, in prison, with the certain awareness he was under surveillance, Rosenberg bared all to a fellow inmate.

This is the heart of the Stern-Radosh "case." James Weinstein confirming the FBI's version of a stool pigeon's story. And it proves nothing.

By the author's own admission, the events they say implicate Rosenberg occurred in 1949 and 1950, three years after the end of World War II.

What trial was about

Rosenberg was convicted of wartime espionage. The espionage act permits the death penalty only for acts committed in time of war.

Nor was the government's purpose in the trial to expose a postwar Soviet spy ring, as Radosh and Stern claim. The overriding issue in the case was to convince the American people that treasonous "communists" had stolen the "secret" of the bomb to give to the

The Rosenbergs: victims of cold war

Julius and Ethel Rosenberg died in the electric chair June 19, 1953. They had been convicted of conspiring to commit espionage and delivering the "secret" of the atom bomb to the Soviet Union.

Both went to their deaths declaring their innocence.

Morton Sobell, charged with being a coconspirator, was sentenced to thirty years in prison.

The National Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case, set up by Michael and Robert Meeropol, the Rosenbergs' sons, has exposed many of the facts surrounding this monstrous frameup.

The most important government witness was David Greenglass, the brother of Ethel Rosenberg. An

Army enlistee, Greenglass worked as a machinist at the secret Manhattan Project in Los Alamos, New Mexico, where the atom bomb was built.

Greenglass named his brother-in-law Julius as the person who induced him to "steal" the "secret" of the atom bomb. A high school graduate with no scientific training, Greenglass claimed that Rosenberg described the bomb for him, "so I would know what to look for."

After the trial, a copy of the bomb sketch Greenglass said he had given Rosenberg was made public. Philip Morrison, one of the scientists who played a key role in developing the bomb, described the sketch as a worthless "caricature."

Greenglass's initial story involved

only his brother-in-law. Under further questioning, he then added his sister Ethel to the "plot." Government records released under the Freedom of Information Act establish there wasn't a shred of evidence against her.

The other principal government witness, Harry Gold, was a self-asserted atom spy who proved, on the record, to be a pathological liar. Government documents establish that his elaborately embroidered story is so shot through with contradictions as to render it worthless.

The one tangible piece of evidence to corroborate his story, a hotel registration card, was shown to be an FBI forgery.

This and many other aspects of the frame-up are detailed in Miriam and Walter Schner's book, *Invitation to an Inquest*.

The sole witness against "accomplice" Morton Sobell was Max Elichter, a former friend. At the time, Elichter faced a possible perjury charge for signing a job-related "loyalty" affidavit stating he had not been a member of the Communist Party.

An ominous added feature of the trial was its use to fan anti-semitism.

The three defendants were Jews, as were the principal government witnesses against them.

To counter the charge of antisemitism in advance, the government assigned a Jewish judge and Jewish prosecutors. That delicate touch was as transparent as the rest of the frame-up.

—H.R.



These sketches of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg were presented to their sons Robert and Michael Meeropol by the late Pablo Picasso.

and Ethel Rosenberg

Soviet Union.

They wanted to establish this to fan the witch-hunt against the labor movement and justify the invasion of Korea.

In his summation to the jury, U.S. attorney Irving Saypol declared:

"We know that these conspirators stole the most important scientific secrets known to mankind from this country and delivered them to the Soviet Union."

Pronouncing the death sentence, Judge Irving Kaufman declared: "I consider your crime worse than murder." He charged that the Rosenbergs were responsible for "the Communist aggression in Korea" and that "millions more innocent people may pay the price of your treason."

Anticommunist logic

While Radosh, Stern, and Weinstein are cautious about their statements, the accompanying editorial in the *New Republic* draws out the anticommunist logic of the article.

Mistakes were made during the witch-hunt, the editorial concedes. The Rosenbergs should not have been executed. But what was wrong with McCarthyism was that it represented an unfortunate departure for "American democracy"—from "those demanding principles and values that distinguish it from its tyrannical enemies."

"Skepticism" about the U.S. government "ought not to make us credulous about those in the world who have taken up the anti-American vocation," the editorial continues.

"Let us, for the sake of both past and future, recall that left: its soft spot for dictators, its contempt for scruples, its abuse of language and people . . ."

This red-baiting demagoguery is intended to deflect attention from where the real "soft spot for dictators" lies—at the U.S. government's doorstep.

This is a smokescreen to conceal the fact that it is U.S. imperialism that is the source of war and suffering around the world.

It was the United States that invaded Korea.

It was U.S. troops that waged war for a decade against the Vietnamese people.

It was U.S.-organized counterrevolutionaries that invaded Cuba in 1961.

It was U.S. Marines that occupied Santo Domingo in 1965.

And it was U.S. Marines that installed the murderous Somoza dynasty in Nicaragua.

At the same time, the *New Republic* editors falsely equate the Stalinist policies of the Soviet bureaucracy, and support for those policies by the American Communist Party, with socialism and the entire left.

The editors are not concerned with Stalinist repression in the Soviet

Union, nor, certainly, with the Kremlin's betrayal of revolutionary struggles around the world. Their only concern is to promote the McCarthyite thesis of a "conspiracy" to establish "world communist domination."

Why now?

Why do Radosh, Stern, and Weinstein come forward now to give credence to the Rosenberg case, modified to be sure—it was only half a frame-up!—when it so clearly will be used by the ruling class?

Their action is a capitulation at a time when a sharp polarization is taking place in this country. The capitalists are on an economic and military offensive, justified through an ideological campaign that seeks to reverse the deepening opposition to their policies among working people.

Some petty-bourgeois radicals—who say they favor social change but preclude the possibility of the working class accomplishing it—have buckled under the pressure of the rulers' propaganda. Another recent example of this is the open letter signed by Joan Baez and others, denouncing tyranny—in Vietnam.

What a service that letter is to the warmakers! Look, they piously declare, maybe we made some mistakes in Vietnam, but we were fighting communist tyranny there. Even the antiwar singer Joan Baez now says so.

Return to fifties?

Does all this, then, constitute a return to the fifties?

Far from it.

The U.S. ruling circles would surely like to revive the McCarthyism of the 1950s. They would like to reestablish the unrestricted, secret police functioning of agencies like the FBI and CIA. But it's not easy.

Because of its defeat in Vietnam, the Watergate revelations, and the economic recession, American capitalism will never be the same.

The U.S. government is more distrusted than ever before. There is a deepgoing antiwar sentiment that is proving a powerful barrier to direct military aggression abroad.

Working people in the United States are angry—about the oil ripoff, Three Mile Island, and the other crises brought about by capitalism. They realize that the worst is yet to come—more inflation, deeper recession, more shortages, cutbacks, pollution.

In this situation the ranks of labor are already beginning to move. As that mighty force gains momentum, the employers will need more than a *New Republic* and "objective" social democratic whitewashers of the Rosenberg frameup to bail them out.

NOW chapters call for democratic convention

Protest is growing in the National Organization for Women against a statement issued by the NOW National Board on the upcoming election of delegates to the group's October national conference.

The statement—in the name of the NOW National Board Committee on the Socialist Workers Party—was sent to chapter presidents and state coordinators.

The statement falsely charged that SWP members in NOW would attempt to manipulate the election of delegates and discussion at the conference itself.

In response to this statement—an attack on the right of all NOW members to democratically select their representatives to the conference—the state board of New Jersey NOW passed a resolution June 23 and called for the National Board to dissolve its committee on the SWP.

The resolution pointed out that New Jersey NOW "has repeatedly gone on record as supporting an open, democratic NOW organization." It protested "this unwarranted interference in the democratic selection process for National Convention Delegates."

It urged "that the National NOW Board make a strong statement at its July 28-29 meeting in Denver, Colorado, that the only challenges allowable to any delegate/alternate selection be on the factual basis of non-compliance with delegate selection rules."

In addition, the resolution expressed the hope "that a strong statement of our National Board will discourage slander of duly selected conference delegates/alternates by innuendo or unsubstantiated charges. Failure to do this may be viewed as the Board's attempt to stifle opposing views at the National Conference."

Printed below is the text of a protest letter sent out by the Summit Area and Essex County chapters of NOW to chapters and State Coordinators:

Dear Sisters and Brothers in N.O.W.:

You recently received a memorandum from the National Board of Directors of N.O.W. prepared by the Chair of the Committee on the Socialist Workers Party. The memo was prepared as a warning to NOW chapters and leadership to beware of the alleged possible activities of the SWP members within NOW. We are extremely distressed at the tone, content, and intent of this correspondence. It is time for the NOW membership to confront, expose, and put a halt to this shameful display of red-baiting.

This is not the first time that NOW/SWP members have been attacked at a national level. The *National NOW Times* recently published equally vague, unsubstantiated, and untruthful accusations about SWP actions at the most recent National Conference. This prompted the NOW-NJ State Board to pass a resolution condemning the biased, undemocratic tone of the article and reaffirming its longstanding policy welcoming all individuals that subscribe to NOW's goals. (A copy of this resolution is enclosed.) The resolution was sent to the editor of the *National NOW Times* with a request for publication. It was never printed. The suppression of that NOW-NJ resolution compels us now to write directly to all chapters.

Our sisters and brothers who are members of NOW and of the Socialist Workers Party stand accused of being (1) a minority, (2) well-organized, and (3) committed to change within NOW as well as to our mutual feminist goals. No doubt they are "guilty" of all of these. And why not? It is surely the right of any NOW member or group of members to attempt to influence the future course of our organization.

The accusations in the June 15 memo are vague and unsubstantiated. References to "political tactics" and "cooptation efforts" have never been supported by facts. Which chapters are requesting "aid and support in dealing with the SWP activities?" What rural and southern chapters are experiencing increased activity on the part of SWP/NOW members? How many SWP/NOW members are involved? What terrible things are they doing? We believe that the facts would reveal these vague innuendoes to be ludicrous.

The memo also accuses NOW/SWP members of exercising delaying tactics at the last two National Conferences. Our perception of what occurred at the conferences is quite different. The delay and unnecessary expenditure of energy was due to the insistence of some NOW members to discuss not the issues but the proponents of those issues. Labeling, name-calling, fear, and paranoia, rather than rational debate of the merits of the issues, reigned.

The NOW/SWP members in New Jersey are dedicated and active feminists whose goals with respect to all issues of concern to women are exactly the same as other NOW members. The unjust persecution as perpetuated in the June 15 memo forces us to raise these basic questions about our organization: Are we a democratic organization? Do all members have the right to put forth ideas on how to achieve our feminist goals or don't we?

We live in a society where equality of rights is not yet the law, where reproductive freedom is an unsecured right, where sexual preference can destroy a career, where most poor people are women, and where sex discrimination is pervasive. That the National Board should choose to expend time and resources challenging NOW members instead of the forces of discrimination surpasses all understanding.

We urge all NOW chapters and all NOW members to repudiate the June 15 memo and reaffirm our commitment to democratic decision-making in NOW. We urge you to communicate your feeling to the National Board. We urge you to join NOW-NJ in demanding that the National Board immediately dissolve the Committee on the Socialist Workers Party. And, we invite you to communicate your thoughts to us.

If NOW is to remain a force for justice and equality within the larger society, we must insure justice and equality within our own ranks.

[Signed] Deborah Jamison, Coordinator for Summit Area NOW;

Myra Terry-Meisner, Coordinator for Essex County NOW.

Summit Area NOW, the originators of this letter, have no members who are also Socialist Workers Party members. Essex County NOW, the largest and most active chapter in New Jersey, values the contributions of its SWP/NOW members. Please address replies to Summit Area NOW, 17 Daugherty Ave., Gillette, N.J. 07933. This mailing was paid for by individual contributions.



New York demonstration June 19, 1979, commemorating twenty-sixth anniversary of executions of Rosenbergs.

Union fights for its life

Harlan County: miners' battle goes on

By Nancy Cole

CLOSPLINT, Ky.—Back in the 1930s, Closplint, like most communities in Harlan County, was a company town. The Clover Splint Coal Company owned it lock, stock, and barrel. And as far as the company was concerned, it also owned the town's inhabitants.

The United Mine Workers ended that era. The Battle of Evarts in 1931 opened a decade-long period that earned the county its epithet, "Bloody Harlan." Miners gave their lives for the union. And by the end of 1941, "anywhere in this county you went, you couldn't find a scab mine," says Closplint resident Rondie Mink.

That was the year—1941—that twenty-four-year-old Mink left the mines to join the navy. When he returned to Harlan County after World War II, he worked five more years as a miner. Then mechanization and the coal industry downturn exiled him to factory jobs in Dayton, Ohio, for the next eleven years.

But he came back, like thousands of others, when the coal mines began hiring again. Only the Harlan County of 1963 was no longer solidly UMWA. Many union mines never reopened. Others refused to sign UMWA contracts, some opting for a company outfit, the Southern Labor Union. The UMWA officialdom began resorting to sweetheart contracts.

Mink did find work at a union mine—a mine several miles from here that is nowadays named the Jericol mine. He worked there—"fourteen years to the day"—until the nationwide miners' strike shut it down in December 1977.

But Mink and the other Jericol miners never returned to work. The company refused to sign the UMWA contract in March 1978, when the national strike was settled. The Jericol miners are still on the picket lines today, trying to hold onto one of the few union mines remaining in Harlan County.

There is no question that organizing nonunion



Troops marching miners to jail, 1939

they had. I was getting eighteen or twenty cents a ton for loading coal. You'd load it and take it out and weigh it. It had to be clean too. If they found any rock in your coal, they'd fire you.

"They'd only have so many cars, and they'd hired so many men that maybe you'd only get two or three cars a day.

"One reason they hired so many was so no one man would get too much money, and they'd have to spend most of it in the company store."

That was the flip side of what Mink calls the coal miners' oppression—the company store, the company town, the total company control over the miners' lives.

The camp

"At Black Star when I lived there, there was a road come up beside the camp [of company houses]. The camp was fenced up, and the road was blocked with a gate. If you had a car, which most people didn't, you had to leave your car outside the fence.

"The only time that gate was open was if they were delivering stuff from the company store."

Mink remembers a private store owner who tried to sell to the miners, but he had to leave his truck outside and carry his merchandise into the camp. The company tried for three years to buy out another store owner, but he refused. Then he conveniently got killed, and the company bought the store from his widow.

As for safety, Mink said, "I don't see how they ever mined the coal, to tell you the truth, without getting them all killed. I've been in places where there wasn't hardly enough air to get your breath. You'd load a while, then come out, breathe you some air and go back and load some more. I don't see how we survived."

There was no way of checking for the explosive methane gas, which has no smell and is invisible. The company never even told the miners that methane existed.

"I grew up with the United Mine Workers," Mink said. "Before I ever worked in the mines, I'd seen my dad go out many a time before daylight on union business. I don't know what business it was, but he'd get his old .45 out of the dresser drawer.

"He started in the mines in 1917, the year I was born. He joined the United Mine Workers when it first started here, and he stayed in it until he died."

In the early organizing days, "we would have to meet in an empty house with no light. If they knew you were even attempting to organize, you were fired, you were gone."

But it was a battle the miners won. Now the challenge of organizing Harlan County faces the United Mine Workers again.

Jericol strike

"For this county, the Jericol strike means everything. If they get that one settled up there, then they can start organizing. But if it goes down, it's going to be a bad thing for the United Mine Workers," Mink said.

He believes it would take about 2,000 people

marching up the road to the picket line to put the company and the scabs working at Jericol on notice. "They've got it too good now. They've got the state police escorting the scabs. You've got the local government, the state government, and the federal government—everything against us."

The Democrats and Republicans "promise you anything, but do what they want," Mink went on. "Jimmy Carter was going to repeal 14-b of Taft-Hartley [which legalizes the open shop], but I sure haven't seen it."

Carter hasn't come through with his campaign promises for Blacks and women either, noted Mink.

And on the latter subject, "I believe that a large number of women going into the mines would help the United Mine Workers. To tell you the truth, from what I've seen, women miners are more for the union than the men.

"On this Brookside strike—they weren't miners but miners' wives—the women had a bearing on that strike. I've seen those women take switches and whip the state police. I've seen the scabs try to go in with those cars and the women just laid right down across the road."

Nuclear power

Mink is firmly opposed to nuclear power. "The people who tell you that nuclear power is not dangerous are those who want to use it. The utility companies will tell you it's not dangerous, that you get more radiation from the sun than from nuclear plants.

"They've researched the cost of atomic power for electricity and they tell me coal is cheaper." In the long run, Mink believes that "disposing of nuclear wastes is going to be near impossible."

Those who argue that mining coal is just as dangerous or more so than nuclear power don't pull much weight with Mink, who ought to know. "What it boils down to is, miners are killed only because of profit.

"I believe in keeping the air clean and burning coal too. If they have to, they should use the scrubbers," he said.

As a navy man, Mink was sent to Hiroshima less than a year after the atomic bomb was dropped there.

"It was impossible for anything to live. I don't think anything you could put in the air by burning coal could beat that."



Militant/Nancy Cole

RONDIE MINK: UMWA victory in 1930s 'was like when they freed the slaves.'

mines, especially here in the country's biggest coal-producing state, is a life-and-death issue facing the United Mine Workers.

So on a recent trip to Harlan County, *Militant* reporters sat down with Rondie Mink to absorb some of Bloody Harlan's past.

Still a fighter

Mink, sixty-two, has stories enough from the past, and he tells them with relish. But Mink also lives—and fights—today, so he frequently shifts to the present. Things have changed here since the 1930s—but not that much, after all.

"When they began organizing the mines in Harlan County, the companies called in their security guards," he recalled. "We called them gun thugs—company paid.

"You don't have that so much anymore. What they have now is state police—tax-paid. If it wasn't for those state police at Jericol, there wouldn't be a strike. We would have won."

My overly simplistic question about the differences between Harlan County before the UMWA and after brought a chuckle from Mink.

"It was like when they freed the slaves—if you asked one of the slaves, how does it feel to be free?

"Before the union, they told you when to go to work, and you worked until they said quit.

"I went to work at Black Star loading coal. They hired just about anybody who wanted a job. It didn't make any difference to them how many men

You can help...

Coal miners at the Jericol mine have been on strike for nineteen months to defend their right to a United Mine Workers contract. Their strike benefits have been discontinued and they face heavy legal expenses in fighting frame-up charges around picket-line incidents.

Contributions and messages of support can be sent to the Jericol Miners Relief Fund, Box 119, Closplint, Kentucky 40927.

Revolution in Afghanistan faces imperialist offensive

By Ernest Harsch

With the support of American imperialism, counterrevolutionary guerrillas in Afghanistan are fighting to overthrow the regime of Noor Mohammad Taraki and to roll back the progressive social measures that have been carried out since the overthrow of dictator Mohammad Daud in April 1978.

The former military officers, dispossessed landlords, and religious figures leading this reactionary offensive claim that they are fighting to "preserve Islam." But their real goals are economic, not religious.

Their opposition to the measures by the current government to break the economic and social power of the semifeudal landowners is fully shared by their imperialist backers in Washington, who fear the mass mobilizations of workers and peasants that have accompanied these steps.

Since the overthrow of Daud more than a year ago, peasants have benefited from an extensive land reform, in which the holdings of many big landowners have been expropriated and distributed free. About 180,000 families have already received land (out of 680,000 families who stand to gain from the land reform).

Numerous other progressive measures have been taken since the ouster of Daud. Trade unions were legalized for the first time in Afghanistan's history. All debts owed by peasants were canceled. A literacy drive was launched and new schools and medical centers were built in rural areas. Steps were taken to improve the status of women. Publication and education has been promoted in the languages of Afghanistan's various national minorities.

These measures have won the Taraki regime considerable popularity. Hundreds of thousands of persons in Kabul and other cities have demonstrated in support of the gains they have won, frequently marching under red banners and chanting "Death to imperialism!"

The Carter administration is mortally afraid of the process under way in Afghanistan. It fears that the mobilizations of the Afghan workers and peasants could push the Taraki regime even further than it intends to go and lead to the overthrow of capitalism in that country. That would provide a powerful new impetus to mass struggle throughout central and southern Asia, particularly in the neighboring countries of Iran and Pakistan.

Although the White House has made little secret of its hostility toward the regime in Kabul, it has been forced by the widespread antiwar sentiment in the United States to move cautiously. The American imperialists have masked their backing for the counterrevolutionary guerrilla forces by funneling assistance to them through other powers, particularly the military junta of Gen. Zia ul-Haq in Pakistan.

Armed clashes have been reported in a number of Afghanistan's provinces, and on June 23 erupted for the first time in Kabul itself. But the most sustained rightist activity has been in the east, along the border with Pakistan.

The two main rightist groups, the Hezb-i Islami (Islamic Party) and the Jamiat-i Islami (Islamic Brotherhood) operate from bases in Pakistan. Opposition leaders in Pakistan have accused Washington of channeling funds to the guerrillas through that country and of encouraging the Zia regime to launch a vicious propaganda campaign against Kabul.

The reactionary Afghan forces have also received backing from capitalist forces in Iran, acting through Islamic religious figures, and have been allowed to set up an office in the Iranian city of Mashad.

The Khomeini-Bazargan government in Iran fears that the example of progressive social measures in Afghanistan could help to further deepen the Iranian revolution itself. It has denounced the



Christian Science Monitor

Rightist guerrillas are being aided by Pakistani regime.

Taraki regime as "anti-Islamic" in an attempt to undercut sympathy for the Afghan revolution among the Iranian masses and to block the tendency of the two revolutions to reinforce each other.

However, the most immediate threat to the Afghan revolution comes from the U.S.-backed operations in Pakistan.

Besides providing aid to the guerrilla forces, the Zia regime has threatened direct military intervention against Afghanistan. In June, the number of Pakistani troops along the 1,000-mile border with Afghanistan was reinforced and large-scale military maneuvers were carried out. Kabul has accused Pakistani forces of making several incursions across the border.

Some progovernment figures in Pakistan have openly called for an invasion of Afghanistan, under the pretext of coming to the aid of "Islamic freedom fighters."

The danger of such threats is clear.

A victory for imperialism in Afghanistan would not only lead to an overturn of many of the social gains that have been won there, but would also deal a blow to the Iranian revolution. And given Moscow's close ties with Afghanistan (which borders on the Soviet Union), an American-backed attack on that country could risk escalating into a dangerous nuclear confrontation.

Opponents of American imperialist intervention abroad should be fully aware of the dangers in Afghanistan. They should be ready to mobilize against any attacks on the Afghan revolution.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

Ghana: new regime takes radical stance

By Ernest Harsch

Pledging to carry through a "housecleaning exercise" against corrupt officials and businessmen, a group of junior officers and rank-and-file soldiers seized power in Ghana June 4, toppling the military junta of Gen. Frederick Akuffo.

Scores of top-ranking officers were arrested, and army commander Maj. Gen. N.A. Odattey-Wellington was killed.

The new rulers established the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC), chaired by Air Force Lt. Jerry Rawlings. The council has only one officer of commander rank; the rest are junior or noncommissioned officers and one private.

Opposition to price-gouging, hoarding, and rampant corruption among

military, government, and business circles has been a constant theme of council statements. A radio broadcast the morning after the coup declared that "we have plans for a housecleaning exercise and we are going to act on it immediately."

An editorial in a government-owned newspaper stated a few days later that the AFRC "is not after the ordinary man but the big shot who for all this time has been cheating the ordinary man in the street."

Similar points had been raised by Rawlings before the coup, during an earlier abortive attempt to topple Akuffo in May. The prosecutor in Rawlings's subsequent court-martial trial charged that Rawlings had stated that Ghana should "go the Ethiopian way," by purging the country of its corrupt rulers.

According to a report in the June 9 London *Economist*, "Students who flocked by the busload to the court-martial cheered every alleged statement. The news of this support quickly spread and the flight-lieutenant evidently became the hero of the army's other ranks."

On the day before the coup, Rawlings was freed by rebellious infantry troops, who with the support of air force units then moved against the regime itself.

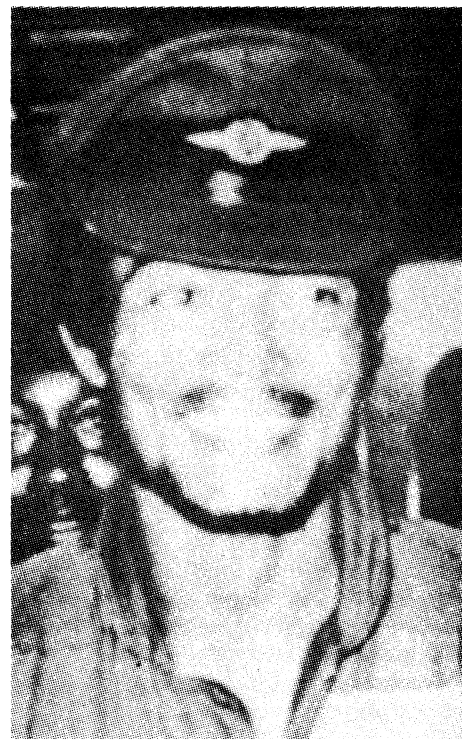
The new military council has set up special tribunals to try individuals accused of corruption. On June 16, Lt. Gen. E.K. Utuka and Ignatius K. Acheampong, a former general who had ruled Ghana with an iron fist for six years, were found guilty of "using their positions to amass wealth while in office and recklessly dissipating state funds to the detriment of the country." They were promptly taken before a firing squad and executed.

In one indication of popular backing for the regime's anticorruption moves, 500 students demonstrated in support of the executions at a school near Accra, the capital, carrying signs that read: "The wages of sin is death" and "Let the blood flow."

The same day as the executions, a council representative revealed that

eighty senior officers and half a dozen civilians had been detained on charges of profiteering and embezzlement. He added that they would be tried, and, if convicted, would be shot.

According to a report by correspondent
Continued on page 22



RAWLINGS: Promises 'housecleaning.'

Interview with Petr Uhl

The struggle in Czechoslovakia

The following interview with dissident Czechoslovak socialist Petr Uhl, originally obtained in January 1979, was excerpted in the June 14 issue of 'Socialist Challenge,' weekly newspaper sponsored by the International Marxist Group, British section of the Fourth International.

Question. When did you become a Marxist?

Answer. I became a Marxist while I was still at college. I was very much influenced by the courses on Marxism, especially those of Professor Jiri Hermach. This was 1958-63. It is interesting for me that today Professor Hermach is one of the signatories of the Charter.

At the beginning I was a reformist. I had a critique of the bureaucratic system but I thought that the faults could be overcome gradually. I was very politicised by my experiences in France during the 1960s. I was there for two months in 1965, then again in 1967, and three times in 1968.

In Paris in 1965 there was this internal crisis and debate in the Communist Party's student organisation, the UEC. There were three tendencies: a "pro-Italian" (Togliatti) tendency, the Trotskyists, and the Stalinists. This is where I first met Alain Krivine,

the leader of the Trotskyist tendency.

I took part in all the big battles. I prepared myself for the discussions and I intervened. I also took part actively in their work. I used to hand out leaflets with the pro-Italian tendency.

I brought back with me from France the famous letter of the Polish dissidents Kuron and Modzelewski. When the Prague Spring, the democratisation process, began in Czechoslovakia in 1968 I translated it into Czech and the Student Parliament in Prague published it and distributed it.

We made about a thousand copies. It was possible to do that then; the bureaucratic structures were loosening up. The translation and publication of the Kuron letter was my first important political act.

Q. What was your personal involvement in 1968?

A. In Prague, in the spring of 1968, there was a left-wing discussion club organised by Zbyněk Fiser (a philosopher, poet, at the time a Maoist, a propagandist of the Peking line, but also in favour of self-organisation and workers' councils). This question of self-organisation and workers' councils was in fact the main issue of discussion in the club.

I played an active role in this club

and was the editor of its Information Bulletin. The club was really an amalgam of the far left, the Stalinists, a few Khrushchevites, and so on. We had about one hundred in Prague, more in the provinces. The club disintegrated at the time of the invasion.

I was also active in the trade union movement. At the time I was a teacher in the Prague Technical College. There was a trade union committee of eight people elected by the college and I was elected to this committee in April 1968.

Through my position in the union structure I was able to participate in union activity at a national level. I was a delegate to nation conferences, for instance, and was able to intervene at this level.

After August I looked for a new milieu to work in. The club had disintegrated. My union was far too weak and also too reformist to offer any real possibility. I was a teacher, and not in industry, so the question of workers' control didn't arise in such an immediate way in my union.

At this point I linked into the student milieu. I had many friends in the Arts Faculty and also in my own faculty from student days. I played an active role in the student strike in November 1968 and out of this strike we formed the Movement of Revolutionary Youth (MRY).



PETR UHL

Q. What role did you play in the creation of the MRY? What were its activities?

A. I played a very central role. My comrades were generally about 24-25 years of age. I was 28, experienced, had been abroad, knew the revolutionary movement in Western Europe, had read and so on.

In the beginning the MRY was a discussion group. It was open; its manifesto was distributed publicly, read publicly at student meetings. But gradually it became more and more clear that we couldn't appear publicly at all.

We produced at this time and distributed a 100-page document which was mostly extracts from Trotsky, Bukharin, three or four articles from Czech Marxists, the Praxis group, Djilas and so on. These all dealt with political, social and philosophical questions and the goal of this action was to promote discussion on the nature of the political and social system. This was done clandestinely.

The MRY had no stable structure. It was very spontaneous. We attempted to form cells but that failed. In June 1969 we discussed what we would do for the first anniversary of the invasion in August 1. Some tracts of a nationalist character already existed, so we decided that we would prepare a Marxist tract. There was no committee which decided this, it was a result of very spontaneous discussions in the group. But under which name could we produce such a tract?

It wasn't possible for us to publish it as the MRY because everyone knew who we were and the police would know who to go for. So we picked on the name Revolutionary Socialist Party as a cover-name for the MRY.

There were two tracts produced, a Manifesto and an Appeal to Youth. I was the principal author of the Manifesto. When it was finished there were a few people who were not happy with it. They then wrote the Appeal to the Youth. But the Appeal was actually a very good text. It was less ideological, but good.

After August 1969 the brutality of the police was so great, and was increasing, that we decided to establish an illegal movement. It was still not a party, but we were much more rigidly organised. We had cells, a coordinating committee, a division of labour and of responsibility.

We were very much against spontaneism but we didn't yet make any attempt at democratic centralism. We were about 100 people. We had a clandestine journal and in the autumn of 1969 we were able to distribute leaflets.

But the political situation was generally very unfavourable. Because we were clandestine we were penetrated by the police. Soon 19 out of 100 were in prison. I got four years.

Q. What kind of balance sheet would you make now of the MRY experience?



Rally in Prague, May 1968. Uhl participated in student strike following Soviet invasion and led formation of Movement of Revolutionary Youth.

A. It was a very positive experience. It was one whole year of concentrated political activity, political activity in a free movement, freely associated. This was something extremely important for us. All our organisations before that were controlled by the state, just as they are now once again.

Nevertheless, it was wrong to found this clandestine organisation in August 1969, because clandestinity can only lead to sectarianism, passivity, and isolation.

I don't say that clandestinity is wrong in general, or that it is always wrong in the states of the Eastern block. But clandestinity is a phenomenon linked to retreat or defeat of the revolutionaries.

Positively, it can conserve revolutionary consciousness. But in the 20th century, in the bureaucratised and degenerated states of Eastern Europe, it is not possible to wage an effective struggle against the political system if we exist in clandestinity.

Q. In the MRY in 1969 you were no longer, shall we say, of the 'pro-Italian' tendency of 1965, but a Trotskyist, a revolutionary Marxist. How did you come to Trotskyism?

A. Already during the Prague Spring in 1968 I was a revolutionary Marxist and I said so openly in the club. I wasn't a member of the Fourth International but I received all the documents of the FI and my best friends were in the French Section.

Also, shortly before 1968, in 1966-67, I had read Trotsky in Czech. I read *The Revolution Betrayed* and a collection of Trotsky's writings from 1927-28. But most important for me were his histories of the Russian Revolution, both 1905 and 1917. Those two works are a great "school of revolution."

I am not a nostalgic Trotskyist. I make a critical analysis of what Trotsky has written and done. Actually I don't like the word Trotskyism and I prefer to speak simply of revolutionary Marxism.

It is wrong to say that there are two antipodes, Trotskyism and Stalinism. I am part of a movement which opposes capitalism and imperialism and consequently I oppose Stalinism. It is my anti-capitalism which is the basis of my political consciousness, and it is this anti-capitalism which takes me to Trotskyism.

I maintain that the only solution to the Czech situation is not bourgeois democracy—although it has more freedoms than we have here now—but a

Free the imprisoned dissidents!

Petr Uhl is one of ten human-rights activists now being held in Czechoslovakia and facing possible prison terms of one to ten years.

The ten, all signers of Charter 77 and members of the Committee for the Defense of the Unjustly Persecuted (VONS), face frame-up charges of "subversion" and "activities inimical to the interest of the Czechoslovak state."

They are: Petr Uhl, Otta Bednarova, Jarmila Belikova, Dr. Vaclav Benda, Jiri Dienstbier, Vaclav Havel, Dr. Ladislav Lis, Vaclav Maly, Dana Nemcova, and Dr. Jiri Nemec.

All ten have been adopted as prisoners of conscience by Amnesty International.

It is urgently requested that telegrams and statements demanding their immediate release be sent to President Gustav Husak, Prague, Czechoslovakia, or to Czechoslovak embassies abroad.

Copies of such messages should be sent to Anna Sabatova, Anglicka 8, Prague 2, Czechoslovakia.

completely different social system, based on self-organisation, with the political structures of a direct democracy, with a real emancipation of the working class, of youth, of women.

When I speak here of organs of direct democracy, of self-organisation, this does not mean I am against parties. What I am against is a system where people cannot make their own decisions but someone else makes decisions for them.

I am in favour of political parties, with clubs, papers, radio and television, agitation and propaganda and the freedom for parties to make proposals, suggestions, present political alternatives which people can choose to follow if they wish—not only follow but participate in.

Parties are a means of politicisation, of education. But they are not organs or exercisers of power. Power must be in the organs of the working class and not in the parties. The workers in the councils, in the organs of direct democracy are not responsible to any parties but only to those who elected them.

World news notes

Common Market halting aid to Vietnam

The imperialist-orchestrated hue and cry over the emigration of "boat people" from Vietnam is providing cover for new efforts to isolate and weaken the Vietnamese revolution.

The July 4 *International Herald Tribune*, published in Paris, reported that "the Common Market intends to halt aid to Vietnam, amounting to \$34 million this year and channel it to relief programs for Vietnamese refugees." The Common Market, or European Economic Community, includes the main imperialist countries of Europe.

"In practice, it means the end of EEC aid to Vietnam," one Common Market official was quoted as telling *Herald Tribune* correspondent Joseph Fitchett.

According to the *Herald Tribune* report, 100,000 tons of foodstuffs urgently needed by the Vietnamese people are now supposed to be used to feed Vietnamese emigrants confined to refugee camps in Southeast Asia by imperialist-dominated regimes in the region.

The claim to be helping the "boat people"—at the expense of the workers and peasants of war-torn Vietnam—is sickening hypocrisy. The refusal of the imperialist powers to drop racist immigration restrictions and accept all immigrants from Vietnam is the real cause of their plight. The imperialists exacerbated the difficulties the emigrants face by rejecting Vietnam's offer to help organize an airlift.

The economic boycott of Vietnam—a country only beginning to recover from the thirty-year war waged by French and U.S. imperialism against the Vietnamese revolution—has nothing to do with helping the emigrants. Its aims are: 1) to punish the Vietnamese workers and peasants for overthrowing capitalism in the south; 2) to force the Vietnamese government to stop allowing those who opposed the overturn of capitalism to leave; and, 3) above all, to compel the Vietnamese government to stop helping the Kampuchean government of Heng Samrin and to allow a proimperialist regime to be installed there.

Italian CP drops support to government

Enrico Berlinguer, who heads Italy's Communist Party, announced July 3 that the CP will no longer support the government of Giulio Andreotti, a leader of the capitalist Christian Democratic Party, which has ruled Italy since the end of World War II.

CP backing for Andreotti—which meant voting for antilabor policies in Italy's Chamber of Deputies where the CP is strongly represented—was part of the Stalinists' policy of seeking a "historic compromise" with the Christian Democrats. The CP supported efforts to hold down wages while prices rose, social service cutbacks, and other austerity measures. In exchange, they hoped to be rewarded with cabinet posts in the Christian Democratic government. The hoped-for cabinet places never materialized, however.

As a result of this class-collaborationist course, the CP lost support among youth, the unemployed, and the working people of Italy's impoverished south. Opposition rose steadily in the CP-led unions, leading to strikes and demonstrations in defiance of the CP's pro-government stand.

In the elections held June 3-4, the CP vote declined from nearly 35 percent to just over 30 percent. The Christian Democratic Party also lost a little ground, however, indicating continuing opposition to its austerity policies.

The *Christian Science Monitor* suggested July 6 that the decline in the CP vote was due to disenchantment "with the inability of the Communists to bring greater economic and social reforms by cooperating with the Christian Democrats."

By formally withdrawing support to the Andreotti government, Berlinguer hopes to placate growing opposition to the CP's class-collaborationism without fundamentally changing the procapitalist policy of "historic compromise."

1.5 million strike for union rights in Australia

The biggest working-class struggle to take place in Australia since 1976 won the temporary dropping of charges against ten trade union leaders. The ten were arrested after a June 11 meeting in Karratha, Western Australia, in support of striking iron miners in the state. The ten were charged with violating a state law requiring police permission for any "public meeting" of more than three people.

About 1.5 million workers participated in a June 21 strike called by 200 unions to protest the arrests and the ordinance. These actions were accompanied by proclamation of a union boycott of Western Australia and of Australian mineral exports worth some \$2 billion a year.

After meetings between top union leaders and Australia's Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser, the Western Australian government agreed to drop charges and participate in a joint federal-state review of all Australian laws restricting freedom of assembly.

But Western Australian Premier Charles Court has refused thus far to give any guarantee that the antidemocratic ordinance will be repealed. And charges against the ten can be reactivated at any time.

Laurie Carmichael, one of the ten and secretary of the Amalgamated Metal Workers and Shipwrights Union, proposed another national strike if the charges are not definitively dropped. —Fred Feldman

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Puerto Rico: the face of U.S. colonialism

By José G. Pérez

Vieques, Cerro Maravilla, the nationalist prisoners—these are the topics making headlines in Puerto Rican newspapers today. They stand as symbols of how the U.S. government imposed and still maintains its colonial domination over Puerto Rico.

Vieques is the largest of a group of islands adjacent to Puerto Rico that forms part of the territory of the country. Of Vieques's 13,000 hectares of land, more than 10,000 are occupied by the United States Navy, which uses this island of 10,000 people as a target for artillery practice.

This is more or less how it has been ever since the Second World War. Things got worse a few years ago, however, after protests forced the Navy to halt its target practice on Culebra, another small Puerto Rican island. Since then the people of Vieques have pressed and fought to make the Navy stop its "war games" on their island as well.

The fishermen of Vieques, who cannot earn their living whenever the Navy is carrying out its exercises, have been in the vanguard of the movement. They have occupied beaches and sailed into firing range to obstruct the maneuvers.

The first occupation, in February 1978, aroused such support among the Puerto Rican people that even the colony's governor demanded that the war games be stopped. As a result of this, President Carter was forced to personally order the suspension of maneuvers.

In January of this year the Navy began its games once again, but again called them off after protests. Finally, in mid-May, some 1,200 Yankee Marines landed on Vieques. In the course of their training exercise, thirteen Puerto Ricans were arrested, including a journalist, an elderly woman, and three religious ministers.

Frame-up and murder

The Cerro Maravilla case involves the use of agents provocateurs against the independence movement. In mid-1978, Governor Carlos Romero Barceló declared that proindependence forces were going to launch a wave of terrorism.

Just as the governor had predicted, there arose a so-called Armed Revolutionary Movement (MRA), which claimed responsibility for several guerrilla actions. On July 25—the eightieth anniversary of the Yankee invasion of

Puerto Rico—three members of the "MRA" fell into a police ambush. They were supposedly on their way to blow up the transmitter of a television station located in Cerro Maravilla.

Two young patriots, Carlos Soto Arriví and Arnaldo Darío Rosado, were killed. The third member of the group, Alejandro González Malavé, suffered minor injuries.

It turned out, however, that González Malavé was a cop, and had been the main instigator and perpetrator of the various crimes. It also turned out that the team of "MRA" members had not even brought any explosives with them to blow up the transmitter.

The Puerto Rican government did everything it could to cover up what had really happened. An official investigation exonerated the police involved. The killers were declared heroes. The governor personally intervened to halt an investigation by the U.S. Justice Department, while at the same time he publicly denied any prior knowledge of the cops' plans.

Nine months after the murders, however, the governor was forced to reverse himself and admitted that he had indeed had prior information about the Cerro Maravilla ambush.

At the same time, the Justice Department resumed its investigation into the murders.

Free the four nationalists!

Four Puerto Rican nationalists have been in U.S. prisons for more than twenty-five years. Lolita Lebrón, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Oscar Collazo, and Irving Flores were jailed for carry-

ing out armed actions in support of Puerto Rican independence. They are the longest-held political prisoners in the Americas. A fifth nationalist, Andrés Figueroa Cordero, was released from prison in 1977 when authorities believed he was about to die of cancer. He succumbed in Puerto Rico three months ago.

Release of the four prisoners is the universal demand of all Puerto Ricans, regardless of their political views. Prisoners convicted in Puerto Rico for similar actions were released years ago.

For more than a year, Carter administration sources have been leaking rumors that the nationalists are about to be released, often implying that they will be exchanged for four American citizens serving sentences in Cuba, among them CIA agent Lawrence Lunt.

The nationalists say they will only accept unconditional freedom, not any kind of exchange or parole.

It's obvious why the U.S. government spreads such rumors—to appease the growing sentiment, both in Puerto Rico and the United States, for the release of the prisoners.

Recent articles in the bourgeois press say that it is not a matter of exchanging prisoners, but rather of "reciprocal and unilateral humanitarian gestures" by Cuba and the United States. If that's the case, Carter ought to release the nationalists at once, since Cuba is freeing not four, but four hundred political prisoners each month.

But Carter and his predecessors have not freed the nationalists, be-

cause they do not want to. And this brings us to the relation between Vieques, Cerro Maravilla, and the nationalist prisoners.

An exploited colony

The U.S. monopolies have more than \$18 billion invested in Puerto Rico, totally dominating the island's economy. In 1977 (the most recent year for which figures are available), some \$2.2 billion in net profits was extracted from Puerto Rico, breaking all records. If those imperialist profits had been distributed among the workers of Puerto Rico, it could have meant wage increases of more than 40 percent. And these figures do not include the profits that were reinvested in Puerto Rico.

Between 1970 and 1977, profits extracted from Puerto Rico by Wall Street quadrupled, while the real per capita Gross National Product of the island remained stagnant.

"Official" unemployment in Puerto Rico is nearly 20 percent. But if the "economically inactive" population is added—persons able to work who do not seek jobs because they know they will not find any—real unemployment stands at approximately 40 percent. If those who are underemployed are also counted—those who work a very limited number of hours—it turns out that a large majority of Puerto Rican workers suffer unemployment or underemployment. And this leaves aside more than one-third of the Puerto Rican population that has been forced to emigrate for economic reasons.

Threat of violence

Vieques, Cerro Maravilla, the prisoners. The brutal yoke of colonialism is imposed by the imperialists and their servants through violence and threats of violence.

What is this "game" of troops invading Vieques if not a demonstration of what would happen to all of Puerto Rico if it rebelled against the empire? What are the victims of Cerro Maravilla and the nationalist prisoners, if not a warning from Carter and Romero Barceló of what could happen to anyone who fights to free Puerto Rico from colonial bondage?

No matter how much the Yankee imperialists and their Puerto Rican stooges insist that the independence movement is only a tiny minority, the actions of Carter and Romero Barceló show that the colonialists view it as a real danger.

From *Perspectiva Mundial*



U.S. Marines invading Vieques May 16.

...Ghana

Continued from page 19

ent Leon Dash in the June 18 *Washington Post*, "The coup that brought a junior military officer to power in Ghana two weeks ago, in sharp contrast to many of Africa's military upheavals, shows clear signs of moving in behalf of the country's poor and against the privileged few."

Two days later Dash reported that Rawlings "has been cheered and applauded at public and trade union rallies as a hero since the June 4 takeover."

Against the background of an inflation of more than 100 percent, the AFRC has imposed rigid price controls. Traders and businessmen caught hoarding goods or charging high prices have met with swift reprisals. Dozens have been arrested, and, Dash reported June 22, "Public canings of merchants accused of hoarding continued throughout Ghana as their homes were blown up by soldiers."

The June 4 coup has come after two years of mounting mass ferment, in which demands for free elections, higher wages, and an end to inflation have featured prominently. Student demonstrations and strikes by professional associations had led to Acheampong's ouster in mid-1978. Massive strikes by industrial workers later that year forced Akuffo to lift the ban on political parties and to promise democratic elections.

Following Akuffo's overthrow, the new military government allowed the previously scheduled elections to take place June 18. According to early returns, two bourgeois parties, the People's National Party and the Popular Front Party, were leading.

Rawlings has, however, postponed the planned installation of a civilian regime until October 1, ostensibly to allow time for the completion of the purge.

From *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*

More generals executed

The Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) executed six senior military officers June 26.

Two of those executed were former heads of state: Gen. Frederick Akuffo, who came to power in July 1978 and whose regime was overthrown by the AFRC; and Gen. A.A. Afrifa, who was a key figure in the 1966 CIA-backed coup against Kwame Nkrumah and who served as head of state for several months in 1969 (after leaving the military, Afrifa became a wealthy businessman).

The others were also prominent officials: a former foreign minister and former army, navy, and air force chiefs.

All were found guilty by military tribunals of enriching themselves

through corrupt practices while in office.

Another seventeen persons, most of them senior military officers, received prison sentences ranging from five to fifteen years.

Although the executions have been greeted with enthusiasm in Ghana, the generals ruling nearby Nigeria have reacted with alarm. Shortly after Akuffo and Afrifa were brought to justice, the Nigerian junta cut off all oil supplies to Ghana in protest. Ghana depends on Nigeria for 80 percent of its oil imports.

The imperialists have also shown concern. The West German government expressed "deep dismay" at the executions, as did the British imperialists, the former colonial rulers of Ghana.

Salute to women in jazz

The following review was written by Carol Sudhalter and Michael Smith. Sudhalter played baritone sax and flute in the June 26-July 1 women's jazz festival.

The Second Annual Salute to Women in Jazz opened June 26 with a jam session in Damrosch Park at New York City's Lincoln Center. It kicked off a six-day festival of concerts by large and small groups, dance, workshops for instrumentalists, and a conference on "The Business of Music."

Some comments from the audience were overheard as the festival was about to start:

"It's a celebration of women by women."

"Just look at the unveiling of all this underground talent . . . what a very big moment in history."

"It's a good time to be a woman."

The first day saw a dozen women's groups play in the bandshell. Three different female lead groups a night continued the festival for the next four nights at the Village Gate.

The festival ended July 1 with Amina Claudine Myers' *Improvisational Suite for Chorus, Pipe Organ & Percussion*, which she composed and then conducted at St. Peter's Lutheran Church.

Presented by Cobi Narrita and the

Music

Universal Jazz Coalition—in cooperation with the Newport Jazz Festival—the salute generated a great feeling of enthusiasm. And some of the best jazz anywhere.

The festival was organized, run, and created by women, mostly at their own expense and at great effort. Last year's festival was the first of its kind. It was the debut of women's participation and recognition on a large scale in a field hitherto dominated and controlled by men.

The concert was organized against adversity, given the lack of much official support for "urban classical music," especially when it's played by women.

Universal Jazz Coalition
'Big Apple' Jazz Women
 AT THE KANSAS CITY WOMEN'S JAZZ FESTIVAL '79
 Special Concert Saturday Nite, March 24 8-9pm International Cafe

JANET LAWSON COBI NARRITA CARLINE RAY
 AMINA CLAUDINE MYERS NINA SHELDON JANE IRA BLOOM
 EVELYN BLAKEY PAULA HAMPTON WILLENE BARTON
 JEAN FINEBERG BARBARA LONDON JEAN DAVIS BARBARA MERJAN
 NANCY HILDEGARDE JOY SPRING HAZZIEZAH, LIONELLE, NANCIE, & CARMEN

*Member of Aerial, winning Combo Group, in performance Sunday night, March 25 at Memorial Hall
 **WJF All Star

Program cover from Universal Jazz Coalition's earlier festival in Kansas City. Many of same artists performed at New York City salute.

Jazz is a creative kind of music—improvised meaning, spontaneously composed by the players. It is at once an intellectual exercise and an emotional outlet. It uses the discipline of knowing one's instrument in every

aspect. It is an expression of ideas and feelings within a strict harmonic structure. It is a means of communicating with other players and with an audience of friends or strangers. Such an art offers one of the most gratifying

experiences a musician can have.

But because of social pressures and conditioning this has been an experience generally unavailable to women, who have been traditionally discouraged from becoming instrumentalists (except on the piano).

How did the women in the festival get away from this and into their trumpets, trombones, saxes . . . ? Kit McClure, festival tenor sax player, told the *Militant*, "I wanted to play the trombone in high school, but my parents forbade me. They said it was unladylike."

She played it anyway, and later switched to tenor sax, playing in the festival in a fine large jazz ensemble with tenor sax player Jane Flair, two flutes (one of them played by Andrea Brachfeld, of Latin music fame) and a rhythm section.

Cobi Narrita, a single mother of seven and founder of the Universal Jazz Coalition, is a Nisei (second generation Japanese-American) from Los Angeles. As a teenager she was interned in an Arizona detention camp with her family during World War II.

She also organized last year's festival, under difficult circumstances. The effort received no money from official funding sources and at the last minute the owners of the disco rented for the occasion closed its doors to the women.

Undaunted they set up on the sidewalk—speaking system and all—and gave a magnificent concert, playing well into the evening to the audience, which spilled down the street.

This year things were different. The salute got broad press and radio coverage, as well as grants from the National Endowment for the Arts, a federal agency, and New York State Council on the Arts.

Now with the gates opening up, women can express through jazz not only what was expressed in the past, but also the unique dialogue of what women live and feel.

Ella Fitzgerald, Billie Holiday, and Bessie Smith were voted by the women musicians of the UJC into the Jazzwomen Hall of Fame. Betty Carter and Mary Lou Williams were voted 1979 Jazzwomen of the Year.

Iran: dictatorship and development

Iran: Dictatorship and Development. By Fred Halliday. New York; Penguin Books, 1979. 348 pp. \$3.95

On the cover of *Iran: Dictatorship and Development*, the publishers have printed "Stop Press! A Prophetic Account of a Torn Land." The book, however, is not the "quickie" one

Books

might expect, designed to take advantage of the interest in recent events in Iran.

The author is Fred Halliday, a member of the editorial board of *New Left Review*.

Concluded in September 1978, before the fall of the shah, Halliday's book contains much historical and descriptive material that helps explain the crisis of the regime that led to the Iranian revolution.

Whereas the bourgeois press was taken in—or pretended to be taken in—

by the shah's grandiose talk of a modern, industrialized Iran and a new Persian Empire, Halliday describes the fragility of Iranian society and its dependence on U.S. imperialism. The vaunted reforms of the so-called White Revolution he shows to have been extremely superficial and limited.

The shah's land reform was "deliberately designed to distribute land unequally, to the richer farmers." The older landowners were either compensated and integrated into the urban bourgeoisie, with whom they already had ties, or were able to hold onto their land.

In the cities, swollen by migration from the countryside, the gulf between the rich and poor was enormous, a gulf that was widening, rather than narrowing.

According to official statistics—probably underestimates—65 to 70 percent of the adult Iranian population is illiterate. Illiteracy rates for women are given as 20 percent higher than for men.

Women constitute the majority of the workers in the cloth-weaving and

carpet-weaving industries in the countryside, where more than 70 percent of these industries are located. They form the most degraded section of the labor force.

Halliday also describes the history of the development of the working class in Iran; its organization into trade unions during the 1940s; and the current composition of the urban industrial workforce.

He explains how the shah's crushing of the workers' movement led the revolutionary masses to turn toward the mosques for organization as opposition to the regime finally emerged on a mass scale.

In contrast to the useful background material, however, Halliday's political conclusions are often misleading, such as his assessment of the Stalinist Tudeh Party, and his doubts that the working class will play the central role in the Iranian revolution.

Nevertheless the book provides extensive source material, including a bibliography, that is especially helpful for readers unfamiliar with Iran.

—Paul Siegel



Shah's army—financed and trained by U.S.—was used to maintain exploitation of Iranian masses.

Quote unquote

"In the minds of many people, the United States has been on the wrong side of history for many years."

—State Department official Viron Vaky on Nicaragua.

FBI SUED IN RIGHTS KILLING

The Michigan American Civil Liberties Union filed suit against the FBI July 5 demanding \$2 million in damages in the murder of Viola Liuzzo, a civil rights worker slain in Alabama in 1965.

Gary Rowe, who was a paid FBI informer in the Ku Klux Klan, has been indicted for Liuzzo's murder. One of the important issues in the suit is the contention that the FBI is responsible for the crimes of its informers.

The suit charges that even though the FBI had been informed by Rowe, and by state and local cops, that violence against Liuzzo could be expected, they did nothing to prevent it.

The ACLU charges that after the murder, the FBI tried to discredit Liuzzo, withheld important information from her family, and covered up Rowe's role as an undercover agent for the bureau.

The damages are being sought in behalf of Liuzzo's five children.

'CRAZY' KILLER-COP HELD NOT CRAZY

A white cop kills a Black youth, shooting at point-blank range.

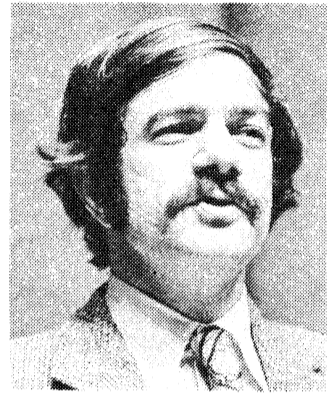
The cop pleads "temporary insanity," arguing that he fell victim to a rare form of epi-

Arab rights lawyer wins ruling against FBI, NSA

A federal judge ruled July 7 that the FBI and National Security Administration had both violated the constitutional rights of Abdeen Jabara, a Detroit attorney active in defending Palestinian and Arab rights.

The finding stems from a suit filed by Jabara in 1972.

The judge found that the FBI had violated the Privacy Act by maintaining dossiers on Jabara about his political activities and asso-



ABDEEN JABARA

Militant/Mark Satinoff

ciations. The attorney is a founder of the Association of Arab-American University Graduates and is counsel to the Organization of Arab Students in the United States and Canada.

The judge also found that the NSA had violated Jabara's rights by surveilling and collecting information about him without a warrant. This information was passed on to the FBI.

Federal Judge Ralph Freeman said the FBI's prolonged probe of Jabara "can be characterized as nothing less than a massive fishing expedition resulting in an equally massive violation of his constitutional rights."

In a telephone interview, Jabara said the ruling was important in that it established that the Privacy Act is enforceable against the FBI.

The ruling has added importance, Jabara said, in establishing that the NSA must have a warrant to col-

lect and pass on information to other agencies and that a person illegally surveilled by the NSA is entitled to damages.

FBI files obtained as a result of the suit, he said, confirmed that the illegal surveillance had been massive. The FBI maintained physical surveillance of his home and office, intercepted phone calls, summarized over sixty speeches (including, he said, a poetry reading). Unverified information about him from a Zionist organization was incorporated into FBI dossiers.

Yet, Jabara observed, the judge emphasized that not a scintilla of illegal activity was found.

He said what the FBI and NSA had done to him was a reflection of a racist attitude as well as a lack of concern for personal liberties.

Judge Freeman will consider additional legal issues before determining what relief should be granted Jabara.

lepsy, causing him to lose control.

He wins acquittal but is committed to a mental hospital.

The New York Police Department, on review, says there was no evidence of temporary insanity. Dismissing him from the force, the department said that "without provocation, he shot and killed" the fifteen-year-old youth.

Meanwhile, officials at the mental hospital decide that, presto, chango, the cop is now well. No need to keep him hospitalized.

On July 9, the New York Court of Appeals agreed. Ro-

bert Tornsey, the white cop who killed Randolph Evans in East New York in 1979, is not presently "dangerous."

You can't keep a man hospitalized, says one of the justices, on the basis of "an isolated, albeit tragic, incident."

So, the "crazy" cop is home free and appealing his dismissal from the force.

People used to say, "crazy like a fox." Fox, not cop?

2,000 IN MEMPHIS FLEE TOXIC FUMES

Two thousand people were forced to leave their Memphis homes July 5 when an 8,000 gallon tank of deadly chemicals exploded at the Drexel Chemical Company and spread poisonous fumes throughout the area.

At least 155 people were treated at hospitals after the fumes spread.

A number of plant workers and fire fighters were injured.

Meanwhile, on July 1, residents in the Kansas town of Alma were threatened by an acid vapor cloud that formed when a freight train derailed and a tank car carrying hydrochloric acid split open.

Officials said that 5,000 gallons had been "contained" in a

railside drainage ditch, and that it "appeared" the acid wouldn't leak into the local water supply.

TEAMSTER OFFICIALS: MAJORITY NOT ENOUGH

Teamster union officials announced ratification of a new three-year contract by the union's 23,000 carhauleders July 3. But the carhauleders voted by a clear majority for rejection.

The mail ballots ran 6,979 against the contract; 6,309 in favor. The settlement terms were similar to those in the Master Freight Agreement.

Union leaders have nonetheless declared the contract accepted by the carhauleders because of the Teamsters' notorious "two-thirds" rule. It takes two-thirds of the members voting to turn down a contract. A one-third minority is enough to ratify.

In 1976 the carhauleders voted down their contract by 60 percent margins in two separate votes. Yet the contract was jammed down their throats anyway.

According to Teamster leaders, this undemocratic ratification procedure is necessary to counteract poor voter turnout. If very few union members cast

ballots, they argue, a minority can block ratification.

But what better way to discourage Teamsters from voting than to consistently thwart the will of the majority?

ATTY GENERAL STILL DEFYING THE COURTS

The nation's top cop, Attorney General Griffin Bell, is still defying the courts.

Last November, federal district judge Lawrence Whipple ruled that it was unconstitutional for the government to monitor mail under the guise of "national security."

The ruling resulted from a damage suit by Lori Paton, who was investigated by the FBI several years ago when she wrote to the Socialist Workers Party in relation to a high school assignment.

At the end of June, the Justice Department conceded that despite Whipple's ruling, it was continuing to use mail covers, in which postal inspectors record the return address and other information on envelopes addressed to "suspected" organizations and individuals.

Learning of this, Judge Whipple sought to obtain a deposition from a postal official.

Bell intervened, with the fake claim that this would jeopardize "foreign counter-intelligence investigations."

Bell was cited for contempt of court earlier for refusing to turn over FBI informer files to the Socialist Workers Party as ordered by a federal judge in the SWP's lawsuit against government spying.

That contempt finding was set aside by an appeals court which contended that the law couldn't be applied to the attorney general as it is to other people.

Bell is now demonstrating he sees it that way too.

HE'S GOT MORE TROUBLES THAN YOU?

Executives think they suffer more job stress than garment workers or secretaries. But they don't.

This was the finding of a survey by the American Academy of Family Physicians. They checked out executives, doctors, teachers, farmers, secretaries, and garment workers.

Executives said deadlines, workloads, and pressure from superiors was their biggest source of stress.

Garment workers said pay

What's Going On

MASSACHUSETTS BOSTON

GE'S DRIVE AGAINST OUR STANDARD OF LIVING: HOW LABOR CAN FIGHT BACK. Speaker: Luis Castro, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Boston mayor, member of International Union of Electrical Workers Local 201. Sat., July 21, 7:30 p.m. Lynn YMCA, Room 239, Neptune Blvd., Lynn. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

NEW YORK

UPPER MANHATTAN TRADE UNIONS AND THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY, PART II. A tape by

Tom Leonard, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Mon., July 23, 1:30 p.m. and 6:30 p.m. 564 W. 181st St. 2nd floor. Donation \$1. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (212) 928-1718.

OHIO TOLEDO

LAYOFFS: BOSSES' SOLUTION, OUR PROBLEM. Speakers: Sue Skinner, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Toledo; George Windau, SWP candidate for city council. Sun., July 22, 7:30 p.m. 2120 Dorr. Donation \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (419) 536-0383.

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Victory in Clamshell nuke case

Criminal trespass charges were dismissed against 850 people who participated in the April 1977 sit-in protest

at the Seabrook nuclear plant in New Hampshire.

A spokesperson for the Clamshell Alliance, which

sponsored the Seabrook action, said the victory was "a reflection of growing opposition to nuclear power."

The prosecutor dropped the charges after the judges in the case drew up a brief stating the charges would be dismissed for lack of a constitutionally guaranteed speedy trial.

Following the July 3 dismissal, five people already in jail as a result of the sit-in were released.

The Alliance said the victory would permit it to focus on building an alternative energy fair, to be held in the Seabrook area July 21-22. The aim of the legal gathering is to involve more people in the antinuclear movement.



Militant/Arnold Weissberg

Cops arrested more than 1,400 people at Seabrook two years ago.



was their main nervous problem.

Eighty-one percent of the executives felt that their work was stressful, while less than 50 percent of garment workers saw their jobs that way.

Yet only a fifth to a quarter of the executives reported such medical problems as muscle aches, tension, headaches, and backaches. Among garment workers, secretaries and teachers, it was one-third.

Those doing the survey observed that while the executives thought they were under more stress, they seemed happier and more optimistic than the secretaries and garment workers.

That's a puzzle.

S. DAKOTA PROTEST HITS URANIUM MINING

On July 6-8 thousands of people protested plans for uranium mining in the Black Hills of South Dakota.

Native Americans and local ranchers joined students and scientists in the protest actions.

Seven thousand people attended a Friday night kickoff rally and concert. Then over the weekend 3,000 marched fifteen miles into the mountains demanding a halt to the exploratory work by Exxon, Kerr-McGee, Union Carbide, and others seeking to develop the deadly uranium operations.

HE WAS ONLY KIDDING

We hope no corporation execs lost any sleep when the president said he wouldn't permit government contracts to any company that violated his wage or price guidelines.

At least as far as the price side is concerned, he was just kidding. This was made clear when the Pentagon awarded a \$77-million contract for jet fuel to the Amerada Hess Corporation even though it's been established the company is ignoring the president's price "restraints."

Why did the Defense Department make an "exception"?

You guessed it. "National security."

NEVADA SHUTS DOWN NUCLEAR WASTE DUMP

Declaring he was "fed up" with the dangers involved, Gov. Robert List of Nevada ordered a Beatty nuclear waste dump shut down.

He acted July 2 after a truck carrying waste to the site sprang a leak.

On May 14, about ten people were exposed to "low-level" radioactive contamination when a truck carrying waste caught on fire at the Beatty site.

THREE MILE ISLAND SUIT IS FILED

A group of forty-seven individuals and twenty-one small businesses in the Harrisburg area have filed a massive damage suit against the owners, operators, and builders of the Three Mile Island nuclear power plant.

The suit charges that the March 28 accident at the plant made workers lose wages and businesses lose profits, irradiated and terrified people, spoiled food, and lowered property values.

Among the plaintiffs are homeowners, renters, a pregnant woman, and local small businesses.

The suit was filed as a class-action complaint on behalf of everyone living within twenty-five miles of the plant. It seeks to establish a fund to monitor the health of local residents for the next twenty years.

Federal law limits the damages that can be awarded in a nuclear accident to \$560 million. More than \$1 million has already been paid out.

How about those who license them?—The Tennessee Valley Authority announced that as a safety measure it will require IQ tests for all its nuclear plant operators.

No, just rich—During a midnight flight back home from a political speech, the late Nelson Rockefeller "flabbergasted aides by telephoning from his plane to someone in the federal government to have the lights on Mt. Rushmore turned on. For a few minutes, Rockefeller circled for a private viewing, then continued homeward. 'After that, I always figured the guy was immortal,' a companion of that night recalls."—Reader's Digest.

Sounds reasonable—A recent survey showed that seventeen American-based corporations paid no federal income tax in

1977 even though their combined U.S. and foreign income totaled \$2 billion.

Using the users?—Inmates at Bay County Jail, Michigan, were briefly given unlimited access to a bank of pay phones. This was abruptly discontinued when it was found that about \$1,500 in calls had been charged to other numbers, including those of judges and prosecutors. A suggestion. Credit the disputed calls against the personal and private business calls made by judges and prosecutors on taxpayers' phones.

Gas tip—Californians having a hard time with Governor Brown's "rationing" plan might consider buying one of those plush Palm Springs condos. The price might be stiff, but apparently there's plenty of gas around. The gov has exempted the area from the odd-even gas plan.

Women in Revolt

Suzanne Haig



The following guest column was written by Ellen Kratka.

NEW YORK—In a ground-breaking case, the Eli Lilly drug company is being sued for its role in the development and marketing of diethylstilbestrol, the "wonder drug" known as DES.

Between 1941 and 1971 DES, a synthetic form of the estrogen hormone, was given to millions of pregnant American women to prevent miscarriage. In addition, Lilly exported the drug around the world.

This was done even though by 1939 scientists had already found a relationship between estrogen and cancer. By 1947 the technology had been developed to prove that DES passes through the placenta of the mother and lies dormant in her offspring.

But doctors continued to prescribe DES even after the Food and Drug Administration ruled in 1952 that it was completely ineffective in preventing miscarriage. It was not until 1971 that the Surgeon General's office issued a cancer alert on DES. The only other such warnings are for tobacco and asbestos.

Joyce Bichler has filed suit against Lilly. She is one of 100,000 women in New York State alone to have been exposed to DES. She developed vaginal and cervical cancer at age eighteen because her mother took the drug while pregnant.

Her trial, now in progress, is the first jury trial in this country to test the joint products liability theory, under which Lilly, one of the largest drug manufacturers in the world, would be charged as representative of the entire drug industry.

According to a leaflet distributed by about twenty-five supporters of Bichler at the Bronx County Courthouse June 26, "If this action is successful it will finally force the industry to take responsibility and be held accountable for all drugs that they push on the market to the American consumer."

Backing Bichler in her fight are the National Organization for Women, National Women's Health Network, and DES Action National. The latter group is fighting for federal legislation that would provide for DES screening centers around the country, establish a National Registry for DES daughters, and force the major insurance companies to cover the cost of the special exams given to detect cancers and other abnormalities related to DES. Currently only New York, Oregon, and Maine have such programs.

These groups are also trying to educate women on the danger of DES and the drug companies that produce it. Bichler

believes that "if every American consumer would speak out we could force them to do something about it."

After hearing the evidence summarized in a pretrial hearing, it seemed to me to be an open-and-shut case. Clearly, as Leonard Finz, Bichler's lawyer, remarked, "the obligation rests on those who seek to market the drug and profit from that marketability." But the Lilly Company has its own view of its obligations—to keep the truth about DES hidden from the American public and continue to reap its profits.

Lilly has not hesitated to spend millions to this end. For example, in a previous suit against another smaller drug company for its manufacture of DES, a doctor was paid \$20,000 by the Lilly Company to testify that the drug was safe. This case and many like it were settled out of court, and Lilly's image remained pure. Until now.

So in 1979 when the giant itself is finally brought before a court of law, what's its defense?

According to the company lawyer, "Nobody ever said, 'Let's do a study.'"

The presiding judge agreed that this was a perfectly sound legal argument and for now has dismissed the motion for a joint liability trial.

They just didn't know, and still deny, that DES causes cancer. To this Bichler simply replied, "They should have known."

Today the evils of DES are known and we can all sleep easy, never to be haunted by this terrible "wonder drug" again. Right?

Wrong! While forbidden by the FDA from use on pregnant women, DES is still around. Although never labeled legally safe, DES is still "experimentally" and very widely distributed in the form of the morning-after pill, used to prevent pregnancy.

And although banned for this purpose, DES is still given to cattle in their feed. The manufacturers manage to get away with this because appeals of the ban are still pending in the courts. Sound familiar?

As Fran Fishbane, president of DES Action National, commented to the *Militant*, "The bottom line in our society is economics, not human lives."

Only when the working class has finally brought under its own control all untested drugs and chemicals, the companies that have profited from their use, and the doctors, politicians, and judges who are in the drug industry's pocket, will the lives of women and their children be safe.

K.C. unionists march for ERA



Militant

There was a new contingent in the Kansas City Independence Day parade this year. ERA supporters, including a number of unionists, marched under the slogan, "There can be no independence without equality."

The ERA contingent was initiated by the Kansas City chapter of NOW, reports correspondent Bruce Lesnik. The action was endorsed by a host of unions.

These included the Kansas City local of the American Postal Workers, United Steelworkers locals 13 and 4991, United Auto Workers Local 31, Service Employees International Union Local

96, and the Kansas City Central Labor Council.

Service Employees International Union Local 96 donated its union hall for a press conference to build the action. Of the seventy participants in the contingent, fifteen were from the UAW. They marched under the banner of the UAW Local 93 Women's Committee.

Nathaniel "Mago" Mason, chairperson of Local 93's Community Services Committee, declared that UAW members "feel the cause of equal rights for women is just as important to the American dream as the civil rights cause was for the minorities of America."

Our Revolutionary Heritage

'Boat People' of 1776

Several hundred thousand refugees have left Vietnam in the wake of the overturn of capitalism in the southern half of the country last year. The capitalist press points to the flow of refugees as proof positive that socialist revolution leads to misery and death. They use this lying propaganda to justify the U.S. rulers' war against the Vietnamese people, and imperialist preparations for new Vietnams.

For the most part, the emigrants are merchants and traders from both the southern and northern parts of the country whose properties were nationalized last year, and others who derived privileges from the survival of capitalism in the south.

They are not being expelled from Vietnam, as the boss press asserts, but are emigrating in hopes of attaining a better standard of living in the United States or elsewhere. One aim of the U.S. rulers' anti-Vietnam propaganda campaign is to pressure Vietnam into compelling these people to remain against their will. Thus far Vietnam is refusing to yield to this pressure.

Such an outpouring of refugees has followed every profound social and political revolution. The flight of those who opposed the American revolution was much larger proportionally than the numbers leaving Vietnam.

In 'Sam Adams and the American Revolution,' written in 1952 and available as a Pathfinder Press pamphlet, Harry Frankel (the pen name used by the late Harry Braverman) gave the following description of the 'boat people' of 1776:

Let us begin with the startling facts of the Tory emigration during the war. It is not very well known that somewhere between 100,000 and 200,000 emigres fled the colonies during this period.

If we make a comparison between this emigration and the far-better publicized flight of counterrevolutionists during the French Revolution, we are confronted with a surprising fact. A Harvard University study of the French emigration from 1789 to 1799 estimates that the total number of individuals who fled the revolution during those years comes to slightly more than 129,000. Thus the emigration in the American Revolution was about the same size as the emigration in the French Revolution. However, the population of France was ten times the size of the

American population; slightly over 28 millions as against only 2.75 millions.

It is quite likely, from all available evidence, that the Tory emigration from the American Revolution was the largest proportional emigration from a revolutionary nation in the history of revolution.

We come to the next question: who were the American emigres? An authoritative historian has written: "If we should investigate the Tory party in the several colonies in detail, we should be forced to the conviction that, in New England, it comprised in 1775 a very great share, probably more than half, of the most educated, wealthy and hitherto respected classes. In March, 1776, when Howe evacuated Boston, eleven hundred refugees sailed away with him. These eleven hundred, and the thousand or more who subsequently followed them, bore away perhaps a majority of the old aristocracy of Massachusetts."

In New York, the same authority estimates: "In the height of the war at least, the bulk of the property owners belonged to the Tory party." He adds that in Pennsylvania, the situation was the same. The New York Chamber of Commerce, an association of wealthy merchants, contained among its 102 members no fewer than 54 Tories and only 21 Whigs, of whom most were conservative oppositionists, not radicals.

The prominence given to the name of John Hancock, partly by himself and partly by later historians who have tried to give the capitalist class a good "patriotic" record, has, we find once more, left a false impression. Esther Forbes, biographer of Paul Revere, remarks, for instance, that Hancock was the only prominent merchant to continue the line of the old Massachusetts aristocracy after the revolution. Most others were uprooted by the storm.

The fact that a huge portion of the previous ruling class was exiled (to Hell, Hull and Halifax, as the saying went in those days) and that another large portion worked as secret enemies of the new regime surely speaks eloquently as to the nature of the revolutionary war. It was civil war as well as colonial.

Colonial Tory regiments formed by wealthy Tories and their hangers-on played an important part in the fighting. Most of the military operations of a distinctly civil-war type, such as raiding and pillaging directed against the civilian population, burning of villages, harbor installations and ships, etc., were assigned to these Tory regiments.



'It's your kind of car, gentlemen . . . It gets 80 miles to the gallon on the highway, and in Washington it runs on promises.'

Proposal from the line

During the past week, workers at the Ford Metuchen assembly plant have been asked to compare the Toyota, Datsun, and Pinto to rate the quality of the three cars.

The plant quality control manager explained that because of the current gas crisis (caused by, among other things, the "situation in Iran") and the sharp increase in sales of the Toyota and Datsun in the U.S., there was a need to improve the quality and reputation of the Ford Pinto. The Pinto at present gets less gas mileage than the two imports.

According to him, "we" (American industrialists) taught "them" (the Japanese) how to build cars, so there's no reason why we can't build a better car.

On a rating scale based on defects, the Pinto scored 30, Toyota 13, and Datsun 22. The higher the score, the more defects.

In a questionnaire, we were asked if we could "recommend some action we can take to improve 'pride of workmanship' among Metuchen Assembly employees?" The answer to that was quite obvious to Ford workers—slow down the line, go to an eight-hour day, and no Saturday work.
Rosalie Majka
East Orange, New Jersey

Miller Road, anxious to put down an "unruly mob" of unemployed people eager to work. Application forms were thrown at us as we were ordered to disperse.

Some important facts, however, were omitted from your article.

Only four of the martyrs were buried at Woodmere Cemetery. The fifth, Curtis Williams, was Black, and the cemetery wasn't accepting Black bodies in 1932.

Williams hadn't been seriously wounded by the cops' spray of gunfire; only his legs and lower body were hit. He died from loss of blood while trying to find a hospital that would accept a Black patient.

His remains were cremated and scattered by plane over the Rouge plant.

We as workers cannot sit back and relax because "well, that was 1932, and such things don't happen today." We have to use the power of our unions to change a system that allowed such a slaughter and could breed another one.

Elizabeth Ziers
UAW Local 600
Detroit, Michigan

Crimes of 'Deer Hunter'

According to Leonard Jordan's letter (June 22 *Militant*), Brian Riffert's review [of *The Deer Hunter*] "exemplified the contempt for American GIs that was the hallmark of the antiwar movement."

The antiwar movement, which millions of Americans came to support, tried to aid the GIs by getting them home in one piece. By 1971-72 most military personnel had come to oppose the war. The brass said the troops were "demoralized"—free speech is demoralization in their dictionary.

Jordan attempts to excuse the U.S. war guilt in the following words:

"Atrocities were committed on both sides. . . . Regarding the incidents of Russian Roulette . . . those things *could* have happened. . . ." Could have happened *but didn't*.

I can remember any number of fictional V.C. atrocities and I can remember all being exposed as fictions.

But there was no "could have happened" about U.S. atrocities. They are real and appalling. My Lai? A mere

Ford massacre

Your article on the United Auto Workers memorial service for five martyrs of the 1932 hunger march on Ford Motor Company's Rouge plant was a brutal reminder and a warning to all of us who work at Ford today. The Ford security guards and Dearborn cops work hand-in-hand not only to repress employed workers, but also to assure that unemployed workers sit out their unemployment in disorganization, passivity, and poverty.

This was brought home to 400 of us who lined up outside the Ford employment office all night in February 1978 because Ford was reportedly taking job applications.

At 8:00 a.m., as the employment personnel were finally opening the doors, a small army of Ford security and Dearborn police squad cars sped up to the gate on

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Learning About Socialism

Where do racism, sexism come from?

drop of blood in the ocean of human suffering. Does anyone remember Operation Phoenix, in which the CIA's hired killers murdered between 80,000 and 120,000 *suspects*?

I was one of those who felt angry and ashamed in the film's last scene. If anyone came through that experience with faith in America intact, I would say that was a testament to their innate servility rather than decency.

The Deer Hunter is part and parcel of Carter's war drive. It obviously serves to undermine the antiwar sentiment of the American people.

Roy Stowell
Wilmington, Delaware

Strip mining

Strip mining is destructive. In Tennessee and other mining states, people have sued large coal companies for drying up their wells. Not surprisingly, the courts ruled in the companies' favor, leaving the people without a water supply and helpless to do anything about it.

One couple I talked to had the foundation of their house destroyed by local strip-mining activities. After the same thing happened to the community church, the whole community took on the company—and the government—to stop these destructive activities.

In response, the Alabama legislature created the Alabama Surface Mining Reclamation Commission to regulate strip-mining activities. It's not worth a damn, because the governor, in cahoots with the corporate interests, appoints the members. However, it is independent of any department dedicated to the promotion of industry.

But the capitalists are not satisfied with this. Governor Fob James and a state legislator are trying to get rid of the regulatory commission and put its responsibilities in the hands of the State Department of Industrial Relations. This group is overtly, blatantly, and publicly pro-business and anti-consumer. These fat-cat politicians and the SDIR are trying to undo the hard work we environmentalists have taken years to do.

Patricia Hefner
Birmingham, Alabama

Our paper

I'm happy to say I'll no longer need to receive our paper by mail, because I've joined the Socialist Workers Party. I'm the organizer for sales of the *Militant* in my branch.

Viva la revolution!
Michael Desmond
Chicago, Illinois

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.

Where do racial prejudice and sexist beliefs come from? Is it in the interest of the white and male workers to hold these views?

Socialists believe that these reactionary beliefs originate from and are in the interest of the capitalist class—the ruling class.

The capitalists own the factories, railroads, banks, and mines and make their billions of dollars of profits from the wealth produced by the working class. They make *super-profits* by paying lower wages to women, Blacks, and *latinos*.

To maintain this exploitation they need a system of control. On the one hand they use the government, backed up by the courts, the prisons, the army, and the cops. All these institutions are used to protect the interests of the ruling class.

But brute force and laws are not enough. The working class must be divided if it is to be effectively controlled. Racism and sexism are used to pit workers against each other and to justify inequality.

Capitalists own or control the institutions that reproduce and disseminate the dominant beliefs in society—the churches, the schools, the universities, the newspapers, television stations, publishing houses, etc.

We pick up reactionary beliefs from these institutions or from other people who have been indoctrinated by them. Prejudices that are completely false are bandied about as truth. "Theories" on Black intellectual inferiority or on the naturally subordinate place of women are even elevated to the level of scientific journals. Other reactionary beliefs are pontificated at Sunday sermons, or are floated about on TV, in feature magazines, and in pornography.

Prejudice against Blacks, women, Hispanics, and others seems reasonable to many because it seems to explain and justify the inequality built into capitalist society. But in fact such prejudices are rationalizations developed to protect the powerful economic interests of the exploiters.

Racism against Blacks, for example, was not a big social phenomenon before capitalism. Rampant racism followed on the heels of the discovery that the enslavement of Black Africans was extremely profitable.

Those who profited needed an excuse for the barbaric institution of slavery. Such an institution was directly opposed to the notion of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness promoted during the American Revolution. Racism developed as a justification for slavery.

Through the Civil War slavery was abolished. But the capitalists still found it profitable to keep Blacks in a second-class economic and political status. Thus racism was reinvigorated and projected into every fiber of American society.

Similarly, in order to justify women's status as household drudges at home and as inferiors in the labor force, **sexist** ideas have pervaded every aspect of life.

Blacks, other oppressed nationalities, and women are so bombarded with the idea of our own inferiority—ideas that are reinforced in the home, in segregated schools and neighborhoods, and in the workplace—that we actually begin to believe it. But the civil rights movement and the fight for women's rights have begun to change this.

Prejudices are used to keep workers apart—fighting among ourselves for jobs and wages instead of uniting to fight our exploiters. White males are taught to believe they have better jobs because Blacks and women get less pay. In fact, white workers' wages are pegged to the lower ones of Blacks and women. Raising the bottom level of wages benefits everybody who works for a living.

In the same way, the high percentage of Black and female unemployment does not provide the white skilled worker with job security—just the opposite. The threat of being replaced by someone who is unemployed is used to hold down trade union militancy.

As workers learn through experience in fighting against attacks by the capitalist, they will shed these divisive prejudices and more clearly see their common interests as an exploited class. We are already seeing this process at work.

In the recent fight against the *Weber* case, the challenge to affirmative action in employment, many unions came out against *Weber* and for the United Steelworkers affirmative-action program for Blacks and women at Kaiser Aluminum. In the past, most unions had not taken such a stand for affirmative action.

The lesson of class unity between Black and white and male and female workers was also learned in action by many steelworkers in the course of the recent strike for union recognition at Newport News, Virginia.

In the process of this new radicalization, workers will reject the racist and sexist ideas instilled by the capitalists. They will support the demands of the most oppressed and unite as an entire class against the tiny ruling class that controls this country.

—Suzanne Haig

(For further reading: *Race Prejudice: How It Began; When It Will End* by George Breitman, \$.35; *The Weber Case: New threat to affirmative action* by Andy Rose, \$.75; *How Cuba Uprooted Race Discrimination* by Harry Ring, \$.35; *Is Biology Women's Destiny?* by Evelyn Reed, \$.50. Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Please add \$.75 for postage.)

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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.

OREGON: Portland: SWP, YSA, 711 NW Everett. Zip: 97209. Tel: (503) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16412. Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, 5811 N. Broad St. Zip: 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) 445-2075.

THE MILITANT

Birmingham Blacks stand up to cops, Klan

Demand justice in Bonita Carter killing

By Marcel Black

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—Black residents of this city's Kingston community are standing up to the Ku Klux Klan and cop terror unleashed against them for their protests of the Bonita Carter killing.

Carter, a twenty-year-old Black woman, was shot three times in the back June 22 by white Birmingham cop George Sands.

The killing set off a wave of angry protests by the Black community, including several meetings organized by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and other civil rights groups.

"SCLC is ready to march, and march, and march, until we win justice," Rev. Franklin Tate, Birmingham SCLC vice-president, told the *Militant*. "We're also discussing a Black economic withdrawal from Birmingham."

"Like nothing since the civil rights confrontations fifteen years ago, the death of Bonita Carter on June 22 has put the city of Birmingham on a delicate edge," wrote the Birmingham *Post-Herald* July 10.

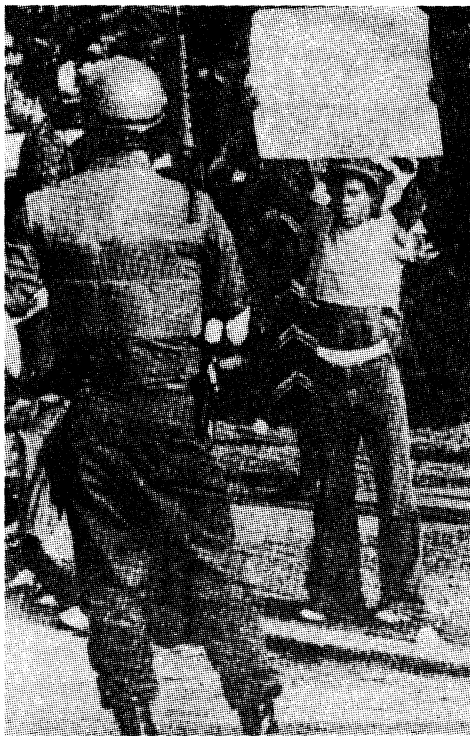
On July 5, a reported fifty Klansmen showed up at Jerry's Convenient Shop, a store under the same white ownership as the store where Carter was killed. The location has become a gathering place for Black protesters.

The Klansmen came displaying Confederate flags and chanting white-power slogans. They began throwing bottles at passing cars and yelling racist epithets.

"We will stand by the white store owners at all costs, if we have to spill every drop of our blood to do it," said KKK Grand Chaplin Bill Riccio.

Later that night, scores of riot-equipped cops moved into the area, shooting out street lights as they came.

They forced their way into at least one Black home, breaking windows and furniture. Resident Henry Nettles said they told him, "Stand up, nigger," and then hit him in the chin with the butt of a rifle and kicked him several times.



Defying riot cop, demonstrator marks spot where Bonita Carter was killed. At right, KKK scum invade Black community.

Nettles was arrested for drunken and disorderly conduct.

In all, fourteen were arrested that night, ten of them Black.

Circuit Judge William Barber then issued an expanded court order banning demonstrations within a half-mile of the store. Cops announced that they would break up "crowds" of three or more in the area.

That night ten carloads of armed Klansmen, many from the Decatur, Alabama, area, drove into Kingston. Cops arrested eight Klan members for carrying guns.

Klan violence has flared this year throughout the state. In Decatur last May, the racists opened fire on Blacks marching to protest the frame-up of Tommy Lee Hines. Hines, a severely retarded Black man, was convicted of raping a white woman. He faces trial this fall in Birmingham on more trumped-up charges.



Last month nine Klansmen from rural Talladega County were convicted on misdemeanor charges for shooting into the homes of NAACP leaders and interracial couples. One of the KKKers originally charged but later released was a local cop.

In April cops shot and killed an unarmed Black man in Hueytown, a Birmingham suburb, after breaking into his house. SCLC has led two protest marches against that killing.

After Bonita Carter was shot, Mayor David Vann tried to defuse the Black community's anger by appointing a "blue ribbon" citizens' committee to hold public hearings.

Testimony before the committee revealed that cop Sands shot the unarmed Carter within seconds after arriving on the scene of a dispute between a white store owner and a Black customer. Sands and his partner were riding in an unmarked car and were not in uniform.

"They didn't even say they were the police and didn't even present a badge," said Louise Daniels. Bystanders, including Daniels, screamed to the cops not to shoot Carter.

The citizen's committee ruled July 7 that Sands had fired without "sufficient justification."

Even this mild rebuke was greeted with hostility by the police department, which is conducting its own "investigation."

On July 10, Mayor Vann announced he was turning over the committee's findings to the prosecutor to review.

"Vann is shifting the buck over to the prosecutor for a secret grand-jury investigation. We won't be able to find out what happens there," says SCLC's Rev. Tate.

"The demonstrations are going to last until we win justice. We'll make our demonstrations in Decatur look like a Sunday school picnic."

Ala. socialists rally: 'We're here to stay'

By Nancy Cole

BIRMINGHAM—Socialists are here to stay.

That was made clear to their supporters—and their opponents—at a rally here July 7.

More than ninety people packed the new storefront bookstore and headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. The headquarters is located across the park from the historic Sixteenth Street Baptist Church, a civil rights organizing center where three Black girls were murdered in a Ku Klux Klan bombing in 1963.

During the week before the rally, Birmingham was the scene of new KKK terrorism against the Black community of Kingston (see story above). It was a notable victory that the socialists carried through their rally without incident.

The meeting itself was a powerful rebuff to U.S. Steel, which just one month before had organized a brutal

attack against two *Militant* salespeople—Nelson Blackstock and Eric Flint—at its Concord mine near Birmingham.

Blackstock's hip was crushed in the assault and he spent two weeks in the hospital following major surgery. The SWP has filed a \$2 million damages suit against U.S. Steel.

Blackstock told the rally here that through it all he had been calm and confident because "I knew that U.S. Steel had not just attacked me, they had attacked the Socialist Workers Party and they were in for more than they bargained for."

He recalled how good he had felt, as he came to after his operation, upon seeing somebody holding up protest telegrams and saying, "They're from miners."

"You know U.S. Steel is not new to the business of assaulting people demanding their rights," Blackstock went on.

He then described the notorious career of Bull Connor, the public safety commissioner of Birmingham who in the early 1960s became a symbol of hard-line racism and segregation.

"I don't think it's too well known," Blackstock said, "that Bull Connor got this training as a U.S. Steel security guard—a strike-breaker and scabherder. It was Bull Connor who turned the fire hoses and unleashed the dogs on the Black demonstrators in that park right across the street."

"It was Bull Connor who gave the Klan free rein to bomb and murder for years—so that Birmingham became known as Bombingham."

"But in the end, the massive demonstrations and marches of thousands of Black workers and youth were too much for Bull Connor and those he worked for."

"U.S. Steel isn't going to stop the Socialist Workers Party any more than Bull Connor stopped the civil rights movement," Blackstock declared.

That was apparent from the response the bookstore got even before it was officially opened. The first customer Saturday afternoon was a Black high school teacher, who had previously visited the socialist bookstore in Atlanta. The SWP's arrival in Birmingham, he told SWP cochairperson Ed Warren, "is the best thing to happen here since the civil rights movement."

Among those at the rally later that night was a Black worker from the Frisco railway, who came over on his lunch break. Although he had only planned to drop by, he ended up staying for the whole rally.

Representing the Birmingham Young Socialist Alliance at the rally, Darryl Turner offered an example of what U.S. Steel and the rest of big business here are afraid of. Turner, a nineteen-year-old Black Alabamian, joined the YSA soon after it set up shop in Birmingham.

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