

JULY 27, 1979

50 CENTS

VOLUME 43/NUMBER 29

## THE MILITANT

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

# Victory in Nicaragua

## Masses drive out U.S. puppet Somoza



Refugee children in Managua, Nicaragua, celebrate flight of former dictator to Miami. See pages 2, 4.

With the flight of dictator Anastasio Somoza to Miami July 17, the Nicaraguan workers and peasants have won a victory for working people throughout Latin America, in the United States, and around the world.

Like the shah of Iran, the Somoza dynasty was placed in power by the U.S. government.

Like the shah, Somoza relied on a U.S.-armed and U.S.-trained military apparatus whose real mission was to terrorize and suppress all opposition.

Like Iran under the shah, Nicaragua under Somoza was an important base

### An editorial

for imperialism's counterrevolutionary operations in the region.

Like the shah, Somoza tried to drown in blood the aspirations of the masses for democratic rights and a better life.

But Somoza failed—as the shah's monarchy, the Thieu regime in Vietnam, and the Batista dictatorship in Cuba failed before him.

Nicaragua shows once again the readiness of the world's exploited masses to challenge the imperialist colossus, to sacrifice their lives for economic and social justice, for freedom from colonial domination.

Somoza's fall is a defeat for the entire system of U.S. economic, politi-

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## ...Nicaragua

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cal, and military domination that reaches into every continent. U.S.-backed dictators as far away as South Korea, Thailand, and the Philippines will be further weakened and their victims further inspired to struggle.

In Central America, the impact will be especially sharp. The neighboring dictatorships in El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras have good reason to fear the example set by the Nicaraguan people. As the editors of the *Washington Post* noted July 18, all three are "corrupt, repressive regimes ready to pop."

Faced with the advancing struggle of the Sandinista rebels, President Carter tried to play for time. While publicly calling for Somoza's resignation, U.S. negotiators urged their puppet to delay his departure. They purposely prolonged the National Guard massacre in hopes of wearing down the masses.

Up until the very end, the imperialists were demanding the preservation of the dictator's National Guard. Encouraged by Washington's attitude, Francisco Urcuyo, Somoza's hand-picked successor, announced July 17 that he would not give up power to the rebel-backed provisional government.

But the ranks of the National Guard had had enough. In scenes reminiscent of the disintegration of the South Vietnamese army, some National Guard troops tore off their uniforms, while others hijacked Red Cross transport planes to Miami.

The relationship of class forces in Nicaragua has shifted dramatically to the side of the working masses. For the first time in more than four decades, the Nicaraguan people are in a position to take the democratic rights so long denied them—especially freedom of the press, speech, and political and trade union organization. They are in a position to begin reconstructing their shattered country and to fight for drastic improvements in their living conditions—including thorough land reform, public works to provide jobs and decent housing, hospitals, and schools.

What the imperialists fear above all is that in the course of their struggle, the Nicaraguan workers, peasants, and urban poor will take

the road of the Cuban revolution. That in order to free their country from the imperialist bloodsuckers and overcome economic subjugations, they will establish their own government, a workers and peasants government.

That possibility—which became a reality in Vietnam, and which also threatens capitalism in Kampuchea and Iran—is why the Carter administration tried so tenaciously to preserve Somoza's National Guard. And that is why Washington is so desperately trying to free its hands for direct military intervention around the world.

The big obstacles to imperialism's plans for new counterrevolutionary wars are the American working class, which remains opposed to any more Vietnam-style bloodbaths, and the combativity and determination of the workers and peasants around the world. They have shown in Vietnam, in Iran, and now in Nicaragua that not even the most brutal repressive regimes are assured of holding back their struggles for a decent life.

Washington must also take into account a third factor—the role of the revolutionary government of Cuba. Cuba's exposure of U.S. moves toward intervention in Nicaragua and its calls for solidarity have had an important impact in Latin America, and have forced Carter to tread more carefully.

However, the danger of U.S. military intervention remains. The stationing of a U.S. frigate and an amphibious landing craft off the Nicaragua coast July 17 is a clear threat against the Nicaraguan people and their right to determine their own political and economic system.

Such threats against the rights of the Nicaraguan people are also threats against the rights of American workers. In the name of preserving capitalist interests abroad—which they call "national security"—the ruling rich demand that we pay for ever-increasing arms budgets, that we submit to a new draft, and ultimately, that young workers once again fight and die in counterrevolutionary wars like the one in Vietnam.

American working people should extend the fullest solidarity to our Nicaraguan sisters and brothers.

We should demand that instead of threats, Washington provide massive economic aid to Nicaragua with no strings attached.

## Free Iranian revolutionaries!

Broad support around the world is needed to win freedom for imprisoned anti-shah and anti-imperialist fighters in Iran. Fifteen members of the Socialist Workers Party (HKS), along with leaders of the oil workers, Arab activists, and other workers, remain imprisoned in Khuzestan Province.

The serious danger they face was indicated July 15 when the Khomeini-Bazargan government executed five Arabs in the port city of Khorramshahr.

This was the first use of the death penalty against anti-shah fighters since the blood-stained monarchy was toppled in February.

The stepped-up repression comes in response to the deepening struggles of the Arab workers for equality; the upsurge of Kurdistan's peasants, who have begun taking over the land; deepening unrest in the army; and the growing struggles of factory workers.

The struggle to free the fifteen HKS members is part of the struggle to defend and deepen the Iranian revolution. These longtime opponents of the shah have been imprisoned for speaking out in defense of Iran's oppressed nationalities and for the rights of the oil workers. Their party is widely known for its campaign in behalf of a sovereign constituent assembly, for defense of the revolution from imperialist threat, and for a workers and peasants government.

Freeing the HKS members, and the other anti-shah political prisoners, will be a blow to the imperialist maneuvers aimed at containing and ultimately crushing the Iranian revolution.

Thousands of supporters of the Iranian revolution around the world have already come to the defense of these fighters.

American unionists have a special stake in defending the imprisoned activists. Across Iran workers are fighting for basic rights—such as the right to form a union and control working conditions—that were brutally denied by the shah.

An emergency campaign of letters, telegrams, public meetings, and news conferences is needed now to assure the safety of the prisoners and win their immediate release.

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Published weekly by the Militant (ISSN 0026-3885), 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: Editorial Office, (212) 243-6392; Business Office, (212) 929-3486.

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Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscriptions: U.S. \$15.00 a year; outside U.S. \$20.50. By first-class mail U.S., Canada, and Mexico \$42.50. Write for surface and airmail rates to all other countries.

For subscriptions airfreighted to London then posted to Britain and Ireland £2.50 for ten issues, £5.50 for six months (twenty-four issues), £10 for one year (forty-eight issues). Posted from London to Continental Europe £4 for ten issues, £8 for six months (twenty-four issues), £13 for one year (forty-eight issues). Send checks or international money orders (payable to *Intercontinental Press* account) to *Intercontinental Press* (The Militant), P.O. Box 50, London N1 2XP, England.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the *Militant's* views. These are expressed in editorials.



# Carter energy plan: 'walk, sweat & pray'

By Dick Roberts

President Carter's July 15 energy speech had just one aim: to help the government overcome the "crisis of confidence" of the American working people. By "crisis of confidence," Carter and his advisers mean that American workers are more and more convinced that the "gas shortage" is a fraud perpetrated by the oil profiteers, and that the government is helping the monopolies get away with it at the expense of working people.

A July 13 *New York Times* CBS poll reported that "only one American in four accepted Mr. Carter's argument that the [gas] shortage was real."

The same day, the *Wall Street Journal* said on its front page: "This country is in a sour mood."

"Poll after somber poll turns up the same assessment: The nation's energy and inflation problems are frustrating, bewildering and angering the American public."

The anger of American working people began to rise as the lethal Three Mile Island near-meltdown ticked away last March, while scores of government officials tripped over each other in their lies.

That catastrophe had barely subsided when the oil companies contrived the gas shortage, forcing workers to wait for hours at the pumps and then pay through the nose.

The truckers' strike against high diesel fuel prices won the solidarity of workers across the country.

This welling anger at the refusal of the government to control energy prices and inflation was the main problem Carter and his top aides mulled over for ten days at Camp David.

They did not meet to resolve the energy crisis. They met to see if they could find some way to get the government off the hook and save Carter's chances of reelection. The end result was what the *Militant* predicted beforehand: blame OPEC and step up the attack on working people.

The concern of the American ruling class with this governmental crisis was symbolized at Camp David by the presence of Clark Clifford throughout the deliberations.

On July 17 the *Wall Street Journal* quoted this top corporation lawyer, and key adviser to several presidents, as saying, Carter "needs new people around him, on his staff and in his Cabinet."

The same afternoon Carter demanded that his Cabinet and top advisers submit resignations in a transparent public relations ploy to create a "new image."

The Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, Carter declared in the televised speech, "is the direct

cause of the long lines that have made millions of you spend aggravating hours waiting for gasoline. It's a cause of the increased inflation and unemployment that we now face.

"Intolerable dependence on foreign oil threatens our economic independence and the security of our nation."

"The energy crisis is real. It is worldwide. It is a clear and present danger

to our nation."

Carter attempted to portray the lack of confidence in his own administration as the fault of working people.

He demanded: "We've got to stop crying and start sweating; stop talking and start walking; stop cursing and start praying."

Carter did not mention the oil companies one single time in the 33-minute

televised address.

The energy program Carter offered is not significantly different from programs that he has offered earlier, or from those the Nixon and Ford administrations offered before that. It will assure even higher energy prices in the future to the degree it is carried out.

But it was mainly a smokescreen to distract attention from the fact that Carter has already carried out the highest priority demands of the energy trust.

Using the Iranian revolution, the shortfall of Iranian oil exports and spiraling world oil prices as an excuse, Carter rammed through the decontrol of gas and oil prices.

If, on top of this, Carter could put into action more of the long-range plans of the oil companies, all to the better.

With these considerations in mind we can briefly treat the main proposals Carter raised:

1) *Holding oil imports from now on below the level of 1977; holding 1979 imports to 8.2 million bpd [barrels per day]. The 1977 figure of 8.8 million bpd was the record high; imports in 1979 are calculated not to exceed the 8.2 million bpd level.*

2) *Cutting 4.5 million bpd from oil imports by 1990.* The U.S. oil companies intend to continue importing millions of barrels of OPEC oil. Since they market this oil internationally and control all of the distributive mechanisms, the giant oil trusts have no intention of short-term reduction of OPEC imports.

It is worth recalling that six years ago, when President Nixon first began expounding on the energy crisis, he too blamed OPEC for the problems and promised a reduction of oil imports. *In every single year after that oil imports rose, by leaps and then by bounds!* The oil cartel undoubtedly does have long-range plans to reduce imports. They fear that rising militancy of the Arab and Iranian people could ultimately jeopardize these sources. And they are raising domestic prices to levels that will make massive production of domestic oil highly profitable.

3) *The formation of an "Energy Security Corp." backed by the "most massive peacetime commitment of funds" to develop alternative sources of fuel.* This is a gigantic boondoggle for the energy trusts.

It would funnel billions of dollars of government funds into research and development for the oil companies.

The agency would own "outright only a 'limited number' of synthetic plants, which it might run itself or lease to private industry. For the most part though, the corporation will promote synthetics development through such tactics as direct loans to industry,

**Continued on next page**



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## Carter tries to stem upsurge

# Nicaraguan masses hail fall of Somoza

By David Frankel

Dictator Anastasio Somoza flew into exile in Miami July 17. It was a day of celebration for the Nicaraguan workers, peasants, and urban poor.

The flight of the hated tyrant dealt a stinging blow to U.S. imperialism and U.S.-backed dictatorships throughout the world, especially in Latin America.

"Large crowds gathered in front of newspaper billboards in Buenos Aires and commented excitedly on the news bulletins," the *New York Times* reported July 18.

In San Jose, Costa Rica, some 3,500 miles away, *Washington Post* correspondent Terri Shaw described the scene: "Young Costa Ricans and exiled Nicaraguans waved red-and-black Sandinista flags in downtown streets and lifted their clenched fists in the socialist salute. Costa Ricans leaving downtown night clubs joined the cheers and many of the Nicaraguans living here cried and embraced upon hearing the news."

In Nicaragua itself, the July 18 *Washington Post* reported, "Residents of the guerrilla-occupied towns of Diriamba and Jinotega were awakened at

3 a.m. by church bells announcing Somoza's resignation. Reporters on the scene said people ran through the streets singing and dancing while Sandinistas marched and shot their guns into the air."

Despite the best efforts of Somoza's U.S.-trained and U.S.-armed National Guard to drown the rebellion in blood, the heroism and determination of the masses proved too much for the dictator to overcome. Nevertheless, the cost for the Nicaraguan masses has been heavy.

Estimates of the number of dead in the past year of fighting are in the neighborhood of 30,000—this in a country of only 2.3 million.

There are some 500,000 displaced persons within Nicaragua, and another 100,000 refugees in neighboring Honduras and Costa Rica. Virtually all of these refugees fled the National Guard's genocidal bombing of rebel-held towns.

"Estimates of the cost to the Nicaraguan economy of the fighting during the past year range into the billions," James Goodsell reported in the July 18 *Christian Science Monitor*. "Conservative figures suggest that at least \$5 billion will be needed immediately to get things going. But the actual eventual cost, if Nicaragua is to be restored to a semblance of what it was before the fighting, will be at least twice as high."

While formally calling for Somoza's resignation, Washington urged the dictator to hold onto power for as long as possible in an attempt to wring whatever concessions it could from the rebel leaders.

When Somoza finally resigned as part of a deal engineered by U.S. negotiators, he named Francisco Urcuyo, the president of the Chamber of Deputies, as his successor. Urcuyo promptly announced that he would finish out Somoza's term as president, which expires in March 1981.

Less than twenty-four hours later, the dictator-for-a-day had fled to Guatemala.

Having done everything possible



Sandinista fighters in Jinotega. Carter is trying to blackmail Nicaraguan rebels with threats of economic strangulation and U.S. military force.

through his diplomatic intervention to prolong the bloodbath, Carter is now exerting economic pressure on the provisional government. Sergio Ramirez Mercado, a member of the provisional government, said July 15 that a number of governments had offered reconstruction aid "with no conditions." He added that "only the United States made demands."

Speaking with typical arrogance and hypocrisy, the editors of the *Christian Science Monitor* said July 18:

"The leaders of the Sandinista rebels, who battled long and hard for victory, ought to know that the United States and the democracies of Latin America stand ready to help the Nicaraguan people rebuild their shattered country and to lay the foundation for a true democracy. They should also know that they can expect no such

help if they impose another dictatorship, this time a leftist one, on the long-oppressed Nicaraguans. The choice is theirs."

But the Nicaraguan people have had considerable experience with the kind of "true democracy" the U.S. government is willing to help them build. With this in mind, Carter ordered the amphibious assault ship *Saipan* and the frigate *Miller* to take up positions off the Nicaraguan coast July 17 as a reminder that Washington can exert more than just economic pressure on Nicaragua.

Here in the United States, in addition to demanding that Carter keep his hands off Nicaragua, we should demand that the U.S. government provide massive economic aid to rebuild the Nicaraguan economy, with no strings attached.

## Demonstrate at the White House

- No U.S. intervention in Nicaragua;
- Respect for the self-determination of the Nicaraguan people.
- Recognize the Provisional Government of National Reconstruction.

**Date:** July 22

**Place:** Lafayette Park, across the street from the White House.

**Time:** 1:00 p.m.

Sponsored by the National Network in Solidarity With the Nicaraguan People.

New York City buses to Washington leave from 41 Union Square West, 6:30 a.m. \$10 round trip. For more information call (212) 243-1837.

## ...energy

Continued from preceding page

loan guarantees, price guarantees and agreements for the government to buy output from plants," reports the July 17 *Wall Street Journal*.

Carter made this contingent on Congress passing the "windfall profits" tax on the oil companies from which the funds would be drawn. Congress is undergoing pressure to enact such a tax as cover for Congress and the administration in carrying out the oil companies' policies. Carter's proposals aim at assuring that any "windfall profits" tax will flow right back into the coffers of the oil giants.

4) The establishment of an "Energy Mobilization Board" to speed the developments of various energy projects. This is the part of Carter's program that has been most enthusiastically received by business and Congress.

"The board members," according to the *Wall Street Journal*, "would be authorized to designate selected energy projects as 'critical' to the nation and to set strict deadlines for the issuance of federal, state and local permits for their construction. It could waive procedural requirements, such as the need for environmental-impact statements or public hearings."

Carter did not mention nuclear power in his nationally televised speech. But he made it clear in Kansas City that this holocaust-generating profit grab remains an important part of the energy program: "Nuclear power must play an important role in the

United States to insure our energy future," Carter said in Kansas City.

There is nothing new in all this but it underlines a crucial political aspect of the energy crisis.

As this crisis is deepening, the American people are becoming more and more aware of the real roots of the crisis in the profit grab by the oil companies. They see the capitalist government playing more and more clearly the role of defender of capitalist interests and opponent of the interests of working people.

Nothing in Carter's plan gives working people an inch more say over energy policy. On the contrary it is an elaborate device to keep all energy firmly under the control of private industry.

And the shuffling of cabinet posts among officials who come straight out of ruling-class think tanks and other big corporations will not alter White House policies at all.

The labor movement can resist the oil ripoff. It can demand Carter open the books of the energy trust. We need to know all the facts about energy resources and production, everywhere in the world, in order to make a sensible judgment about the real priorities in the energy crisis.

Our real interest lies in taking the production of energy out of the hands of private corporations and out of the hands of the capitalist government that fronts for them.

Energy production should be nationalized and put under the control of a publicly elected board that would be

responsible to the needs of working people not private profiteers.

Workers in the energy industry itself would make sure such a board functioned in the open. They would make all the facts known so that these could be debated and discussed up and down the country.

In carrying forward the fight against capitalist control of the energy supplies we all need, labor also needs to break the capitalist monopoly in the

political arena. Working people need our own party, a fighting party based on the trade unions. This party could popularize the idea of publicly-owned energy and win allies to this struggle from every layer of the population.

And the most important meaning of the polls that turn steadily worse for the American ruling class is precisely that there are right now millions and millions of Americans who are looking for this kind of fighting alternative.

## Small dealers hit gas ripoff

By August Nimtz

Angry independent gasoline dealers in Pennsylvania and Delaware went on strike July 12 to protest industry-government manipulation of gas supplies. The dealers ended the strike July 15 after an agreement was reached with the federal government on an increase in gasoline allocation for small dealers.

The strikers charged that gasoline stations owned by the big oil corporations were being allocated more fuel than the independents. The strike was called by the Pennsylvania-Delaware Service Station Dealers Association, which represents about 30 percent of the 13,000 gas stations in Pennsylvania and Delaware.

Some station dealers not affiliated with the association supported the strike, which resulted in the closing

of 80 percent of the gas stations in Pennsylvania and a third in Delaware. They joined in, according to the July 14 *New York Times*, "when they heard that the Federal Department of Energy was going to transfer the gasoline allocation from the closed stations to the ones that stayed open."

In addition to a change in the allocation system, the independent dealers wanted a revision of the price-restraint regulations. However, as association director Tom Anderson said, "Price is only a secondary issue. Five cents a gallon more on zero more gallons is still zero."

The attitude of the small dealers toward the government was best expressed by a sign at an ARCO station in Valley Forge, Pennsylvania. The owner put up a sign saying he was closed "due to fake gas shortage."



## U.S. turns down Hanoi airlift offer

# Imperialist lies vs. facts on 'boat people'

By Fred Feldman

"Economic Sanctions Against Vietnam"; "Expel Vietnam from the United Nations"; "Vietnam-Murderer"; "Blockade Vietnam." These and similar slogans predominated as more than 1,500 people, mostly from New York City's Chinese-American community, attended a rally near the United Nations building July 15.

Purportedly called "to save the boat people" by the "Committee against Genocide by Vietnam," the rally was built by Chinese-American business and community groups, the National Conference of Christians and Jews, right-wing anticommunist groups, and Maoist organizations.

The gathering heard Stephen Cohen, President Carter's Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights, proclaim that the suffering of emigrants and refugees from Indochina is caused by "the inhumane policies of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam." Other speakers included Bayard Rustin, a leader of the Social Democrats U.S.A.

The rally was part of the imperialist-orchestrated drive against the Vietnamese revolution.

The capitalist press is orchestrating an intensive anticommunist propaganda campaign against the Vietnamese revolution on the issue of the "boat people." They charge that the Vietnamese government is implementing racist measures against 1.7 million citizens of Chinese descent, extorting large sums of money from them, and forcing them out to sea in small boats.

The "evidence" offered as part of the propaganda campaign has become a cover for tightening the imperialist economic boycott of Vietnam. "The United States is asking charities, international organizations, and other nations to consider cutting off or reducing aid to Vietnam until Hanoi changes its refugee policy," reported Elizabeth Becker in the *Manchester Guardian Weekly* July 8. And the Common Market has suspended plans to provide \$34 million in food aid to Hanoi.

### Facts coming out

But in the midst of the frenzied editorials comparing the Vietnamese revolution to Hitler's "final solution," facts that tell a different story are beginning to find their way into many of the same publications.

The claim that the Vietnamese government is brutally oppressing ethnic Chinese was dealt a blow when the military regime in Thailand forcibly expelled 45,000 Kampuchians (many of them of Chinese descent) into the desolate and heavily mined areas along Kampuchea's borders. More than 300 were killed. And thousands remained stranded in the mine fields.

"At the time of the expulsion, which lasted about a week," reported Henry Kamm in the July 11 *New York Times*, "Vietnamese troops sent word to the refugees not to leave the border area until a path had been cleared for them through the mine field. This was reportedly done, and many of the Cambodians, mainly ethnic Chinese, left for the interior of Cambodia."

This hardly seems like the behavior of a government and army that are supposedly whipping up anti-Chinese racism in Vietnam.

The imperialist propaganda is riddled with other contradictions. An example was a column by Robert Keatley in the July 13 *Wall Street Journal*.

Keatley charged that Hanoi is carrying out "the systematic extortion and expulsion of its Chinese minority, plus others who don't fit into its austere and rigid socialist society."

But he concluded by crediting the view of "British experts" who predict the exodus will total "about 800,000, after deducting for those who drown at



June 15 anti-Vietnam demonstration in New York City. Protests should be directed at U.S. rulers, who rejected Vietnamese proposal for airlift of emigrants.

sea, plus Chinese who won't or can't afford to leave Vietnam." An odd expulsion that exempts those who "won't" leave.

Keatley followed up the accusation of "systematic expulsion" with the charge that the Vietnamese government is guilty of "complicity" with those trying to leave. "Many leave through official organizations," he complained, "and all leave with official toleration." Evidently counting on the gullibility or cynicism of his readers, the *Wall Street Journal* columnist made no effort to resolve the conflict between his accusation that Hanoi is forcibly expelling the Chinese minority and his equally firm assertion that it is tolerating the exodus.

### Geneva conference

The propaganda campaign against Vietnam is focusing on the July 20-21 Geneva conference scheduled to deal with the issue of the "boat people."

"The Southeast Asian nations are eager to turn the Geneva meeting into a public trial with Vietnam in the dock," wrote Henry Kamm in the July 7 *New York Times*. "Australia's Prime Minister, Malcolm Fraser, shares this hope. . . ."

The real attitude of the U.S. rulers toward the "boat people" was revealed when the Hanoi regime offered on May 15 to organize an airlift of as many as 10,000 refugees a month to countries such as the United States.

The May 18 *Christian Science Monitor* reported:

The Vietnamese proposal thus throws the ball in the other court. If countries like the United States agree to such direct transfers, they would be bending their immigration rules in favor of legal immigrants from Vietnam.

Should these countries refuse to accept direct transfers, they could be accused of encouraging Vietnamese to leave in boats to other hard-pressed Southeast Asian countries in hopes they will eventually be accepted elsewhere.

The Vietnamese proposal also could face the United States and other countries with the burden of absorbing thousands of new persons. . . .

All this may be part of the reason American delegates to the Jakarta conference called the Vietnamese proposal unrealistic.

And the May 16 *Washington Post* noted: "The sheer volume of emigrants proposed by Hanoi could prove 'extraordinarily' embarrassing to the United States if this country cannot or will

not accommodate them."

After rejecting the offer of the Vietnamese government to organize a safe and orderly emigration, the imperialist propaganda campaign escalated. In the June 12 *New York Times*, Fox Butterfield reported from Hong Kong that "Vietnam appears determined to expel virtually all the members of its ethnic Chinese minority. . . ."

He based this assertion on a statement attributed to an official in Ho Chi Minh City by an unnamed "representative of a foreign relief agency." Butterfield also pointed to three refugees he interviewed as examples.

The subsequent propaganda in the U.S. capitalist press has largely been based on repeating and rehashing Butterfield's assertions. Although a massive racist drive would produce countless horror stories by Vietnamese refugees, the propagandists have come forward with precious little supporting evidence for Butterfield's case.

### Racist persecution?

In fact the weight of available evidence—including the testimony of the great majority of refugees who have been interviewed—indicates that the charge of systematic racist persecution is untrue. Instead the evidence links the exodus of refugees to the revolutionary measures taken to abolish capitalism in southern Vietnam last year, to scare propaganda emanating from Washington and Peking designed to increase the number who leave, and to the continuing impact of wartime destruction and imperialist boycott on the economy of a poor country.

Two reports in the July 6 *Manchester Guardian Weekly*—one based on a visit to Vietnam in November 1978 and the second on interviews with refugees on the island of Pulau Bidong, Malaysia—tie the exodus directly to the anticapitalist measures taken in the early months of 1978.

From the island of Pulau Bidong, John Paul Davidson described the story of Ban, who ran a hardware store in Cholon.

Until March last year, he like many others believed they could operate within the system imposed by the new regime. They were thankful for peace and were led to believe by the cadres that they would be allowed to do business. Many did, and the black market in Saigon flourished as a result of the strict rationing that the gov-

ernment imposed. But Ban subsequently realised that there was no future for him or his family in the new Vietnam. He converted all his assets into gold bars, or tael as they are called by the Vietnamese, and made contact with the boat owners.

However, by October last year the government had relaxed its policy and was no longer sending those that were caught escaping to prison or the New Economic Zones. Instead it went about organising the exodus.

In an accompanying article Helen Steven reported on the conditions in Vietnam at the time of her November 1978 visit that caused many from the upper and middle classes to want to leave:

Most of the boat people . . . do not give directly political reasons for fleeing, and could be classed as economic refugees. Many are middle-class professionals or owners of small businesses, and many if not directly working for the Americans, benefitted from the inflated US salaries and life style.

From the relative economic stability of the West it seems almost inconceivable that a man should risk his life and endure the suffering of the boats and the camps simply to preserve some capital and a certain way of life.

Part of the answer lies in the options open to these people and the extent to which their lives have been changed. . . .

Economic and social pressures have forced small traders out of business. The nationalising of all shops accelerated the process last spring. . . . To families seeing their life savings dwindling, a new life in California, Australia, or Britain seems a last hope.

### Class conflict

The regime's policy of pressing those who have no useful employment in the cities to move to New Economic Zones is an added source of the desire of the former traders and others to leave:

To stay in the city means poverty and unemployment, ultimate starvation and homelessness. The Vietnam Government offers the alternative of working on the land in the New Economic Zone. Tools, materials for a home, seeds, and transport are made available. Some have accepted and even welcomed the offer and made a success of it, seeing it as a challenge in building up the new Vietnam. These are the young and dedicated, but to a family accustomed to an urban Western life-style it is hard to labour unremittingly on the land often without electricity or running water. To many there is no choice.

Steven cites recent growth of tension between some ethnic Chinese and other Vietnamese.

Despite the tension reported by Steven, neither she nor Davidson suggest or provide any evidence of a pattern of anti-Chinese discrimination by the Hanoi government. Nor have capitalist press reports proclaiming the racist campaign of the Vietnamese regime been able to cite any radio broadcasts, official statements, newspaper editorials, or mass rallies in which racist attitudes are promoted.

Even the charge that the Hanoi

*Continued on next page*

## War & Revolution in Indochina—What Policy for Revolutionists?

A reply to Ernest Mandel by Steve Clark, Fred Feldman, Gus Horowitz, and Mary-Alice Waters.

Available now in the July 16 issue of *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*

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**'We opened door to freedom'**

# Oil workers appeal for jailed leaders

The following statement by the Militant Wing of the Oil Industry Workers in Iran was issued on June 5. The three leaders of the oil workers whose case it takes up are being held in Karoun Prison in Ahwaz along with Iranian Socialist Workers Party (HKS) members. Two of the HKS members, Omid Mirbaha and Mohammed Poorkahvaz joined in the hunger strike the oil workers held to protest their imprisonment. The statement was printed in the June 23 issue of 'Kargar' (Worker), the newspaper of the HKS. The translation is by 'Intercontinental Press/Inprecor.'

Workers of the oil industry:

In the past week or two, three militant leaders of the workers in the oil industry in Ahwaz—Shobeir Ma'il, Nasr Hayati, and Javad Khatemi—were arrested by armed Imam's Committee guards and imprisoned. We still have no information about the fate of these fighters. We have reason to think that they have been beaten and abused.

Their lives are in danger.

The arrest of militants in the oil industry represents not only a violation of the cherished political rights won by the revolution, but also an assault on the struggles of the workers in the oil industry for their just demands.

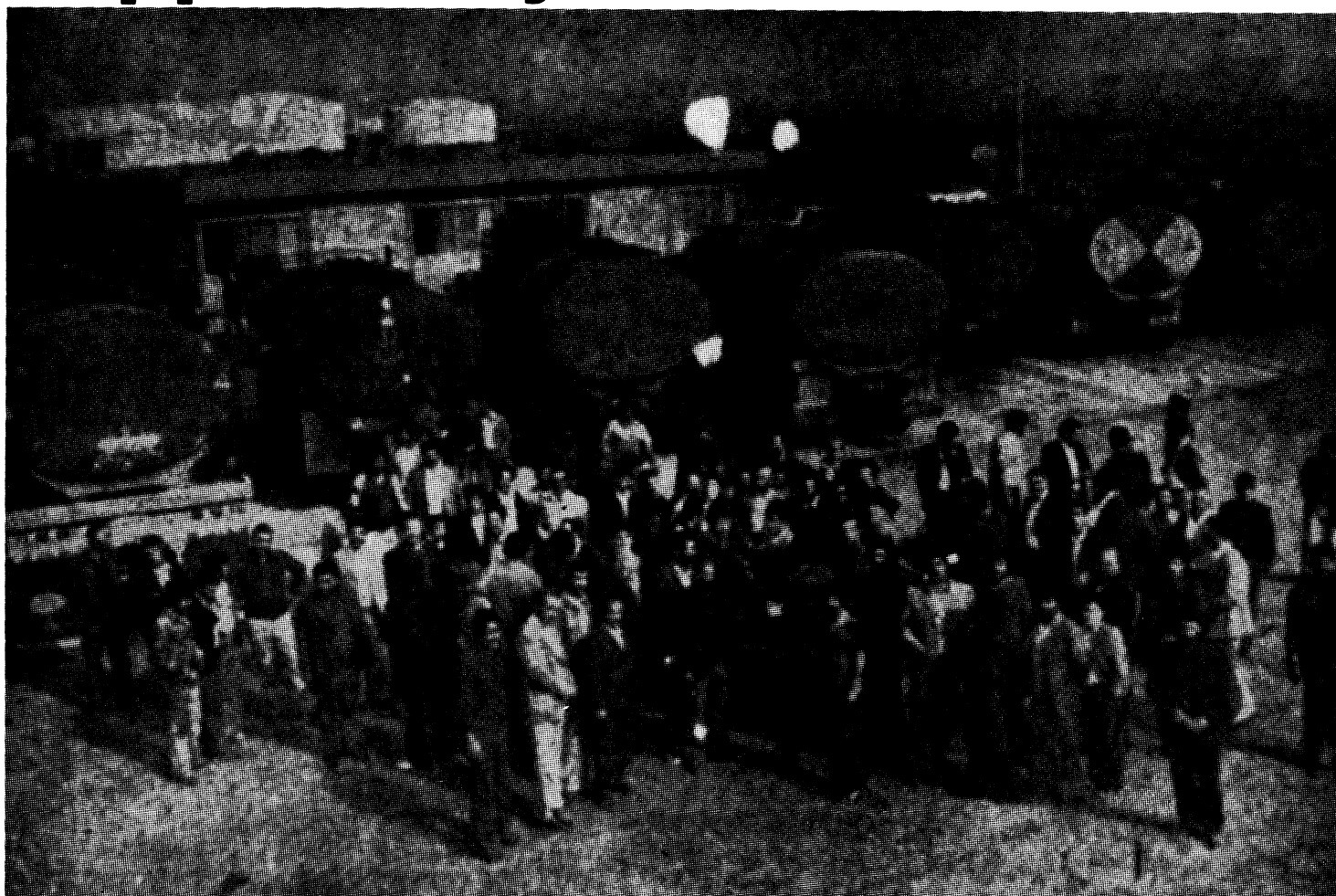
It was the workers in the oil industry who brought down the 2,500-year-old regime of monarchy and despotism. When their heroic strike cut off the flow of oil, they cut the jugular vein of the monarchy. And by breaking down the barrier represented by the despotic regime, they opened the door to freedom and abundance for a backward society such as ours.

Today, by the hard work that they do in the oppressive climate of Khuzestan, the workers in the oil industry are filling the coffers of the present government with gold bullion. But what policy and actions has this government taken toward them?

This government of the capitalists and landlords has jailed Shobeir Ma'il, an oil worker, for the "crime" of defending the long-violated rights of the Arab people. And Nasr Hayati and Javad Khatemi, who played a very active role in the struggles against the despotism of the Pahlavis, have been imprisoned for the "crime" of defending the rights of the workers and toilers.

Today, June 5, Nasr Hayati and Javad Khatemi have gone on a hunger strike to protest their arrest.

By jailing these three members of the Council of the Oil Industry, the government has declared war against



Oil workers' strike played key role in toppling shah. In their recent statement, oil workers demand political freedom and independent trade unions.

this body. The government's position is that the workers—who are faced with the abuses perpetrated by the capitalists' and employers' organizations—cannot form independent councils and unions of their own so that they can exercise some control over production and distribution.

The government's position is that the workers should continue to toil as they did under the previous regime, and that a few overseers appointed from above should have control over everything in the society.

The provisional government was established from above. It came to power as a result of the militant struggles waged by the broad masses in this country. But instead of defending the national rights of the oppressed peoples of Iran, which were trampled under foot during the fifty-year rule of the Pahlavis, this government has tried repeatedly to halt the movements seeking these rights by turning its guns on them. The struggles of the Kurdish and Turkmeni peoples for their rights have been attacked. War has been waged on the oppressed Arab people in this region.

The workers and toilers of Iran have fought self-sacrificingly, they have shed their blood, they have carried out

a vast insurrection and have overthrown the monarchy so that they could determine their own fate. In order to do this, they need a real constituent assembly and a democratic government. They need a constituent assembly made up of delegates elected by the workers and the oppressed masses, one that will defend the immediate and fundamental interests of the masses of people.

Instead of calling a constituent assembly right away, instead of supporting a government of the people, the provisional government first ran an undemocratic referendum and now it is hinting about setting up a "limited" constituent assembly. The authorities have not only postponed calling a constituent assembly but until now they have avoided publishing the draft constitution, even though four months have gone by since the overthrow of the Pahlavi monarchy.

But the workers in the oil industry have had a preview in action of what is contained in the draft constitution drawn up by this capitalist regime. With the arrests of Ma'il, Hayati, and Khatemi, this government of the capitalists has struck democratic rights out of the constitution. With the arrests of these three members of the Council of

the Oil Industry, it has declared its hostility to independent organization by the working people. By this attack on the Council of the Oil Industry, it has demonstrated its capitalist and anti-working-class essence.

However, despite all the injustices and attacks perpetrated by this government, the Iranian revolution is advancing rapidly toward winning its democratic and socialist goals.

Workers of the oil industry, you are the real defenders of freedom and the standard-bearers of democratic rights. Heroic workers of the oil industry—Muslims, Christians, Bakhtiari, and Persians—the arrests of Ma'il, Hayati, and Khatemi are an attack on your democratic rights.

To defend the freedom and democratic rights you have won, and to defend the struggles for your own rights and freedom, you must call for the immediate and unconditional release of your three co-workers, your three fellow fighters. End the arrests, persecution, and jailings of fighters for the revolutionary road! Immediate and unconditional release of Ma'il, Hayati, and Khatemi!

Hands off the militant workers in the oil industry!

## ... boat people

**Continued from preceding page**  
regime is "extorting" payment from departing Vietnamese only strengthens the case that these are merchants and others used to greater wealth and privilege in capitalist Vietnam, now seeking a better standard of living in advanced capitalist countries. Thus Butterfield claimed that emigrants must pay \$3,000 in gold in order to leave (once again, a charge not entirely consistent with massive expulsions). This is nearly twenty times as much as the average southern Vietnamese earns in a year (and more than fifty times the average income in the north). It is far more than an average Vietnamese worker, peasant, or artisan could accumulate.

All this evidence lends scant support to charges that the Vietnamese government is persecuting or expelling the Chinese minority. It supports the view that the flow of emigrants stems from

the overturn of capitalism in southern Vietnam last year—a measure that was absolutely necessary if the majority of the Vietnamese people were to have a decent future, not to mention adequate food and clothing in the present.

A major cause of the increased flow in recent months is the decision Hanoi announced on Jan. 12, 1979, to stop efforts to forcibly bar people from leaving the country, and to foster legal emigration instead.

While going along with the standard imperialist usage that describes emigration from Vietnam as "expulsion," the July 22 *Far Eastern Economic Review* suggested a reason for Hanoi's policy shift toward permitting emigration:

It is rumoured that senior Cuban party officials told Vietnamese leaders that they had prevented the perversion of their own revolution by allowing any "bourgeois" elements to leave the country if they wanted. Vietnam is thought to have drawn

the appropriate conclusion in its own case. . . .

Vietnam's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in a statement issued June 21, described the causes of the exodus more accurately than imperialist press reports. It accused the U.S. imperialists and Peking of being "precisely the inducers of the 'exodus' of hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese, Lao and Kampucheans. . . .

"With millions of tons of bombs and shells," continued the statement, "the U.S. imperialists committed monstrous crimes against the Vietnamese people, and left behind extremely serious economic and social consequences."

It charged that "since the complete liberation of our country, a number of people have tried to flee and settle abroad. Apart from a great percentage of victims to the instigation and deception by the imperialists and the Peking reactionaries, these include persons who have failed to adapt themselves to the post-war difficult situation of the

country, and to mix with the life of work in the new society, and also persons who wish to join their families abroad."

It cited the attacks by the Pol Pot forces in Kampuchea against Vietnam and the U.S.-instigated invasion of northern Vietnam by the Peking regime as further dislocating factors.

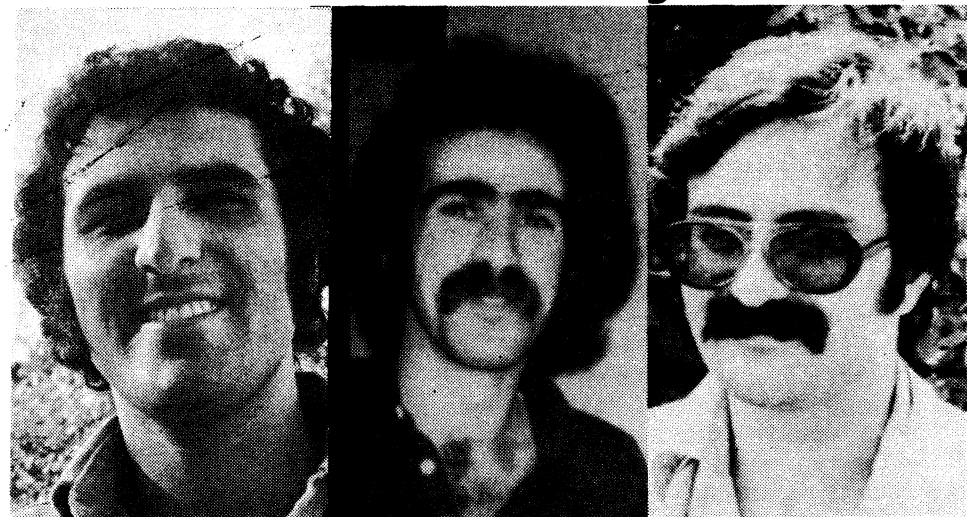
The statement also reiterated that "... the government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam has decided to permit those Vietnamese who wish to go abroad for family reunion or to earn a living to do so in a legal manner after full compliance with the required procedures."

It is this position that is the target of the imperialist slander campaign. It is being described by the imperialists as "expulsion" in order to justify economic boycott and other counterrevolutionary moves against the Vietnamese revolution.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor



# Urgent protests needed for Iranian Trotskyists



Three of Iranian Socialist Workers Party members in jail: Hamid Shahrabi, Mustafa Gorgzadeh, Kambiz Lajejardi.

By Craig Honts

Renewed government attacks on the rights of the Arab population in Iran's Khuzestan Province—culminating in the execution of five Arabs on June 15—place the lives of the fifteen imprisoned members of the Iranian Socialist Workers Party (HKS) in serious danger.

The fifteen Trotskyists were arrested over the last month and a half. They have been imprisoned in Ahwaz along with oil worker militants and hundreds of others. No charges have been announced against the HKS prisoners.

An emergency protest campaign is needed to demand that the Khomeini-Bazargan government release the prisoners immediately. Telegrams should be sent to Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan, Office of the Prime Minister, Tehran, Iran; and to the Iranian Embassy, 3005 Massachusetts Avenue NW, Washington, D.C. 20008.

Due to the Iranian government's efforts to black out all news of the repression in Khuzestan Province, copies of protest messages should be sent to the Tehran daily *Ayandegan*, Jomhuri Islami Avenue, Farzardin Square,

Tehran, Iran. (Send copies to the *Militant* as well.)

In the United States, new signers of a protest statement to the Iranian government demanding release of the prisoners include the Arab Social Club of Brooklyn, Chilean Socialist Party; Chilean Anti-fascist Committee; Sidney Lens, author; Marilyn Katz, political committee of New American Movement; and Timothy Harding, Professor of History at California State University at Los Angeles.

The Middle Eastern Awareness Committee of East Lansing, Michigan, sent the following message to Prime Minister Bazargan:

"We are a committee concerned with heightening awareness of the detrimental involvement of our government in affairs of Middle-Eastern countries, and mobilizing public opinion against such involvement. We are supporters of the Iranian Revolution, and from this political position, we protest the arrests of the HKS and Fedayeen members, the oil and steelworkers. Do not fill the shah's jails with new political prisoners, nor weaken the revolution by attacks on the civil rights of these anti-shah revolutionaries."

## NEW FROM PATHFINDER

# Leon Trotsky On France

In 1934, French society was entering a period of intense crisis. Fascism had triumphed the year before in Germany and was becoming a threat in France as well. What could the French workers do to avoid the fate of the German workers?

The French Communist and Socialist parties answered this question with the strategy of the People's Front. This was based on subordinating the workers movement to the building of coalitions with the liberal bourgeoisie, in this case represented by the Radical Party.

This book contains Trotsky's answer to the proponents of the People's Front. Included here are his major public writings on French political life from this period. They begin with "Whither France?" written in October 1934—when the French CP took its first formal steps toward a coalition with the Radicals—and end with an article written in July 1939, shortly before the start of World War II and the collapse of the Third Republic. 263 pages, \$4.45

## Leon Trotsky On France



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# Iran: anti-shah fighters executed in Khuzestan

By David Frankel

For the first time since the mass insurrection that toppled the shah of Iran's dictatorship five months ago, the Khomeini-Bazargan government has resorted to executions of anti-shah fighters in an attempt to crush opposition among the workers and peasants.

Radio Ahwaz, which is controlled by the government, reported the execution of five Iranian Arabs July 16, according to *New York Times* correspondent Youssef Ibrahim.

News of events in largely Arab Khuzestan—the site of Iran's oil industry—has been virtually blacked out in other parts of the country, according to leaders of the Socialist Workers Party of Iran (HKS).

The capitalist media abroad have played up reports of Arab terrorist groups supposedly fighting for autonomy, but these reports have been filed from Tehran, not Khuzestan. Leaders of the Arab minority have denied that recent clashes between the Khuzestan population and government forces were initiated by Arab terrorist attacks.

Arab sources, according to Ibrahim, said at least forty persons were arrested in the city of Khorramshahr and that further executions are feared. An angry population has virtually shut down the city, whose streets are being patrolled by Persian forces loyal to Ayatollah Khomeini.

The government has accused Arabs, Kurds, and others demanding autonomy of separatism. But, as Ibrahim noted in a July 11 dispatch: "Spokesmen for the Arabs and Kurds insisted today that the two groups were not separatists. They said they wanted to remain a part of Iran but insisted on greater freedom to teach their language and culture."

Other demands raised by the Arab minority have been release of prisoners unjustly held by the government, and withdrawal of government troops that have been enforcing martial law in Khuzestan. These demands have been backed up by repeated demonstrations, sit-ins, and other protests, including one of 30,000 on July 10.

What worries the regime most is the relationship between the demands of the oppressed nationalities for a greater say in governing their areas and the growing demands of the workers and peasants throughout Iran.

The struggle for autonomy by the Arabs in Khuzestan, for example, has been closely linked to the struggle of the mostly Arab oil workers. Three oil workers leaders are among those being held by authorities in Ahwaz along with fifteen members of the HKS. Demands for political rights by the Arab population have been mixed with economic demands around the issues of unemployment, living conditions, and social services.

*Christian Science Monitor* correspondent Tony Allaway referred to the social content of the struggle in a July 13 article:

"Power in Khorramshahr, where 80 percent of the population is estimated to be Arab, lies with Persian revolutionary guards. They come from the northern Khuzestan towns of Shustar and Dezful where Persians predominate and many believe they are protecting the interests of the powerful Shustar and Dezful merchants that have settled in Khorramshahr."

The role of the oppressed nationalities within the overall class struggle is also indicated by the events in the Kurdish areas in northwestern Iran. Peasant committees have sprung up throughout the Kurdish areas over the last two months. These committees have organized large-scale land occupations and have been attacked by gangs organized by the landlords.

A clash between peasants and landlord gangs—the latter backed by government forces—left more than twenty

dead in the Kurdish town of Marivan July 14. Meanwhile, thousands of Kurds demonstrated in Mahaba.

Although the class polarization has been most sharply expressed in the Kurdish and Arab areas, it is deepening throughout the country.

Describing the labor force as "in a state of rebellion," one banker complained to *Washington Post* correspondent William Branigan that industrialists "spend all their time trying to placate rebellious workers who have unrealistic expectations under the new regime."

"One hundred percent wage increase demands are not unusual," the banker said. "In addition, workers want housing, more meal allowances, longer vacations, profit sharing and say they want to run the company."

Brannigan reported in his July 5 article that armed revolutionary committees have prevented many companies from laying workers off, and in some cases have forced the rehiring of fired workers.

This kind of pressure led Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan to announce the nationalization of major industries July 5.

Meanwhile, on July 15, the first reported battle between government forces and the Azerbaijani minority took place in the town of Mishkinshahr.

These events in the class struggle have set the context for the elections scheduled to select a national body to approve a new constitution.

The government has proposed a constitution that will permit censorship of articles that "insult religious belief" or are judged guilty by the government "in the diffusion of lies."

The constitution would also prohibit political parties and associations that are judged contrary to the principles of "national unity, or the basis of the Islamic Republic."

The Bazargan regime is also desperately trying to restore the armed forces as a reliable instrument of repression. Bazargan recently tried to arrange for the return of U.S. military experts. He was opposed by Gen. Saif Amir Rahimi, who was supported by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini.

Although Bazargan had to back down, his difference with Khomeini was not over the basic drive to rebuild the repressive apparatus. As Ibrahim pointed out in a July 10 dispatch, "General Rahimi quickly established his credentials as a strict disciplinarian a few weeks ago when he ordered the jailing of dozens of air force technicians who staged a sit-in at a base. He has also called for the disarming of all militia groups by the army and said he would use force to take away arms from these groups."



Striking oil workers during struggle against shah. New capitalist government is stepping up attacks on their rights.

## Condemn nukes as unsafe

# Mine union officials discuss pro-coal drive

By Arnold Weissberg

Around the country, the United Mine Workers union is pushing ahead with educational efforts to alert working people to the dangers of nuclear power and to the advantages of using coal as an immediate substitute to generate electricity.

The UMW has long opposed nuclear power and favored coal as an alternative. "Perhaps coal miners, particularly those familiar with Farmington and Scotia and Buffalo Creek [mine disasters], have a better perspective than most people to weigh the acceptability of a risk of 145,000 [nuclear] casualties," wrote the *United Mine Workers Journal* last year.

The May 1979 issue of the *Journal* featured a six-page article on the dangers of nuclear power, entitled "Three Mile Island: Coal is Still the Answer." The article quoted UMW president Arnold Miller:

"Coal is being ignored, while nuclear energy—without proper technology—is expanding to deadly proportions. They have us by the throat. It is time for the American people to wake up to the dangers.

"The nuclear energy interests have

sold us down a radioactive river.

"Coal is still the answer—even when new energy sources can be used safely."

In telephone interviews, the *Militant* spoke with UMW officials in the East, Midwest, and Rocky Mountain states.

"After all the things that have happened, it's self-evident" that nuclear power is unsafe, said Joe Voorhees, president of UMW Local 6417 in Colorado. Local 6417 endorsed a protest at the Fort St. Vrain nuclear power plant last June.

Voorhees noted that mining uranium, which is the necessary fuel for nuclear power plants, is especially dangerous and that a very high percentage of uranium miners get lung cancer.

"Nuclear power is taking our jobs away," Voorhees said.

Thousands of coal miners are currently laid off or on short shifts. Using coal to generate electricity instead of nuclear power would not only eliminate the deadly hazards of radiation but would put these miners back to work.

The coal companies complain that

"federal regulations"—such as burning coal cleanly by using scrubbers—prevents wider use of coal. The UMW rejects that false idea. "We're not against the scrubbers. Scrubbers have been designed and they should be used," said Fred Duckworth, international staff coordinator for UMW District 11, in Terre Haute, Indiana.

"The companies want to go back twenty years" in order to burn more coal, commented Eldon Callen, UMW international press secretary. "Our approach is to use the technologies available. Let's burn it clean, so it's good for the consumer, so it's good for the future."

UMWA representatives have spoken at several antinuclear rallies across the country. Duckworth spoke at a rally in northern Indiana June 3, along with several steelworkers union local presidents. The same day, he said, another representative of District 11 spoke at a protest at the other end of the state, at a rally against the Marble Hill nuclear plant.

"We feel we've got to participate actively" in the fight against nuclear power "to maintain our jobs," Duckworth said. He explained that Indiana

has a 200-year supply of coal in the ground, but that in the past few years production has been cut, mines closed down, and miners laid off.

Duckworth noted that the international union was undertaking a big educational campaign to explain the dangers of nuclear power to UMW members.

The antinuclear movement is "a good forum," said Eldon Callen. "We are committed to the belief that nuclear is not ready yet and should not be used at this time.

"But coal is ready," Callen said. "The coal exists, the technology exists for coal."

What about the claim that coal mining is more dangerous than nuclear power because mine accidents have killed more people than nuclear accidents?

"Mining can be made safe, if the coal companies and the government, all those people involved in mine safety and health, would just make the commitment to it," Callen answered.

Callen said that groups interested in having a speaker from the UMW could call him in Washington, D.C., at (202) 638-0530, or call the UMW district nearest them.

## Indianapolis unionists set nuclear power debate

By Curt Steinmetz

INDIANAPOLIS—A debate on nuclear power here set for July 28 has received wide backing from auto workers, mine workers, and steelworkers across the state.

Endorsers include United Mine Workers District 11 Coal Miners Political Action Committee (COMPAC); United Auto Workers Community Action Program (CAP) councils of Marion, Madison, and Hamilton counties, representing some 50,000 auto workers; the Indianapolis Paddlewheel Alliance, an anti-nuclear group; and the Indiana University/Purdue Univer-

sity at Indianapolis Black Student Union.

Mike Olszanski, head of the environmental committee of United Steelworkers Local 1010, and Terry Hauser, an official of Indiana COMPAC, will speak against nuclear power. The pronuclear side will be represented by Dr. Frank Klikeman, a Purdue University professor, and Jack Bott, an official at Public Service Indiana. PSI is building the Marble Hill nuke near Madison.

Bob Pedersen, a member of UAW Local 933, said he felt that the debate will not only convince more unionists

to oppose nuclear power but will help get local unions actively involved in the antinuclear movement. "Enthusiasm" was the word Pedersen used to describe auto workers' response on hearing about the event.

Dave Ellis, who is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Indianapolis, told the *Militant* that "there already exists significant opposition to nuclear power among the ranks of trade unionists. What's needed is for this sentiment to be tapped, organized, and built on." Ellis is a member of USWA Local 1453 and

a Paddlewheel Alliance activist.

Official union endorsement was important in overcoming PSI's usual resistance to public debate of nuclear power. The utility has also come under heavy fire recently after the discovery of 170 improperly repaired air pockets in cement at Marble Hill.

The debate is sponsored by the Indiana University/Purdue University at Indianapolis Student Association, and will take place at 2 p.m. at the IUPUI campus Lecture Hall, Room 100, 925 West Michigan Street. For more information call (317) 897-9504 or (317) 925-7355.

## 'Va. labor movement enters fight for ERA'

By Jack Garfield

NORFOLK, Va.—"The labor movement in Virginia is entering the fight for the Equal Rights Amendment on a scale unprecedented in any state in the nation," Jerry Gordon, assistant director of District 2 of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union, told a news conference here on July 9.

The media gathering kicked off the building effort for the August 12 Labor ERA Conference in Norfolk.

"Our campaign," Gordon told the media, "will be taken to the rank and file. It will be an education-action campaign. It will help dispel the lies, myths, and confusions spread against ERA, primarily by those who profit from sexist discrimination."

Speakers at the Norfolk news conference reflected the widespread interest in the August 12 conference. They represented the Virginia Education Association, Norfolk Central Labor Council, United Auto Workers, United Mine Workers, and Steelworkers Local 8888 from the Newport News shipyard. United Food and Commercial Workers Union President William Wynn sent a message of support.

Connie Weiss, representing District 28 of the UMW urged "all of Virginia labor to unite to win the ERA." Weiss, who traveled nine

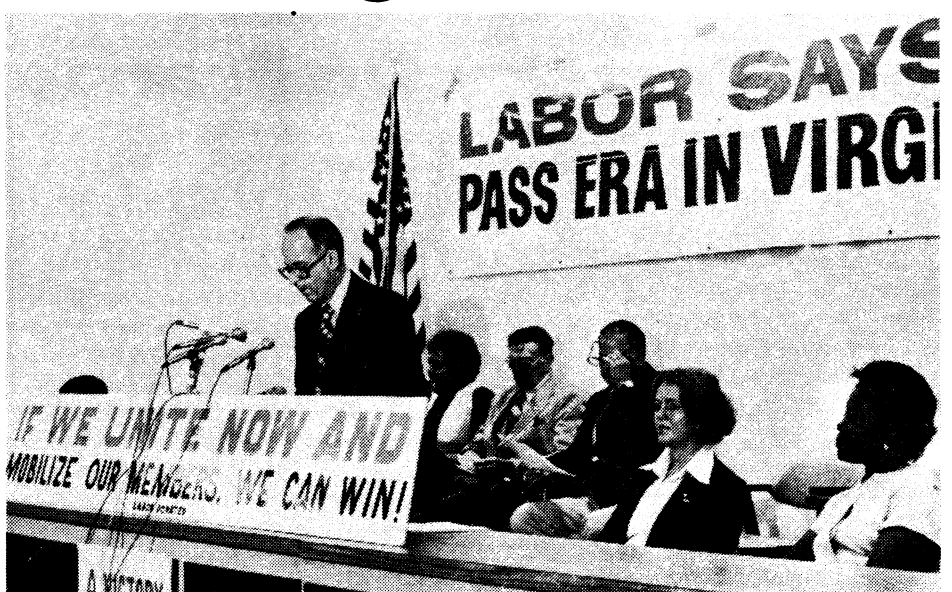
hours to attend the gathering, helped to build the recent Women Coal Miners Conference at Institute, West Virginia.

"The ERA," she said, "will give every woman, whether housewife, working mother, or career woman, the rights we deserve as human beings. Every working woman suffers the same type of discrimination I do being a coal miner."

Cynthia Boyd brought the backing of embattled Local 8888. "Women have been the hardest hit by the slow decay of industry and government bargaining," she said. "The opportunity to capture and obtain equal rights, equal standards of life that all women desperately need, can and will be met through the ERA."

"Women must unite," Boyd said "and show our lawmakers that all is not well in this system that evolves by cut-rate wages and benefits for female help. United Steelworkers of America Local union 8888 will not stand idly by and have its female members separated by built-in wage controls of the past."

Gordon told the media that "the new show of labor unity around the ERA in Virginia should be an example for labor across the country. This is the beginning of labor's counteroffensive in Virginia against the attacks it faces from the courts, the



Jerry Gordon, assistant director of District 2 of United Food and Commercial Workers Union, linked fight against 'right to work' laws to ERA struggle.

corporations, and the legislature."

Gordon linked the fight for the ERA with a battle to take on the state's notorious "right to work" laws. The same forces behind the antilabor statutes are leading the opposition to ERA, he said.

The labor ERA conference will chart a course of action for the struggle to gain ERA ratification. Featured speakers include National

Organization for Women national president, Eleanor Smeal; USWA Civil Rights Department staff representative Marsha Zakowski; and Charles Hayes, executive vice-president of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists. For further information contact the Labor ERA Conference, 5240 Port Royal Road, Suite 213, Springfield, Virginia 22151. Telephone: (703) 321-7715.



# Coal incentives: bosses' deadly speedup

By Brian Webster

MORGANTOWN, W.Va.—In February of this year, an explosion ripped through the Devco Colliery 26 coal mine in Glace Bay, Nova Scotia. Ten miners were immediately killed. Two more of the six critically injured died during the following month.

The Canadian mine was working under an incentive plan at the time. "These men were producing 73,000 tons a shift—often making five, six, or seven cuts a day to get the extra money," United Mine Workers safety inspector Joe Burke told the *UMW Journal*. "And to do that, they were very frequently running the shearer at top speed."

The blast was caused when the shearer struck rock, producing a spark that ignited methane gas.

"But I would lay the blame to an over-eagerness on the part of the company to get out the coal," Burke said. "They're the ones who masterminded the idea to generate more revenue."

The Nova Scotia disaster is a tragic warning of what could happen at other mines if the coal operators succeeded in their drive to sacrifice safety for production through incentive plans.

During the 110-day coal strike last year, the companies pushed for an industry-wide incentive plan. Mandatory incentives were part of the first contract offer that was so overwhelmingly condemned by the union's ranks. But the UMW contract ratified in March 1978 does allow for production incentive plans where local unions approve them.

The coal bosses are quietly and cautiously experimenting with the program, managing to push it through at only a handful of mines so far.

The industry claims that the productivity of miners has been drastically curtailed since the 1969 coal mining health and safety law went into effect. So the aim is to step up production with incentive plans while at the same time seeking to roll back safety laws.

## Safety laws

The two are certainly very much related. While far from perfect, passage of the federal safety law and parallel state ones led to a reduction in the number of miners killed on the job.

And the low productivity argument is a sham. First of all, U.S. miners



Miners defeated company drive for mandatory incentives in 110-day strike, but coal operators have not given up effort to institute deadly speedup method.

produce more coal per worker than any other miners in the world.

Despite the industry's tears, statistics show that this productivity is increasing, not decreasing. In January 1977, 56,667 West Virginia miners produced 6.8 million tons of coal. This January, a smaller workforce of 54,293 mined 9.1 million tons.

It is also worthwhile noting that the speed-up has meant an increase in accidents. In January 1977, 387 miners were injured and two killed in West Virginia. Two years later, the toll was 439 injured and five killed.

Under industry-wide incentive plans, there is the threat that these accident and fatality figures could mushroom.

Incentive plans in the mines are an attractive idea to the employers—and not just because of the immediate speed-up it brings. It is an effective tool to divide the workers, to pit miner against miner instead of miner against the boss.

"For the first time, you hear miners talking about competing with other miners to see who can mine the most coal. That's a healthy sign," says West Virginia's millionaire governor, John D. Rockefeller IV.

## Change in attitude

And one mine superintendent where an incentive plan is in operation notes how it has brought a change in atti-

tude to the miners. "The men want to work" he says, adding that because the bonuses are based on *total* mine production, miners who miss work are criticized by their coworkers.

One of the first major companies to use production incentives under the new contract was Consolidation Coal, the nation's second largest coal producer. Last July, Consol succeeded in getting a plan adopted at its Franklin Highwall Mine near Cadiz, Ohio.

The plan provided miners with a bonus of about twenty dollars per day if production quotas were met. A major article published in the January 8 *Coal Industry News* featured the incentive program at Cadiz as the way forward to increase productivity.

A month later the operators had changed their tune. After reaching record-breaking production goals, Consol announced in early February that they were laying off 95 of the 126 miners at Franklin. One of the reasons cited for this was decreasing productivity!

Earlier this year an incentive plan proposed by Bethlehem Steel for its Marianna, Pennsylvania, mine was narrowly voted down by the miners.

"It was a lively discussion at the mine," says Mary Zins, a coal miner at Marianna. "The more we discussed the plan the clearer it became to the major-

ity of miners why this plan must be rejected.

"The plan would have discouraged the reporting of safety violations," says Zins. "Everyone's share of the extra money would decrease for each violation cited."

## More layoffs?

"Many miners feared this plan would lead to more layoffs since more coal could be produced with fewer miners. The company was pushing for this incentive plan when we were working only four days a week. People thought that if this plan was adopted we might be down to three days a week. It seemed ridiculous to us that they wanted more coal but couldn't even use the coal already being produced."

"The plan also penalized miners by lowering the amount of money they'd get if they took off contractual days that they're entitled to. Older miners especially need these days, since many have black lung and the extra days off enable them to work until retirement."

"The incentive plan was no one-shot deal but would have lasted for the duration of the contract. The company could cancel the plan at any time but the union could only cancel by proving that it affected safety. This would be very difficult to do. The company can always deny it."

"Once in effect the company could make 'minor' changes. No one knew if that meant, for instance, increasing production goals without a new vote being taken."

"The defeat of this plan was a setback for Bethlehem," says Zins, "but the company hasn't given up."

"Out of one side of their mouths, the coal bosses talk about how they're forced to cut back on production and lay off thousands of miners because of government 'overregulation.'"

"Out of the other, they're pushing incentive plans to speed up production."

"Their only real goal is to spend the least money and make the biggest profits. Miners have no interest whatsoever in helping them out on any of their profit schemes."

"Mine workers fought long and hard for safety legislation and contract clauses to back it up. Our motto is safety first. Incentive plans put all our gains in jeopardy."

# Campaign grows to end U.S. blockade of Cuba

By Harry Ring

The recent announcement by the Cuban government that it has set a September target date for the release of all political prisoners is certain to have a deep impact on the Cuban community abroad. It will deepen support among Cubans in this country for the restoration of U.S. diplomatic and trade ties with Cuba.

The extent of sentiment on this issue was given dramatic expression when 10,000 Cubans in this country signed petitions calling on Washington to normalize relations with Cuba.

Seeking to strangle the revolution, the U.S. broke relations with Cuba in 1960 and imposed an economic blockade.

The petitions were circulated by the Cuban-American Committee for the Normalization of Relations with Cuba and presented to the State Department June 26.

The committee stressed the significance of the large number of signatures—75 percent—that come from Miami. Miami has the largest single Cuban community abroad. Counterrevolutionary Cuban groups have traditionally been headquartered there.

Manuel Gomez, a spokesperson for the committee, said its five principal leaders had received death threats. Some are also a target of the counterre-

volutionaries because of their participation in the ongoing dialogue between the Cuban government and a broad-based committee from the Cuban community abroad.

The dialogue has already resulted in the release by Cuba of more than 2,000 prisoners convicted of counterrevolutionary activity.

The dialogue committee has also arranged for thousands of members of the Cuban community abroad to visit relatives at home. The committee is also seeking to open the U.S. doors for admission of people Havana has agreed to permit to emigrate to join their families here.

One of the leaders of the petition for the normalization of relations is Miriam Muñoz. She is the sister of Carlos Muñoz Varlea, who was murdered this spring in Puerto Rico by counterrevolutionaries. He had headed a travel agency there organizing the visits to Cuba.

The violence of the counterrevolutionaries has been an expression of frenzy at their increased isolation in the Cuban community. A relative handful, they are able to carry on their murderous activity only because federal and local authorities—to whom they are well known—refuse to act against them.

On presenting the petitions in Washington, one member of the committee,

Roberto Lopez, a Detroit United Auto Workers member, said the U.S. policy of trying to isolate Cuba served as "an umbrella" for the terrorists.

Earlier, the Carter administration had indicated it would consider restoration of relations with Cuba if Castro would withdraw his troops from Africa. Castro rejected this, noting that Cuba did not make withdrawal of U.S. troops from various parts of the world its condition for restoration of

relations.

In presenting the petitions for normalization of relations, Manuel Gomez said the committee disagreed with the Carter administration that ties cannot be reestablished until Cuba withdraws its forces from Africa.

The 10,000 petitions, clearly representing widespread sentiment in the Cuban community, are an important contribution to the fight to end the reactionary U.S. blockade of Cuba.

New York City

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## Victories in Marroquin asylum fight

# Judge lifts restrictions on travel, jobs

By Jane Roland

In an important victory, all travel restrictions and employment prohibitions against Héctor Marroquin have been dropped by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS).

The socialist and trade union activist is fighting U.S. government efforts to deport him to Mexico. This new victory in Marroquin's fight to win political asylum in this country comes right on the heels of the INS' decision on June 21 to lower his cash bond from \$10,000 to \$5,000.

"This is a real step forward," said Marroquin, "but not only for my case. It's a victory for democratic rights, and as such it's a victory for all the American people, every political activist, every trade unionist."

The restrictions had originally been imposed together with \$10,000 cash bond as conditions on Marroquin's release from prison in December 1977. At the time of his deportation hearing in early April, Marroquin's attorney asked that all these restrictions be dropped and Marroquin be released into the custody of the Héctor Marroquin Defense Committee or the Socialist Workers Party.



Militant/Arnold Weissberg

HECTOR MARROQUIN

ist Workers Party.

Immigration judge James Smith refused. But after a special appeal to the INS Board of Appeals in Washington, D.C., challenging the bond, the Board halved it and ordered the judge to rule

on the other conditions. This time, Smith was forced to rule favorably.

The restrictions meant that Marroquin had to request permission of the INS before leaving New York.

"These restrictions were an outrage," said Marroquin's lawyer Margaret Winter. "They were only imposed because Marroquin was a political activist. They aimed to keep him from building his case and reaching out to the American people."

Marroquin is a victim of a political frame up by the Mexican government. If returned to Mexico, he will face the same persecution, including imprisonment and torture, possibly murder, that has been the fate of hundreds of other Mexican political activists and trade unionists.

In his decision, the judge referred to Marroquin's national speaking tours as "sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party." Marroquin, a member of the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance, has received support from these organizations, which are determined to see him win the right to asylum. But Marroquin's tours have been organized by the Héctor Marroquin Defense Com-

mittee, a broad group of individuals and organizations.

In the spirit of all red-baiting, Judge Smith wants to discourage people from supporting Marroquin by labeling all who support this right as socialists. Marroquin's supporters include trade unionists, students, several members of Congress, prominent individuals, and national organizations—some socialist, some not. The one thing they all agree on is that Marroquin must not be denied asylum on the basis of his political opinions.

The Héctor Marroquin Defense Committee has thanked all Marroquin's supporters. "Clearly the INS and the Carter Administration are under pressure," a committee statement said. "We've won a round, but we can't stop now. This decision should encourage us all to redouble our efforts. We will keep fighting till we win our main goal—political asylum for Héctor Marroquin."

The next step in the campaign will be Marroquin's tour of the country in the fall. He will travel to twenty cities, meeting with supporters and explaining his case and his socialist ideas.

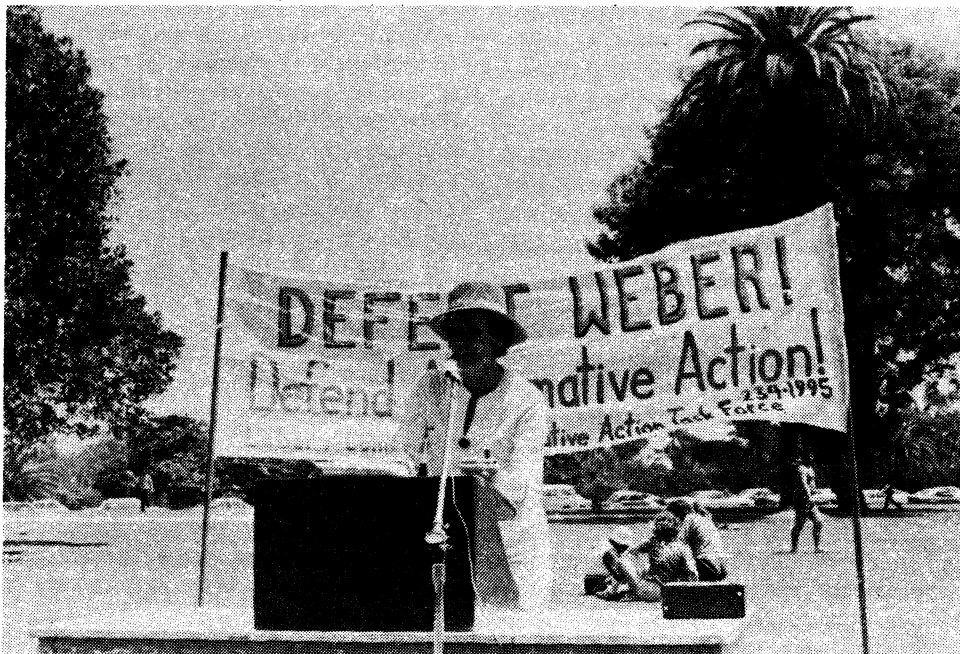
# Pulley: What labor won when Weber lost

By Andrew Pulley

When Brian Weber lost at the Supreme Court every worker in my plant won. As did every member of my union, the United Steelworkers, and working people across the country. Especially Blacks, Latinos, women and all those subject to special discrimination by the ruling clique that runs this country.

That's not, of course, what the press and TV are saying. They're consciously downplaying the significance of Weber's defeat and the role unions played in bringing it about. In fact when leaders of USWA District 31 called a press conference to announce our victory at the end of June, only one paper attended: the *Militant*.

The ruling class is not at all eager to let the truth out about the Weber case. For the first time the big guns of



Militant/Michael Anderson

Speaker from the Coalition of Labor Union Women at anti-Weber rally in San Diego. Labor's stand for equality strengthened unions.

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



labor—the Steelworkers, Auto Workers, Machinists, AFL-CIO—joined forces with Black and women's organizations to defend affirmative action.

Working people today are different—and so are our ideas. We were the force propelling the labor movement into action against Weber.

If you work in a plant or mill, you know what I mean. People around you are younger. They include more Blacks, Latinos, and women.

There are more complaints about the raw deal we're getting—from the bosses, Carter, and the ripoff artists running the oil trusts. More workers are searching for effective ways to fight back. And more are coming to realize that the rights Blacks and women have won—like affirmative action—are under fire because they benefit all workers.

The Weber case helped bring this lesson home.

The Steelworkers had negotiated a

contract with Kaiser reserving half the places for Blacks and women in its Gramercy plant's skilled training program. Weber set out to break that contract.

If he had succeeded, with the courts' help, who knows what other contract provisions would have gone down the tubes next? By heading off this assault, the Steelworkers and their allies repelled a dangerous threat to everyone's collective bargaining rights.

To force their take-backs down our throats, the capitalists seek to divide us—to pit us against one another in a desperate scramble for the crumbs they throw our way. To make it easier to stamp out measures for equality in hiring, jobs, promotion and seniority, the bosses try to turn their victims into criminals. We constantly hear that Blacks and women are causing layoffs, lowering wages, and stealing skilled jobs by demanding their rights.

## Divide and rule

It's the same old lie that has been used to divide and cripple the American labor movement since its birth. It goes like this.

White, male workers supposedly owe everything they have—not to what labor has fought for—but to the special oppression suffered by other working people—Blacks, women, youth, undocumented workers.

Do male workers make more because women make less? Do whites have

cushy jobs because Blacks do all the dirty work? No! We're *all* paid lousy wages and forced to work rotten jobs because the ruling class tries to push everyone's living standards down to the level of the most oppressed. This is the ground floor the capitalists always start from.

That's why fighting for equality benefits not only the worst off, but all of us. Kaiser's affirmative action plan is a case in point.

## Job equality

Until workers at the Gramercy plant won affirmative action in training for skilled jobs, there was no company training program at all—not for whites, males, Blacks, women, or anybody. Skilled workers were hired off the street. For Blacks and women this meant no shot at these jobs. But the chances of other production workers to qualify were pretty slim as well.

To enable women not only to get into the plants but to stay there, they will need everything from access to restrooms and lockers to safety protection, pregnancy benefits, and child care. And every one of these measures will mean gains for male workers as well—improving abysmal sanitation in the plants, extending safety and medical protection, getting decent care for our children.

There's another side of advancing the struggle for job equality that's just as important.

When the labor movement defends their needs, Blacks and women deepen their commitment to the unions. They pour their fighting spirit into the unions, raising the combativity of all labor.

The blow we struck for equality in defeating Weber will not only strengthen our unions. It will help them reach out to the unorganized in the South—a life-or-death task in the period ahead.

## Organizing the unorganized

Under the impact of the civil rights movement the attitudes of Black and white Southern workers have changed. You have only to look at Newport News, Virginia, to see the difference.

There Black and white Steelworkers are fighting side by side, with incredible courage and determination, to establish their union. They value the solidarity they've achieved and know it's their most powerful weapon against Tenneco.

Just imagine what the results would have been if the union had supported Weber. Would Black workers risk being fired, clubbed, beaten, and jailed for a union that shortchanged their rights? Would white workers hold as steady against Tenneco's divide and rule tactics?

Hardly. The Newport News Steelworkers are inspiring unionists across the country because *they* are inspired—by the vision of a union that matches up to their aspirations for equality, dignity, and solidarity.

The same will be true elsewhere. Labor must take a bold stand for equality to break down the barriers that remain and tap the pro-union sentiment sweeping the South.

Defeating Weber is a start. But the battle is far from over. Discrimination still exists. The bosses will dig up new Brian Webers. They'll carve out different inroads against affirmative action.

The unions must be ready to meet every new attack. To begin with, we should launch a big educational campaign to explain what was at stake in the Weber case and what has been won. We should take the offensive in upcoming negotiations to expand affirmative action programs and take new steps toward job equality.

This is the way to heal the divisions which sap labor's strength. This is the way—the only way—to ready labor's armies for the battles ahead.



## Teachers meet on crisis in public schools

By August Nimtz

SAN FRANCISCO—The theme of the 1979 American Federation of Teachers convention here July 16 was "Securing our future: America's stake in our schools." However, the tone that President Albert Shanker set for the convention in his "State of Our Union" address was more in keeping with the theme of last year's meeting: "Schools in Crisis."

The 2,500 delegates gathered here to discuss their situation: Teachers everywhere are being hit with layoffs, pay cuts, and challenges to collective bargaining rights. Increases in class size and cuts in funding have undermined educational opportunities for students as well as the rights of teachers.

In a frank and gloomy assessment of the situation, Shanker began his speech by saying that financial support for public schools is in a "period of decline."

The major reason, Shanker claimed, is that there will be fewer children entering schools.

### 'Expect less'

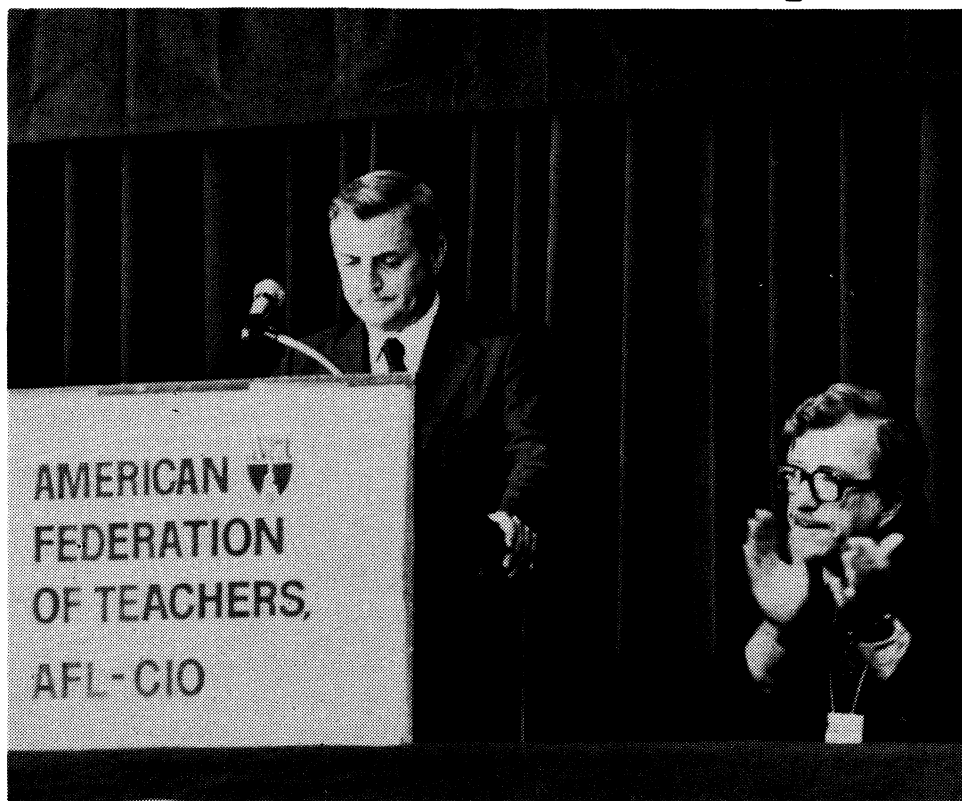
Repeating the frequently heard message of the Carter administration, Shanker said, "People have to start living on less, they are going to have to start making choices. What do we give up? And there is going to be a long list."

The bleak picture Shanker painted—in an attempt to soften the ranks of the union for coming blows—offered no perspective for fighting back.

Instead, he projected continued reliance on the Democrats and Republicans, the parties who are responsible for the cutbacks in education and the antilabor drive against all working people.

Shanker tried to whip up support for the Carter administration and its war drive. He parroted Vice-President Walter Mondale, who had spoken the previous day, on the reasons for the current U.S. economic crisis.

The culprits, Shanker made clear, are OPEC and the Iranian revolution. In a reactionary attack on the Iranian workers, he said the revolution could have been avoided if there had been free trade unions in Iran, including one for teachers! "Just think of the difference it would make in the world today if those teachers in Tehran had not marched down those streets as commu-



Shanker applauds Vice-president Mondale for speech that blamed OPEC for capitalist-caused economic crisis.

nist totalitarians on one hand and Moslem fanatics on the other. . . . The world today would be changed."

The world today is changed by the Iranian revolution—because teachers and the rest of the Iranian masses overthrew the shah and his antilabor policies, policies backed by U.S. military might.

But Shanker called for "more international involvement" by the U.S. government to deal with the economic crisis. "There is no doubt, in spite of the fact that we have less and we have got to give up many things, that this will also be a period of some increases in military expenditures," he said.

With such a perspective it is understandable why the Shanker forces at the convention vehemently opposed two resolutions that called for a reduction in military spending as a way of increasing financing to education. After deleting any reference to cuts in the military budget, the Shankerites attached an insipid amendment to the resolutions that called for increased federal funds for education and a thinly veiled disguise for more military spending.

In a demagogic defense of the amendment, Sandra Feldman of Local 2, New York City, made the incredible argument that any cuts in the military budget would hurt Blacks and Latinos, who are disproportionately represented in the armed services. But the expanding war budget is the major reason for the cuts in education!

Shanker's promilitary, pro-imperialist views were also reflected in the debate on two resolutions about South Africa and Nicaragua. The former called for divestment of U.S. corporations and any AFT funds in companies doing business in South Africa, while the latter called for AFT opposition to U.S. intervention in Nicaragua. In both cases Shankerite forces rammed amendments through that gave backhanded blessing to U.S. support to the two regimes.

### 'Weber' case

If there was one issue that best illustrated the bankruptcy of the Shanker leadership, it was the question of affirmative action and the recent Supreme Court ruling on the *Weber* case.

Unlike the other AFL-CIO affiliates, the AFT was the only union that did not support the Steelworkers union in their effort to overturn the lower court decision in the *Weber* case, which abrogated the right of unions to negotiate affirmative-action programs with employees. This was not surprising since the AFT was the most vocal union to support Allan Bakke's successful suit against preferential admissions in educational institutions.

A week before the AFT met, the Supreme Court overturned the lower court decisions in the *Weber* case—a major victory for the labor movement. An attempt was made, led mainly by the Black Caucus, to have the AFT go on record in support of the Supreme Court decision. Shanker's forces, in what was an unusual display of maneuvering and concerted action, even for them, successfully got the convention to "postpone indefinitely" any decision concerning affirmative action and the *Weber* case—an outcome that angered Black delegates and other supporters of affirmative action.

Rather than take a position that would solidarize the AFT with the rest of the union movement and its allies in the Black and Latino communities, the AFT leadership chose a course that reflects its narrow view of teaching as a white job trust.

While the outcome of the debate was a setback for supporters of affirmative action, it did not reflect a clear victory for Shanker. His forces had originally hoped to have the AFT, through its executive board, go on record in opposition to the Supreme Court decision.

This was opposed by the board members representing areas with large or majority Black memberships.

Shanker also proposed to solve the dilemma his members face by increasing the AFT's membership through the organization of hospital workers.

But the most urgent step needed to strengthen teachers is uniting the AFT with the 1.8 million-member National Education Association. Although Shanker demagogically deplored the absence of teacher unity, this convention, like past ones, made no move in this direction.

This convention indicated that Shanker's grip on the AFT is no longer as secure as it once was. Although he resorted to more bureaucratic control at this convention than in the past, even members of Shanker's Progressive Caucus divided on several important issues.

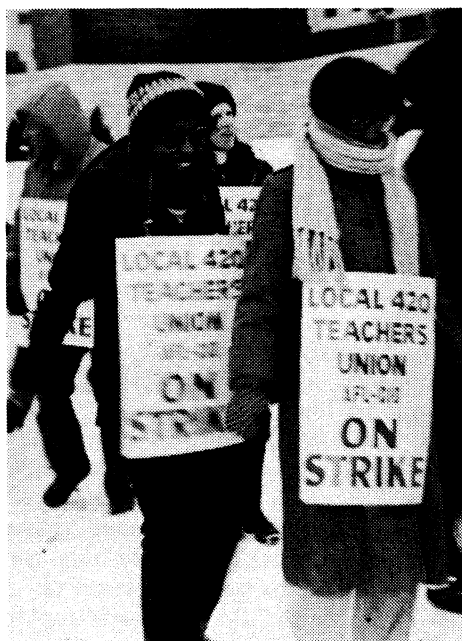
Shanker did not even hold his traditional convention press conference, which made it possible for him to avoid answering expected questions on issues such as the *Weber* ruling.

Shanker was unable to block one resolution concerning gay rights. A resolution was passed calling for the AFT to support an amendment to federal laws banning job discrimination because of "sexual preference." A similar amendment to the AFT's constitution, which required a two-thirds vote, was very narrowly defeated.

The dissatisfaction that Shanker encountered from the ranks is based on his growing inability to produce for the membership. His strategy of relying on Democratic politicians has been a disaster for teachers. This explains why the AFT's Committee on Political Education (COPE), as reported to the convention, has begun to experience a decline in funding. Union members, whose contributions fund the COPEs, are less and less willing to give money to the politicians who are gutting public education.

Like all working people, teachers are more and more willing to listen to an alternative, to an effective fightback strategy—a strategy based on the independent political action of the labor movement.

Such a strategy would require a break with the Democratic Party. It would require that the AFT, along with other unions, run independent labor candidates on a program that serves the real interests of working people.



Teachers' strike in St. Louis earlier this year. Carter's 'expect less' program will require more fightbacks from teachers.

## Debate on nationalization

SAN FRANCISCO—One of the most heated issues at the recent American Federation of Teachers convention concerned the nationalization of the energy industry. The issue arose because of a resolution submitted by the Graduate Teaching Fellows Federation, Local 3544, University of Oregon, that called on the AFT to favor nationalizing the entire energy industry.

In a surprise move, no doubt reflecting the long gas line experiences of many delegates, the resolution passed almost unanimously in a committee of about 75 delegates before going to the entire convention. In view of the right wing and bureaucratic leadership of AFT President Albert Shanker, it was doubtful, however, that the convention would go along with the committee's vote.

On the floor of the convention, a number of delegates spoke in support of it.

The comments of delegate Helen Savio from St. Louis were well received. In addition to calling for opening the books of the giant oil

monopolies to public scrutiny she explained the nationalization of the energy industry must be done through the labor movement and under the control of workers in order to avoid sham "nationalizations" such as Amtrak.

It was probably the remarks of Robert Riedy, Local 1889, Farmingdale, New York, that evoked the best response when he began by saying, "I never thought I would ever be standing at this microphone and advocating nationalization—but I am." Riedy then began listing the enormous profits the oil companies made in the so-called oil crisis of 1973. "Today, while you and I are on the gas lines these same companies are raking in between 300 to 500 percent profits."

The vote on the resolution was so close that it required three votes. Shanker eventually declared that the resolution had lost 777 to 535. Many delegates, however, felt that the vote was much closer, some feeling that the resolution had actually passed. —A.N.

# Marroquin: 'I defend the Cuban revolution'

With this issue the 'Militant' concludes its publication of 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 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 explains that it was because he was a political activist and socialist that he was falsely accused of crimes and faced imprisonment, torture, even death at the hands of the Mexican cops. He concludes in the cross-examination by explaining why socialists defend the Cuban revolution.

Judge Smith 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.

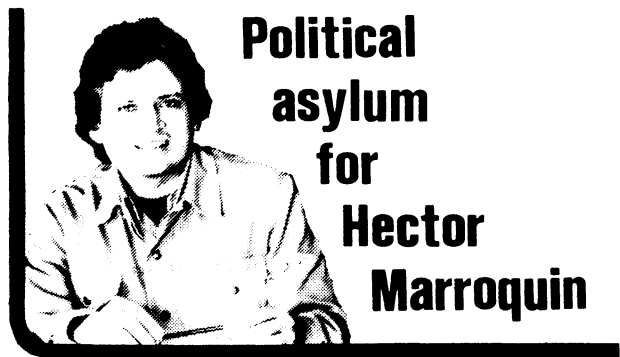
In the excerpts below, Margaret Winter is Marroquín's attorney, James Smith is the immigration judge, and Daniel Kahn is the Immigration and Naturalization Service prosecuting attorney.

*Winter:* Mr. Marroquín, you've now been away from Mexico for more than five years. During these years in exile did you ever attempt to find a way to return to Mexico?

*Marroquín:* Yes, I did. I have always been interested in having the opportunity to clear myself of



In his testimony Marroquín explains why he defends Cuban revolution. He cites great advances in education, health care, and elimination of discrimination against Blacks and women as examples of accomplishments since overthrow of Batista.



## Political asylum for Hector Marroquin

the charges that the Mexican government made against me.

*Winter:* Did you try to talk with an attorney—to find out if there was any way you could return to Mexico and have a fair trial?

*Marroquín:* Yes. On August 23, 1977, I wrote a letter to Andrade Gressler, who is a very well-known civil liberties attorney and who has been involved in the defense of many political prisoners in Mexico. I explained the case and asked him for advice.

*Winter:* Your honor, this letter is important because there's a very consistent recital of what happened to Mr. Marroquín.

He's asking Mr. Gressler for advice. He concludes by saying that [while he was in the hospital in Houston recovering from a car accident], "the police had already included me in a gang of fugitives. I only wanted to avoid being tortured and to wait a while in order to prove the falseness of the accusations. I have not committed the crimes they have accused me of. It was fear based on false statements that the police often obtained from 'chicharrazo' or from an electric shock bath."

And then he says, "I already had waited patiently for almost four years." And he ends by saying, "I hope that after giving you this explanation . . . it gives you a better idea for evaluating the case of 'El Pecas' ['Freckles']—the *nom de guerre* the Mexican cops gave Marroquín]. (Signed) Héctor Marroquín Manríquez. P.S. 'El Pecas' is only because Mother Nature put numerous little spots on my face."

Mr. Marroquín, did you ever in fact meet with any Mexican lawyer about your problem?

*Marroquín:* Well, since I didn't receive an answer from this letter, I decided to take the risk and visit him personally in Mexico. I explained the case to him and he did not offer any favorable perspectives.

He said that the situation had worsened in Mexico, that there was no possibility I could have a fair trial and that I better stay the way I had been for the last four years—as far away as I could get from Mexico.

*Winter:* The next exhibit is a statement from Andrade Gressler, dated July 26, 1978. He said in particular, "I told him that there was no possibility of receiving any kind of guarantee if he turned himself in voluntarily since I was and am aware that in cases such as his, there is brutal repression even though one may not have participated in the crimes one is accused of."

Mr. Marroquín, could you explain briefly how you happened to be arrested by the INS.

*Marroquín:* Well, I wanted to visit Attorney Gressler [for a second time]. I decided to go across the border because he can't come to this country because he doesn't have a visa.

*Winter:* And did you in fact meet with him?

*Marroquín:* No. And when I returned to the U.S., I was asked by the INS where I was from and I claimed that I was an American citizen. To do this I presented a false birth certificate. [The INS] official did not believe me and he started to interrogate me. He told me to park. He brought me to his office.

When I saw that he had decided to initiate an interrogation, I told him that I was going to tell all the truth if he first told me my rights. And he said that I have a right to have an attorney and to make a phone call, but that I first had to make my statement. So I made the statement. I gave my true name and the reasons that forced me to come into the United States, which was to seek political refuge.

*Winter:* Mr. Marroquín, has anything happened since the time of your arrest on September 18, 1977, till the present, to lessen your fear of returning to Mexico?

*Marroquín:* No. The opposite has happened. There have been some things that have increased my fear.

For example, the Director of Investigation of the State Judicial Police of Nuevo León sent a letter to the INS, claiming that I was a criminal and that I would have to be deported to Mexico.

*Winter:* Your honor, I'd like to submit exhibit 52, which is the letter that we obtained under the Freedom of Information Act. This was from the Judicial Police to the INS, in response to their request on whether Mr. Marroquín was wanted.

## Section of cross-examination

*Kahn:* Is Marxism inconsistent with the present Mexican government?

*Marroquín:* Yes. Marxists in Mexico think that the Mexican government is an undemocratic government, that a government that cannot grant basic standards of living to the Mexican people, that cannot grant democracy, that cannot end oppression. . . . Marxists think that this government, this capitalist government, has to be replaced.

*Kahn:* Is there any country in the world where there is a government that you would approve of?

*Marroquín:* There is no country in the world that I would approve of the policies they follow, with one exception, the exception of Cuba.

*Winter:* Mr. Marroquín. Mr. Kahn asked you whether or not you liked the Cuban revolution and you said you did. Could you just briefly explain what you liked about the Cuban revolution?

*Marroquín:* The Cuban revolution first of all increased the standard of living of the Cuban people very much. It increased the health of the Cuban people, and education to the point where there is nobody that doesn't read in Cuba. There were many changes in Cuba. For example, prostitution. Prostitution has totally disappeared in Cuba. Women are not forced to sell their bodies now like they were under Batista in order to survive.

*Smith:* Have you ever been to Cuba?

*Marroquín:* Well, I have read books.

*Smith:* This is hearsay.

*Winter:* Your honor, Mr. Kahn spent some time on cross-examination on Mr. Marroquín's opinions on Cuba.

*Smith:* It's in the realm of never-never land. . . . Go ahead. . . . He doesn't know anything about the prostitution situation in Cuba first hand. . . .

*Winter:* . . . we are explaining what those opinions were, as we are entitled to under cross-examination.

*Marroquín:* Another thing that has been totally outlawed from Cuba is racism, there is no more discrimination against Blacks or anybody in Cuba, everybody is seen as brothers and sisters, even though democracy does not exist to its full extent. But there is a large amount of democracy compared with the kind of oppression that existed under Batista. . . . These are things that I defend in the Cuban revolution.



By Suzanne Haig

Seven years after the Vietnam War, the ruling class has launched a hypocritical campaign of concern for the plight of veterans. This campaign includes portraying the American people as enemies of the GIs and as responsible for their problems; trying to use vets to step up the capitalists' war drive; and pitting unemployed Vietnam vets against Blacks and women.

This offensive by the ruling class poses a challenge to the entire labor movement. Labor has a big stake in championing the rights of veterans and answering the rulers' propaganda. A look at who the veterans are shows why.

### Who are the veterans?

The rulers of this country disrupted the lives of an entire generation of working-class youth in their attempts to crush the Vietnamese revolution.

The GIs who went to Vietnam, like the GIs in World War I, II, and Korea, fought the bosses' war and received nothing in return.

It was the same for all these wars: generations of young workers railroaded into war against their will, used as cannon fodder, told and told again that they were fighting for freedom.

The bourgeois press, the politicians, and the clergy waxed eloquently on the glories of capitalist aggression. They told us this was the war to end all wars; the war for the four freedoms; the war to make the world safe for democracy; the war to end "communist aggression."

Given this fanfare, millions of youth were supposed to sacrifice the best years of their lives for the greed of the capitalist system in its insatiable drive for profits, markets, colonies, and plunder.

As in other wars the young workers who went to Vietnam suffered death and mutilation. Of the 2.7 million men and women who went to Vietnam, 57,000 were killed, 540,000 were disabled, and 30,000 were 100 percent disabled.

This war forced thousands of young people to flee to Canada and elsewhere, then to be labeled "draft dodger" and "deserter"—criminals—because they valued their own lives over the imperialist offensive.

For many other youth it was a question of day by day "Russian roulette," hoping beyond hope not to get classified 1-A.

For the families and friends of the young men in Vietnam there was additional worry, suffering, and ruined hopes.

### After the war

But the exploitation of the working class during war does not end when the battles are over. Under the guise of patriotism and concern for the problems of vets, the government and big business have sought to cynically manipulate them. This is not new. After World War II, for example, attempts were made to use vets to break strikes and crush the unions. Right-wing groups such as the American Legion and Veterans of Foreign Wars pretended to speak for vets in espousing militarism and cold-war propaganda.

But after Vietnam, the ruling class was unable to use patriotism and prowar parades to fuel its next war drive. The GIs, like the majority of the American people, would not tolerate it.

The American population had mounted the most powerful opposition to an imperialist war ever and had forced the U.S. to withdraw—defeated.

This opposition to the war existed in the army as well. In the last analysis this opposition made it impossible for Washington to continue its genocide in Vietnam.

GIs marched in demonstrations and formed organizations against the war. They exposed the atrocities committed by the U.S. against the Vietnamese. They refused to obey commands, or deserted. Instances of "fragging" officers were common, and some GIs openly solidarized with the Vietnamese workers and peasants in their fight against U.S. imperialism. Black GIs fought against racism in the army.

The ruling class in this country hated and feared this generation of young workers because they were part of the antiwar movement that changed history. Their refusal to fight Washington's war helped bring about the victory of the Vietnamese revolution, the biggest inspiration to the working masses of the world since the Cuban revolution.

The U.S. government could not trust *these* vets to whip up prowar sentiment after the war. Instead, the government contemptuously ignored them, denied them benefits, and painted a vicious picture of them.

The condition of Vietnam vets was exacerbated by the recession of 1974-75 that many came home to. They were a different breed than the military brass, who came home to plush jobs in government or on the boards of industry. For Black vets, conditions were even worse. According to figures

# Vietnam vets: who will fight for their rights?



Veteran's contingent in April 24, 1971, anti-Vietnam War march in Washington. Government hates and fears generation of young workers it sent to Indochina. They were part of antiwar majority that changed history.

released by Detroit Mayor Coleman Young, unemployment for Black vets in that city was 60 percent.

The government and big business portrayed the Vietnam vets as crazed maniacs, dope addicts, and killers—obviously not to be trusted on the job. Nearly 800,000 vets had less-than-honorable discharges that denied them certain benefits and singled them out for special discrimination as "undesirables."

Today the Carter administration is trying to push back the advances of the Vietnamese revolution and prevent the Laotian, Thai, and Kampuchean masses from taking the same step. This is behind the shift of the ruling class in its approach to the Vietnam vet.

The rulers hope to win retrospective support from vets and other sections of the population for their policies in the Vietnam War. They hope to persuade the American people to believe that the current Vietnamese government is worse than the hated Thieu regime, the bloody dictatorship that the U.S. fought to preserve and the Vietnamese fought to overthrow.

Unable to find any instances of mass atrocities committed by this new workers state, the U.S. government has been forced to fabricate them. This is behind the current hysteria around the "boat people." The recent Joan Baez letter denouncing "crimes" in Vietnam was a trump card in this scheme.

The *Wall Street Journal* openly explained this effort in a June 5 editorial.

"Surely," the editors wrote, "in a time when Joan Baez can sign a public letter excoriating the current Vietnamese regime for its oppressiveness, it should not be impossible to say that the men who fought in opposition to that regime did something worthy of national respect."

The capitalists are also attempting to undermine the authority that the antiwar movement still carries with the majority of Americans and with Vietnam vets in particular.

They are trying to blame the antiwar movement for the fact that vets are badly treated and ignored—denied "national respect." In a May 29 *Wall Street Journal* editorial entitled "Memorial Day, 1979" this side of the ruling-class ideological offensive is explained:

"The particular burden of Vietnam veterans did not lie in Asia but at home. It arose from the powerful strain in American culture contending that not only were American purposes defeated in Vietnam, but that the purposes themselves were corrupt. America is guilty, it is asserted, and by inference the American veterans are especially so. It is this stigma with which the veterans must contend."

This was the message of Memorial Day, 1979 and "Vietnam Veterans Week"—setups to rewrite his-

tory and blame the antiwar majority for the treatment of vets. The press consciously laced their many interviews with Vietnam vets with this theme: Vets were forgotten because they fought against the Vietnamese. The papers were filled with "human interest" stories about people opposed to the war spitting in the faces of vets and calling them murderers.

### GIs' strongest ally

Nothing could be further from the truth. The antiwar movement and the millions who supported it were the strongest allies of the GIs and the only force seriously and actively concerned with their fate—regardless of any individual soldier's attitudes toward the war. This movement rejected attempts to blame GIs for the war.

The central demand of the antiwar movement—"Bring the troops home now!"—is the strongest testimony to this.

It is the U.S. government alone that is responsible for the misery of the Vietnam vet. It sent the troops to Vietnam. It hooked the GIs on heroin to keep them in the war. It issued the less-than-honorable discharges against the GIs who were rebelling in their own ways against the war. It refused to give the necessary benefits and jobs to these vets—and in fact cut back on the few programs that existed.

Now the government, in a cynical and coldly calculated maneuver, is attempting to bribe and blackmail the vets with the promise of a few benefits, a few meetings with Carter, a few parades, a few articles in the papers. In this way, it hopes to enlist vets in the drive toward war and in the drive against the living standards of the working class.

Another important aspect of this campaign to divide vets from their natural ally—the working class—centers around unemployment and affirmative action.

On June 5—two days after "Vietnam Veterans Week"—the Supreme Court upheld the Massachusetts veterans' preference law. This law, which grants absolute lifetime preference to vets for state government jobs, had been challenged by a female government worker on the grounds that the law discriminated against women.

The government clearly saw this ruling as bolstering its image as a "friend of vets" and as pitting women and vets against each other.

The fight for jobs and affirmative action—for vets, women, as well as for Blacks and Latinos—is a crucial task of the labor movement.

It is a fight that can strengthen and unify the entire working class and counter government attempts—such as the Supreme Court decision on the Massachusetts law—to divide it.

In our next article we will explain why labor should champion affirmative action for vets and how this fight can be waged.

By Nancy Cole

BIRMINGHAM—In the spring of 1963 the spotlight on the U.S. civil rights struggle moved to this industrial southern city. The fight against Jim Crow had recently suffered setbacks, but in Birmingham, the Black community refused to give up. Mass arrests, fire hoses, police dogs, and murderous Ku Klux Klan bombings failed to turn it back.

The Battle of Birmingham sparked the largest wave of civil rights protests the country had ever seen. It proved the turning point in the struggle to defeat Jim Crow—the legal form of segregation that prevailed for decades in the South.

Sixteen years later, a group of socialists met here—right across the street from the park where many civil rights fighters were beaten and arrested—to talk about the meaning of the defeat of Jim Crow for today's working class battles.

Six branches of the Socialist Workers Party were represented July 8 at a meeting of southern SWP organizers and national committee members. They were Birmingham; New Orleans; Miami; Atlanta; Greensboro, North Carolina; and Newport News, Virginia. Organizers of the Young Socialist Alliance chapters in those cities also attended.

The SWP and YSA have recently expanded into several new southern cities. Southern field organizer Tom Leonard explained that this gathering was called "to assess the gains registered by Blacks and women throughout basic industry since the defeat of Jim Crow, to discuss the motive force behind current union organizing, to take a close look at the role of southern youth, and to exchange some concrete information."

The reason for a meeting of *southern* organizers, said SWP Political Committee member Doug Jenness, "has to do with the history of Jim Crow—the legacy and implications of its defeat."

### Weakened labor movement

Jim Crow was a powerful weapon against the entire working class. It was a legal system that created a second-class citizen *and worker*. It could not help but seriously weaken the labor movement.

It was announced that national committee member Nelson Blackstock, of Birmingham, will give a talk at the August SWP national convention on the history of the movement against Jim Crow and the profound impact it has had on working people, Black and white.

Today, that movement's repercussions are evident in the battle by Steelworkers in Newport News. Shipyard workers there, half of whom are Black, called in the United Steelworkers to organize their workplace.

In the struggle that developed, white workers picketed, marched, and battled cops side by side with Black workers. They sang, "We shall overcome" together.

For anyone still holding onto the old stereotype of the backward southern white worker, Newport News quickly put that to rest.

Even the government has been forced to admit it. A recently released poll conducted for the Department of Labor concluded that "although it has often been argued that Southern workers are less interested in joining unions than their Northern counterparts. . . . Southern blue-collar workers were . . . just as willing to join unions when their job conditions warranted unionization as were workers in the

# Socialist mov expands in S

Northeast."

Even without any kind of an organizing drive to give them confidence, 35 percent of those southern workers polled said they would support unionization.

### North Carolina

Newport News is the most significant example so far, but it is far from the only political battle on the southern horizon, socialists here reported.

"I'm working in a nonunion textile plant," reported Rebecca Finch, SWP organizer in Greensboro. "I'm in training so I work the first shift with a lot of older white workers. It was the last place in the world I would have expected to find tremendous sentiment for a union."

"But I hadn't been there for two days and the word got out that I was from the North. People wanted to talk about two things: How cold is it really up there, and what about wages and unions? They're very aware that they are superexploited and that the big corporations come South to take advantage of the low wages here."

Finch explained that about a month ago, socialists began moving from Raleigh, North Carolina, to Greensboro, a more industrialized area.

North Carolina has the highest percentage of workers in manufacturing of any state in the country, but it is the least organized. "Over the past couple of years," Finch said, "there's been a growing demand by workers in the Piedmont area to be organized. They've looked to the unions that are here, which is mainly the Teamsters."

"What's new is that the Teamsters are organizing workers in the manufacturing sector, not just the trucking and warehouse sectors."

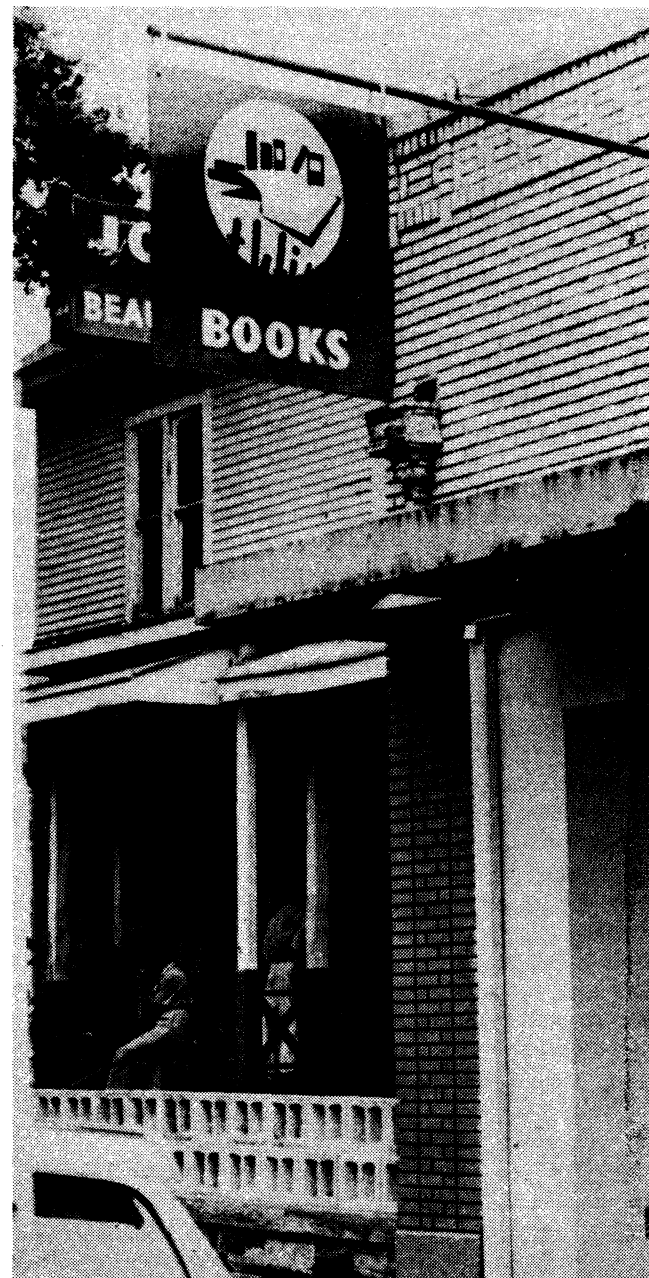
Teamsters Local 391, which covers the whole Piedmont area, has signed up about 10,000 new members since 1977. It is the nineteenth largest of the 726 Teamsters locals in the country.

"If anything showed us the correctness of our move to the Piedmont area, it was the truckers' strike," Finch continued. "We'd been there about two weeks and the independent truckers' strike broke loose. Every time we went out we sold all the *Militants* that we took. We'd go out the next day, and some striker would say, 'Here are the people I was telling you about.' We had wonderful political discussions with the truckers."

### Talking politics

"No matter where we go, there are people who want to talk politics," reported the SWP organizer in Newport News. "When we recently organized our first Saturday door-to-door *Militant* sales, we sold eighty-two papers, almost all to Steelworkers."

During organizing drives, he added, "people have



Socialist Workers Party opened bookstore and headqu

a particularly combative spirit." During the Steelworkers strike, which was suspended in April, socialists sold more than 200 subscriptions in Newport News. Now the SWP branch is organizing to visit each of those subscribers and plans to soon open a public headquarters.

The Miami SWP organizer explained that despite some misconceptions, Florida—Miami included—is "the South."

"It has a 'right to work' law, the Equal Rights Amendment has yet to be passed, the governor recently executed John Spenkelink, wages are low, and Jim Crow existed in Florida until the bitter end."

But like other areas of the South, she said, socialists have found an openness to their ideas. "We've had fantastic discussions with co-workers on the death penalty and the 'dialogue' between Cubans in the U.S. and revolutionary Cuba."

In Atlanta, reported SWP organizer Becky Ellis, there is a promising new development. The Lockheed aircraft plant, the largest in the area, plans to hire 8,000 new workers in the next two years. This will bring its work force—organized by the International Association of Machinists—up to nearly 18,000.

The Supreme Court ruling on *Weber* last month has a special meaning for southern workers because it reaffirmed one of the biggest gains of the civil rights movement: affirmative action on the job.

"It was not that long ago in these big plants that Blacks were laborers only," noted New Orleans organizer Karen Newton. "Now they're a majority of the work force many places and they're entrenched in the skilled jobs, even though it's not to the same extent as white workers are."

Brian Weber, the white lab technician who challenged an affirmative-action training program negotiated by the USWA, hails from Louisiana. Newton reported that Steelworkers in the plants there now "walk taller" because *Weber* was defeated.

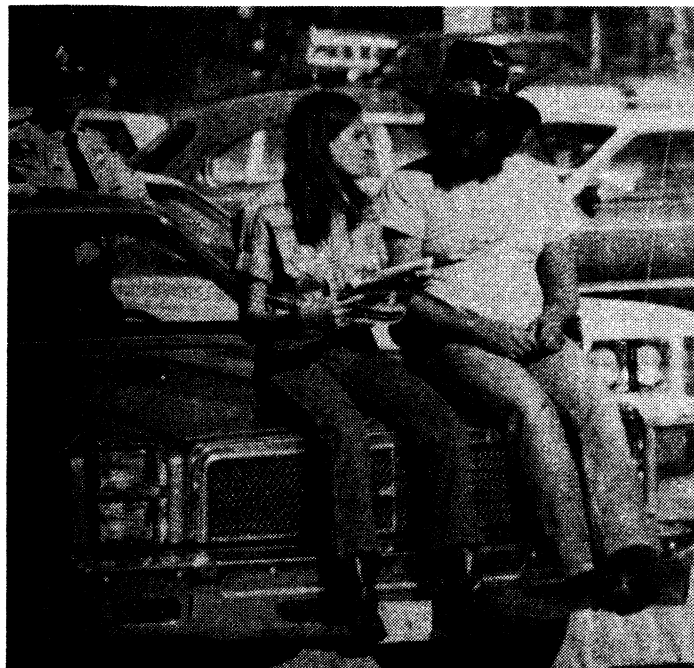
Brian Weber doesn't represent white workers in the South anymore than does the Ku Klux Klan,

## The Greensboro Record

Vol. 90, No. 153

Greensboro, N.C., Wednesday, June 27, 1979

20 Cents



### Weber beaten

## Minorities win job rights battle

WASHINGTON (AP) — The Supreme Court ruled today that employers with no proven history of racial bias may offer special advantages to minority workers in hiring, training and promotion.

In a major victory for advocates of "affirmative action" to provide help for minorities, the court ruled 5-2 that employers sometimes may use racial quotas to determine who gets the preferences.

Specifically, the high court ruled that a white worker, Brian F. Weber, was not a victim of illegal racial bias when he was excluded in 1974 from an on-the-job program in Louisiana designed to help Blacks.

Writing for the court, Justice William J. Brennan Jr. said that a 1964 federal law that bans racial and sexual bias in employment "does not condemn all private, voluntary, race-conscious affirmative action plans."

Benjamin Hooks, executive director of the NAACP, said the decision would "further the progress of all people in this nation." Brennan was joined in the decision by Justices Potter Stewart, Byron R. White, Thurgood Marshall and Harry A. Blackmun. Chief Justice Warren E. Burger and Justice William H. Rehnquist dissented.

Justices John Paul Stevens and Lewis F. Powell Jr. took no part in deciding Weber's case.

Stevens disqualified himself as soon as the court agreed to study it last December. Although he refused to tell reporters why, it has been learned that Stevens did so because he had represented Weber's employer, Kaiser Aluminum & Chemical Co., in his days as a Chicago lawyer.

## Pickets back off lines

BY JOHN ROBERTS  
Record Business Writer

Under pressure from Gov. Jim Hunt, striking truckers released their picket line at the city's petroleum tank farm today, averting for the moment the threat of long lines at gasoline stations.

Tankers from both major oil companies and independent jobbers — some with Highway Patrol escorts — were rolling to replenish dwindling gasoline and diesel fuel reserves at city retail outlets.

The decision by the truckers to ease the picket line means that most gasoline stations should have enough gasoline to meet the demand anticipated for the coming Fourth of July holiday.

on West Market Street Tuesday, the truckers are posting a token picket at entrances to each fueling depot at the tank farm.

In return, Hunt said he would form a committee of high state officials and independent truckers that will work to resolve the truckers' complaints of unfair regulation and low profit margins.

First signs today suggested that the strikers were living up to their end of the bargain. Spokesmen for oil companies said tanker traffic into the fueling depots was up markedly from earlier this week. Tuesday, pickets claimed traffic was down 90 percent, an oil terminal spokesman said it was operating at 25 percent of normal capacity.

Striking truckers reading 'Militant' made front-page of 'Greensboro Record' in June



# ement outh



Militant/Nancy Cole

ters in Birmingham earlier this month

which recently escalated its terrorist attacks in some areas of the South.

In Birmingham, the June 22 cop killing of a young Black woman sparked an angry response from the Black community of Kingston. This brought out the Klan in greater numbers than any time since the civil rights struggle fifteen years ago.

These racist KKK thugs get their inspiration from the antilabor offensive under way by U.S. big business and its flunkies in the Democratic and Republican parties.

The corporations that run this country will use any means to see that the South remains unorganized and its work force divided. Newport News strikers found that out on "Bloody Monday" when cops brutally attacked their picket lines and union headquarters.

Socialists here have gotten a taste of it too.

Several months after the SWP moved here, two *Militant* salespeople—Nelson Blackstock and Eric Flint—were badly beaten outside a U.S. Steel coal mine. The goon squad was clearly organized by the company.

Blackstock and Flint, both members of the SWP National Committee, participated in the meeting here.

After the attack the socialists went on an emergency campaign to defend their right to sell and their very right to exist in Birmingham. Scores of protest telegrams and statements have been sent to U.S. Steel from unionists and civil rights figures across the country. The party has filed a \$2 million damages suit against the corporation. Two weeks later socialists returned to sell without incident at the same mine.

"The way we organized this defense campaign is the way Black and white workers can also fight the Klan," said Birmingham organizer Ed Warren.

The grand opening of the SWP storefront bookstore and headquarters was held here July 7.

Contrary to the effect U.S. Steel intended, the attack spurred the SWP to move even faster in establishing itself in Birmingham.

## 44-year veteran of mills speaks out on brown lung

By Rebecca Finch

GREENSBORO, N.C.—"I love all people. But I love textile workers more than others, because I know what they have suffered through," says Lacy Wright.

Wright is a spare, plain-spoken seventy-five-year-old retiree whose life history spans every major battle textile workers have waged in the South.

He worked forty-four years in the Cone Mills White Oak plant here. He's a member of the Greensboro chapter of the Carolina Brown Lung Association (CBLA), an organization formed to help get compensation for brown lung victims. Wright himself suffers from the disease.

"Sometimes," he says, motioning to an area behind his garden, "just walking up to the house from that little hollow back there, I have to stop to catch my breath."

Wright points out that a recent study by the U.S. Department of Labor shows that brown lung is far more widespread than was previously recognized. The study estimates that 560,000 workers are exposed to levels of cotton dust capable of causing the disease. It reports that for all sectors of industry where cotton is used, there are 84,000 cases of brown lung.

Wright thinks that the number of cases may be even higher. "The Labor Department developed its estimates on the basis of the stage of brown lung that exists after ten years of work in a dusty area. If more people were examined carefully more cases would be found."

The CBLA runs clinics where it gives medical examinations to workers. But many are afraid to have the exams. Because few have unions to protect them, some workers have been fired when the disease was detected, rather than transferred to jobs in less dusty parts of the plant.

### Brown lung widespread

Wright points out that brown lung is today more widespread than in the past. Increased mechanization of the cotton industry has aggravated the conditions that cause the disease.

"Cotton bolls used to be picked by hand," says Wright. The mechanical pickers now used in the fields leave more trash in the cotton that increases the dust levels in the plants, as do new high-speed cards that are used to clean and comb it after the bales of cotton are opened.

It has been known for years that cotton dust causes brown lung. But Democrat and Republican officials at the state and federal levels have worked hand in glove with the textile companies to forestall implementation of a cotton dust standard to curb the disease.

When the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970 was signed, cotton dust was singled out as one of the key toxic substances needing regulation. OSHA issued a temporary standard of one milligram of cotton dust per cubic meter of air. Researchers had already showed this to be inadequate.

In 1972, OSHA announced as its highest priority a Target Health Hazard Program that would concentrate on five toxic substances, including cotton dust.

But that year the textile industry funneled nearly \$1 million to Nixon's reelection campaign in exchange for a promise from George Guenther, who served as Assistant Secretary of Labor in charge of OSHA, that "no highly controversial standards will be proposed by OSHA or NIOSH."

In June 1978, under growing public pressure and with the aim of halting pending federal legislation to uniformly compensate brown lung victims, the Carter administration proposed a permanent cotton dust standard. It was a watered-down version of the one brown lung activists had called for.

### 40,000 more cases

The new standard will not prevent brown lung disease.

*The U.S. Department of Labor study estimates that even if the industry complies there will still be 40,000 expected cases of brown lung in the textile industry.*

Inadequate inspection procedures and token fines for violations guarantee that the number of cases will be even higher.

Brown lung victims must file individual disability claims with state industrial commissions. Each case may last twenty months or more. In North Carolina less than 2 percent of all other compensation claims are contested, but more than 80 percent of brown lung claims are disputed by the companies through their insurance carriers. Only 215 North Carolina workers have been awarded compensation since 1974.

The incapacitating effects of brown lung are similar to those of black lung contracted by coal miners. Coal miners, however, have won federal legislation providing uniform compensation to those with the disease. The black lung act is inadequate and miners still have to fight for benefits, but its passage represented a tremendous victory for miners. It opened the way for other battles around work-related diseases.

### Black lung movement

The black lung movement, which began in late 1968 and 1969, was closely tied to the fight for union democracy in the United Mine Workers. Health and safety on the job was a central plank of the Miners for Democracy slate that finally threw out the corrupt Tony Boyle administration in 1972.

Textile workers with brown lung have no such movement behind them. Groups such as the CBLA have exposed the criminal role of the government and the textile companies in the effort to deny brown lung victims benefits.

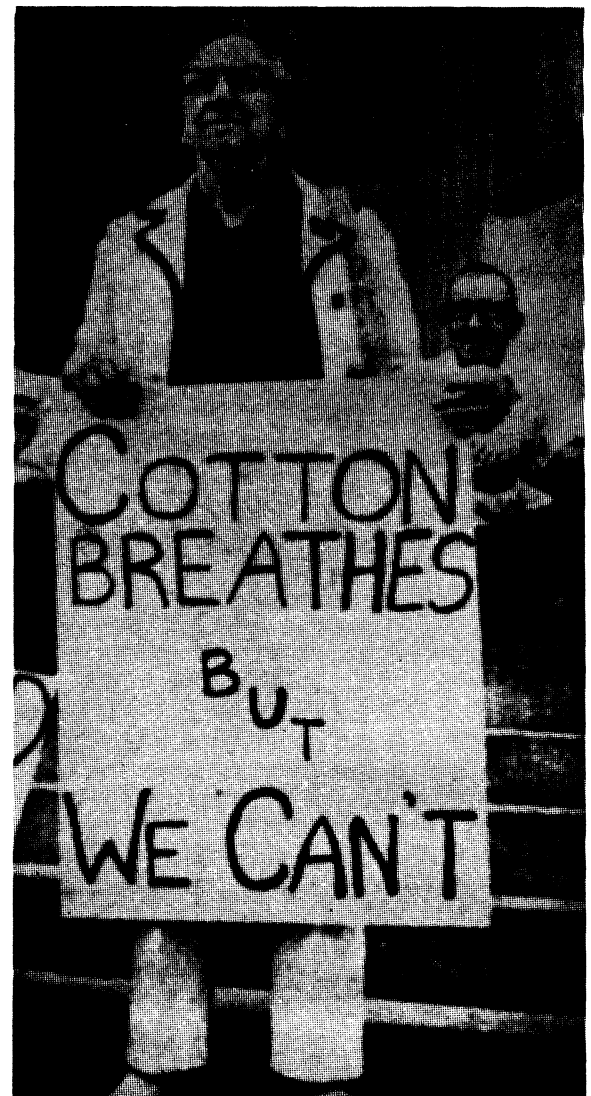
But it has not yet been possible to bring the organized power of textile workers into the fight. This flows directly from the lack of trade union organization among textile workers. Less than 10 percent of them are organized.

Lacy Wright is a union man. Though he was opposed to unions during the big 1934 general strike among textile workers in the South, he later became a participant in the drive to organize the Cone Mills plants in Greensboro. He served as president of his local for one year.

He still believes in unions today, but thinks they have to change a lot to be effective.

"There used to be good textile unions in the North," he believes. When they tried to come South, the companies largely succeeded in blocking textile organizing with anti-union propaganda.

Today he thinks that things are changing, and that the best hope for revitalizing the union movement lies with young workers who are ready to fight for their rights.



Earl Dotter

# Plans set for October 14 D.C. gay rights march

By Regina Dotson

HOUSTON—More than 100 delegates from around the country gathered here July 6-8 for a meeting of the steering committee of the National March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights.

The national demonstration is scheduled to take place October 14. A brochure put out by march organizers calls for "an end to all social, economic, judicial, and legal oppression of Lesbian & Gay people." The brochure lists five demands:

"Repeal all anti-lesbian/gay laws;  
"Pass a comprehensive lesbian/gay rights bill in Congress;

"Issue a presidential executive order banning discrimination based on sexual orientation in the Federal Government, the military and federally-contracted private employment;

"End discrimination in lesbian mother and gay father custody cases;

"Protect lesbian and gay youth from any laws which are used to discriminate against, oppress and/or harass them in their homes, schools, jobs and social environments."

At the conference, the third demand was amended to include opposition to discrimination in federal immigration policies.

Washington, D.C., Mayor Marion Barry has endorsed the march, and

plans are being made to obtain a permit.

There was no attempt at the Houston meeting to revive the demand to revise age-of-consent laws—a demand passed last February at the Philadelphia conference that called the march.

Many participants at the Philadelphia conference and other supporters of gay and lesbian rights strongly opposed this demand. They pointed out that it opens the door to those who want to repeal laws aimed at protecting children from sexual abuse by adults. A small group called the North American Man/Boy Love Association is trying to gain legitimacy within the gay rights movement for this reactionary, antichild proposal.

The *Militant* article on the Philadelphia conference had explained that any association of the October demonstration with this idea would make it impossible for women's rights groups, civil rights organizations, unions, and socialists to support the march. Organizations of lesbians and groups such as the National Gay Task Force also publicly opposed including the age-of-consent demand.

The fact that this demand has been definitively dropped is an important victory in the struggle for full human and civil rights for gays and lesbians.

## ...Steelworkers

Continued from back page

This kind of militancy is fueled not only by Tenneco's refusal to recognize the Steelworkers, but by life inside the shipyard, where the bosses ride roughshod over workers who have no union contract.

Harassment of Steelworkers, and segregation and isolation by job assignment continue.

The courts still do their share. On July 10 three Steelworkers were convicted on strike-related charges. W.H. Lee was socked with a year in prison and a \$500 fine for allegedly violating the state's "right to work" laws. Tenneco fires anyone the courts convict, regardless of the outcome of appeals.

Inside the company gates, there is a virtual yard-wide wage freeze on.

Workers are kept in the dark about what little vacation time they have.

Grievances must be pursued through the NLRB, which is stacked in the company's favor to start with.

Health and safety conditions worsen. Lack of ventilation in ship tanks means welders and burners work in small, cramped quarters at temperatures over 130 degrees.

It's no wonder that talk of a strike is widespread. But because of the scope of their problems, more than a few dedicated Local 8888 members have doubts about a second strike over recognition alone.

The Steelworkers have signed up hundreds of new members, including former scabs. But some fear the union may not be as strong in a few departments as at the start of the last strike. This is a result of management's reorganization of work gangs and sifting out of Steelworkers from strategic spots.

Several Steelworkers ask these questions: How will this strike be different from the last one? How will we keep out the scabs? How can we increase solidarity from around the country? How can we win community support? In other words, what's an effective strategy, a winning strategy?

Because these hard, serious questions have yet to be answered, there is some hesitancy among Steelworkers to go out again. Many are still hurting from the financial strain of the last strike.

One proposal to strengthen the union, made unanimously by the last Local 8888 meeting of 1,500, is for the

international USWA to fund the *Voyager*, the local's temporarily suspended paper.

Many workers here are hungry for a regular, locally-produced paper to break down the isolation between and within the shipyard's departments. A paper that can, as one worker put it, "help us get organized better." In case of a strike, such a paper might eventually be mass produced to provide a truthful alternative to the local pro-Tenneco media, reaching out to the Tidewater communities.

A step toward appealing for public support was taken July 12 by a small delegation of Steelworkers, led by Local 8888 President Wayne Crosby. They confronted Virginia Gov. John Dalton at an "open door" meeting with demands to speed up the shipyard's court appeal and check the state cops from further acts of brutality if the union is forced on strike again.

In a recent series of interviews in the *Militant*, several leaders of Local 8888 explained the importance of increased solidarity from the labor movement, along the lines of the mass picketing, rallies, and demonstrations that kicked off their first strike.

"Trade union freedom rides to the South. That would be beautiful," Jan Hooks, a picket line activist and editor of the *Voyager*, said at the time.

Many labor officials and unions sent telegrams, delegations, and funds to Newport News during the last strike. Today the potential to turn this warm initial response into a mass support movement is greater than ever.

It's this kind of political power that can take on the antilabor "right to work" statutes and convince potential scabs that there's only one winning side, that of the Steelworkers.

Whatever Local 8888 decides at its July 29 meeting, unionists across the country should be prepared to back them to the hilt.

As one Steelworker told the *Militant*, "If we win here, it's a breakthrough for the South." The union men and women here are labor's front line against the government-corporation gang-up against working people in America. And they aren't about to give in.

"Whatever happens," McBride stated on July 12, "the United Steelworkers of America is in Newport News to stay."

There isn't a member of Local 8888 who doesn't believe those are fighting words.

# National picket line

## Three unions strike Westinghouse

Three unions representing more than 37,000 workers struck the Westinghouse Electric Corporation July 16. Negotiations broke down over pensions and job security. "Westinghouse precipitated the strike by breaking off negotiations thirty hours before the contracts with the unions were to expire," a spokesperson for the three-union bargaining committee said.

Westinghouse is demanding that workers pay 3 percent of their wages over \$13,400 to a pension fund. Currently, the company alone funds the pensions. Westinghouse would like to duplicate the General Electric pension system, where workers pay 3 percent of their wages over \$9,000 into the retirement fund.

The company demand is equivalent to a wage cut. "There isn't any way in the world we'll ever agree to that," a union source declared.

The unions are also seeking protection against Westinghouse moving work to nonunion plants in the South and overseas, which results in plant closings. The union wants two years' notice of a plant shutdown, transfer rights to new plants for union members, and other protections.

Pickets were reported "three and four deep" at the Westinghouse East Pittsburgh Works, which employs 7,000 people. According to Westinghouse, 97 of its 116 unionized plants are on strike, and "by far the great majority of the [struck] facilities aren't working."

The last strike at Westinghouse began in 1955 and lasted 156 days. "We're prepared to stay out until the snow flies," said a union organizer.

## New Jersey state workers strike ends

A strike by thousands of New Jersey state workers ended July 16 as union and state officials agreed to reopen negotiations for a new contract. The threat of a \$25,000 fine per day against the union was lifted the same day. After ruling the strike "illegal," Judge Morton Greenberg declared he would impose the fine if union officials didn't try to persuade the strikers to return to work.

The strike came in response to a proposed contract narrowly accepted by the union negotiating team. It offered only a 5.5 percent wage boost



Striking New Jersey state workers

the first year and 6.5 percent the second. An additionally insulting fifty dollar yearly bonus was supposed to sweeten the deal. Many of the workers affected by the new contract start at \$6,200 a year, and get by only with food stamps.

The walkout began July 10 and was 90 percent effective by the next day. Many of the strikers in the lowest paid jobs are Blacks and women.

The main union involved was the New Jersey State Employees Association, which has 18,000 members and represents 14,000 more.

## Rubber workers settle with Goodyear

The United Rubber Workers and the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company announced July 15 they had reached a tentative settlement on a new contract. The agreement is similar to one reached by the union with B.F. Goodrich last month, with a general wage increase of seventy-two cents an hour over the three-year life of the contract, plus fifty cents an hour in cost of living increases.

Workers at three Goodyear plants will receive smaller wage hikes because the company claims it faces "competitive conditions" in those areas.

The major contract difference is Goodyear's refusal to sign a "neutrality pledge" promising not to interfere with URW organizing in its non-union plants. The other three big tire companies agreed to this pledge, but only Goodyear has a new, unorganized production plant scheduled to start operations this year. The plant was built in Lawton, Oklahoma, to keep the union out.

Up until the last moment the URW threatened to strike over the neutrality pledge. But a National Labor Relations Board lawyer backed Goodyear's claim that a strike over the neutrality issue would be illegal. It seems the issue is a "permissive" one and, according to NLRB rules, strikes are only allowed over "mandatory" issues.

—Arnold Weissberg



## Dissent grows among Iranian army ranks

The following has been excerpted from an article in the June 23 issue of 'Kargar,' the newspaper of the Hezb-e Kargaran-e Sosialist (HKS—Iranian Socialist Workers Party).

The February insurrection dealt a mortal blow to the shah's army, the army that was trained by the imperialists and equipped with the most modern weapons to hold down the people of Iran.

The shah and his supporters in Washington always said that the Iranian army was one of the most modern and powerful in the region. But under a veneer of modernity, the most brutal and backward sort of relationships were maintained in the barracks and bases.

The most technologically advanced weapons were hauled around on the backs of the soldiers, who like the vast majority of the population were crushed by the weight of oppressive and degrading social relations. This contradiction was so great that on February 11-12 the army broke apart, and its generals and top officers fled.

The February uprising meant the breakdown of the old servility in the army, the slave-like obedience that turned soldiers into robots that could be used to crush even the smallest voice raised on behalf of freedom. In the now bygone past, the soldiers were even used to stamp out revolution in neighboring countries, such as Dhofar. The spirit of liberty has now taken deep root in the barracks.

Is it possible to bring back the old kind of soldier who was deprived of the most elementary human and civil rights and conditioned to obey orders blindly? This question not only occupies the minds of the new government and its generals. It is a problem that confronts the soldiers every day. The

new government, despite all its promises, needs the old kind of soldier.

This is shown by the new government's extensive efforts to keep soldiers from taking part in political life and in the life of the society. It prohibits soldiers from joining political parties, it forbids them to join in demonstrations. And it is trying to maintain the old oppressive relations between soldiers and officers and the old dreadful conditions in the barracks.

In order to learn the real situation in the barracks, to find out what is going on behind the locked gates of the military bases, we talked with a soldier from one of the bases in Tehran. The first thing that emerged from what he said was that the soldiers are not ready to tolerate the sort of oppression they were subjected to in the past.

The soldiers are not impressed by all the talk and promises by the officers that this army is not going to be like the old one. They want deeds, not promises. They want more furloughs, more pay, better food, better recreation centers, and a shorter period of military service. They complain about being continually given long guard duty assignments. Increasingly, the main demands of the soldiers are being voiced by the most politically conscious and aware of them.

The soldier with whom we spoke said that most magazines and journals are in practice banned on the bases. If a military policeman sees a soldier carrying a copy of *Ayendegan* [a liberal daily paper], he will take it from him and tear it up. He will also make a report that may cause the soldier difficulties. Papers such as *Kargar* and *Kar* [weekly newspaper of the Fedayeen] are still more unwelcome.

So, one of the most important demands arising in the barracks is for the right to read any journal or maga-



Iranian soldier with demonstrator during February insurrection.

zine and to keep them around. Likewise, the soldiers are demanding the right to participate in uniform in any meeting, assembly, or demonstration off base. In general, they are demanding that the human and political rights that everyone should enjoy be extended to the soldiers.

The officers are learning that this army is not the same one that existed under the shah, that it cannot be so easily duped by promises or cowed by threats. For example, in its June 1 issue, *Ayendegan* reports that in a general assembly thousands of officers and sailors of the northern fleet

adopted a resolution saying that under no circumstances would they ever fire on the people. In the same resolution, they say that they will not permit the dissolution of the councils they have on their bases.

More and more such examples of resistance by the ranks to attempts to reimpose blind obedience are coming to light. The soldiers are fighting for their most elementary rights, and they are learning that the only way to win their demands is through their own struggle and by organizing their own independent committees and councils.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

## Company offices occupied

## Tehran construction workers win a victory

The following article has been translated from the June 23 issue of 'Kargar.'

After several months of struggle, workers at the Arme and Tasa construction companies have succeeded in winning their demands. Representatives of this group of workers explained the circumstances and lessons of this struggle to *Kargar*.

The Arme construction company is owned by Malekzade. Its sister company, Tasa, is owned by Abdul Majib Ilm, who has now left the country. During the struggle of the people of Iran against the Pahlavi monarchy, these companies fired 5,000 workers and shut down the worksites.

After the victorious insurrection, the workers called on the companies to let them return to their jobs. But the managements were not ready to give a positive answer to the workers' demands that the worksites be reopened and six months' back wages be paid to those who had been fired. The petitions they sent to the trustees were returned.

The workers staged a protest. The Ministry of Labor assigned the head of the Imam's Committee guards stationed at its offices to look into the matter. But this person, Haji Latifi, did not defend the workers' interests. After a series of discussions with the bosses,

he told the workers: "You have no right to anything, but we can get a sum of money from the trustees for you."

In fact, this was a scheme to undermine the workers' struggle, which had already gone on for two months. Some were ready to settle for a thousand toman [about US\$100].

However, faced with such schemes and attempts by the bosses and officials to sow divisions, the militant workers decided to continue the struggle by means of an occupation of the company offices. On May 7, about 200 workers began sitting in. And in order to organize the struggle they elected their own representatives.

Then the struggle in support of them occupation began. A flood of telegrams and letters descended on the various authorities, from the office of the Imam [Khomeini] to the prime minister and the minister of labor, from the High Prosecutor of the Revolution of the Office of Ayatollah Taleghani. But no help and no answer came from the various authorities.

In statements distributed by hand and published in the press, the workers appealed to all individuals and groups for support. They won the solidarity of employed workers and material aid from the students. In this way, their

struggle was reinforced.

But the authorities continued to defame and harass the workers. In addition, they resorted to more direct means of attack. On May 23, eighty armed Imam's Committee guards, led by Haji Latifi, stormed the occupation site. Five workers were so badly beaten that they had to be taken to the hospital.

But the workers did not give up their occupation. And finally the management was forced to sign an agreement including the following points: Payment of 50% of the back wages of fired workers; rehiring of a minimum of 75% of those who had been fired; maintenance of all benefits (housing and child allowances and time off); and the promise that once work got underway again on the sites the remaining 25% of the fired workers would get preference in hiring for the jobs opening up.

After this agreement was signed, the workers ended their occupation. They have asked us to include in this article the new address of the company offices so that those workers who were driven away by the threats of the Ministry of Labor and Haji Latifi can now come and take advantage of this agreement. . . .

The lessons the Arme-Tasa workers learned from their struggle can be

summed up as follows: What they needed in order to stand up to the divisive schemes of the bosses and the state authorities was unity and independent organization. The role of the state and other authorities in defending the interests of the bosses against those of the workers makes it all the more necessary for the workers to have their own independent organizations.

The workers need to form organizations such as unions that will genuinely defend their interests. They should form committees in all the workplaces that can elect representatives who can organize a union for all the workers in a company.

Through the workers' centers and general assemblies, the workers can coordinate their struggles with those of other workers in the construction industry. It is obvious that the bosses will bring pressure to bear to undermine such organization and coordination, and so there is a need for building solidarity among the workers.

Solidarity between employed and unemployed workers is the most important factor in winning the workers struggles. The Arme-Tasa workers say it loud and clear. Only by struggling can we win our demands and democracy.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

## Back UNITA forces

# Imperialists continue war drive against

By Ernest Harsch

Angola, more than three years after the end of the 1975-76 war, is still the target of imperialist attack.

Angola's main adversaries in that war—the American and South African imperialists—have not let up their military pressure against the country.

Through direct attacks by South African troops and through significant assistance to proimperialist Angolan forces, the imperialists are aiming to disrupt the Angolan economy and make the workers and peasants pay a heavy price for their struggles against imperialist domination. The American and South African governments are likewise seeking to inflict losses on the Cuban troops defending Angola and hamper or cut off the aid that the ruling MPLA<sup>1</sup> and the Cubans are giving to various southern African liberation movements.

Besides direct intervention, the South Africans—as well as Washington—have been backing up guerrilla bands of the proimperialist

1. Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola).

União Nacional para Independência Total de Angola (UNITA—National Union for the Total Independence of Angola).

The Angolan regime and the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO), which is fighting for the independence of Namibia from South African rule, have frequently charged that UNITA operates from bases in northern Namibia and that it receives significant financial and military assistance from the white supremacist regime.

I was able to get an indication of this during a visit to South Africa in late 1978. A young white soldier, who was on leave from the war zone in northern Namibia (and whose father, a colonel, fought in Angola during the 1975-76 war), told me that South African troops gave food, shelter, and other assistance to the UNITA guerrillas. "They're our people," he said. "They're helping us to fight communism."

UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi has himself explained that UNITA is fighting in Angola in order to secure "the independence of the West." On his attitude toward the racist regime in Pretoria, he stated in an interview in the June 18 issue of *Time* magazine,

"The white South Africans are Africans. Anything that affects us affects South Africa and anything that affects them affects us."

This imperialist campaign against Angola represents a serious danger to Angola's workers and peasants. It is also a threat to the struggles throughout southern Africa for an end to white colonial rule and capitalist domination.

### The first round

To a great extent, the conflict in Angola today is a continuation of the war of 1975-76.

In response to the April 1974 coup in Portugal and the upsurge in Portugal's African colonies, including Angola, the major imperialist powers intervened to try to contain the national liberation struggle.

In an attempt to prevent the emergence of a strong Angolan regime when the country attained formal independence in November 1975, both Washington and the white supremacist government in South Africa sought to take advantage of the factional rivalry among the three main Angolan groups, the MPLA, UNITA, and FNLA (Frente Nacional de Libertação de

Angola—Angolan National Liberation Front). In early 1975, they began funneling significant assistance to the FNLA and UNITA to try to offset the MPLA's stronger position.

When the FNLA and UNITA failed to hold their ground in the civil war with the MPLA, despite their imperialist backing, Washington and Pretoria intervened more directly. In mid-1975, American-backed Zairian troops invaded in the north and the first South African units crossed the border in the south. In October, several thousand South African troops poured in and rapidly pushed northward toward Luanda, the Angolan capital, which was in the hands of the MPLA.

This invasion changed the basic character of the conflict from a civil war into one between the working masses of Angola and imperialism. By directly allying with the invaders, the FNLA and UNITA placed themselves in the military camp of imperialism, thus betraying the Angolan workers and peasants.

The offensive against Angola might have been successful if it were not for the timely assistance of some 15,000 to 20,000 Cuban internationalist fighters, who responded to the request of the

## How Cuban volunteers aid African countries

The following is excerpted from an article by Neiva Moreira and Beatriz Bissio that appeared in the May 1979 issue of *'Third World,'* the English-language edition of the Mexico City monthly *'Caudernos del Tercer Mundo.'* Moreira and Bissio spent several months in the Middle East and Africa reporting on Cuban assistance there.

Our job takes us to a dermatological clinic outside Dar es Salaam. We always connected dermatology with the treatment of minor skin diseases. What they are treating here is leprosy.

We find Cuban dermatologist Valentin Villar working dedicatedly among the lepers, sharing his specialized knowledge with a Tanzanian doctor and nurses. Perhaps none of the patients knows he is a Cuban, much less understands why he is there. Perhaps some do know and are wondering. We ask him.

"Well, in Cuba every kid learns internationalism as the duty of revolutionaries. It's an old feature of our own history—people coming from other countries to give their blood fighting beside us. Why shouldn't we do the same?"

The story of this specialist is a routine item in the Cuban presence in African and Arab countries. He is one of the 10,000-odd Cuban civilians who are active throughout the area. The total number is fixed by inter-government agreements and not confidential. Actually it varies between 10,000 and 11,000, a statistic that causes nervous headaches among Western diplomats.

Their worries are justified. Cuba is a small country of just over 114,000 square kilometers and about 10,000,000 inhabitants, with scant economic resources, situated between 20,000 and 30,000 km. from the places where Cubans are lending a hand. Furthermore thousands of young Africans and Arabs are studying in specially created schools on Cuba's Isle of Youth, indi-

cating the scope of the effort and further explaining the headaches.

Although Cuba's progress in these 20 years is plain to see, many problems remain. When Cuba offers urban buses to São Tomé and Príncipe, for example, it means withdrawing from Cuban streets transportation that is far from meeting the demand. Unlike the wheat sold by the US, those buses are not surplus production that needs exporting to keep capitalism ticking over. Cuba needs them. But the striking fact is that this donation arouses no bitterness among the Cuban people. They see it as the outcome of an agreement correctly made in the spirit of international solidarity.

And we found that most of the

Cubans in Africa and Arab countries, who have to suffer separation from their families for 12 to 18 months at a stretch, feel the same way.

Financially, the operation puts a big strain on Cuba. The United Nations established a 1% quota on Gross National Product that all developed countries should give to the Third World, but only Sweden (0.82%) and Holland (0.81%) come near to meeting it. The US contributes 0.26%, Japan 0.20%. Cuba goes far beyond the quota. As a UN official told us:

"The average yearly cost of a UN expert, with salary, per diems and travel expenses, is about \$58,000. At that rate, on the basis of 10,000 Cubans working in the area (in fact there

are more), Cuba would be spending some \$600,000,000 a year, the equivalent of all financial aid sent to the Third World through the UN."

Seeing the Cubans in action is a unique experience. They work ten-to-twelve hour days, putting up buildings, replacing bridges destroyed in the Angola war, and on agricultural, animal husbandry and fishing projects. On Saturdays they knock off at 4 p.m.; on Sundays they contribute voluntary labor on programs of the various governments.

The Cubans receive about \$30 a month, just enough for bare living expenses.

How did civilian cooperation start in African and Arab countries?



Havana, May Day 1976: 'Long live solidarity with the African Peoples!'

Liberation News Service/Pat Murray



# Angola

new Angolan government for help to beat back the imperialist attack. By the end of March 1976, the last of the South African troops had been forced to withdraw from Angola.

The outcome of the war was a major setback for imperialism.

The Zimbabwean and Namibian liberation movements were in a much stronger position than before to advance their struggles for independence and Black majority rule. Most dramatically, Pretoria's setback in Angola helped inspire the Black urban masses of South Africa to rise up in massive rebellions throughout the second half of 1976.

## Angola and southern Africa

The imperialists, however, had not given up in Angola. They simply altered their immediate policy to meet the changed circumstances.

Since they had little option but to deal with the MPLA regime of Agostinho Neto anyway, the imperialists stepped up their overtures toward it, with the aim of encouraging the MPLA's capitalist economic policies. This was successful to a great extent. Despite the MPLA's pretensions that it is "socialist," it rules over a bourgeois state, is open to collaboration with

imperialism, and seeks to keep Angola's working masses in check.

At the same time, the imperialists remained extremely hostile toward the continued presence of Cuban troops in Angola and toward the regime's assistance to freedom fighters from other southern African countries.

Since 1976, Luanda has become a major center for various liberation movements. SWAPO, the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), and the African National Congress of South Africa all have offices there.

Much to the dismay of Washington, London, and Pretoria, the Cubans have already begun to provide assistance to the Namibian and Zimbabwean fighters.

At a seminar organized by the Security Association of South Africa in Pretoria on June 27, 1979, John Barratt of the South African Institute of International Affairs warned his select audience that the link between the national liberation movements and Cuba "has become very close, especially since the Angolan War, and Cuba is now the major source of training and advisers for these movements in Southern Africa. . . . Fidel Castro,

*Continued on page 22*

Cuban doctors and nurses arrived in Algeria in 1962, with Dr. Gutiérrez Muñé (who is now Cuba's Minister of Health) as the first medical team leader in that country. In Guinea-Bissau too it started before the country's liberation. One of the teams sent there was Cuba's present ambassador to Guinea-Bissau, Alfonso Morales.

We did meet in Congo-Brazzaville veterinarians and other specialists who had gone to Cuba ten years ago for training. "It was after Che Guevara came through here," said Dr. Anatole Goma-Kick, a veterinarian now working a Cuban-Congolese dairy project some 200 km. from Brazzaville.

In Angola, Emiliano (named after Mexican revolutionary Zapata) Manresa heads the Cuban civilian projects. In that country, he said, the tremendous postwar problems faced by the MPLA government made civilian cooperation an urgent need. Nearly all bridges had been destroyed and medical, educational, communication and transport services were completely disorganized by the massive exodus of Portuguese. Since most of the Cuban fighters in Angola—almost all volunteers—had technical qualifications, it was easy to switch from tanks to tractors, from field firstaid to hospitals, from guns to cranes.

"The switch to the cooperation brigades of today was an almost overnight thing," said Manresa.

Angola gets the largest number of Cuban civilians. The big teams of Cuban workers in Luanda, many on building jobs for the Empresa Cubana de Construcción, lend aid to Africa a new aspect, but Africa isn't the first. It happened before in Vietnam where a Cuban reconstruction brigade put back in operation bridges and roads wrecked by U.S. bombs.

The Africans have growing hopes for more Cuban experts. In the medical field, the head of a hospital in Ethiopia sees no serious difficulty because, as he put it to us, "Cuba graduates some 1,000 doctors a year, so many of them can be sent here. The specialists they send are already helping us train

our own doctors to take over full responsibility. But until they're able to do so we need this fraternal cooperation."

Yet how far can the Cuban educational system meet the growing Third World demand for engineers, biologists, architects, experts in cybernetics, fishing, genetics, topography and lab work? Not only revolutionary countries—Libya, Angola, Vietnam, Benin, Iraq, Afghanistan, Guinea-Bissau, Algeria, Mozambique, Democratic Yemen, Ethiopia, Tanzania, Madagascar, Guinea-Conakry—are already getting or expecting them, but also such countries as Nigeria, Mali, Sierra Leone and Equatorial Guinea. And meanwhile others—Chad, Niger, Kenya, Seychelles—are considering the idea. Despite ideological differences, influential people in those countries think Cuban experts would be a great asset to them.

The Cuban government is alert to this growing demand because it corresponds with the internationalist line of the revolution.

Cubans know that the cooperation they are able to give is invaluable for Africa, but can take special pride in one aspect of it. It is the first great presence of the Latin American world in the Black world—two worlds between which the flow of human beings once ran in the opposite direction. Millions of anguished and rebellious Africans were brought to the New World in slave ships, and they left their imprint on the culture and way of life of our peoples.

That is a big reason for unity between us, but there is another: in this stage of the revolutionary process in both continents, our aspirations coincide.

Despite the difficulties and shortages and inevitable improvisation, despite all the news-agency perversions, an alliance is being forged from the Caribbean to the Indian Ocean. A great alliance of peoples joining forces to smash the grip of neocolonialist dependence.

But Cuban cooperation is success-

fully tackling another basic job. For millions of Africans newly emerged from colonialism, it is the countercurrent to capitalist exploitation, the generous and spontaneous manifestation of what is most elemental in socialist practice: internationalism.

The emphasis here on Cuba's civilian cooperation is not a journalistic device to distract attention from its military cooperation. The one is in fact linked to the other and both have the same ideological explanation, but we think military aid is something to be treated separately. In any case we found Congolese, Syrians, Yemenites, Angolans and Ethiopians to be voluble and eloquent in praise of Cuban military aid.

In many countries it helped prepare cadres to confront external counterrevolutionary threats. In others, such as Angola and Ethiopia, Cuban blood was shed along with that of Angolans and Ethiopians in bitter battles. But contrary to the stories spread in the capitalist world, this ultimate act of revolutionary solidarity is constantly recognized as such both in mass demonstrations and in statements by those countries' leaders.

Medicine was the first field of Cuban cooperation and remains one of the highest in terms of the number of cooperators—in Algeria, Angola, Mozambique, Congo-Brazzaville, Guinea-Bissau, Tanzania, Iraq, Democratic Yemen, Ethiopia, Libya, Somalia and Equatorial Guinea.

A third of all the Cuban cooperators in Angola and Ethiopia are medical personnel, and those countries' people recognize their work on the same level as that of Cuba's educators.

In one year the 300 Cuban doctors now in Ethiopia have attended 900,000 patients all over the country. They are the largest medical group there, with Ethiopians in second place and Soviet and European doctors in third.

## Education

In education, Cuba cooperates with African and Arab countries in two ways. It sends its own teachers and at

the same time brings Africans and Arabs to Cuba on scholarships, to study various careers and return home qualified.

The number of Africans studying in Cuba has risen sharply since special schools, exclusively for them, were opened in the Isle of Youth (formerly Isle of Pines). In the case of Angola, Cuba gave 951 scholarships in 1978 apart from the 1,200 5th- and 6th-grade Young Pioneers studying in the Isle of Youth—a number that will be raised to 4,800. And 1,130 young Mozambicans are studying in the Isle of Youth's Samora Machel and Eduardo Mondlane schools.

Meanwhile Cuban teachers are on cooperation missions in Guinea-Bissau, Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia and Democratic Yemen.

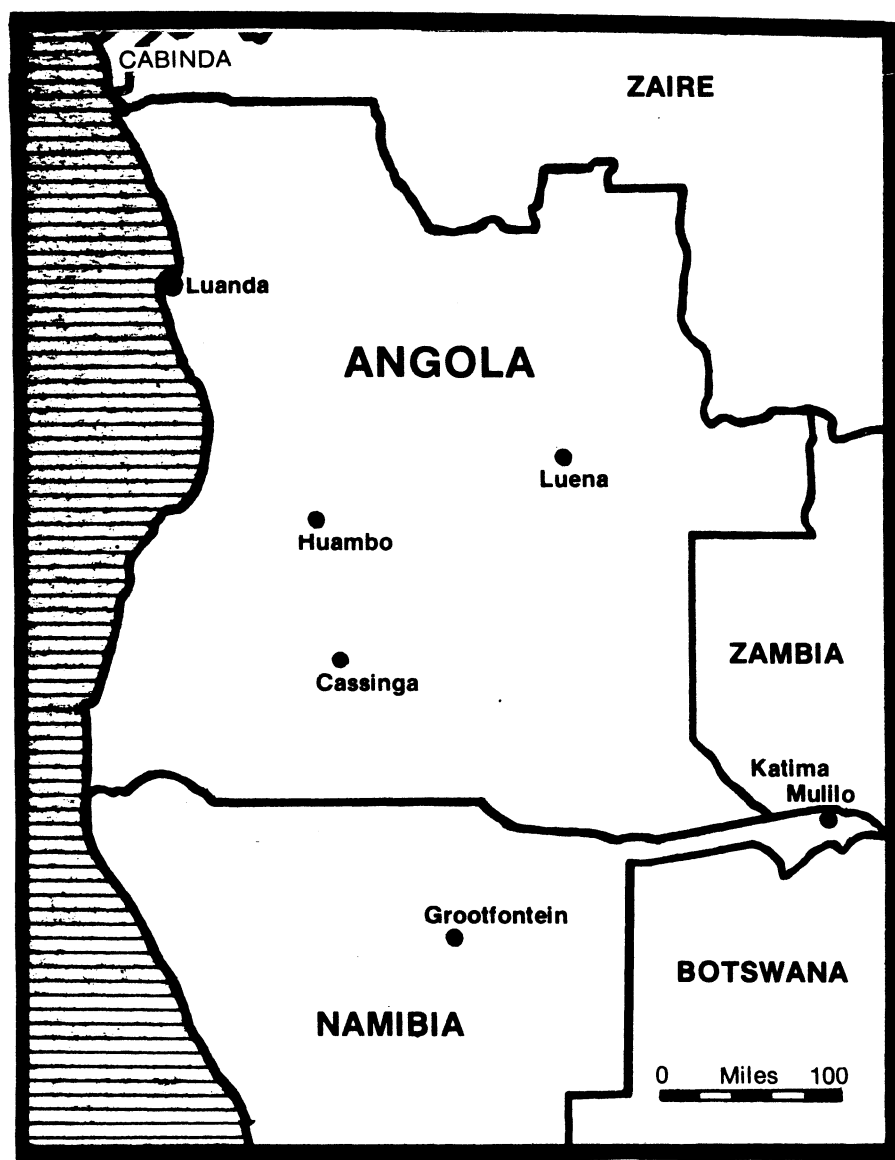
Angola's Culture Ministry has ten Cuban specialists as advisers, and Cuban teachers helped set up its school for middle-grade health technicians.

There are courses to form Angolan teaching cadres, while "Che Guevara Brigade" teachers give instruction, from fifth to ninth grade, to some 30,000 Angolan students, with a program set by Angola's Culture Ministry.

The 732 young Cubans who form the Guevara Brigade are mostly women. As Prof. Eloy Díaz Osorio, a 31-year-old leader of the Brigade in Luanda, commented: "This shows the extent to which women participate in the Cuban revolution, not just at home but on international missions."

Brigade members spoke to us about what it meant to them. "Our parents always talked about the exploitation of man by man," said Angel Arzuaga, 21-year-old son of a Camagüey farm worker and secretary of the Communist Youth Organization's executive committee in Luanda. "But when we went to school our revolutionary process was already advanced and we had to come here to see a people with a five-century history of exploitation and the colonialist scars still showing. We knew it had been like that in Cuba but never experienced it."

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor



## Fourth International statement

# Solidarity with Nicaraguan freedom

The following statement was issued July 4 by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, the world Trotskyist organization.

The generalized crisis that hit the Somoza dictatorship in January 1978 became a decisive confrontation in June 1979. A full-scale civil war is under way in which thousands of workers and peasants have already given their lives.

Mass mobilizations and the increasingly audacious actions by those fighting under the banner of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) have profoundly shaken one of the bloodiest dictatorships of Latin America. They have pushed the Somoza regime to the edge of collapse, raising a threat to the grip of imperialism on the region.

The crisis of Somozaism affects the whole of Central America. It weakens the military dictatorships of Guatemala, El Salvador, and Honduras, to whom Somoza always gave the fullest support. But it also affects the bourgeois regimes of Costa Rica and Panama. Although these regimes long ago took their distance from Somoza and today openly oppose him, they do this for two reasons. First to shore up—at little cost—their democratic image in the eyes of the masses who are attracted by the exemplary struggle of the Nicaraguan people. And second, to lay the groundwork for an alternative to Somozaism that will not threaten the framework of the capitalist system.

The Somoza regime enjoyed relative stability after the Guatemalan revolution was crushed in 1954 by the direct intervention of U.S. imperialism, supported by a coalition of reactionary forces in the region. The existence of the Somoza tyranny contributed greatly to maintenance of the status quo for a quarter of a century.

### Agrarian transformation

On the economic level, this period was characterized by a massive influx of capital and the formation in the 1960s of the Central American Common Market, an instrument designed to facilitate imperialist penetration in the region. Guatemala, El Salvador, and to a lesser extent Costa Rica and Nicaragua, experienced the beginnings of industrialization, which meant an increase in the social weight of the proletariat. But it was above all their agrarian economies that underwent major transformations. The so-called agricultural reform led to substantial investments, to a technological rationalization and modernization, and to a growth of productivity in the cultivation of such export products as bananas, cotton, coffee, and sugar.

The main beneficiaries of these changes were the imperialist companies and big landowners who adapted to



Sandinista rebels with mass support have pushed Somoza's regime to a collapse.

the new conditions. Capitalist agriculture and a rising agricultural proletariat made increasing inroads on both the traditional latifundist structure and the remnants of semifundamental relations.

Concentration of property, far from being restrained, increased more rapidly (in 1976, 6.2% of landowners in Central America held nearly three-quarters [73.2%] of arable land while 69% of them shared 6.5%). The great majority of the peasant masses suffered the consequences. Deprived of their holdings or condemned to eke out an existence on smaller and smaller pieces of unproductive land, they have seen their conditions of life deteriorate dramatically.

Add in a rate of population growth that is among the highest in the world, and it is clear why El Salvador, Honduras, and Nicaragua face an explosive situation which the ruling classes, backed by imperialism, have sought to defuse through brutal and systematic repression.

The war that broke out in 1969 between El Salvador and Honduras was one of the striking events of this period. In the last analysis it was the result of tensions and internal conflicts stemming from the massive unemployment and the demand of the peasants for land. In collaboration with the oligarchy of Guatemala and Somoza, the El Salvadorian oligarchy—one of the most repressive in Latin America—systematically encouraged a massive emigration of landless peasants to Honduras, a country whose population density is much lower. The reaction of the possessing classes of Honduras led to a political and military conflict, in which U.S. imperialism assumed the role of arbiter, thereby shoring up its direct influence in the region.

This war had many other repercussions. Most importantly it meant the end of the Central American Common Market and revealed even more clearly the inability of the local ruling classes—dependent totally on imperialism—to provide the slightest solution to the region's economic and social problems. It led not only to the sharpening of disparities between the different countries, but also and most importantly to the deepening of social contradictions inside them (for example, in El Salvador and even more so in Nicaragua).

Nicaragua is the country in the region where imperialist domination has taken the most open and extreme forms. Anastasio Somoza García, founder of the dynasty four decades ago, was put in power through direct

American intervention. The National Guard, military pillar of Somozaism and of capitalist rule in the country, was established and trained by imperialism as a mercenary army. Intimately tied to the dictator and to his economic and political interests, the National Guard is the supporting structure of the administration and the "judicial" system.

The current dictator, Anastasio Somoza Debayle, and his family control a major part of the Nicaraguan economy—nearly a third of the arable land, the majority of the most profitable industrial, export-import, and transportation sectors. Usually their investments in Nicaragua, as in the other countries of Central America, are combined with those of American-based multinational corporations. Because of this, the crisis of Somozaism becomes combined with the crisis of bourgeois and imperialist domination.

For imperialism, the significance of the crisis in Nicaragua to a large extent goes beyond the borders of the country. The entire dominance of imperialism in the Central American isthmus—a region that is economically, politically, and strategically decisive—is at stake. Washington is trying and will continue to try to do everything in its power to prevent the death agony of Somozaism from opening the way to a challenge to its fundamental interests.

Thus, direct U.S. intervention cannot be excluded despite the sizable political obstacles stemming both from the unique characteristics of the Nicaraguan crisis and from the more general crisis that imperialism has experienced since the war in Vietnam. Such an intervention, especially in the absence of a credible proimperialist bourgeois alternative, would be immediately exposed for what it is—support to Somozaism, if not to Somoza himself, with the aim of crushing the Nicaraguan people in revolt.

It would spark a massive anti-imperialist upsurge throughout the continent. This is exactly the fear of the Latin American governments who opposed the perspective of intervention during the June meeting of the Organization of American States (OAS) and defeated the openly stated proposal for such intervention by Washington's mouthpiece Cyrus Vance. American workers, who have not forgotten the Vietnam War and its consequences, will also express their opposition to a new military adventure.

Nor can the imperialists ignore the statement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Havana, which declared:

"The intervention of the United States would create a Vietnam in the very heart of Latin America. The Nicaraguan people and those of Central America would undoubtedly rise up against such foreign intervention, and their other brothers in Latin America and the Caribbean could not remain indifferent to such genocide. It is necessary to prevent this intervention. It is necessary to forthrightly and courageously denounce it before world public opinion and in international bodies." In response to this, the U.S. imperialists immediately launched a new campaign against Cuba.

It is from this point of view that we must see the combination of threats of intervention and political and diplomatic maneuvers by imperialism and its Latin American allies. Contacts are increasing with the provisional government of national reconstruction, which includes representatives of the Sandinistas. The perspective of intervention by a so-called peacekeeping force from Latin American countries to "separate the warring parties" is being actively promoted, while Somoza—although officially disavowed—continues to massacre the Nicaraguan people with impunity.

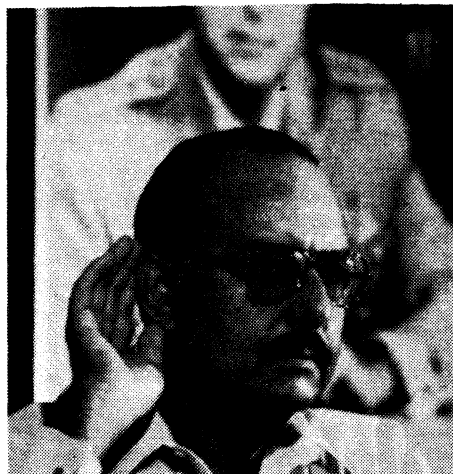
In reality this massacre is encouraged by imperialism. It represents a direct blow to the masses and weakens the Sandinista forces. Even in its agony, the Somoza dictatorship continues to play its role of defender of the interests of imperialism and Nicaragua's exploiting classes. If necessary, imperialism will send a "peace force" designed to prepare a bourgeois alternative to the dictatorship and to establish the best possible relationship of forces to preserve the integrity of the existing state apparatus, particularly the National Guard.

### Task of the hour

The military initiatives of the Sandinistas, which are gaining greater and greater active support from the masses; the revolt of the peasants, workers, and plebeian masses of the cities; and the occupation of major areas of the country by the insurgents, together with the formation of popular committees that take charge of the elementary needs of the population, have brought about a fundamental polarization—two social forces confront each other in a full-scale civil war. *The fundamental task of the hour is to bring this struggle to victory through the revolutionary overthrow of Somoza and his regime. This would represent a major new defeat for Washington and for imperialism as a whole, and would give a fresh impulse to mobilizations of the masses of the region.*

Revolutionary Marxists in Nicaragua and throughout the world place themselves unreservedly on the side of the Sandinista fighters and of all those who are actively taking part in the struggle against the Somoza dictatorship and its imperialist masters. Our comrades in Nicaragua are joining in the mobilizations of the masses and participating in their heroic battle. Our organizations throughout the world, especially in the countries of Latin America and in the imperialist centers, must extend the international campaign of solidarity with the struggle of the Nicaraguan people. Such a campaign by the workers movement can and should take on a decisive importance.

If in fact the masses mobilize throughout Latin America, and if at the same time the masses of the impe-



SOMOZA



# struggle

rialist countries and especially of the United States let it be clearly understood that they will not tolerate a counterrevolutionary war of aggression, the imperialist and "national" bourgeois rulers will have difficulty in intervening militarily to defend the Somoza regime. This is why the campaign of support to the struggle of the Nicaraguan people is an immediate political task of prime importance.

## Origins of Sandinism

The direct presence of American troops, as well as the nature of the ties between the Somoza regime and imperialism, have always given an immediate anti-imperialist dimension to the struggles of the Nicaraguan people. In the 1920s César Augusto Sandino led popular uprisings against imperialist military intervention. Despite the ultimate defeat of this movement and the assassination of Sandino, Sandinism—a petty bourgeois, anti-imperialist, revolutionary-nationalist current—became deeply rooted among the exploited masses of Nicaragua. The reformist currents of the workers movement never acquired a significant base. The Communist Party, in particular, was discredited after its support to Somoza during the Second World War.

The victory of the Cuban revolution later sparked a process of radicalization in Nicaragua as in other countries of Latin America. It reinforced the revolutionary-nationalist current, since the July 26 Movement, in its struggle against Batista, exhibited similarities with Sandinism.

In 1962 this process culminated in the formation of the FSLN, which placed itself in the historic and popular tradition of the anti-imperialist struggle of Sandino. An anti-imperialist current with a petty-bourgeois political orientation, the FSLN subsequently adopted the perspective of a bourgeois-democratic revolution.

The struggle of the FSLN—which was greatly influenced by the Cubans and was conceived for a whole period as essentially a guerrilla struggle—went through many ups and downs. But it was above all the insurrection of September 1978 that, despite its failure, revealed unequivocally the mass support for the struggle of the FSLN and broadened that support. Today the FSLN enjoys the backing of the great mass of exploited toilers of the cities and the countryside, who identify with it in their struggle. Thus it plays at this stage the decisive role in the struggle against the dictatorship and imperialism.



Nicaraguan freedom fighter

The struggle of the Nicaraguan masses against the dictatorship and imperialism takes on a dynamic of permanent revolution that is more immediate than in many other colonial or semicolonial countries. Imperialist domination is almost completely combined with the domination of the national bourgeoisie, and the capitalist property system is represented by the property of the Somoza family and of the imperialist corporations. This means that the struggle against imperialism is at the same time a struggle against domination by the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie, and the struggle against the Somoza family and against the tentacles of the multinational corporations is a struggle against capitalist domination as a whole.

The question is already being posed concretely. After the overthrow of Somoza, how can the interests of the masses best be met?

Is it in their interests to spare the American, Japanese, and European trusts that have supported the Somoza regime to the end and allow them to continue to exploit the great masses of people who carried out the revolutionary struggle?

Is it in their interests to agree to pay the foreign debts of the dictatorship, which would mean a heavy mortgage on the future economic development of the country?

Is it in their interests to accept—in the name of "continuity of the state"—that the executioners of the National Guard should remain in place, ready to launch new campaigns of ferocious repression?

Is it in their interests to accept—in the name of "national solidarity"—that the peasants continue to be brutally exploited and deprived of their most elementary rights by the big landowners who have opposed the Somoza gang?

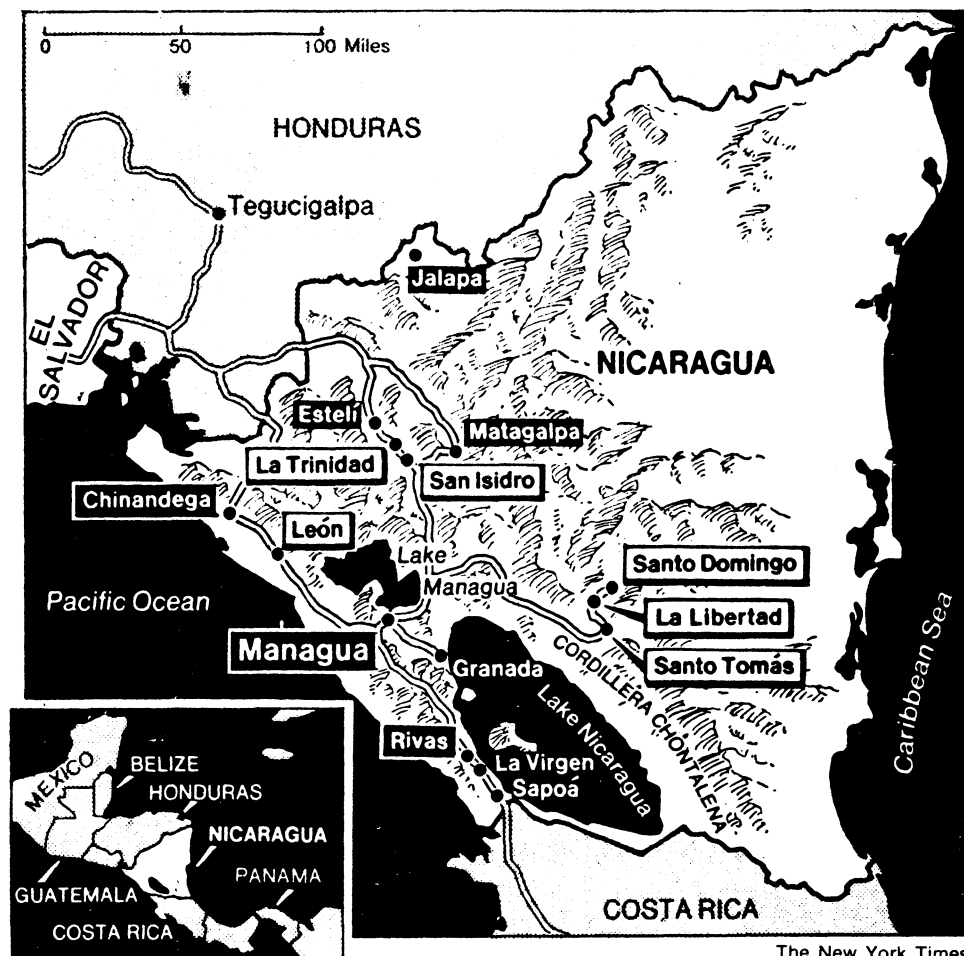
Is it in their interests to accept that the crimes of the Somoza hangmen not be denounced before the people and the thousands of links between them and imperialism and the bourgeoisie be hidden?

## Cuban road

It is clear to revolutionists in Nicaragua and throughout the world that if the overthrow of Somoza does not lead to the overthrow of domination by the imperialists and the national bourgeoisie, any victory will be short-lived and the masses will be quickly stripped of all the gains won through their heroic struggle. The imperialists and their representatives don't hide the fact that their main aim is to prevent the Nicaraguan revolution from taking the Cuban road.

The response of revolutionists is unambiguous. It is necessary to prevent the Nicaraguan revolution from suffering the fate of the Guatemalan revolution of the 1940s and 1950s, of the Bolivian revolution of the 1950s, or of the Chilean workers and peasants upsurge of the 1970s. It is in the elementary interests of the masses of Nicaragua, of Latin America, and of the whole world, that the Nicaraguan revolution should follow the Cuban example by overthrowing the dictatorship, expelling imperialism, and removing from power and expropriating the native ruling classes. In this way the conditions will be created to satisfy the basic needs of the masses for food, housing, health, education, and jobs.

Inside the FSLN there exist clear ideological and political divisions. The "tercerista" or "insurreccional" tendency



The New York Times

is largely predominant; it is they who determine the orientation and methods of the FSLN and who, among others, led the September 1978 offensive. Partisans of collaboration with anti-Somoza sectors of the bourgeoisie, they place the greatest importance on action by the Sandinista armed detachments, considering the organized mobilization of the masses as playing only a supportive role. This has produced tensions in the past, and can lead to many conflicts in the future.

The "prolonged people's war" tendency has an eclectic orientation, adopting aspects of Maoism and Castroism. The "proletarian" tendency stresses the importance of the role of the working class in the struggle against imperialism and capitalism, but it does not challenge the basic strategy of the FSLN, including its policy of alliances.

The formation of the government of national reconstruction, in which well-known representatives of the anti-Somoza wing of the bourgeoisie—Violeta de Chamorro, Alfonso Robelo, and Sergio Ramírez—join with representatives of the FSLN, shows that the concept of the democratic revolution is not without implications for the immediate course of the revolutionary struggle.

In fact, the government of national reconstruction is a card played by the bourgeoisie to try to prevent the overthrow of Somoza from leading to the break-up of the socioeconomic structures of capitalism and the bourgeois state apparatus. Thus it operates against the interests and the aspirations of the overwhelming majority of those who are struggling against the dictatorship and its National Guard assassins. This means a concrete danger to the development of the military battle taking place and an even greater threat to a victorious outcome of the revolutionary struggle as a whole.

## Program for victory

To reach the goals of the exploited and oppressed masses and to fight back against any imperialist intervention, the masses must be armed and workers and peasants militias must be formed. There must be a struggle to extend and strengthen the organs the masses have begun to throw up in the course of the civil war to assert their demands and to defend their vital interests.

In the case of any serious operation to impose an alternative solution on the basis of maintenance of the apparatus of the Somoza regime, the struggle for the convocation of a constituent assembly, elected through universal, direct, and secret vote, could centralize the aspirations of the masses that are expressed in their struggle against the dictatorship.

In the framework of the struggle to overthrow the dictatorship, which is the fundamental immediate task, revolutionary Marxists will be struggling for:

- Dissolution of the National Guard.
- Freedom for all political prisoners.
- The winning of all democratic rights (freedom of speech, of the press, and of political and trade-union organization above all).
- Rejection of all political, economic, and military pacts with the imperialist powers and with the OAS.
- Repudiation of the foreign debt accumulated by the dictatorship in the interests of the exploiting classes and imperialism, and a break with the International Monetary Fund.
- Expropriation and nationalization, without compensation and under workers control, of all the property of Somoza, of his family, of high officials of the regime, of imperialism, and of the "national" capitalists.
- Implementation of a genuine agrarian reform that would give land to the peasants who are demanding it and would assure them the means to cultivate it.

The only government that can carry out such a program embodying the vital interests of the Nicaraguan people and the needs of developing and strengthening the revolution is a government that defends the interests of the workers, the peasants, and the other exploited layers and that excludes all representatives of the ruling classes and imperialism.

For the overthrow of the Somoza dictatorship!

For the victory of the Nicaraguan masses and the fighters of the FSLN!

For a campaign of international solidarity against any attempt at intervention, including political, economic, or military blackmail by imperialism!

Break all diplomatic ties with Somoza!

Not one penny, not one weapon to the dictatorship!

## ...Angola

Continued from page 19

who obviously sees himself in the role of leader of all revolutionary movements, has vastly stepped up his African involvement. . . . He now maintains over 40,000 troops in Africa. . . . About half of these troops are to be found in Angola, assisting the Angolan MPLA government and also providing training for PLAN (SWAPO) and ZIPRA (ZAPU). . . .<sup>2</sup>

As the struggles in Zimbabwe and Namibia heat up, Cuba's aid to the anti-imperialist fighters there can become an increasingly important factor in the politics of southern Africa.

### 'Permanent war of aggression'

With the aim of pressuring the MPLA and Cubans to reduce their aid to SWAPO and other liberation movements, the apartheid regime—with the support of Washington—has been conducting a continuous military campaign against Angola ever since the end of the 1975-76 war. MPLA leaders call it a "permanent war of aggression."

Most of the attacks are brief strikes across the border from northern Namibia. Invoking a fictitious right to "hot pursuit," the South Africans claim they are simply responding to guerrilla actions by SWAPO forces. But more often than not, their real targets have been Namibian refugees and Angolan villagers.

Until May 1978, these attacks were of a relatively small scale. But in that month, South African jet bombers and helicopters struck 155 miles into Angola to attack a Namibian refugee camp near the town of Cassinga.

The camp, which housed 4,000 to 5,000 refugees (but no military installations), was bombed and strafed. According to survivors, four American-made C-130 Hercules transport planes then dropped South African paratroopers, who swept through the camp methodically gunning down anyone in their path. When they departed, they left behind more than 600 bodies.

The Rhodesian white settler regime followed this with an invasion of its own the following year. On February 26, 1979, Rhodesian planes flew 185 miles into Angola to bomb a special training school for Zimbabwean refugees at Vila da Boma, near Luena (formerly Lusso). According to the Angolan authorities, 60 persons were killed in the assault and 530 wounded, the vast majority of them Zimbabweans.

As the war in Namibia has escalated, so have the number of South African incursions into Angola. In the

first half of March alone, the Angolans reported that South African planes violated Angolan air space seventy times, bombed thirteen regions, and dropped 132 tons of bombs. Fortunately, only twelve persons were killed (southern Angola is sparsely populated).

The latest admitted South African incursion came in early July, when ground and air units crossed the border. Pretoria claimed its forces killed twelve SWAPO fighters.

### UNITA-imperialist alliance

In conjunction with these direct attacks, Pretoria has sought to bolster UNITA, letting the proimperialist group carry out much of the day-to-day harassment of the Angolan and Cuban forces.

Before the South African army withdrew from Angola in 1976, it buried large arms caches for UNITA. Since then, it has provided a steady supply of weapons, ammunition, money, food, and occasionally logistical support. According to SWAPO, UNITA forces have received training from the South Africans at the Grootfontein military complex and other sites in Namibia.

In addition, Pretoria has given UNITA a program on Radio Ovambo, a South African station in northern Namibia.

According to Savimbi, UNITA also began to receive significant aid from other sources in mid-1978. "From that point, we started to get substantial support from some African countries, but they can't say it openly, of course. Second, we are getting substantial support from Arab countries," he said in the interview in the June 18 *Time*.

Around the same time that these other sources of aid became available, the White House openly admitted that it was exploring ways to renew its backing for UNITA via third countries. In May 1978, President Carter complained to Congress that the provisions of an amendment to the Arms Export Control Act of 1976 impeded the legal transfer of arms to the UNITA forces operating in Angola.

On June 18, 1978, Fidel Castro stated in an interview, "We know from very good sources that recently the CIA established contact with UNITA in Angola and . . . promised U.S. assistance."

### Military training

That promise appears to have been kept. A few months later, a group of British television journalists covering UNITA's operations in Angola were told by UNITA members that they received financial and military aid from the pro-American regimes in Morocco and Iran (before the shah's overthrow).

An article in the March 9, 1979, issue of *To the Point International*, a pro-South African weekly that was later revealed to have been funded by Pretoria's Department of Information, provided further details. "Unita troops are undergoing military training in Morocco," it reported, "financial aid comes from Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, diplomatic and material support is generously provided by Ivory Coast, Senegal and Togo. Unita possesses German Mercedes trucks, French electrically operated anti-tank bazookas and Belgian FN rifles."

With this imperialist backing, UNITA has been carrying out persistent guerrilla attacks inside Angola for the past three years.

While UNITA's claims of success are wildly exaggerated, it has nevertheless exacted a heavy price. Scores of Angolan civilians have been killed; in November 1978 alone, for instance, UNITA bombings in the central markets of Huambo and Canhe left forty persons dead. UNITA's attacks

on road and rail traffic have seriously disrupted the transport of food from the central provinces to other parts of the country, leading to regional shortages. Economic recovery from the ravages of the South African invasion has been impeded by sabotage of communications lines, the mining of roads, and the disruption of commercial transport on the vital Benguela Railway.

Revealing a particular hostility toward the Cuban forces in Angola, UNITA has a declared policy of not taking any Cuban prisoners.

UNITA has also attacked the Namibian independence fighters. In 1977, Savimbi, referring to the SWAPO for-

recognition and economic aid in return for expulsion of the Cubans.

In June 1978, at the very time when backing to UNITA was being stepped up, an American envoy, Donald McHenry, was dispatched to Luanda to seek concessions from Neto. According to a report in the October 1978 London monthly *New African*, McHenry gave "the impression that Angolan co-operation would result in a dwindling of support for UNITA."

When Senator George McGovern visited Angola in December, he laid out the conditions for American recognition of the Neto regime, stating that the Cuban presence there was the main obstacle to formal diplomatic



Cuban internationalist fighters helped defeat the 1976 South African invasion of Angola.

ces, said to an American journalist that "we will never let them operate against the South Africans in Namibia again. Never!"

According to the report in the March 9 *To the Point International*, UNITA was reported to "have infiltrated Swapo and to have given valuable intelligence prior to South Africa's devastating raid on the Swapo headquarters at Cassinga, deep inside Angola last May."

As a result of its alliance with South Africa, UNITA's support among the Ovimbundu and other peoples of central and southern Angola, upon whom it based itself prior to and during the civil war of 1975, appears to have fallen considerably. The MPLA government has been able to hold big rallies in Huambo, the largest city in the Ovimbundu region, and local inhabitants, including former UNITA supporters, have been organized into militia units to defend villages against UNITA attacks.

The UNITA has made little effort to hide the reasons that it is fighting against the Angolan government. In the *Time* interview, Savimbi explained, "If UNITA had come to power in Angola in 1975, I am sure that today the problems of Rhodesia and Namibia could have been solved peacefully. When we take over, we shall be looking for a dialogue with South Africa, not war."

Pointing out that the "intention of the Cubans is to control the border with Namibia so that they can help SWAPO," Savimbi declared, "We will approach step by step the day when the Cubans and Russians find that it is impossible for them to stay any longer. That will be our first victory."

### U.S. terms rejected

The military pressures against the Angolan regime have been coupled with a diplomatic campaign promising

ties.

So far, the pressures on the MPLA have been only moderately fruitful for the imperialists. In return for warmer relations with the regime of Mobutu Sese Seko in Zaïre, Neto has pledged to restrain anti-Mobutu guerrilla forces based in Angola. He also used his regime's influence with SWAPO to pressure the Namibian group into making political concessions during United Nations-sponsored negotiations over the territory, such as SWAPO's agreement to okay the continued presence of several thousand South African troops during a proposed "transitional period" before independence.

### Cuba stands firm

The Angolan regime, however, has not given in on two of the key questions worrying the imperialists—its continued assistance to SWAPO and other liberation movements and the presence of Cuban troops.

In a December 1978 speech in Luanda shortly after McGovern's visit, Neto rejected the U.S. terms for diplomatic recognition.

Havana has also stood firm, despite all of Washington's threats against Cuba itself. Just before Angola's celebration of its third year of independence, Cuban Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca reiterated at a November 8, 1978, news conference in Tanzania that Cuban troops would fight against any South African attack on Angola. He declared, "If it happened that Angola was the victim of aggression and its borders were violated, our reaction would be to fight along with the Angolan people."

This firm Cuban stance is an important factor that the imperialists cannot ignore. By helping to defend Angola from imperialist attack and by aiding other forces fighting against imperialism, the Cuban government is playing a revolutionary role in southern Africa.

From *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*



SAVIMBI



## The Kronstadt rebellion

Kronstadt. By V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky. New York; Monad Books, 1979. 159 pp. \$2.95.

On March 2, 1921, a rebellion against the Soviet government broke out at the naval base of Kronstadt. A "revolutionary committee" assumed power in the base. It included anarchist elements, and there were also counterrevolutionary White Guard agents operating in it. The committee posed a list of demands, including free elections to the soviets (councils), legalization of all socialist parties and anarchist groups, restoration of free internal trade, and freeing of political prisoners.

But the real slogan of the rebels was "soviets without Communists"—an end to the Bolshevik regime.

On March 5, Leon Trotsky, then People's Commissar of War, issued an ultimatum to the rebels. When they

### Books

rejected it, plans for a military assault on the fortress were drawn up.

On March 16 troops of the Red Army began moving across the ice-covered Gulf of Finland. They were joined by some 320 delegates to the Tenth Congress of the Bolshevik Party.

The attackers were met with storms of bullets from the base. The ice began to melt and crack, and soldiers slid between the floes to their death.

The Red Army broke through the defenders' lines on March 17 and the base was retaken. Some of the rebels made their way to Finland; others were captured by the Soviets and a number were executed.

\* \* \*

Since March 17, 1921, "Kronstadt" has become an accusation hurled against revolutionary socialists by anarchists and liberals alike.

They point to the well-known fact that Kronstadt sailors played a central role in ensuring the success of the October 1917 revolution. Did not the crushing of the Kronstadt rebellion four years later signal that the Bolsheviks were turning against the most revolutionary section of the masses? Doesn't the example of Kronstadt prove that the seeds of Stalin's terror

were sown even before Lenin's death?

Up to now, these sorts of arguments have gained a certain hearing. The most widely circulated accounts of the uprising have been published by anarchists seeking to discredit the actions of Lenin's government. The writings of Lenin and Trotsky as well as other documentary material on the subject were scattered in various archives, books, and magazines.

The new collection by Pathfinder Press, *Kronstadt*, contains articles by Lenin and Trotsky, as well as selections from a debate that occurred in the pages of *New Internationalist* during the 1930s. The collection places the rebellion in the context of the hard-pressed poverty-stricken young Soviet republic at the end of three years of bloody civil war and massive imperialist military intervention.

In a powerful and clearly-written introduction, Pierre Frank points out that "the Kronstadt rebellion cannot be understood outside the national and international context in which it took place, and it is only in this context that the Soviet leadership's analysis of Kronstadt and its decisions can be understood."

"In the midst of an ever-threatening international situation," writes Frank, "the internal situation held out consid-

erable peril. The proletariat was weakened. The greatest danger was that there would be a new outbreak of civil war, in the course of which the section of the peasantry that had sided with the proletariat in the revolution and the civil war would break away and be used by the counterrevolutionary forces to overturn the Soviet state.

"Had the Kronstadt rebellion been allowed to continue, it might have served as a spark to ignite the powder keg."

Frank quotes the entire text of an authenticated document on Kronstadt by counterrevolutionary Russian émigrés. This document—only discovered years later—shows they knew of the uprising well in advance. They described it as an opportunity to "launch an operation from Kronstadt for the overthrow of Soviet power in Russia." The document explains in detail how the French government would be expected to help—militarily and otherwise—to make the rebellion a success.

This document establishes beyond the shadow of a doubt that Kronstadt represented a counterrevolutionary opening for the imperialists and their procapitalist Russian allies.

The Bolsheviks, however, were obliged to make a quick decision on the

basis of much more limited information. Hesitation in suppressing the Kronstadt rebels would have bought time for the imperialists to become more deeply involved. Fortunately, the Bolshevik leaders made the right choice and carried it out with the necessary firmness.

The leaders of the Russian revolution sought the explanation for Kronstadt in the delicate and complex relationship between the Russian working class, which was the driving force of the revolution, and the peasantry, which was the overwhelming majority of the population.

Kronstadt, they explained, was the reaction of a section of the petty bourgeoisie to the harsh requirements of civil war and "war communism"—the extreme centralization of the economy undertaken during the civil war. These were not the Kronstadt sailors of 1917—many of whom died in the civil war—but a new levy drawn primarily from the peasantry and demoralized by the deprivations of the civil war.

"This petty-bourgeois counterrevolution," wrote Lenin a few days after the outbreak of the Kronstadt rebellion, "is undoubtedly more dangerous than Denikin, Yudenich, and Kolchak (counter-revolutionary generals) put together, because ours is a country where the proletariat is in a minority, where peasant property has gone to ruin, and where, in addition, the demobilization [of the army] has set loose vast numbers of potentially mutinous elements."

Also included in Pathfinder's compilation is an article by Marxist scholar John G. Wright discussing and criticizing some of the anarchist literature on Kronstadt. A glossary makes it easy to follow the complicated sequence of events and debates even if one has had little previous knowledge of Russian history.

Kronstadt is a valuable addition to the study of the history of the Russian Bolshevik party. Moreover, it is a powerful reply to those who argue that Stalinism is rooted in Leninism. Both Lenin and Trotsky demonstrate in their articles that the Kronstadt rebellion was based on the more backward elements of the petty bourgeoisie—the same elements that later provided part of the social base for Stalin's rise to power.

—John Bartleby



Red Army troops during the assault on Kronstadt in March 1921.

### A Reader's Notes

There is a dispute about Andre Malraux's great novel *Man's Fate*, in a new book of old letters between the novelist Vladimir Nabokov and the critic Edmund Wilson (*The Nabokov-Wilson Letters*, Harper & Row, 346 pp., \$15).

Wilson was a great admirer of the Malraux novel, whose setting was China in revolution during the 1920s, and he helped to call attention to it before it was published in English. Nabokov had a quite unfavorable view of the book.

Readers interested in their exchange over Malraux may also be interested to learn that Leon Trotsky, then living in France, also had a strong opinion of the book. That was in November 1933, before the Nabokov-Wilson letters were written.

Trotsky's views were expressed in a letter to Clifton Fadiman, then an editor at Simon and Schuster, publishers of Trotsky's *History of the Russian Revolution*. It is translated for the first time in Pathfinder's newly published *Supplement, Writings of Leon Trotsky (1929-40)* (428 pp., \$5.45 paper, \$25 cloth).

"Dear Mr. Fadiman:

"You have asked me which books I think are

worth publishing in America. I would say, more than any other, the novel by the young French author, Andre Malraux, *La Condition Humaine* [*Man's Fate*]. . . .

"This novel does not seek to be only a literary work of art. It deals with the great problems of human destiny. In the context of the social and cultural crisis that is engulfing the entire world, the questions that have always stirred mankind and inspired great artists—life and death, love and heroism, the individual and society—are posed with a new sharpness for the creative mind. Only from this source can contemporary art, which has spent itself in the search for purely formal conquests, rejuvenate itself.

"In the last analysis, Malraux is an individualist and a pessimist. To feel this way about the world and about life is to me psychologically alien, not to say repugnant. But in Malraux's pessimism, which reaches the level of despair, there is an element of heroism. Malraux draws his international heroes from the stage of revolution. The setting for his personal dramas is Shanghai in 1927. The author is

well acquainted with the Chinese revolution from his own experience. But this novel is neither ethnography nor history. It is a novel of human destiny and personal passions to which the revolution imparts the utmost tension. The individualist and pessimist for the most part rises above individualism and pessimism. Only a purpose greater than the individual, a purpose for which man is ready to give up his life, imparts meaning to human existence. That is the ultimate significance of this novel, which is alien to philosophical didacticism, and which from beginning to end is a true work of art.

"Precisely in the United States, where the terrible crisis in the conditions of everyday life relentlessly undermines any empirical approach to life, Malraux's novel, it seems to me, should have many readers."

Incidentally, *Man's Fate* is one of the ten novels discussed by Paul Siegel in his new book, *Revolution and the Twentieth-Century Novel*, a Monad Press book distributed by Pathfinder Press, which should be off the press any day now (288 pp., \$4.45 paper, \$14 cloth).

—George Breitman

## BON APPETIT!

Once upon a time the San Francisco Bay Area was noted for its fine fish. Not now.

Recently a federal study found "startling abnormalities" in striped bass in the San Francisco Bay and the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta.

Pollutants, including petroleum products, they said, seemed to contribute to the abnormalities, either directly, or by weakening the fish, leaving them open to assault by parasites.

Of 100 fish selected at random, fifty four had parasites visible to the eye, thirty seven had deformities and thirty four, open wounds.

## COLO. RESIDENTS OPPOSE URANIUM MILL

Colorado officials were plied with hard questions at a meeting in Pueblo concerning the hazards of a uranium mill in the area.

About 150 people attended the July 9 meeting, according to Lois Remple of Pueblo. They were trying to get answers from state officials about the proposed expansion of the Cotter Corporation, a subsidiary of Commonwealth Edison of Illinois. If licensed, Cotter will add a new mill which would quadruple its production capacity for reprocessing uranium tailings.

The company is also seeking certification for a new 200-acre tailing pond. The new pond, the company asserts, will help in cleaning out the contamination in the old ones.

Prior to the meeting, a group picketed outside, demanding the mill not be licensed. The protest was sponsored by American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 155-1 and the Pueblo Anti-Nuclear Involvement Committee (PANIC).

The Cotter mill is located about a mile from residential areas in Canon City and about two-and-a-half miles from the Arkansas River, which supplies water to some 200,000 people.

There has been a lot of opposition to licensing the operation based on evidence of ground water contamination and health hazards to the people of the area. But the state didn't decide to hold up licensing and consider the issue until present and former Cotter employees pointed to falsification of records and willful failure to

## FAA hid facts in okaying DC-10s

The Federal Aviation Administration ended the ban on the DC-10 without sufficient evidence that the plane was safe.

This was revealed when an anonymous person sent copies of an internal FAA document to the president, members of Congress and the press. It was received two days before the July 13 decision to end the DC-10 ban.

FAA officials conceded that the document was an agency "working paper," but asserted it was not a final conclusion and the plane really was safe.

The report states that "Service experience . . . indicates that certain design features and details do exist that may be hazardous."

In a letter accompanying the FAA report, the anonymous writer assailed the then slated FAA announcement that the DC-10 would be permitted to fly again on the basis that more frequent inspection would eliminate the problem of the flawed engine mount that caused the Chicago crash.

The letter writer asserted that the mount is "the Achilles heel" of the plane, adding that with the FAA decision to OK resumption of flights, "I realized that a coverup was in the making which dwarfs Watergate in that it risks precious human life. Dollars are being traded for lives."

The charge is buttressed by other FAA material.

Asked by reporters how he could be confident the plane was safe if the FAA had ordered design changes, agency head Langborne Bond said that frequent inspections would deal with this.

But the FAA's own public report underscores the danger in long-term reliance on the existing design because of its proven vulnerability to maintenance errors. It notes that "minor miscalculation" in maintenance can cause major damage.

It has also been disclosed that there may be hazards in other sections of the plane, with safety experts pointing to its hydraulic system as one cause for worry.

Meanwhile, on July 12, John Brizendine, president of McDonnell Douglas's air-

liner division, testified before a congressional committee.

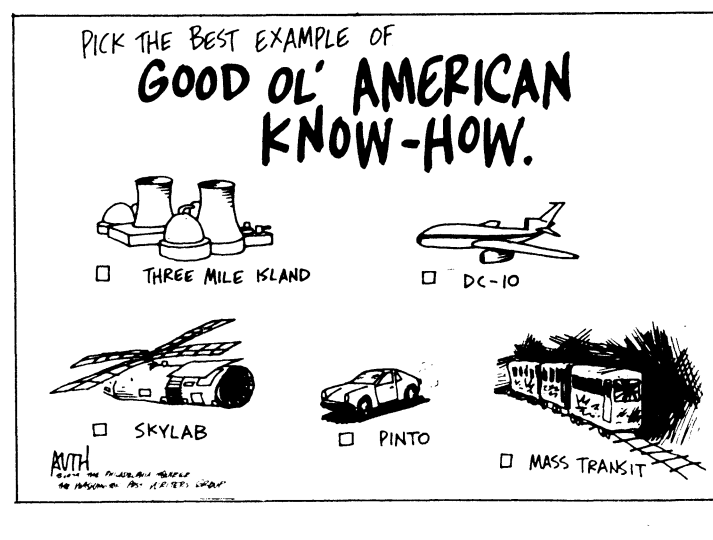
Asked if the engine mount on the flawed plane could not be made of stronger material, he replied that this would be "contrary to the philosophy of producing efficient machinery."

"You must take care of things," he explained. "But you shouldn't unduly compromise to take care of someone who'll abuse a structure. Carry that philosophy throughout an airplane and it would never get off the ground."

He means, of course, financially, not technically.

His response well illustrates the point made by the person who disclosed the FAA document:

"Dollars are being traded for lives."



notify workers of overexposure to radiation.

## EXCESS RADIATION AT 3 MILE ISLAND PLANT

Officials at the Three Mile Island plant disclosed July 13 that repair workers at the damaged nuclear site were exposed to radiation levels in the past few weeks that exceeded federal safety regulations.

However, the AP reported, the officials assured that the exposures "did not appear" to be a health hazard.

## NIXON HELD LIABLE FOR DAMAGES

If there's any justice, Richard Nixon may have to dig down to compensate for some of his illegal activity.

A federal appeals court ruled July 12 that Nixon could be sued for damages for authorizing wiretappings without a warrant.

The court rejected Nixon's assertion that presidents and ex-presidents are immune from civil damages suits.

The ruling came in the damage suits filed by Morton Halpern, a former national security aide, and Hedrick Smith of the *New York Times*. Both had their phones bugged.

The court also reversed a lower court ruling which had dropped former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger as a defendant in the damage suits. He too was involved in the buggings.

Nixon is one of the defendants named by the Socialist Workers Party in its multimillion-dollar suit for violation of its constitutional rights by federal officials and agencies.

## A MAJORITY SAY NO TO NEIGHBORHOOD NUKES

The *Washington Post* reports that a poll it conducted several weeks after Three Mile Island shows that 56 percent of the people now oppose a nuclear plant being built in their area.

It found this view prevailed in all regions of the country, among all segments of the population, and in rural areas and small towns as well as cities.

This, the report notes, can prove a major problem for authorities intending to license nuclear facilities.

A spokesman for the Edison Electric Institute, a trade organization, said, "We're not surprised . . . people don't want to live near airports, don't want off-shore drilling rigs to mar

their view of the beaches. . . . It's just antifacility, not anti-nuclear."

He didn't explain why this particular "antifacility" sentiment increased 11 percent after Three Mile Island.

## WORKING ON THE JOB AND AT HOME

"If I could only have an hour in the middle of the day to just sit in a room in my home entirely alone with no demands from my child, my husband, my dog or cat, my employer . . ."

This was the response of one of 150,000 working women surveyed by the National Commission on Working Women.

Interviewed by the July 14 *New York Times*, Joan Goodin, director of the commission, discussed some of the findings.

The survey confirmed that working women still put in a lot of housework, what one woman in the study called "Job 2—chef, maid, housekeeper, and nanny." Forty-four percent of them put in more than three-and-a-half hours when they get home, and 82 percent do so on weekends.

The study focused on the 80 percent of women in clerical, sales, service, and factory jobs. Not surprisingly they find their work boring, not utilizing their skills—and not paying enough.

The most important areas of job dissatisfaction were the level of wages and the chance to advance. Twelve percent of the women mentioned sexual harassment on the job. Among Blacks and Latinas, 37 percent cited race discrimination.

Professional women—whose average income was \$13,400 a year—were less dissatisfied than others with their work but

were also concerned about sex discrimination.

The survey found that single women—who must support themselves and often children as well on one paycheck—were twice as dissatisfied with their jobs as married women.

## WISCONSIN RALLY HITS NUKES

A thousand people rallied on the steps of the Wisconsin state capitol in Madison to protest nuclear weapons and the threat of nuclear power.

The July 15 action culminated Nukewatch, three days of speakers, workshops and music. The event focused on the nuclear threat and how to fight it, reports correspondent Steve Zippin.

Three thousand people attended a concert featuring Pete Seeger. Howard Morland, whose *Progressive* article on atomic secrecy was suppressed by the courts, detailed the threat this represented.

There were a variety of workshops and the gathering heard a number of speakers, including John Trudell of the American Indian Movement, speaking on behalf of the Black Hills Alliance, and Dick Greenwood of the International Association of Machinists.

## DEFAULT TOLL MOUNTS IN CLEVELAND

After the banks milked the city of Cleveland dry and the city defaulted on a \$14 million debt, Mayor Dennis Kucinich decided that rather than tax the business interests, the city would demand higher taxes from the working people.

Kucinich blackmailed workers into voting for a tax hike. But his promise that this would end the city crisis has been proven false.

The fire department reports that a third of its equipment needs to be replaced.

Sewer repairs have been halted, except for a few emergency projects.

Garbage collection has gotten even worse because of a decrepit truck fleet.

Meanwhile, the mayor is working on a plan to start paying the banks \$1.5 million a month on the back debt. How will that be done? Obviously, more cuts.

## HOW TEXAS COMPANY HANDLES TOXIC WASTE

The Environmental Protection Agency is checking out the Houston-based Borwning-Ferris Industries, the nation's biggest handler of solid and chemical wastes. It seems the company has been adding toxic waste to used motor oil and giving it free to contractors as a surfacing material for dirt roads.

In one area where the oil was put down, residents complained of headaches, respira-

# 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 International Union of Electrical Workers Local 201. Sat., July 21, 7:30 p.m. Lynn YMCA, Room 239, Neptune Blvd. in Lynn. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

## 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.

## PENNSYLVANIA PHILADELPHIA

**THE MONCADA PROGRAM.** A film about the Cuban Revolution. Sat., July 28, 7 p.m. 5811 N. Broad St. Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) 927-4747.

## TEXAS HOUSTON

**VICTORY PARTY. TEXAS SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY** has won its disclosure suit against state of Texas. Sat., July 28, 7 p.m. 835 W. 42nd St. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party Campaign Committee. For more information call (512) 524-8774.



## NOW sets actions for abortion rights

The National Organization for Women has called upon its chapters to organize abortion rights actions the weekend of September 14. The date coincides with the hundredth birthday of birth control activist Margaret Sanger.

The July issue of the *National NOW Times* said chapters and state bodies would receive information kits including "plans for September 14 activities such as reproduction rights forums, demonstrations and

parades, [and] model resolutions for getting other organizations to take positions in support of reproductive rights . . ."

The paper urged NOW activists to "take the offensive in mobilizing the overwhelming majority sentiment in support of reproductive rights and to counter the well-organized anti-choice minority who seek to undermine personal liberty and choice in family planning."

tory problems, and livestock deaths shortly after the oil was laid down.

Company officials say doing this was against their policy and that they're conducting their own probe.

But one former employee testified he was fired for refusing to pump the poisonous waste into used oil.

Meanwhile, the Texas legislature discussed the problem of disposing of nuclear waste in the state.

One rebellious type proposed the stuff be regulated because it could kill, "painfully, miserably, and permanently."

The proposition was iced.

Apparently taking his cue from Browning-Ferris, one state senator, a regular josh from West Texas, suggested how to handle the nuclear waste:

Mix it with asphalt and spread it on the roads, he said. "They'll glow in the dark. You wouldn't need headlights."

## WOMAN FACES JAIL IF SHE HAS A CHILD

A federal judge in Macon, Georgia, put a woman on probation and told her if she had another child he would imprison her.

Zola Mae Humphries, the unmarried mother of three children, was convicted of taking a \$199.13 check to pay a delinquent utility bill. Judge Wilbur Owens gave her five years on probation with the stipulation that she not have another child.

He reportedly told her at sentencing, "If I had the power to compel you to go to a local doctor to have your tubes tied, I would do so. . . ."

He didn't say where he got the power to decide that not having another child could be made a condition of her freedom.

"I'll revoke her probation if she becomes pregnant," the judge said. "I told her I meant business."

## Negative on affirmative action

For some groups the Supreme Court's 1978 Bakke decision didn't strike a hard enough blow at affirmative action.

For instance, the Anti-Defamation League, which demagogically opposes affirmative action as "reverse discrimination," is bemoaning the fact that not every medical school and law school has ended preferential admissions for minorities.

The organization released a survey which reportedly establishes that "as many as" 20 percent of law schools and ten percent of medical schools still retain some form of special racial admissions. At the remaining schools, we presume it's business as usual, namely: "If you're white, you're all right . . ."

The Anti-Defamation League says it's going to talk with those schools guilty of "misguided goodwill." If talking doesn't work, the group says, it will explore legal action against the "offending" schools.

Meanwhile, a yowl was emitted against affirmative action by the *Bulletin*, voice of the Workers League, a pseudo-Trotskyist sect.

The June 29 *Bulletin* decries the victory for affirmative action in the *Weber* case as marking "an even sharper turn to the right" by the Supreme Court.

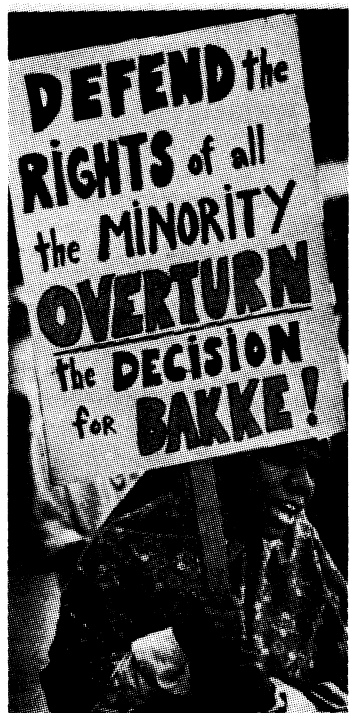
This "socialist" grouplet

sees affirmative action quotas as a capitalist plot to "foment racial divisions in order to weaken the working class."

Karl Marx explained that labor with a white skin cannot be freed as long as labor with a Black skin is branded. But the *Bulletin* apparently thinks that Blacks fighting for their rights are aiding capitalism.

Under socialism, the *Bulletin* advises, racism will be outlawed.

That's for sure. But meanwhile what do Blacks do—stay in their "place"?



# The Great Society

Harry Ring



**Like sausage, man**—A truck overturns on a Kansas City highway spilling nineteen tons of meat into an underpass. A passing car is crushed and the driver killed. Within hours, Economy Meats, Inc., of Elizabeth, New Jersey, is on the scene. The meat is scooped up and most of it is now sausage. The company specializes in salvaging meats from traffic accidents. The K.C. batch was condemned by local health officials, but a federal inspector was called in and said it was fine.

**In prison or out**—A *New York Times* article headlined "The women in prison: No escape from stereotyping" was featured on the *Style* page.

**The singing saint?**—Investigation leading to possible sainthood for Tom Dooley, the late U.S. missionary-doctor, ground to a halt when investigators obtained his file under the Freedom of Information Act and found that contrary to his denials the good doctor had been a spy for the CIA. He provided info on troop movements in Laos and reported the views of villagers. He also "exaggerated" so-called communist atrocities.

**Made the train late**—The Boston & Maine Railroad filed trespassing charges against a fourteen-year-old who suffered a broken pelvis rescuing his dog when it wandered under a passing freight train.

**It's only fair**—Former president Nixon has asked that his federal retirement budget—currently \$303,000—be upped in 1980. Partly it's the travel problem. He would like that budget item increased from \$24,000 to \$35,000. Also, the phone. From the current \$27,000, including telegrams, to \$30,000. We're sure your bills have gone up too.

**The silver lining**—The Chairman of the home swimming pool trade association says the gas shortage may prove a boon for business because people who can't get to other swimming locations will be more open to buying one.

**Class item**—A half dozen car specialists do a brisk business in armored autos for public figures. They can cost up to \$200,000 and include such features as protection from machine guns, grenades, fire bombs and small mines. The head of one company said they advertise worldwide, except in the Soviet bloc. "We're not interested in protecting Russians," he explained.

**Did he say profit?**—Presidential press hustler Jody Powell says Carter's early energy proposals now make him look like a "prophet."



## Nuestra América

### Latinos in work force

The following is a translation of the 'Nuestra América' column from the July 2 'Perspectiva Mundial,' the biweekly Spanish-language magazine. The column is by José G. Pérez.

The growing weight of Latinos in the American working class was pointed out in the April issue of the *AFL-CIO American Federationist*.

Basing himself on official government statistics—which as everyone knows underestimate things—Alfredo C. Montoya, director of the Labor Council for Latin American Advancement, points out that "the Hispanic labor force in the United States grew much faster in the period 1973-77 than did the overall U.S. work force." There are 4.5 million Latino workers, who represent 4.6 percent of all U.S. workers.

The data cited by Montoya is important for political activists as well as for all Latinos, given the increasingly central role of the working class and its trade-union organizations in American politics.

The most spectacular growth took place among Latinas, whose numbers in the work force increased by 33 percent (compared to 15 percent for women in general). The participation of Latino men in the work force grew by 17 percent, three times the rate for men overall.

Latinos are not distributed equally among all economic sectors. There are few of them among public employees (4.8 percent), while the largest number work in manufacturing. More than 57 percent of the male Latino workers are manual workers (the figure for all men is 45 percent). The proportion of Latinas who are manual workers is almost 29 percent,

twice the percentage for women overall.

From these statistics, and from the fact that five out of every six Latinos live in urban areas, we can see that the idea that Latinos are mostly agricultural workers is a myth.

Another myth about Latinos is that in general they are less unionized than other workers. But despite the fact that there is a higher proportion of Latinos in predominantly nonunionized industries, on the whole, 26 percent of Latino workers belong to unions, a figure slightly higher than that for the working class as a whole.

Even more significant is a graph that is reproduced in the *AFL-CIO* magazine, which explains this apparent contradiction. It shows that the rate of unionization of Latino workers in many branches of the economy is higher than—sometimes even twice as high as—the overall percentage of unionized workers in those industries. According to Montoya, a similar phenomenon can be seen among Black workers.

From this data we can draw various conclusions. First of all, that the composition of the working class in the United States continues to change, in terms of being more and more Black, Latino, and female. Secondly, that shops, factories, mines, and unions are more and more important in the life and the politics of Hispanic communities in the United States. And thirdly, that within the developing radicalization of the working class, the most oppressed sectors of workers will play a vanguard role, as shown by the trend toward greater unionization among Latinos and Blacks.

# Our Revolutionary Heritage

## Fight on your own side

James P. Cannon, founding leader of the Socialist Workers Party, wrote an occasional column for the 'Militant' entitled, "Notebook of an Agitator" (Published in book form at \$4.95 by Pathfinder Press.) The following is from a July 7, 1952 column on "Labor and Foreign Policy."

An increasing number of the organized workers are interested in foreign policy and recognize to one degree or another, that it is the Number One political question, but they have yet to work out a logical foreign policy of their own. The foreign policy recommended by such global thinkers as Green and Reuther [William Green, then president of the AFL, and Walter Reuther, then president of the United Auto Workers.] is not the product of their own independent thought. It is nothing but a mimeographed handout from the State Department, which in turn gets it from the New York bankers who are also the directing powers behind the antiunion drive. This policy doesn't make much sense for a steelworker on the picket line. The imposition of this Wall Street foreign policy on the trade-union movement is one of the main reasons why the instinctive striving of the organized workers to participate effectively in American politics is bedeviled and frustrated at the outset.

The official labor leaders support every move of American foreign policy even before they hear about it. Being in agreement with the "principle," they don't quibble about the details. They have their reasons, which have nothing to do with what they say. Many workers may be taken in by the propaganda about America's mission to bring democracy, prosperity and peace to the benighted heathens and strangers who have been overtaken by darkness in other parts of the world. The motivation of the labor statesmen is less altruistic. They toss their grandiloquent verbiage around with pitchforks, but they consider it strictly hay. They support imperialist America's foreign policy for practical reasons of self-interest, which they deem to be good and sufficient—although they happen to be wrong even on this ignoble score.

These mystics are believers in the myth of the "American Century," which might better be called the American pipe dream. They think the United States can conquer and dominate the world and prosper on the exploitation of other peoples, leaving a margin to maintain high living standards at home for trade unionists and government recognition for compliant labor leaders. The narrow-minded and meanly selfish bureaucrats think this would be fine and dandy. But it can't be done.

Besides being dishonorable and anti-human, this calculation is dead wrong from a practical standpoint. It misjudges

the direction of the drift of history. American imperialism arrived at the top of the world too late to keep its balance there. It cannot conquer and subjugate the peoples of this planet and force them back into the framework of an outlived economic and social system, and will break its own neck trying. If you want a small, preliminary indication of the prospects just take one good look at Korea, where America's imperialist adventure is turning into a debacle.

The American workers need a foreign policy which will put them on their own side of the world conflict—which also is the winning side. For this, they have to push their blind leaders out of their sight and see for themselves what the real situation in the world is, and what is really going on.

The over-all determining fact for the present day is the manifest inability of capitalism, as a world social system, to regulate and control the world any longer. That is one-half of the present reality. The other half is the tumultuous advance of anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist revolutions in large parts of the world. The great events which the statesmen cannot regulate, but are rather regulated by, are all the product of these central dominating features of the present moment in history.

The world is changing. We live in the most revolutionary and warlike epoch in all history. It is a time of the breaking of nations and the creation of new ones on new economic foundations. Wars and revolutions now in progress, and more to come—world-wide in scope—are yet to be fought out before the issue is finally decided. But the general drift of history is absolutely clear. The American workers have nothing to fear from this. On the contrary, they have everything to gain. They need international allies to help them in their struggle at home. They need a foreign policy which expresses this self-interest of their own class.

Such a foreign policy cannot be the policy of the financial magnates who own this country and want to own the world. They fear the revolutionary events happening outside our borders and strive to halt them. The workers should welcome these events and help them along with their sympathy and support. The American capitalists feel in their bones that every blow at capitalist private property in any country whatever, every uprising of colonial slaves, helps to undermine their own international position and eventually their control of this country. And they are right about that.

When the American workers come to believe just as firmly that every revolutionary advance, anywhere in the world, brings up new allies of the American workers—they will be just right. And, in the field of foreign policy, they will begin to fight on their own side.

## Letters

### A positive example

Over one hundred thousand people in the Bay Area will read an ad signed by over 600 unionists upholding affirmative action and opposing the case of Brian Weber.

The ad was organized out of the office of United Steelworkers Local 1304 and received the support of a wide range of Bay Area unions. Over \$1,000 was raised from these sources.

Several unions and union civil rights committees took an active role in explaining the issues to their members. International Association of Machinists Local 284 of Caterpillar tractor contributed \$100 while another collected \$90 from individual members in four days. The shop stewards council at this plant decided to circulate the ad for signatures inside the plant. At the IAM District 115 civil rights committee meeting these same activists successfully argued for activating civil

indefinitely if they had any physical contact with their visitors (wives, children, mothers, and friends) other than a brief kiss and embrace at the beginning and end of the five-hour visit.

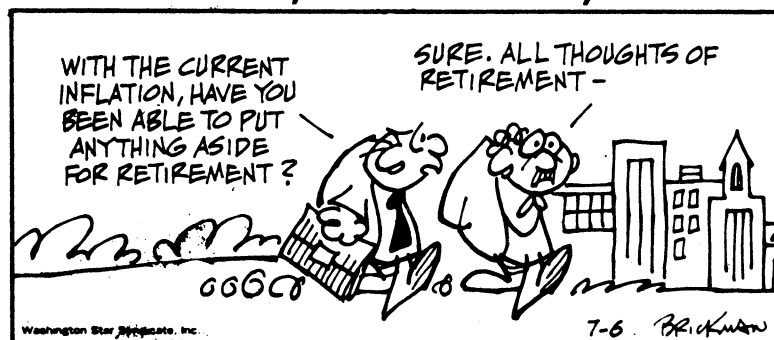
While I was talking with my friend, a wisp of hair fell across my face and he unconsciously reached up to brush it back. Immediately a guard was upon us asserting that we had had too much physical contact, adding further humiliation and fear to the already difficult situation. All across the picnic area, our experience was repeated, with the guards prowling around, ostentatiously taking notes, and making threats.

If the ultimate goal of prisons is the successful return of prisoners to society, how can this be accomplished when the prison administration has such a brutal and indifferent attitude toward the prisoners and their families?

The prison administration allows no room for

### the small society

by Brickman



rights committees in the various IAM locals around the Weber issue.

The Alameda, Contra Costa and San Francisco labor councils signed the ad along with a total of fifteen union locals. In addition, the state convention of the California National Organization for Women endorsed and agreed to print the ad in its paper.

Numerous speaking engagements at union meetings and some campuses and other organizations were positive examples of unionists reaching out around an issue which is of great importance to working people.

Carl Finnermore  
Oakland, California

rehabilitation when it expends its efforts and energy on searching for ways to deteriorate the mental, emotional, and physical being of the prisoners.

It is imperative that we speak up and let them know that we are in strong opposition to the abuse of prisoners and their families and friends.

Denise Link  
Louisville, Kentucky

### Oleksi Tikhi

According to exiled Soviet human rights activist Kronid Lyubarsky's bimonthly *News Bulletin* (dated June 15, 1979) on Soviet dissidents' activities, imprisoned Ukrainian Oleksi Tikhi may have cancer.

Tikhi is one of five members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group to receive terms ranging from twelve to fifteen years for defending democratic rights and opposing the Stalinist Russification policy in the Ukraine. Tikhi got a fifteen-year term in July 1977.

The 52-year-old former teacher had served a seven-year camp term after a trial in 1957. He was imprisoned for speaking out against Russification in the Ukraine and for expressing to colleagues his view that communism was not being built in the USSR. He said there needed to be a political overturn in the USSR that would allow extension of democratic rights to workers

### Speak out on prisons

Recently I traveled to Kentucky State Penitentiary in Eddyville, Kentucky, for a picnic visit with a friend of mine who is incarcerated there. This is a maximum-security prison.

After my food was checked for contraband, I went into the visiting area and waited there for the prisoners to be brought out for the visit. As the men came out, it was quite obvious that something was wrong; something had happened since we had last seen them. It wasn't long before I was informed why the atmosphere was so tense.

The prisoners had been sternly told that their visit would be terminated and they would be sent to "the hole"

## Our party is your party

**THE MILITANT is the voice of the Socialist Workers Party.**

**IF YOU AGREE with what you've read, you should join us in fighting for a world without war, racism, or exploitation—a socialist world.**

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SWP, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014

## JOIN THE SWP



## Science, technology, and capitalism

and peasants who currently, he said, lived an impoverished existence.

Following his new sentence, Tikhi was sent to Mordovian prison camp where he and other prisoners in the camp formed a new Helsinki group that put out documents opposing rights violations. *Marilyn Vogt*  
New York, New York

### John Shaffer dies in Houston

HOUSTON, Tex.—John Shaffer, a member of the Socialist Workers Party, died of a heart attack here July 15. He was fifty-five.

Shaffer joined the SWP in 1970. A memorial meeting will be held Saturday, July 21, 5:00 p.m., at the SWP headquarters. Messages can be sent to SWP, 806 Elgin Street #1, Houston, Texas 77006.

An appreciation of Shaffer's life and contributions to the socialist movement will appear in a future issue of the *Militant*.

### On health care

Bravo! To the *Militant's* promotion of socialized medicine in the U.S. It is unthinkable that adequate health care for all people in the U.S. can ever be accomplished under the present system. The government and the health care industry has taken our dollars, spent billions on technology, only to increase costs and decrease the humanistic aspect of care and personal attention given patients (that in itself can serve to better one's health). They have turned health into a commodity to be bought and sold—at outrageous prices.

In spite of the increasing dollars being contributed to this high-profit industry (actually about 9% of our GNP or \$742 per capita, per year) our health care is shamefully lower in quality than many other industrialized nations.

Reasons for our poor standards are many. Consider that in 1973, 26 million Americans could not afford an adequate diet. And the same bosses that allow these statistics allow for the following: 15,000 workers die every year in work-related accidents, over 100,000 die of work-related diseases, and over 2 million are permanently or temporarily disabled every year due to injuries sustained at their workplace.

S.S.  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

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.

Over the past several months we've seen a series of disasters—from the near nuclear catastrophe at Three Mile Island to airplanes and spaceships crashing to earth.

Almost daily we hear new information about how our food, water, and air are poisoned with cancer-causing chemicals.

In response, we hear government officials proclaim their continuing "commitment" to nuclear power. And chemical companies piously remind us that "without chemicals, life itself would be impossible."

One gets the impression of a technological society gone mad.

Is science the problem? Marxists say no. The real source of this destructive tendency in modern society lies not with advances of science and technology themselves but in how these advances are applied—or misapplied.

In capitalist societies, the decisions on how to use science and technology rest with a tiny minority who own the industry. In turn, they hire working people to carry out their decisions on what to produce.

Why is it that the people who own and control industry make decisions to produce worthless or dangerous products? It's not simply that these people are filled with greed and with contempt for the rest of us—although that's part of it.

The problem is that what happens to us after we've bought what the capitalist is selling doesn't matter to them.

From a human point of view, this doesn't make much sense for the capitalists either. Skylab could have fallen on one of them as easily as one of us. And they probably fly in airplanes like the DC-10s more often than we do.

Capitalists make investments to produce something for one reason, and one reason only—to sell it at a profit. If something is dangerous but the capitalists can still convince enough people to buy it, you can be pretty sure they will continue to sell it.

The opposite is also true. If science discovers something of great value to humanity—but it isn't profitable—then there's little chance it will be produced.

Socialists want to replace this system that puts private profit before human needs. We believe that industry should be owned and controlled by working people. Decisions on what should be produced ought to be made democratically by the workers.

With such a system we could rationally plan our economy to improve the quality of life for everyone—doing away with those products that cause illness and death.

While socialists believe that the potential for advances in science will be greatly expanded under socialism, that's not to say that every scientific innovation can be made useful. For example, socialists call for shutting down nuclear power plants now—everywhere. And if, under a workers government, scientists are unable to solve the health and safety problems around nuclear power, the nukes should stay closed down.

Over one hundred years ago, Frederick Engels, who collaborated with Karl Marx in the pioneering of scientific socialism, wrote an essay dealing, in part, with the impact of human labor on our physical and social environments.

In order to help explain modern society, he traces economic production back to its earliest origins. Engels notes that throughout their existence, human beings have had both a destructive and constructive impact on their environment and on each other. For example, he cites cases of certain ancient societies where people cut down forests in order to have farm land. Having removed all the trees, the soil lost its ability to hold moisture and the land was devastated for centuries.

The innovation of agriculture was a giant step forward for humanity but when it was improperly employed, out of ignorance, it could set back a culture rather than advance it.

Engels compares the capitalist mode of production with those of earlier social systems. He shows how the general tendency to exploit nature and use new discoveries to meet immediate needs without concern for long-range considerations is intensified by the capitalist drive for profits.

This tendency continues to the point where the whole aim of production is restricted to meeting the narrow profit needs of those who own the factories, mines, and other means of production.

In the earliest societies, Engels writes, land was held in common ownership. People worked the land with the aim of meeting their most basic immediate needs. Only a portion of available land was used. If mistakes in applying primitive agricultural technology occurred, the surplus land could serve as a cushion.

As this surplus land was used up, there was a greater tendency toward private ownership of land. More advanced forms of production, privately owned, Engels notes, led to the division of society into classes. Principally, a ruling class that owned the means of production and a working class that possessed only the labor power necessary to keep the wheels of production turning. The interests of the ruling class became the deciding factor in what was produced.

In capitalist society, then, the individual capitalists make the decisions on what is produced and what is marketed based on their own immediate needs with little regard for anything else.

The blind drive of production for profit, Engels explains, can even be injurious at times to the interests of the capitalists. But that doesn't stop them from plunging ahead.

Further reading on Engels's views on the key role of labor and technology in human and social development can be found in Engels's essay "The part played by labour in the transition from ape to man," which is included in the Pathfinder Press edition of Engels's *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State* (\$4.95).

—Jim Garrison

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## Steelworkers plan fight against Tenneco stalling

### Discuss next steps in Va. union rights battle

By Jon Hillson

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—Members of United Steelworkers Local 8888 will give their answer to Tenneco's latest union-busting court maneuver at a special union meeting July 29 at the Hampton Coliseum.

On July 2 the oil-rich conglomerate, owner of the Newport News shipyard, announced it would appeal an order from the National Labor Relations Board to recognize and bargain with the Steelworkers. The NLRB order reaffirmed the board's October 1978 certification of the union, which had been challenged by Tenneco in the Fourth Circuit Court.

United Steelworkers of America (USWA) President Lloyd McBride blasted the shipyard owners for their "use [of] the court as part of a cruel and cynical strategy to deny workers a union of their choice." His July 12 statement was read to a news conference here by District 25 subdirector Jack Hower.

"We find no weakening of the spirit and dedication of the officers and members of Local 8888," McBride noted. "They know their twelve-week strike [last spring] successfully expedited the court and NLRB proceedings, and they are ready to strike again to protest this legal charade of groundless appeal."

Ever since the Steelworkers won the January 1978 bargaining election at the shipyard—by a vote of 9,093 to 7,548—Tenneco has stalled recognition by appealing back and forth from the NLRB to the courts. Now the company is returning to the Fourth Circuit Court again. This time it claims it will "live with an unfavorable ruling." That's the same promise it made on the eve of the shipyard election and again prior to the first NLRB certification decision.

Made and broke each time. That's one reason shipyard workers are out-



Unions join Local 8888 Steelworkers in support rally during last strike. Increasing labor solidarity will be key to winning next round against Tenneco.

raged at Tenneco's latest stalling scheme.

"Our basic position is that the company should withdraw its appeal," Roosevelt Robinson, USWA staff representative, told the *Militant*. "We've heard all this before. The company is stalling. Nothing they have done has altered our course of action."

"It is obvious," stated USWA President McBride, "that the company cares nothing about the lives of its employees and their families, and it cares nothing about the community it is tearing apart! The company is willing to subject the community, and thou-

sands of workers, to another strike. Should this occur, Tenneco will be solely responsible for having provoked it."

McBride's recommendations for the union's course of action will be presented at the special local meeting on July 29.

Many Steelworkers who spoke to the *Militant* are prepared to strike again if necessary to win recognition.

"This is the most crucial meeting we've ever had," one Black worker said. "It needs to be talked up so the place is packed," she added.

"Temperatures are rising because we're not out already," another worker

told me during lunch break at the 7-11 store near the Fiftieth Street gate, a popular hangout for Steelworkers. There, the talk was all for a strike.

"We went out as amateurs the first time," a middle-aged white worker said, "but this time we'll go out as professionals."

"We need busloads and truckloads of steelworkers to come down here to show support," a young Black worker said.

"Push is coming to shove," a white worker told me. "Tenneco's shoving and we have to start pushing."

*Continued on page 16*

## UAW hits GM for harassing Okla. organizers

By Shelley Kramer

More than 4,000 members of the United Auto Workers demonstrated outside General Motors headquarters in Detroit July 16 as contract talks between the union and the giant auto corporation formally opened inside.

One of the most popular demands raised by the protesters was cost-of-living protection for pensions. UAW President Douglas Fraser told the demonstrators, many of whom were retirees, that COLA on pensions would be the union's "number-one demand."

Inside GM's plush offices, union negotiators recessed the bargaining after only an hour and a half. They were protesting GM's harassment of

UAW organizing efforts at the company's newly opened assembly plant in Oklahoma City. Representation elections at the plant are scheduled for July 19; negotiations will resume in Detroit the day after.

Despite GM's agreement to a much-celebrated "neutrality pledge" in 1976—reaffirmed with fanfare in 1978—Fraser charged the company with a "conspiracy" with "anti-union forces in Oklahoma City." In GM's eyes "neutrality" leaves room for management to distribute anti-union material during working hours.

According to UAW officials, 65 percent of the Oklahoma plant's 2,300 workers have signed union cards. "If the union loses in Oklahoma City, all

hell will break loose in terms of what goes on here," said a GM spokesperson in Detroit.

There are plenty of other explosive issues coming up in this year's talks. Wage increases, improved COLA, ending forced overtime, and shortening the workweek to stop auto layoffs head up the concerns of auto workers.

More than 780,000 union members are covered by the Big Three contracts, which expire at midnight, September 14. Bargaining began at Ford July 17 and Chrysler July 18.

UAW Local 3 at Dodge Main in Hamtramck, slated to be shut down next summer, called a demonstration outside Chrysler headquarters the opening day of negotiations there.



Auto workers demanded cost-of-living protection for retirees at April bargaining convention.