

THE MILITANT

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

New advances for Cuban revolution



July 26, 1953, assault on Moncada Barracks opened campaign against Batista dictatorship. After revolution, army fortress was turned into a school (above).

SPECIAL FEATURE INSIDE:

- Maceo Brigade interview
- Cuba's social gains
- Literary scene flourishes
- N.Y. July 26 rally

Oklahoma auto workers score victory for all labor

Organizing drive defeats GM conspiracy



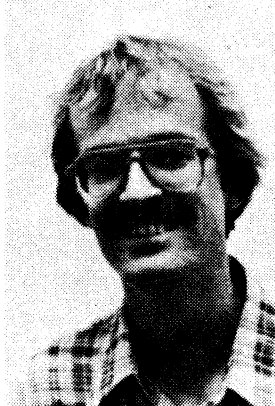
OKLAHOMA CITY—Union members cheer election triumph. See page 3.

UPI

On the scene in Nicaragua

The Nicaraguan revolution is sending shock waves throughout Latin America. With the overthrow of the hated Somoza dictatorship, the workers and peasants of Nicaragua are now in a position to reconstruct their country and fight for a better life. And what Washington fears most is that they will follow the road of the Cuban revolution.

To bring you first-hand coverage of these inspiring events, Fred Murphy will be reporting direct from



Nicaragua for the *Militant* and *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*. He will be interviewing the heroic Sandinista rebels and covering the struggles of the workers and peasants for land reform, democratic liberties, jobs, union rights, and freedom from imperialist exploitation. Murphy, a staff writer for *IP/I*, also covered the revolutionary upsurge in Peru last year.

The *Militant's* weekly coverage of the facts about Nicaragua will help counter the lies of the big-business press. It will also cost money—for everything from air fare to phone bills. You can help spread the truth by sending a contribution today to the *Militant*, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

A setback for anti-Vietnam drive

The June 20-21 Geneva Conference on Refugees had been set up by the U.S., British, and French imperialists as a kangaroo court to convict the Vietnamese government before world opinion of causing the misery of the "boat people."

But when the conference ended, its organizers stood convicted of callous indifference to the fate of emigrants from Vietnam and barefaced lying about the Vietnamese revolution.

No proof was presented that the so-called mass expulsions are not the voluntary emigration that the Hanoi government says they are. Nor did Hanoi's accusers prove that the exodus is caused by racist measures against Vietnam's Chinese minority.

And some of the real aims of the imperialists were exposed. Despite screaming headlines about mythical mass expulsions from Vietnam, the imperialists' goal was to force Hanoi to impose tight restrictions on the right to emigrate. This would free the racist rulers of Great Britain, France, and the United States from growing pressure to admit massive numbers of Asian immigrants.

Vietnam's representatives felt obliged to make some concessions to the imperialists' demand. They promised United Nations Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim that Hanoi would try for a "reasonable period" to stop "illegal" emigration.

The journalists who have been purveying the "expulsion" story all over the capitalist world were embarrassed about this outcome. The July 23 *New York Times* reported, "Asked if the world organization should be gratified when [Vietnam] undertook to more effectively curb the rights of freedom of movement and residence . . . Mr. Waldheim said, 'We are in a dilemma.'"

U.S. propagandists had to settle for portraying as a concession the Vietnamese government's decision to allow U.S. officials to come to Vietnam to process would-be emigrants. But

The next issue of the 'Militant' will be the last before our summer break. We will resume publication with the issue dated August 31.

Hanoi has been making such proposals for months.

And a tight news blackout was maintained on Vietnam's offer to airlift 10,000 emigrants a month to countries that will accept them.

No sooner had the conference ended than the imperialists began trying to make up for the ground lost in Geneva by escalating charges against Vietnam. The latest: a July 22 United Press International dispatch claiming that Vietnamese troops killed 85 "boat people," including 45 children on an unnamed "island in the South China Sea."

This story was related to UPI by anonymous "official Filipino sources," who claimed to have heard the story from eight equally anonymous refugees, who were rescued by an "unidentified vessel."

With such weighty evidence, the boss press had no difficulty in brushing aside official Vietnamese denials. News of the alleged atrocity was spread around the globe. After all, would "official Filipino sources"—not to mention UPI—lie to us?

The oil gang's take

You could fill a very large crock with the explanations about why Americans are paying a fortune for gasoline and heating fuel.

There really is a "shortage," insists President Carter and the oil companies. It's OPEC and the Iranian revolution, they assure. Besides, we "waste" too much. We should learn to walk and sweat more.

Why are we really paying more?

Because the oil trust has us by the throat and they're stealing us blind.

An exaggeration?

Just consider the profit increases reported by these robber barons for the second quarter of this year.

Standard of Ohio registered a profit increase of 70.1 percent.

Gulf Oil increased its profits by 63.5 percent.

Standard of Indiana was up 36 percent.

Exxon gained 20.3 percent.

Two companies alone—Standard of Ohio and Gulf—enjoyed a total profit for the three-month period of \$492.4 million.

The chairman of Standard of Ohio explained that the lucrative second-quarter take was the result of a higher retail profit margin—plus a

doubling of their prices on crude oil.

In his recent energy speech, President Carter expressed a pious concern about an alleged deterioration of moral standards among the American people.

The oil gang must have laughed all the way to the bank.

Cuba's July 26th

In this issue we mark Cuba's revolutionary holiday, July 26.

We believe the holiday is cause for celebration by the Cuban people and by working people everywhere.

The revolution that came to power in 1959 has brought a new life for the Cuban masses and stands as an example for all workers still living under capitalism.

Despite enormous difficulties, the elimination of private production for profit has solved basic problems for the Cuban people.

Vast numbers of previously landless peasants are now engaged in agriculture. Urban unemployment has been eliminated. Illiteracy has been ended and a first-rate socialized medical plan makes free health care available to all. Racism and sex discrimination have suffered hammer blows.

These gains have been registered despite Washington's economic blockade, which was clamped down with the first indications that Cuba was moving in a socialist direction.

Yet it was precisely because Cuba broke through the straitjacket of capitalism that the great social gains were possible.

The lessons of that experience are particularly relevant for U.S. workers today. It's the profit system that spawns unemployment and inflation. It's the profit system that creates energy crises, denies people health care and decent schools and homes.

It's the profit system that spawns racism and victimization of women.

It's precisely because Cuba provides the example of how to solve these problems that the U.S. capitalist class has worked so tenaciously to strangle it.

Saluting the Cuban revolution on July 26, we should strengthen the demands: End the blockade! For full diplomatic and trade relations with Cuba!

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Socialist workers discuss new class-struggle trends

How are workers in major industrial unions responding to attacks on their living standards? Are women and Black workers turning to the unions to defend their rights? What moves are under way to revitalize the unions and make them democratic, fighting organizations? What is the response to socialist proposals for how to fight back effectively? These were key topics when socialists in the Steelworkers, Machinists, Auto Workers, and railroad unions met in four national conferences this spring. **See special feature, pages 17-21.**

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Okla. workers win big

Organizing drive defeats GM 'conspiracy'

By Shelley Kramer

It was like the climactic scene from *Norma Rae*. Hundreds of southern workers cheering and chanting when the word came that their union had won.

Only this time it was for real.

The workers who crowded into a meeting room at the Ramada Inn are employees at General Motor's huge new assembly plant in Oklahoma City. On July 19 they voted by a more than two-to-one margin—1,479 to 658—for the United Auto Workers.

It was the biggest union organizing victory in the South since shipyard workers in Newport News, Virginia, chose the United Steelworkers last year.

The Oklahoma City triumph will boost organizing efforts at nonunion General Motors plants throughout the South, said UAW President Douglas Fraser. Right now GM is operating or building about eight nonunion plants—mostly small parts plants—in the South.

Martin Gerber, director of the UAW's Organizing Department, said that the victory will spur organizing efforts throughout the South and Southwest.

That's exactly what GM and its big-business allies feared.

"We were frankly in hopes that it would be nonunion because we're not familiar with unions here," one Oklahoma City Chevrolet dealer told the *New York Times*. "Now I think it will be spreading all over the state."

The Oklahoma City plant, the largest of GM's twenty-one assembly divisions, produces what the company hopes will be its most profitable models in 1980—the subcompact front-



Oklahoma City UAW members (left to right): Ken Patrick, Perry Mason, and Jean Balko.

wheel drive Citations and Phoenixes. When a second shift is added in November the work force will grow to 5,000.

To keep its Oklahoma operations nonunion, GM paid wages at nearly union scale. That's at least two dollars an hour above the highest wages at other plants in the area. The workers were divided into "teams," which were supposed to discuss problems and iron out any differences with management.

But it took no time for workers to see that these "teams" were powerless to protect their working conditions against speedup and safety violations.

"I saw a guy, his pants rolled up, standing in water to his knees, running a spot welder," said Perry Mason, a Black worker who served as one of the union's chief in-plant organizers.

"The foreman told him it was safe. I told him that in a union plant he'd be

sent home and given the short work week benefit. He signed a [UAW] card."

"I came down with an open mind but I signed my card the second week," said Dan Price, who worked for GM in Pontiac, Michigan. "You have to have a union or they'll jack you around any way they can."

Plans to boost line speed to seventy-five cars an hour made the need for union protection even clearer.

For its part, GM sent foremen out with "loyal" employees to distribute anti-UAW literature and T-shirts sporting the slogan, "Stay with the TEAM, Vote No." Plenty of help poured in from the state's other employers, Democratic and Republican politicians, and newspapers. The *Daily Oklahoman* actively campaigned against the UAW. Local businesses openly bankrolled the anti-union campaign.

"We have overwhelming evidence of a conspiracy between GM's local management and anti-union forces in Oklahoma City," Fraser charged. "This is in flagrant disregard of our agreements with GM of 1976, of last year, and of last Saturday," in which the company pledged to remain "neutral."

The UAW organizing drive in Oklahoma City was, as one newscaster put it, "not routine." Shop floor organizing efforts were supplemented by meetings, rallies, demonstrations, and a final radio blitz to counteract the anti-union propaganda.

When news of their victory broke, 150 UAW members marched over to the *Daily Oklahoman* to picket in protest of that paper's anti-union editorials.

The spirit displayed in Oklahoma City is characteristic of a whole new generation of southern workers, a generation hungry for unionism and ready to fight for their rights.

The Oklahoma City victory came on the heels of a major breakthrough for the United Rubber Workers in Nashville, Tennessee. Workers at a Firestone radial tire plant there voted union by 600 to 157.

"I've always had great trust in American corporations," said David Bramlett, a GM worker born in Muskogee, Oklahoma. "I figured they would take care of their own. I believed it—til they stuck it in my face."

"You need representation," he said, "and [the UAW] isn't the union you see on television with the president lying on the beach smoking a big cigar. I'm very pro-union now."

And so are thousands of others like Bramlett all across the South.

UAW members: 'Union gives you human dignity'

By Chris Horner

OKLAHOMA CITY—"The union gives you human dignity."

That was Jean Balko's simple explanation of why she and nearly 1,500 of her co-workers at the General Motors plant here decided to vote for representation by the United Auto Workers.

Balko moved here from Ohio, where she worked in GM's Lordstown plant. Working in the chassis department here, she found conditions to be abysmal. For her and other workers I interviewed, that was a prime reason for seeking union protection.

Pointing to the *Militant's* coverage of President Carter's energy speech—in which he called for turning down our air conditioners—she said, "You could never get Carter to set foot in my department. It's so hot in there he'd never come."

I also talked with Perry Mason, a

Black worker born and raised in the South, and Ken Patrick, who had worked at GM's Cadillac plant in Dearborn, Michigan.

Oklahoma City has always had a reputation as a virulently anti-union town, Mason explained. The Chamber of Commerce runs the city. They financed anti-union TV commercials and made sure the newspapers oppose labor organizing.

Everyone verified that GM—supposedly "neutral" toward the UAW effort—had a hand in distributing anti-union material inside the plant.

Carlton Horner, UAW Region 5 organizer, said the company clipped and copied old newspaper articles from the 1940s and '50s about disputes in the UAW in order to scare off union supporters.

How did the UAW overcome this opposition? The workers and Horner emphasized the role played by some 300 workers who, like Balko and

Patrick, moved here from other UAW-organized plants. Under pressure from the union, GM agreed in 1978 to give "preferential consideration" to employees who transferred from its existing plants to new ones such as Oklahoma City. Standard practice at Southern plants until then had been to screen out all applicants with union backgrounds.

These workers were able to give first-hand answers to the company's anti-union slanders. With their help, organizing began last April, right on the day the plant started operating.

By the time of the representation election, close to 70 percent of the workers had signed UAW cards, Horner told the *Militant*. He noted that women workers, who make up some 30 percent of the plant, were especially pro-union and were some of the "best organizers."

About 10 percent of the workers are Black, a little higher than aver-

age for Oklahoma City. Horner said a few attempts were made to turn Blacks against the union but these didn't get anywhere.

Balko hopes that once the union starts functioning regularly it will set up the kinds of committees that exist in Lordstown and other UAW locals. Women's, civil rights, recreation, and environmental committees were mentioned.

I asked Horner if he thought the UAW victory here would be the first step in making Oklahoma City a union town. "I hope so," he replied. "I can't think of a better thing that could happen to this city."

It looks like his hope—and the hopes of thousands of unorganized Oklahoma workers—may be answered. I was told that ever since the UAW won at GM, phones haven't stopped ringing at union offices. The callers are workers who want help in organizing a union.

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Nicaragua victory hailed

New York rally marks Cuba's July 26

By Osborne Hart

NEW YORK—"End the U.S. Blockade Against Cuba!" and "U.S. Hands Off Nicaragua!" were the themes of a spirited rally here July 21.

Sponsored by the Militant Labor Forum, Socialist Workers Party, and the Young Socialist Alliance, the event marked the twenty-sixth anniversary of the July 26 Movement, which led the Cuban revolution.

Supporters of the Cuban revolution had an added opportunity to celebrate yet another victory. Earlier in the week, the Somoza dictatorship was toppled in Nicaragua.

The nearly 300 people who attended the celebration heard Salvador Orochena of the Coalition for a Free Nicaragua speak on the revolution taking place in his country.

"As a Nicaraguan, with great joy I announce to you and the rest of the world the end of an exploitative and repressive period," he said, "and the beginning of a bright and new era, the era of Nicaraguan liberation."

Orochena paid tribute to the Cuban revolution, declaring, "We salute our eldest brother in the Americas, Cuba. Long live Cuba!"

After a moment of silence for the 40,000 Nicaraguans who died during the struggle against Somoza, the audience chanted "Two, three, many Cubas, no more Somozas!"

The featured speaker at the rally was SWP Political Committee member and Militant staff writer Harry Ring.

"For us this great victory of the Nicaraguan people is added cause for the celebration of July 26. On behalf of the Socialist Workers Party, I pledge our solidarity in defense of the Nicaraguan revolution and against any efforts of Washington to try to interfere with the revolutionary process in that country," Ring declared as rally participants applauded.

July 26 Movement

Discussing the significance of the July 26 Movement, Ring reviewed its history. He described the unsuccessful raid on the Moncada barracks led by Fidel Castro on that day in 1953.

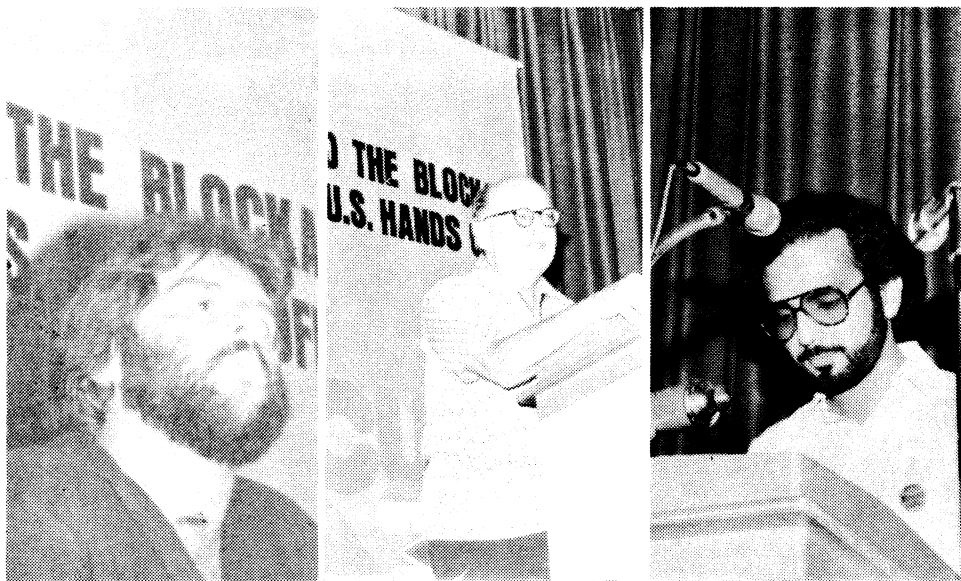
From that point on, Castro and his followers were known as the July 26 Movement. It took six more years before they overthrew the Batista dictatorship.

Ring, who visited Cuba twice after the revolution and authored *How Cuba Uprooted Racism*, explained the essential qualities of the Castro team that made it successful despite the overwhelming odds.

Revolutionary optimism

Leaders of the July 26 Movement, as Ring put it, "were revolutionaries in the most fundamental sense of the term."

They had "revolutionary optimism"—confidence that the majority of Cuban workers and peasants could be mobilized around a program



Speakers at July 26 celebration included (from left): Victor Nieto, Harry Ring and Salvador Orochena.

of struggle against Batista and imperialism, for land reform and an end to exploitation.

The confidence displayed by the Cuban leadership and their ability to convince the masses of their revolutionary program inspired many.

Victor Nieto, a member of the SWP who was born in Cuba, is one who was inspired by the revolutionary process.

Nieto told the rally that "the experience of the Cuban revolution shaped me politically."

Before being sent to the United States by his parents, Nieto witnessed the initial steps of the revolution—the abolition of the army and police; the massive literacy campaign; and the crushing of the Bay of Pigs invasion launched by the U.S. government and Cuban counterrevolutionaries.

"The Cuban revolution won people to socialism by its actions," he said.

"It convinced me that socialist revolution is necessary to eliminate social injustices. More than that the revolution convinced me it was possible to make a revolution," Nieto explained.

Recently, a dialogue has developed between sections of the Cuban community abroad and the Cuban government. This has undermined the U.S. government's propaganda against Cuba. (See page 14.)

Inspiration to youth

Since its beginning the Cuban revolution has been an inspiration to radicalizing youth in the U.S.

Among the rally speakers was Young Socialist Alliance member Marian McCray.

McCray, an auto worker, said the Cuban revolution is a "continual message to young people that it is possible to fight back and win."

Commenting on the heroes of her generation McCray said, "Just make the choice in your mind. If you wanted

to be like someone, whom would you choose, Jimmy Carter or Fidel Castro?"

An accomplishment attributed to the revolution is the rebirth of Cuban culture.

The rally was treated to a guest performance by Brazilian composer and musician Gaudencio Thiago de Mello.

As an introduction, Thiago explained that the common experience of slavery in both Brazil and Cuba brought African influence into both cultures.

Thiago also performed a poetry reading with actor John Connolly.

Revolutionary foreign policy

Harry Ring pointed to the role of the Cuban government in extending its solidarity to struggles against impe-

rialism in Africa and around the world.

Cuban troops were sent to help defeat the South African invasion of Angola in 1975. In 1977, the Cuban soldiers helped push back the Somali invasion of Ethiopia.

In addition, more than 10,000 Cuban technicians, doctors, teachers, and construction workers are assisting African countries.

"How is it possible that this tiny island can play such a crucial role in world politics?" Ring asked.

"The reason that Cuba is able to play the role in the world that it does is because it is the only government in the world that proceeds on a basis of a revolutionary foreign policy," he explained.

Economic and social gains

With the overturn of capitalism, Cuba began the transformation of its economy and society.

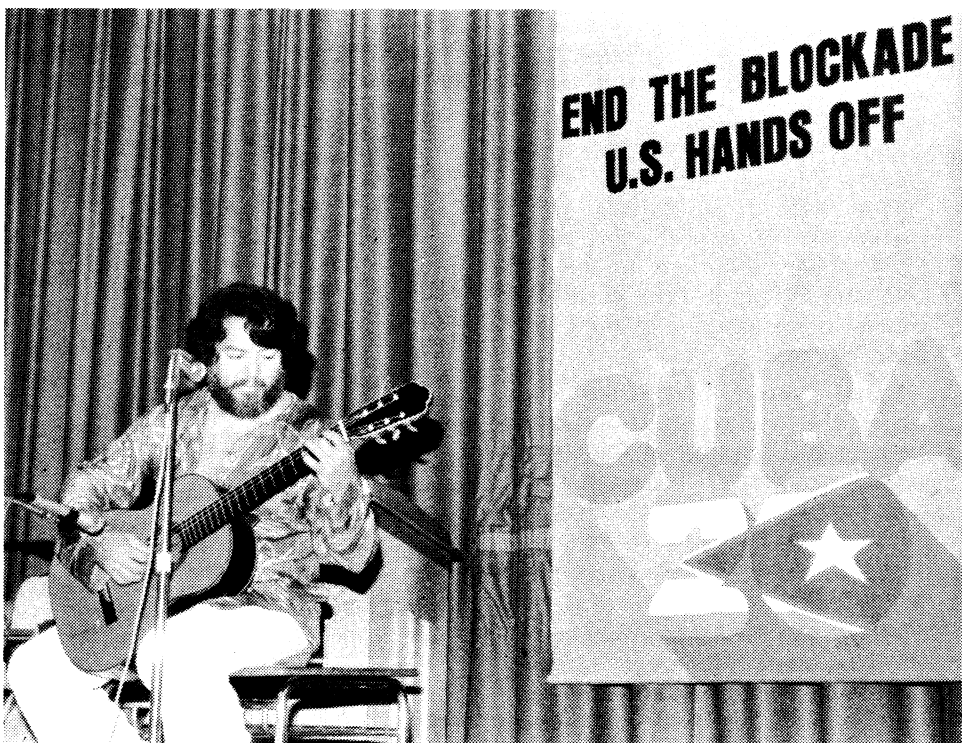
Despite an imperialist economic blockade orchestrated by the U.S., the new workers state eliminated unemployment, provided free education, and uprooted racism.

Explaining problems Cuba still faces, Ring recounted some of the gains he saw there.

"Medical care for everyone is provided free, from the cradle to the grave," Ring said.

Quoting from Che Guevara on the spirit and tradition of the Cuban revolution, Ring concluded, "What difference the dangers to a man or a people, or the sacrifices they make, when what is at stake is the destiny of humanity?"

"It is in that tradition that we celebrate the twenty-sixth of July. It is in that tradition that we salute our *companeros* in Nicaragua and our Cuban *companeros* who helped show the way."



Gaudencio Thiago de Mello performed

Militant/Lou Howort

Peru workers stage 24-hour general strike

By Suzanne Haig

A massive one-day general strike swept Peru July 19. Called by the CGTP, the General Confederation of Peruvian Workers, along with other major independent unions and federations, the strike was 70 percent effective in Lima and 90-100 percent in other parts of the country. In the northern part of Lima, barricades were thrown up.

The strike was called to protest the price hikes in food and fuel and to demand higher wages. Inflation has already increased 30 percent this year, and it went up 80 percent last year. Workers are further suffering under an

austerity program implemented by the government to pay the debts of the Peruvian capitalist class to foreign banks.

More than 300 arrests were made in the course of the strike. They included Enrique Fernández, a leader of the Trotskyist PST (Socialist Workers Party). Fernández, an ex-deputy of the Constituent Assembly, was arrested in Lima by troops carrying out mass arrests to prevent strikers and political supporters from holding a rally in the center of the city.

Isidoro Gamarra, president of the CGTP and former Communist Party deputy in the assembly, was also ar-

rested.

The Peruvian military government, under massive pressure by workers and peasants, had agreed to hold elections in 1980 based on a constitution drafted by a constituent assembly elected last year for that purpose. With the completion of the constitution on July 15, the assembly dissolved.

The July 19 strike occurred in the wake of the government rejection of the new constitution. The military dictatorship refuses to accept its provisions on human rights, abolition of the death penalty, and the withdrawal of civilians from the jurisdiction of military courts.

The constitution was to have gone into effect immediately. Now the government is saying there will be no constitution until the 1980 elections. This leaves the workers and peasants in Peru with no legal rights or political freedoms.

In the wave of military violence unleashed against the strikers July 19, at least three people were killed and an unknown number wounded. Walter Guerrero, a student and a supporter of FOCEP, a working-class electoral front, was shot indiscriminately by military police and is now hospitalized. He was wounded in the leg and abdomen, and may lose his leg.

Nicaragua: gains of masses worry Carter

By David Frankel

Big gains have been registered by the Nicaraguan workers and peasants in the brief period since former dictator Anastasio Somoza fled to Miami. U.S. policymakers are nervously watching, fearful that even bigger gains are to come.

As liberation fighters of the victorious Sandinista National Liberation Front marched into Managua July 19, they released hundreds of political prisoners, while disarming and arresting units of Somoza's hated National Guard.

The first actions of the new government were to authorize legal action seeking Somoza's extradition, to wipe his name from public buildings, and to expropriate all property of Somoza and those who fled the country with him.

By nationalizing Somoza's economic empire, the new regime took over a huge chunk of the Nicaraguan economy, including 30 percent of the tillable land. About 80 percent of Nicaragua's exports, and an even larger section of its domestic production, is based on agriculture.

Somoza's holdings also included shipping and airlines, a fishing fleet, concrete, cement, tobacco, and textile enterprises, a port, a newspaper, and radio and television stations.

Speaking before a crowd of tens of

thousands in front of the National Palace in Managua July 20, long-time Sandinista leader Tomás Borge, who has been appointed minister of the interior in the new government, said:

"The war against the National Guard was difficult and bloody. Now a new war starts, a war against backwardness, against poverty, against ignorance, against immorality, against destruction."

Borge vowed that "The Government of National Reconstruction will make every effort to rebuild the country. But solutions won't appear tomorrow. . . . Solutions will require sacrifice, work, and sweat."

About one quarter of the Nicaraguan population is living as homeless refugees; 90 percent of the country's industry has been wiped out; cotton, Nicaragua's biggest cash crop, has not been planted this year, and the coffee crop has not been picked; food shortages are acute, with some 200,000 refugees dependent on food flown in daily by relief organizations.

During the last days of the war, Somoza even ordered his vast cattle herds slaughtered. The meat was packed aboard Somoza-owned ships for sale in the United States.

In addition, the dictator cleaned out the national treasury. Sergio Ramírez Mercado, who has functioned as the head of the new government, reported that "Somoza and his friends took the last cent; there is nothing left."

Responding to the demand for Somoza's extradition, the *New York Times* blandly repeated the argument of U.S. officials that "the right of asylum has traditionally been granted to political exiles by governments in the hemisphere."

Washington has systematically refused asylum to refugees from rightist terror in Haiti, Chile, and other Latin American countries. It has refused Héctor Marroquín's request for political asylum despite the proof that Marroquín is being persecuted by the Mexican government because of his socialist ideas.

As of this June, the U.S. government was still deporting Nicaraguan exiles seeking asylum from the Somoza dictatorship!

But when it comes to crooks and butchers of the Somoza variety, the



Celebration of Sandinista victory in Managua. Sign reads: 'No more Gringo bombs against the people.'

imperialists have a different attitude. It is a matter of class loyalty. They know they are on the same side.

Along with the economic chaos and sabotage faced by the new government in Nicaragua, it must also contend with continued attacks by National Guard holdouts. Two Sandinistas were wounded in an attack on the hotel housing members of the new government July 22.

Washington Post correspondent Karen DeYoung reported in a July 24 dispatch that "following several nights in which Sandinistas and civilians were shot by snipers, Interior Minister Tomás Borge charged that former National Guard soldiers were concealing arms and sneaking out of refugee camps at night."

The question before the Nicaraguan toilers is how to confront the immense problems of economic reconstruction

while securing the country from new attacks.

Just as in Cuba twenty years ago, a coalition government between the guerrilla fighters who overthrew the dictatorship and liberal capitalist forces has been established in Nicaragua.

Top U.S. officials are openly fearful of the possibility that Nicaragua will continue along the path charted by Fidel Castro and his July 26 Movement. Washington, which was responsible for the Somoza dictatorship in the first place, has made it clear that it will tie any economic aid to the politics followed by the government.

If the Nicaraguan workers and peasants try to rebuild their country by following the Cuban example, the imperialists will do their best to see that Nicaragua starves. This was also the course that Washington followed with its blockade of Cuba.

Continued on page 11



Washington fears Sandinista rebels will take Cuban road.

D.C. demonstrators demand aid for Nicaragua

By Barry Fatland and John Connolly

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Nearly 2,500 people demonstrated here July 22 to celebrate the victory of the Nicaraguan people over dictator Anastasio Somoza and his hated National Guard.

The demonstration was called by the National Network in Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People and was supported by Nicaraguan, Latino, human rights, and left organizations.

Demonstrators marched around the White House and over to the Washington Monument for a rally. Hundreds of banners and signs bore the action's main demands: "No to U.S. intervention in Nicaragua," "Recognize the Provisional Government of National Reconstruction," and "Self-determination for the Nicaraguan people."

Also prominent were flags bearing the image of Augusto César Sandino and the initials of the Sandinista National Liberation Front.

Groups of activists from several Central American countries participated in separate contingents. One sign that drew a big response and many cheers said: "Hoy Nicaragua, mañana Guatemala" (Today Nicaragua, tomorrow

Guatemala).

Rev. Bill Wipfler, speaking on behalf of the National Council of Churches, pointed out in his opening remarks that "it is appropriate that we are demonstrating in Washington, D.C., for not only has it been the U.S. capital for 200 years—it has also been the capital of Nicaragua for the last fifty."

Wipfler continued, "happily, today

we can proclaim that the capital of Nicaragua is finally in Managua."

He also called for massive U.S. aid "with no strings attached" to help in the reconstruction of Nicaragua. This demand was repeated by many other speakers.

When the rally chairperson, a Sandinista fighter, was asked to call for a moment of silence in memory of the

thousands of victims of Somoza's National Guard, he pointed out that the most fitting way to honor them was to celebrate the victory that their deaths had contributed to. The crowd responded approvingly, and the rally was punctuated by singing and dancing to celebrate the toppling of the longest-standing dictatorship in Latin America.

L.A. protesters occupy Somoza ship

By Al Twiss

LOS ANGELES—On July 17 the Nicaraguan community here went out en masse to celebrate Somoza's flight to Miami. The crowd was reported by TV news as more than 3,000. It was jubilant and obviously supportive of the Sandinista fighters who led the struggle against the dictator. A parade that followed the rally spread halfway around a whole city block.

Two days later, Sandinista supporters occupied two tuna fishing boats in San Pedro Harbor. The registration of the boats was being

changed from Nicaragua to a Somoza company with headquarters in Florida.

Fifty Los Angeles motorcycle police confronted the occupiers, who were attempting to protect Nicaraguan property. A lawsuit to stop the illegal expropriation of Nicaraguan property by the ex-dictator has been announced.

Sandinista supporters peacefully took over the Nicaraguan consulate in Los Angeles on July 20. The acting consul is Manuel Valle, a longtime Nicaraguan activist in Los Angeles.

The Frente Amplio Anti-Somocista (the Broad Anti-Somoza Front) has called on all supporters of the Nicaraguan revolution to join in a victory parade and rally on Saturday, July 28, at noon at the Olvera Street Plaza in downtown Los Angeles.

This victory celebration in support of the Nicaraguan revolution will demand: No U.S. intervention; reconstruction aid for the people of Nicaragua; and immediate recognition of the new government.

The FAA is now attempting to build a campaign demanding Washington provide economic aid to help in the reconstruction of Nicaragua.

Demands release of oil workers

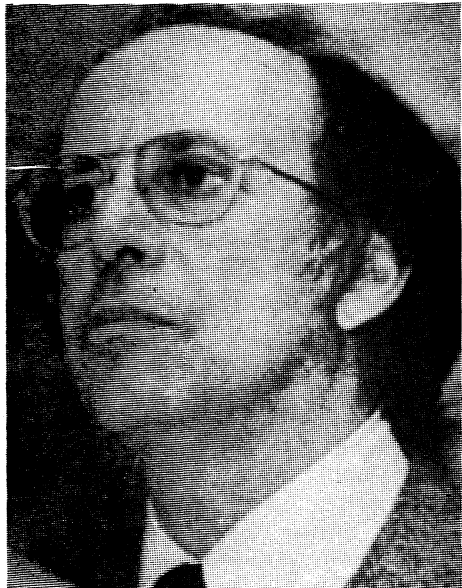
OCAW vice-president protests arrests in Iran

By Craig Honts

Anthony Mazzocchi, vice-president of the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers International Union (OCAW), has issued a statement protesting the arrest and imprisonment of three leaders of the Iranian oil workers council—Shobeir Ma'il, Nasr Hayati, and Javad Khatemi.

The statement was sent to Iran's Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan.

According to a news release from the



MAZZOCCHI: Imprisonment of oil workers is threat to right of all workers in Iran to organize.

OCAW vice-president's office, dated July 18, "Mazzocchi noted that last January he had denounced the attacks by the shah's military regime on Iranian oil workers. He added that he had supported the oil workers' efforts to defend themselves against the shah's repression, and had also expressed his support for the struggles of the Iranian workers for a just government."

"I am deeply disturbed to learn that leaders of oil workers in Ahwaz were arrested by your government last month and are being held in Karoun prison without charges," Mazzocchi stated. "Their imprisonment is a threat to the right of oil workers—and all workers in Iran—to organize."

"As an officer of an international union which represents more than 180,000 workers in the oil, chemical, and atomic industries in the United States and Canada, I solidarize with the arrested oil workers and demand their immediate release."

The solidarity shown by Mazzocchi for the imprisoned oil worker leaders indicates the potential for deepening support in the U.S. labor movement for the anti-shah fighters recently imprisoned in Iran.

Such statements increase the pressure on the Iranian government to free all the political prisoners who fought to overthrow the shah—including the fifteen imprisoned members of the

Iranian Socialist Workers Party (HKS).

With the renewed government attacks on the rights of the Arab population in Khuzestan Province, including executions, the lives of all of these political prisoners have been placed in serious danger.

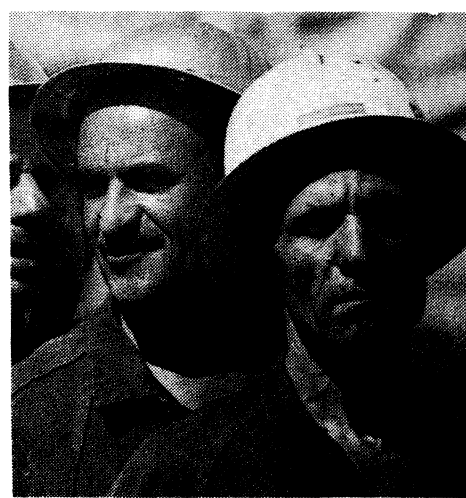
An indication of this was the physical attacks carried out against imprisoned HKS members inside the Karoun prison in Ahwaz (see facing page).

An emergency protest campaign has been organized in this country to demand that the Khomeini-Bazargan government release the prisoners immediately.

In response to this campaign, human rights activist Philip Berrigan and other defenders of the imprisoned HKS members have sent telegrams and made telephone calls to the Iranian embassy in Washington, D.C.

Typical of these statements was one sent by the Arab Social Club of Brooklyn which read, "We are deeply concerned about the lives of the fifteen members of the Hezb-e Kargar-e Socialist who have been arrested in Ahwaz. Please release them immediately."

In addition to the telegrams and phone calls, the Iranian Embassy received a petition protesting the imprisonment of the HKS members signed



Iranian oil workers. U.S. labor has stake in their fight.

by 200 people at a July 21 New York meeting in support of the Cuban revolution.

Stepped-up efforts to free the socialists and other militants are needed in cities across the country. Telegrams should be sent to the Iranian Embassy, 3004 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, Washington, D.C. 20008; Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan, Office of the Prime Minister, Tehran, Iran; and to the Tehran daily *Ayandegan*, Jomhuri Islami Avenue, Farzardin Square, Tehran, Iran. (Send copies to the *Militant* as well.)

End gov't occupation of Red Lake reservation!

BEMIDJI, Minn.—A police-state atmosphere exists on the Red Lake Indian Reservation in northern Minnesota, where the Bureau of Indian Affairs has used a bitter tribal conflict to seize virtual control of the reservation.

Some fifty BIA police and four FBI agents have moved onto the reservation, which normally has only ten police officers. Among the BIA cops are two SWAT (Special Weapons and Tactics) teams.

Reservation Indians say that the BIA police are making a tense situation worse. Indians are being arrested and jailed without charges. Others are being arrested on old bench warrants in an attempt to force them to testify against others.

The trouble at Red Lake, a small reservation of 3,000 Indians, has been simmering for years. It broke out in the open May 19, when a group of armed Indians seized the reservation's law enforcement center to protest corruption by longtime tribal President Roger Jourdain.

Protesters burned three government buildings, several stores, and three houses, including Jourdain's.

The leader of the protest, Harry Hanson, was sentenced July 23 in U.S. district court in St. Paul to twenty-six years in prison. Also convicted were Edward Cook, who received sixteen years, and Roland Roy, William

Stapely, and Tom Barrett, who each got ten years.

Before the sentencing Judge Edward Devitt told Hanson, "You led a revolution of blatant lawlessness" and have "visited disgrace on the Indian people." Even opponents of Hanson here were shocked by the vindictive sentences. But BIA acting superintendent John Stevens applauded the jail terms and promised to send more "criminals" to jail.

Government representatives have used the old tactic of divide and rule throughout the events here. Jourdain has been involved in extensive nepotism, undemocratic procedures, and misuse of tribal funds.

He fired the reservation secretary-treasurer, Stephanie Hanson, wife of Harry Hanson, after she accused Jourdain of corruption. Her firing set the takeover in motion.

However, there are also many here who, while sympathetic to Hanson's aims, are critical of his methods and politics.

One group of "traditional" Indians, who speak the Ojibwe language, practice Indian spiritualism, and are wary of tribal government, barricaded their community of Ponemah on the reservation two months ago to keep both factions and police out. They don't like any of the groups.

Whatever one thinks of Hanson, the heavy sentences against his group are

an attack on all Indian people—an attempt to intimidate any Indians fighting for social justice at Red Lake or other reservations.

The U.S. government should not even have authority to prosecute reservation Indians. Hanson and his group should be set free.

Meanwhile, Jourdain remains in hiding at a Minnesota motel off the reservation. The BIA has assumed nearly total control in the absence of any tribal authority.

Three houses were set on fire during

the past weekend, the BIA police and Indians exchanged gunfire, although no one has been hurt.

Indian people should be allowed to control their own reservations and have their own security forces. The FBI, the BIA, and the U.S. government should take their hands off the Red Lake reservation. They are the prime source of violence and bloodshed.

The Indian people should have the right to decide their own tribal government, as a sovereign people free from outside interference.



Gov't violence at Red Lake aims to intimidate all Indian rights fighters.

Israel unleashes war planes over Lebanon

By David Frankel

Ordering the biggest attack in months, the Israeli government unleashed its war planes over Lebanon July 22. At least twenty people were killed and fifty injured along a twenty-one-mile stretch of Lebanon's main coastal highway.

Israeli officials claimed—as they always do—that the raid was directed at "terrorist concentrations." These turned out to be Lebanese and Palestinian families coming home from Sunday picnics.

Even the State Department had to admit that "the roads were filled with

motorists returning from excursions to the beaches and mountains."

One U.S. official said, "It was a particularly severe series of raids—a lot of innocent people were killed and as far as we can see this served no Israeli military purpose."

More than 200 people have been killed in such Israeli raids in just the past four months. In every case, U.S.-supplied war planes were used. While Washington issues statements deploring the slaughter, it refuses to shut off the massive flow of arms that makes it possible for the Israeli regime to carry out its savage policy.

Nor were the civilian deaths an accident. Israeli reconnaissance planes make daily flights over Lebanon. Israeli military planners are just as aware as their U.S. counterparts in Vietnam were that they are pounding towns and villages where tens of thousands of people live.

These terror raids are designed to demoralize the Arab population of Lebanon, to crush its will to resist, if possible to drive it away altogether. That is how Israel was established in the first place, and that is the only way the Zionist state can be maintained.

Bombing civilians in Lebanon; grab-

bing Arab land in the West Bank; arming dictators such as Somoza in Nicaragua; lamenting the fall of the shah; aiding the apartheid regime in South Africa—the Israeli colonial settler-state is forced by its origins to ally itself with all the most reactionary and backward-looking forces in the world.

The interests of working people around the world—including Jews—lie in the opposite direction. It is in our interests to oppose the Zionist state and to support the struggle of the Palestinian people for self-determination.

Masses demand their rights

Iran: capitalist gov't fails to curb upsurge

By Gerry Foley

In the past month, the Bazargan-Khomeini government has been rocked by rising mass pressure. Under the impact of this, new splits have opened up in the ruling forces and those that had previously appeared have deepened.

There has been a virtual fragmentation of authority. Even decisions backed by both Bazargan and Khomeini more and more often go unheeded by local authorities.

Struggles by workers, while remaining local and scattered, have multiplied and become more militant. Even though the government does not yet face mass workers organizations, this vast elemental pressure has already thrown the new would-be administrators of capitalism in Iran off balance.

In its July 14 issue, the *Economist*, one of the most authoritative British business magazines, considered that Khomeini's declaration of an amnesty for most of the jailed servants of the dictatorship might offer some hope for "better times" in Iran. Its hopes were quickly deceived.

On July 12, in the province of Khuzestan, a crowd stormed the Behbahan prison and seized Assadollah Masavi, a former governor of the province under the shah, who was to be included in the amnesty. He was taken out and shot.

Spreading polarization

In the July 14 *Le Monde*, correspondent Eric Rouleau reported:

"Strikes, demonstrations, and terrorist acts are multiplying in several provinces of the former empire of the Pahlavis—in Baluchistan, Kurdistan, and Khuzestan."

In subsequent issues of *Le Monde*, reports developed a picture of spreading confrontation between the masses and government-backed rightist forces trying to stop the deepening of the revolution.

The July 17 issue reported, for example: "In Marivan, in Iranian Kurdistan, clashes occurred between the population and Imam's Committee guards on Saturday [July 14]. Twenty-four persons were killed and about forty were wounded. The demonstrators were protesting against the presence of the committee guards in Kurdistan, who they say include 'former SAVAK agents and hired men of the local feudal landlords.'"

Another clash of the same scope was reported in the July 16 *Christian Science Monitor*. A pitched battle took place July 14 between Imam's Committee guards and Kurdish peasants in



Kurdish peasants like these have been taking over land and forming committees to defend themselves against landlord gangs.

the town of Dezh Shahpur, which is on the Iraqi border. At least twenty-two persons were said to have been killed. The guards were defeated.

In fact, the revolutionary process in Iranian Kurdistan has deepened considerably in the last two months. Throughout the Kurdish area, peasants have taken over land from the landlords and organized their own councils. The most widely recognized leader of the Kurdish people, Sheikh Ezzedin Hosseini, has called for the extension and arming of these councils, declaring that Kurdish self-government must be based on the organization of the toilers.

In the province of Pars, also, in southeastern Iran, there have been extensive land seizures by the peasants, who have organized councils as well.

Struggle in Khuzestan

But the most violent and continuous conflicts have been in Khuzestan, where the oil fields lie. This area is decisive for the Iranian economy. A

majority of the population is Arabs, who were subjected to systematic discrimination by the Pahlavis. The Arabs have the greatest potential power and the most deepgoing aspirations of all the oppressed nationalities in Iran, since they are also a superexploited layer of the working class. When they began to organize and demand an end to their oppression after the fall of the dictatorship, they started to shake the entire capitalist structure in Iran.

At the end of May, the Bazargan-Khomeini government opened up a large-scale attack on the Arab people, going so far as to send gunboats to shell poor neighborhoods. Hundreds of Arabs were arrested, and many were shot out of hand after being taken prisoner.

The government crackdown, however, failed to break the movement of the Arab people. Reports in the international press since these attacks indicate an increasingly explosive situation.

In the July 13 *Christian Science Monitor*, Tony Allaway reported that

in Ahwaz, one of the main cities of Khuzestan, "The Iranian Arabs are staging demonstrations . . . almost daily to rail against the government. . . ."

On July 11, thirty thousand Arabs demonstrated in memory of those killed during the government attacks.

In Abadan, according to the July 14-16 *Le Monde*, Imam's Committee guards opened fire from rooftops on an Arab demonstration, wounding three participants. The slogans raised by the protesters had been "We don't want secession, but we do want autonomy for the Arabs, Kurds, Baluchis, and Turkmenis," and "Giving autonomy to the national minorities is the best way to guarantee the survival of the Islamic republic."

There are numerous reports of violence in Khuzestan, bombings, attacks by Arabs on police stations, grenade attacks on Imam's Committee patrols, and arrests of alleged arms smugglers. For example, on July 12, an Islamic tribunal in Dezful ordered the execution of an Arab for "contraband in arms" and "plotting against the Islamic republic."

Summary executions

The local authorities seem to have begun to try to make summary execution a regular institution. Such decisions by local Islamic tribunals are increasing.

On July 15, six persons were killed when a grenade exploded in a mosque in Khorramshahr. Arab leaders, including the most widely recognized one, Sheikh Ash-Shobeir, report that the grenade exploded accidentally in the hands of an Imam's Committee Guard. But on the very same day, the local authorities executed three Arabs who they claimed were responsible for the explosion.

The authorities attempt to justify such actions by claiming that there is a growing problem of terrorism in Khuzestan. But much of the terrorism is directed against the Arabs, and no one has been executed for this. For example, on July 15 Sheikh Ash-Shobeir's home was machine-gunned and four of his bodyguards were killed.

The fact is that in attacking the masses, the Bazargan-Khomeini government is forced increasingly to rely on the most reactionary forces whose aspirations are to restore a more stable repressive regime. But in general, the position of all those forces that want to restore a stable capitalist regime in Iran has greatly weakened in the past several weeks.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

Arab fighters back jailed Iranian Trotskyists

In mid-July, guards at Karoun prison transferred five of the fifteen jailed members of the Ahwaz branch of the Socialist Workers Party (HKS) to cells that were used as torture chambers under the shah.

Other imprisoned Socialist Workers Party members began a sit-down strike in the prison yard to demand the release of their comrades from the special cells. They were attacked and beaten by the guards. One of the Trotskyists, Fatima Fallahi, was badly hurt.

Following the attack on the Socialist Workers Party members, all the political prisoners in Karoun, some 300 people, mostly Arabs, carried out a strike in solidarity with the Trotskyists.

In the past weeks, there have been constant demonstrations of thousands and tens of thousands of Arabs in the cities of Khuzestan Province demanding the release of those arrested in the

Khomeini-Bazargan government's attacks against leaders of the oil workers and the Arab community.

In the most recent mass protests, the Arab demonstrators have raised the demand for the release of the imprisoned Trotskyists alongside their demand for the release of those arrested in the attacks on the Arab communities.

In Isfahan, an important industrial center in southeast Iran, a brutal attack on a Trotskyist who was selling the Socialist Workers Party paper *Kargar* occurred in mid-July.

The HKS member was grabbed by a group of men and taken away in a car. He was systematically beaten with chains and burned with lighted cigarettes. Then the car was driven over his fingers.

Some of the kidnappers were recognized as members of the local Imam's Committee. But the methods used against this Trotskyist paper seller

were those of SAVAK.

It is well known in Iran that local Imam's Committee leaders have allowed former SAVAK agents to continue their terror against socialists, militant workers, and oppressed groups under the cover of these committees. There is rising indignation among the Iranian masses over this.

In recent weeks, the government has revealed its increasing political embarrassment over the case of the imprisoned Trotskyists by offering to release them if they recanted their political views.

The government's problem is that widening sections of the population are asking more and more questions about how the government intends to respond to the demands of the workers, peasants, and semiproletarian masses that overthrew the shah. And its repression of consistent fighters against the dictatorship is being seen by larger

and larger sections of the population as an attack on them.

That is why, for example, the oppressed nationalities and their leaders, including the Kurdish leader Sheikh Ezzedin Hosseini, are calling for the release of the Trotskyists, along with the other left political prisoners.

The Iranian press continues to report the statements of the Trotskyists and those who oppose this repression against them.

Thousands of supporters of the Iranian revolution around the world have already come to the defense of the HKS fighters. More protests are urgently needed. They should be sent to Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan, office of the Prime Minister, Tehran, Iran; and the Islamic Revolutionary Council, Tehran.

Copies of all messages should be sent to *Kargar*, Post Office Box 41/3586, Tehran.

Warning buried for six months

Nuclear threat: caused by lost memos?

By Arnold Weissberg

Thousands of people could have been killed. Thousands might develop cancer or leukemia. Thousands of children might be born deformed. All because a memorandum was sent to the wrong place.

At least, that's the explanation for the Three Mile Island nuclear disaster offered by Babcock & Wilcox, the company that built the nuclear reactor that began spewing radiation over the Pennsylvania countryside last March 28.

B&W would like the public to believe the problem with nuclear power is as simple as a bad filing system. But the truth is that nuclear power plants have been plagued by accident after accident. Three Mile Island was only the most widely known.

In testimony before the presidential commission investigating the disaster, two B&W engineers said they had

warned their superiors in 1977 and 1978 of the possibility of such an event. One of them, Bert Dunn, told the commission his instructions would have limited the episode to "a minor accident."

However, nuclear advocates have already declared Three Mile Island "minor." The nuclear industry thinks that every accident is "minor."

Dunn and fellow engineer Joseph Kelly based their recommendations on studies of a B&W nuclear plant near Toledo, which twice suffered a chain of events similar to the Three Mile Island accident.

But their urgings were buried and forgotten.

The disaster at Three Mile Island wasn't caused by a misplaced memo languishing on someone's desk for six months.

B&W, like every other corporation in the nuclear industry, puts its profits first. B&W preferred to leave Three

Mile Island as built and spare itself the cost and embarrassment of admitting it had made a catastrophic mistake.

Such "accidents" are inevitable, as the history of nuclear power has demonstrated. In fact, they can hardly be called accidents, since the occurrence of "unexpected" events can be predicted with certainty.

And when you're dealing with enough radioactivity to kill 45,000 people in a bad accident, you have to conclude that the risks aren't worth the "benefits."

Because the benefits don't come to us. The benefits are the profits made by B&W, General Electric, and other giant corporations that make up the \$150 billion nuclear industry.

The decision to build nuclear power plants and keep them operating, despite all the known risks of catastrophic accidents and atomic radiation, is based on protecting the profits of that industry, not on any calculation of

human safety and health.

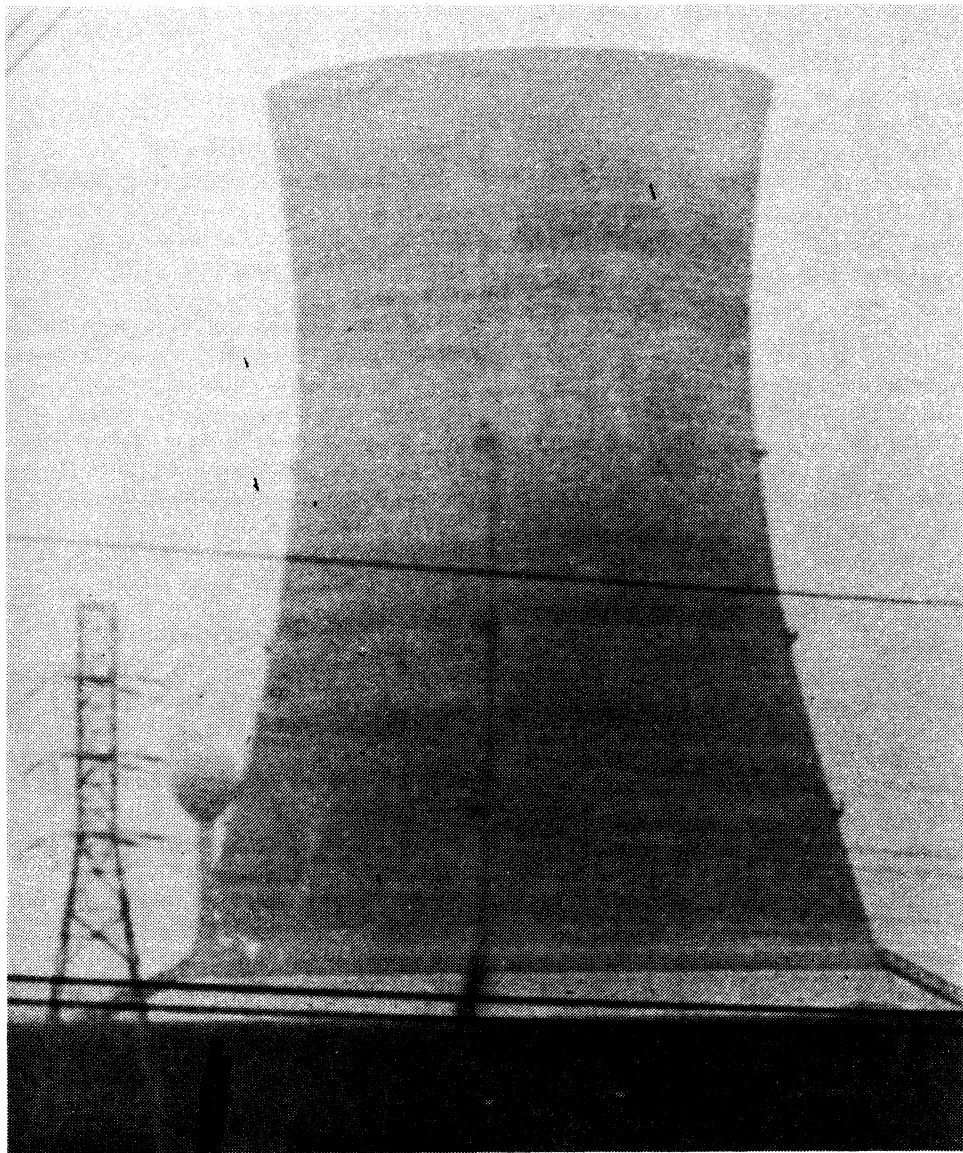
The commission also heard a B&W representative who said the company had completely failed to foresee the kind of accident that occurred at Three Mile Island—thus contradicting Dunn and Kelly.

This admission gives the lie to the industry's "human error" argument, which seeks to place the blame for all accidents on inept or incompetent plant operators.

Dunn and Kelly had specifically warned that operators might be misled by instrument readings under certain conditions unless warned how to interpret them. But B&W failed to issue the warnings.

The reactor operators on duty March 28 did exactly as they were trained to do—and they were trained by B&W.

If a "human error" can lead to an accident that kills 45,000 people, then it is only rational to shut down the plant before it melts down.



Babcock & Wilcox, builders of Three Mile Island (above), claim disaster was caused by misplaced memo.

Thousands at Seabrook site hit nuclear power

By Al Campbell

SEABROOK, N.H.—Two days of speakers, workshops, music, and an alternative energy fair brought thousands of people here July 21 and 22.

Stopping the Seabrook nuclear power plant and finding ways of reaching out and involving more people in the antinuclear movement were the central themes for the event.

Speakers included Dick Gregory; Nobel Prize winner George Wald; Gary Koos of United Steelworkers Local 7528 in Bridgeport, Connecticut; Leslie Sullivan of District 65, Distributive Workers; antiwar and civil rights activist Howard Zinn; and Jim Haughton of Harlem Fight Back.

Music was provided by Pete Seeger and Tom Rush. Two thousand people took part Saturday, and 4,000 Sunday.

"Working people are deciding that maybe it's time to put a stop to nuclear power altogether," Sullivan said. "That's when working people look to their unions. It's the unions that have the potential political forces to stand up to the nuclear industry and put a stop to nukes."

Haughton attacked the charge that the antinuclear movement is "white." "We'd like to establish that

today we begin the integration of the movement. And let it be heard by the media from here on down that the antinuclear movement is Black and white together."

Koos described the growing number of unions putting themselves on record against nuclear power. "So if jobs and safety and health are union issues, which they are," Koos said, "then so are alternative energies. Before too long we're going to see the unions leading the fight against nuclear power and leading us into an alternative-energy future."



Militant/Al Campbell

Antinuclear protests to mark Hiroshima Day

The mayor of Harrisburg wants to set up a "sister city" relationship with Hiroshima. The two cities symbolize nuclear disaster—Harrisburg the nuclear power disaster, and Hiroshima the nuclear weapons horror.

Harrisburg Mayor Paul Doutrich cited "the common concerns of the people of both cities over the dangers from nuclear technology" as the basis for the idea, which originated with a California-based antinuclear group of Japanese and Americans.

The atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945 by the U.S. government immediately killed more than 150,000 people and left thousands more to die a lingering death from cancer and radiation sickness. This savage act will be marked nationwide and internationally by protests against nuclear power and nuclear weapons. The following is a partial list of actions, compiled by Mobilization for Survival and the Militant.

Berkeley: Northern California Al-

liance for Survival will hold a "Circle of Concern" against both nuclear weapons and nuclear power at the University of California campus August 5. For more information call (415) 982-6988.

Chicago: "From Hiroshima to Harrisburg" will be the theme of a protest sponsored August 4 by the Mobilization for Survival. For more information call (312) 427-2539.

Detroit: an action commemorating the Harrisburg disaster and calling for cuts in military spending will take place August 4 at 11 a.m. at Kennedy Square, sponsored by Mobilization for Survival.

Los Angeles: A noon vigil is set for August 5 at the Seal Beach Naval Weapons Center. Singer Holly Near will be featured at a "Concert for a Nuclear-Free Future" August 3 and 4, 8 p.m., at the Embassy Auditorium.

Milwaukee: A rally on the afternoon of August 4 will feature antiwar activist and writer Sid Lens, and Ri-

chard Pollock of Critical Mass Energy Project. For more information call (414) 344-5745.

New Haven: a procession from the Holocaust Memorial to New Haven Green, August 5 at 11 a.m., with a rally set for 12:30.

New Jersey: A rally to stop the Salem/Hope Creek nuclear power plants, August 5, 1 p.m., at Hancock's Bridge. Scheduled speakers include Bella Abzug, Dick Greenwood of the International Association of Machinists, Michele Hughes of the National Organization for Women, and others. The protest is sponsored by groups in New Jersey, Delaware, and Pennsylvania. For more information call (201) 749-3358.

New York: A rally against the Indian Point nuclear power plants is set for August 5 at 1 p.m. Call (212) 475-4539 for more information. A rally and picket is set for noon August 9 at the Riverside Research Institute

(which developed the MX missile) at Sixty-fourth Street and West End Avenue. A picket of the Times Square armed forces recruiting center will begin at 5 p.m. the same day, followed by a candlelight march to Dag Hammarskjöld Plaza at 7.

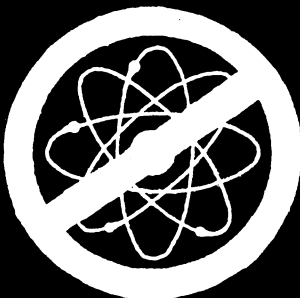
Ohio: A statewide protest is set against the Davis-Besse nuclear power plant, located near Toledo. The August 5 rally will take place at Crane Creek Park, near Port Clinton, twenty-five miles east of Toledo. For more information call (419) 243-6959.

Philadelphia: The Philadelphia Antinuclear Coalition will hold a teach-in and rally at Independence Hall August 4. Featured speakers will include Dick Gregory and Elizabeth McAlister. For more information call (215) 386-4875.

Washington, D.C.: An August 6 vigil is set for the steps of the Capitol. For more information call Nancy Jacobs at (202) 462-4620.

No nukes!

Notes from the movement against nuclear weapons and nuclear power



Another lie exposed

Nuclear power advocates were quick to "assure" the public about radiation exposure during the Three Mile Island disaster. "Don't worry," they said. "The radiation levels are acceptable."

Now, it turns out, no one actually knows how much radiation escaped from the leaking plant. On the morning of the accident, according to Nuclear Regulatory Commission official Albert Gibson, "All the radiation in the vent stack, where as much as 80 percent of the radiation escaped, went off-scale the morning of the accident."

"One set of readings was greater than 1,000 rems per hour," Gibson said. "We don't know how much greater because the licensee [Metropolitan Edison] did not have instruments that measured more than 1,000."

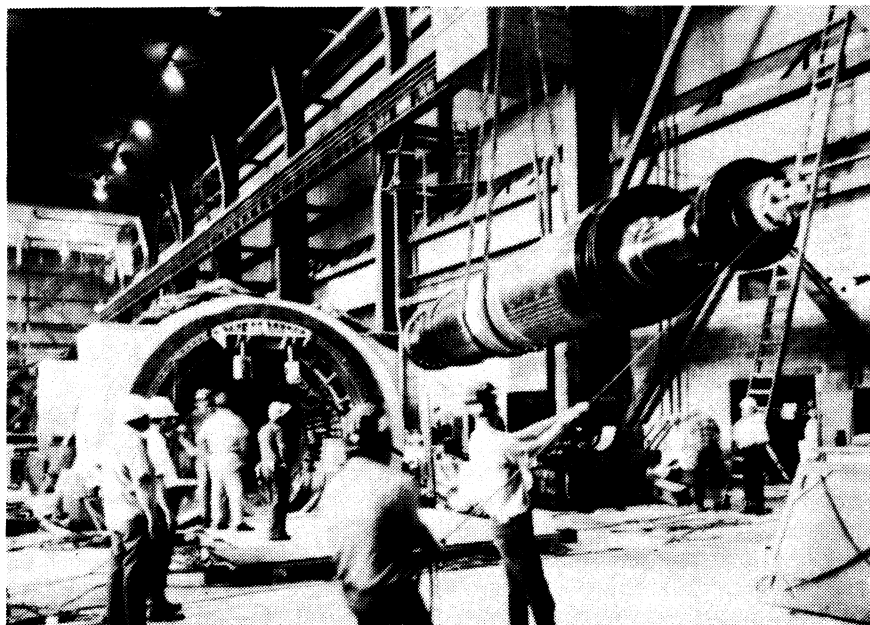
In testimony to the NRC, Gibson explained that radiation readings taken around the Three Mile Island area were of little value. Readings were often taken when the wind was shifting or when escaping radiation was not at its peak.

Largest nuke operator expands

The country's largest nuclear power plant operator says it will need to borrow \$21 billion to finish six nukes by 1985—\$6 billion more than it had originally thought.

The operator is the federal government's Tennessee Valley Authority. The TVA operates such engineering marvels as the nuke at Brown's Ferry, Alabama, the scene of a near-meltdown in 1975.

The TVA will raise the money by selling bonds. The interest on the bonds will be paid by TVA's customers—the farmers, homeowners, and small businesses. Where nuclear power is concerned, the TVA is just another utility.



TVA's Browns Ferry nuclear power plant, shown above under construction, suffered near disastrous accident in 1975. Federal government, ignoring risks, is pushing ahead with nuclear construction.

Good question

"I'm tired of reading that 55,000 people are killed each year in automobiles. I'm tired of hearing this statement being used to say that nuclear energy and its consequential radiation are no more dangerous. If there is no difference between automobiles and radiation then how come Harry Truman didn't drop all our used cars on Japan during World War II?" a reader of the Middletown [Pennsylvania] *Press and Journal* asked. Middletown, you may remember, is right next to Three Mile Island.

Your friend, the federal government

From testimony by William Schaffer, deputy assistant attorney general, civil division, delivered to the Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of the Senate:

"The case to which I refer involved two employees of independent contractors [that is, they weren't government employees] at the Nevada [nuclear weapons] Test Site who were exposed to radiation following the venting of an underground test in 1970 and subsequently died of acute myeloid leukemia. The case was perhaps *less difficult* than the claims presently pending. . . . [Emphasis added]."

"The trial of these two claims took 46 trial days and included a tour of the Nevada Test Site and an EPA whole body radiation measuring facility at the University of Nevada. The total transcript of the trial is estimated at 15,000 pages, and approximately 650 exhibits were introduced in evidence. . . . [T]he government interviewed over 200 individuals and took approximately 100 depositions comprising over 10,000 pages in preparation for the trial. Post trial briefs will not be due until early 1980, after which the trial judge's decision will be rendered."

The government deliberately exposed tens of thousands of GIs and area residents to fallout from 1950s atomic bomb tests. Dozens of men, women, and children have already died of cancer and leukemia. Suits have been filed against the government. Will each victim be forced to go through years of stalling, not to mention the vast expense, to win simple justice?

—Arnold Weissberg

ERA conference builds

By Yvonne Hayes

BALTIMORE—On July 12, representatives of United Steelworkers locals 2609 and 2610, Maryland United Auto Workers, United Food and Commercial Workers International Union, International Ladies Garment Workers Union, and the Maryland-D.C. AFL-CIO met here with coordinators of Virginia Labor for Equal Rights Now (LERN). The meeting mapped out plans to involve Maryland unionists in the August 12 Labor Conference for the Equal Rights Amendment in Richmond, Virginia.

Buses to the conference are being sponsored by a local of the UF&CWU and by the Steelworkers locals at Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point plant.

Because of a dispute between the Hotel and Restaurant Workers union and the Holiday Inn, the location of the Virginia Labor Conference for the ERA has been changed from Norfolk to Richmond.

The new location is the Richmond Hyatt House, West Broad and I-64 in Richmond, Virginia. Phone (804) 285-8666 for hotel reservations.

The date and time are the same: Sunday, August 12, 9 a.m.-5 p.m.

For more information on the conference contact: Labor ERA Conference, 5240 Port Royal Road, Suite 213, Springfield, Virginia 22151. Phone: (703) 321-7715. Registration is \$10.

The ILGWU has agreed to donate \$200 towards registration fees for unionists who participate in the conference. Efforts are being made to solicit funds from other unions toward additional buses.

The meeting also adopted a proposal to publish a leaflet explaining why Marylanders need to support efforts in Virginia to win ERA ratification. While Maryland has ratified the ERA, it will not be a law until three more states have ratified. In addition, a victory for the ERA in Virginia would strike a blow at anti-labor, "right-to-work" for less, forces who are also campaigning against women's rights. Maryland workers are often threatened with the "runaway shop" at contract time and this conference is an opportunity for the labor movement to respond to the attacks in Virginia on workers' right to organize.

ERA supporters here kicked off a publicity campaign by distributing the leaflet and the new LERN pamphlet, "Labor's Case for the ERA," at the gates of Armco Steel Baltimore Works, which is organized by USWA Local 3185. Hundreds of steelworkers took the material and several asked for extra copies to distribute to their co-workers.

The activists building the conference have plans to do similar publicity at other large plants in the area. The Women's Advisory Committees of USWA Locals 2609 and 2610 have agreed that building the conference at Sparrows Point will be a central activity through August 12.

Abortion actions set

By Janice Lynn

Chapters of the National Organization for Women (NOW) are planning actions for abortion rights during the weekend of September 14. According to the July issue of the *National NOW Times*, activities will include: reproductive rights forums, demonstrations and parades, getting other organizations to pass resolutions in support of reproductive rights, legislative initiatives, and press conferences.

Essex County NOW in New Jersey is planning a program September 16 to commemorate the hundredth birthday of Margaret Sanger. The focus will be to protest a bill in the New Jersey Senate that would make abortions in that state among the most difficult in the country to obtain.

NOW chapters in Pennsylvania and northern California are also planning activities to call attention to the continuing threats to abortion rights.

Congress is again discussing the Hyde Amendment. This amendment has been attached every year since 1977 to the bill that appropriates funds for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

The amendment cuts off Medicaid funds for abortions except where the woman's life is in danger, in cases of

rape or incest, or severe and long-lasting health damage.

On July 19 the Senate voted to maintain these harsh restrictions for the 1980 fiscal year. Three weeks earlier the House voted that Federal funds should be spent on abortion only if the mother's life is in danger. The bill is now before a conference committee to try and reach a "compromise."

But any restrictions on the rights of women to safe, legal abortion is no compromise.

Since the Hyde Amendment went into effect, federally funded abortions have declined by 99 percent. That's no compromise. Because of the Hyde Amendment and its counterparts in thirty-nine states, an estimated 340,000 women may be denied legal abortions each year, according to the Alan Guttmacher Institute, driving them to dangerous and illegal back-alley abortions or into forced motherhood.

In New York City a July 11 meeting called by the Committee for Abortion Rights and Against Sterilization Abuse outlined plans for an Abortion Rights Action Week October 21-27. A reach-out and educational campaign will culminate on October 27 with a major gathering of pro-abortion forces from throughout New York state.

Mo. NOW board statement

The Missouri State Board of the National Organization for Women passed a resolution at its July 21 meeting repudiating the June 25 red-baiting memorandum sent out by the NOW National Board to chapter presidents and state coordinators.

The memo warned of an "intervention" by Socialist Workers Party members who belong to NOW in the national delegate selection process prior to the October national NOW conference. It was aimed at denying all NOW members their democratic right to discuss all points of view.

The resolution passed by the Missouri Board points out that the red-baiting memo threatens "the full

and democratic participation of the membership in the NOW conference and chapter discussions leading up to it."

It also reaffirms Missouri NOW's "commitment to democratic decision making."

The resolution further demands the dissolution of the "Committee on the Socialist Workers Party," which was secretly set up by the National Board to presumably keep tabs on SWP members in NOW.

The Missouri Board resolution will be sent to all National Board members and communicated to the National Board meeting in Denver on July 28-29.

Auto worker speaks out

How UAW can fight Chrysler layoffs



The following is based on a talk given by Bill Arth at the July 8 Militant Labor Forum in Detroit. Arth is a member of United Auto Workers Local 140 at Dodge Truck. He was laid off this summer.

The question of what to do about the threatened shutdown of Dodge Main in Hamtramck, the layoffs at Dodge Truck, and the elimination of jobs at other Chrysler plants is naturally the number one issue on the minds of Chrysler workers.

With one stroke of the pen, Chrysler hopes to do away with one of the oldest locals in the UAW, Dodge Main's Local 3. And Local 140 at Dodge Truck has seen one-half of its membership wiped out—more than 2,700 workers. There is no reason to assume that the attack will stop here. Somewhere along the line we are going to have to take a stand and turn back the capitalist offensive—or see every gain of the union movement wiped out. The fight against the layoffs at Dodge Main and Dodge Truck is as good a place to start as any.

What can union do?

What has our union done so far to solve our problems? I know everyone here is inclined to say "not much"—with good reason. But what *has* been done can help point out how much more *needs* to be done.

I'll start with Dodge Truck, where I work—or better, worked. At a recent meeting of Local 140 we had a wide-ranging discussion of the slated layoffs. One local official argued that the Dodge Truck workers themselves were responsible for the layoffs because we haven't bought enough Dodge Trucks!

This attempt to turn the victim into the criminal never got off the ground, though. One worker pointed out that even if every person in the plant bought a truck, it would only keep production going for another week or two. And then we'd be trying to make the truck payments out of our unemployment checks.

In general, the attitude of our local leadership was that the union could do no more than administer the layoffs—make sure seniority is observed, everybody gets their benefits (with the exception of SUB, which Chrysler had bled dry), etc. Our local did endorse the demonstration outside GM headquarters on the opening day of contract talks. And the membership managed to defeat an Executive Board resolution cancelling summer union meetings. But so far, these are the only positive steps our local has taken.

At Dodge Main the fight against the layoffs got off to a real good start. On June 3 more than 3,000 auto workers took to the streets of Hamtramck to protest the shutdown. But their spirit and determination was directed to a deadend.

At the rally following the march UAW Vice-president Marc Stepp urged Dodge Main workers to pressure Chrysler to "save" their plant—like they "saved" Jefferson assembly plant in Detroit.

This example is worth taking a closer look at. The Jefferson Avenue plant was indeed "saved" through a combined effort of the UAW, Mayor Coleman Young's administration, and Chrysler. How? By giving Chrysler tax breaks to retool the plant for truck production. The end result was to save money for Chrysler, not jobs for Chrysler workers.



Militant/Elizabeth Ziers

Auto workers march on Chrysler headquarters July 19 to protest shutdown of Dodge Main plant in Hamtramck.

The company turned around and laid off workers at two other plants in order to transfer production to Jefferson. It's nothing but a big shell game by Chrysler and we're the peas. And to make matters worse, working people footed the bill for this boondoggle in the form of higher taxes and cutbacks in social services.

Stepp urged the protesters to demand a federal grant or loan for Chrysler. UAW President Fraser is talking about government investment in Chrysler to keep the company afloat. It's truly touching to see such concern on the part of our leadership for Chrysler's well being. But what about demands on Chrysler and the government that address *our* needs? Not a word.

Finally, I want to turn to our country's response to the oil crisis. Fraser has issued a number of statements on the crisis—and some of what he says is good. He's pointed out what every working person in this country knows—the "crisis" is nothing but price gouging by the oil trusts.

Fraser has called for a "TVA-type" public corporation to compete with the oil monopolies. His solution has two glaring problems from the start.

First, it would be years before such a corporation would be established and in a position to provide us with the truth about the oil situation.

Second, it would still leave control of this essential industry in the hands of the oil profiteers who masterminded today's shortages and price hikes. Their power to manipulate the market would remain unchecked.

To lobby for his plan, Fraser has floated a rather curious idea—a symbolic ten minute work stoppage so we can write letters to our congressmen! It's like going after an elephant with a fly swatter.

But I think Fraser has the germ of a good idea here. Why just a ten-minute stoppage, why not make it a little longer—like a day? And instead of writing our congressmen, why not a mass demonstration in Cadillac Square to press our demands? And while we're at it, why not put forward some demands that really address the problem—like nationalizing the entire oil industry? Like converting the oil industry to a public utility; to be run by an elected management, with open records and subject to union supervision?

This kind of thinking—which answers workers' needs—is contagious. We can apply it to our layoffs.

Since we're negotiating new contracts this year, why not hold out for what we need instead of settling for less? Why not strike the Big Three together to get it?

Auto workers live on a steady diet of forced overtime and layoffs. Right now, while thousands of Chrysler workers are thrown out of their jobs, the company continues to work its other employees up to 60 hours a week. Why not fight for a shorter workweek that would end forced overtime and unemployment at the same time?

The UAW should demand guaranteed jobs for the Dodge Main workers and the right to inspect Chrysler's books to see what their financial situation really is. Like Reuther demanded of GM in 1946.

If Chrysler can't afford to keep Dodge Main open, we should call on the government to take over the plant. If, as Chrysler claims, there's no market for cars, we should renovate and retool Dodge Main to turn out another socially useful product—like mass transit. With this approach we could guarantee jobs, improve working conditions, and contribute to the need for mass transportation—all in one swoop. It makes a lot more sense than pouring more of our tax dollars into Chrysler's bottomless chest.

It all depends on your starting point. What you think the union movement is and what it should do. On this question, these are two very different views.

What is consistent about the proposals of our unions leaders is that they are based on what they believe our

bosses can afford. This is their first consideration. Then they decide how to divvy it up among our various needs.

To them, the leadership is the union. Their role is to serve as a buffer between the workers and bosses, ironing out differences and assuring smooth production. The role of the ranks is to follow orders, to facilitate this wheeling and dealing.

Unfortunately, many union members have come to accept this view—letting officials run the union, hoping we'll get at least some of what we need. Many regard the union as nothing more than a dues collecting agency, or a lawyer between them and the company. Just think how many times you've heard co-workers refer to how "the union did this or that"—as though it's some alien body.

'We are the union'

We have to resist this attitude if we're going to succeed in defending our jobs. We have to convince our sisters and brothers that *we* are the union, that the union is here to protect us. We must begin with *our* needs as the first consideration—not the bosses' needs.

Our task is to convince our brothers and sisters that if we fight for this kind of program we can win it. We have one of the most powerful organizations in the world at our disposal—the UAW. That is, ourselves.

Toledo: Socialists campaign against AMC layoffs

When AMC/Jeep lays off workers it is big news in Toledo. AMC, the city's largest employer, announced June 26 that it would indefinitely lay off up to 1,200 workers by July 23. AMC blamed the layoffs on the so-called gas shortage.

Jeep workers who left from gate number three that day were greeted by television crews from two of the city's TV stations. They were also greeted by one of their co-workers, George Windau, Socialist Workers Party candidate for city council.

Windau and his supporters distributed one campaign leaflet exposing the phony gas shortage and another proposing a "30 for 40" plan to fight layoffs by shortening the work week with no cut in pay.

"... I like this '30 for 40' idea, it would create jobs," one woman worker said. "Everyone who wants to work deserves a decent job." The "30 for 40" plan was well received and favorably discussed.

For the most part, the Jeep workers who were affected by the layoff tended to be young, including many women and Blacks. Some responded to the layoff with a sense of relief that they wouldn't have to work at Jeep anymore. Most were certain that they would not be called back to work at all. One woman said that she would not return to Jeep even if she were called back.

Many of those facing layoffs expressed concern that they could not make ends meet on their unemployment checks. At most, only a fourth of those to be laid off will be eligible for any Supplemental Unemployment Benefits.

The Jeep workers were interested in the Socialist campaign and about thirty stopped to sign Windau's petitions to get on the ballot. Others expressed their agreement with the SWP's proposals posting the "30 for 40" leaflets in their work areas the next day.

Railroad workers set protest

Milwaukee Rd. bankruptcy: owners plan ripoff

By Dick Roberts

The central question in the Milwaukee Road bankruptcy is whether the corporation can go out of existence without compensating its workers.

Shutting the line down and selling its parts to other railroads and for scrap, and firing the 10,000-strong work force without pay, could net Milwaukee Road stockholders over \$1 billion.

But this requires defeating railroad workers who are fighting against the bankruptcy. And the monied interests are not sure they can pull it off.

"Just who will be on the receiving end of [the] loot, the sum total of which is sizable, is a question mark at this time," Barron's declared in a July 23 article about the Milwaukee Road. Barron's is an influential Wall Street publication.

In Minneapolis and Chicago, a number of locals of the United Transportation Union on the Milwaukee Road have organized broad committees to fight the bankruptcy. They



Milwaukee Road management aims to liquidate company without paying compensation to employees

Militant/Dick Roberts

Is employee stock ownership the answer? See 'Union Talk,' page 25.

staged a protest meeting in Minneapolis June 5 which drew almost 300 railroad workers. A similar protest is scheduled in Chicago for July 31.

Barron's reported that the Milwaukee Road's assets—"locomotives, tracks, bridges, timber and land"—could be sold as scrap for \$832 million. The line is actually worth much more, certainly more than \$1 billion, since these properties could be sold at higher prices to other railroads.

Labor compensation

The problem for the railroad owners is how to sell it off without paying the workers. According to Barron's, "In a recent memorandum to the judge presiding over the Milwaukee's bankruptcy, [Milwaukee Road lawyer Leonard] Gesas stated his view that, if the entire railroad were to be abandoned, no obligation to labor would exist.

"[Gesas] feels a full abandonment is needed to free the bankrupt Milwaukee from labor's claims. Several of the attorneys for other Milwaukee creditors have taken similar positions. If they're right, abandonment would offer Chicago Milwaukee stockholders the best outcome of all."

The Milwaukee Road owners were represented in court by a court-appointed trustee, Stanley Hillman. He filed a suit in Chicago for *partial embargo*, which would immediately have given three quarters of the system to other railroads. There were no provisions for compensating workers.

But the federal judge, Thomas McMillen, "reluctantly" turned down this suit. McMillen claimed that only the Interstate Commerce Commission, not his court, has the authority to close

down the railroad line.

Interestingly, this was not what the ICC itself expected. *Railway Age* revealed in its July 9 issue that "The Interstate Commerce Commission's emergency plan was all set," according to ICC deputy director of rail services planning Dick Schiefelbein.

"Like almost everyone else," says *Railway Age*, "Schiefelbein expected the judge to order the embargo." Other railroads were "ready to provide directed service."

The ICC plan also had the approval of the company. According to *Railway Age*, Milwaukee President Worthington Smith described the ICC's plan as "quick, accurate, well thought out—altogether responsive to the problem at hand." And not, presumably, responsive to the workers.

But Hillman's suit didn't fly. There were pressures from the labor movement and pressures from some capitalist interests that would be adversely affected by the shutdown. Judge McMillen turned it down; Hillman submitted his resignation (a new trustee has not yet been appointed); and legal matters were meanwhile taken over by Attorney Richard Ogilvie.

The appointment of Ogilvie shows how high the stakes really are. Ogilvie is a former sheriff of Cook County and one-time governor of Illinois. The Milwaukee owners believe they need a slick politician to carry the liquidation out.

Congress

Meanwhile railroad union officials have been pushing in Congress for special laws that would keep the Milwaukee going. The House Interstate Commerce Committee, headed by Rep. Harley Staggers (D-W. Va.), has passed a resolution that would delay the liquidation for forty-five days. A similar resolution was passed by the Senate.

Neither of these has the force of law, however. If the House as a whole

passed the resolution and if a joint House-Senate resolution was signed by President Carter, it would then delay the liquidation.

An official of the House Commerce Committee told me that the sole purpose of the bill is to give Congress time for further hearings. Any final determination of the bankruptcy would be left up to the ICC.

Some of the Chicago rail workers who are organizing the July 31 protest meeting told me they believed more decisive measures are called for.

"A resolution that Congress should hold one more round of hearings on the Milwaukee won't do much good," said Rob Bartlett. "Congress has already investigated this bankruptcy several times.

"They should make the facts known that they've already got. They should tell us what the real master plan for reorganizing the railroads is. And they should show us the financial records of the Milwaukee Road and the other railroads that are in on this reorganization scheme. The union movement should take the lead in fighting to get these books open."

Takeover

Bartlett works on the Chicago & North Western. "We could be next in

this merger scheme," he said. "The most important thing is that Congress should immediately take over the Milwaukee Road in order to prevent any layoffs and any cutbacks in service.

"The Milwaukee should be operated as a public service in the interests of its employees and farmers and other people who need it, not capitalist owners."

Bartlett said that this would be unlike Amtrak and Conrail. "They're still privately owned. They are merely subsidized by the government, and the agencies that run them are secretive like any other corporation.

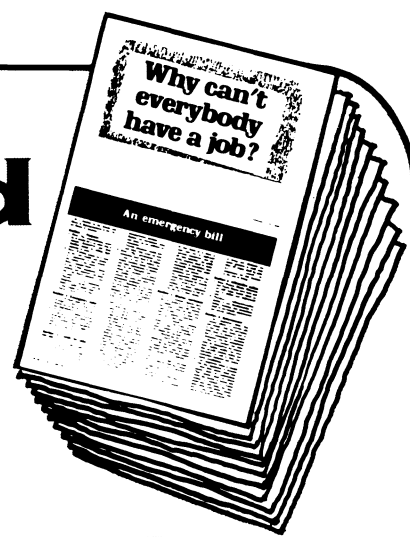
"The management of the publicly owned railroad should be in the hands of an elected board. This board should function in the open, it should make all the facts known. Then working people everywhere could discuss how best to reorganize the rails.

"The operations of the railroad," Bartlett said, "especially questions that are crucial to safety such as speed up and crew size, should be directly controlled by the workers. We are the most involved and know best how the railroad should be run.

"Workers should have the right to veto any changes in operations which would be detrimental to themselves or the public."

Help get it around

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



...Nicaragua

Continued from page 5

No Nicaraguan can lightly dismiss such American threats. At the same time, threats from Washington couldn't keep Somoza in power, and they need not block further advances for the workers, peasants, and urban poor.

In some ways, because of the devastation of the Nicaraguan economy, the tasks confronting the new government are even more urgent than those that confronted the Cubans twenty years ago.

To begin with, there is widespread hunger. Popular committees including workers, guerrilla fighters, and the urban poor have already been set up in many cities. On the most immediate

level, such committees can take control of food supplies, seize stocks hoarded by speculators, and arrange the equitable distribution of what is available.

Working together with peasant committees in the countryside, they can begin to restore agricultural production.

Hundreds of thousands of refugees are now without either housing or employment. Both problems could begin to be solved by a program of public works such as the one initiated by the Cuban revolution.

In his book, *M-26, Biography of a Revolution*, Robert Taber described the achievements of the Cubans: "By the end of the year [1960] some two hundred thousand Cubans had been added to the employment rolls. . . . The Revolution had constructed ten

thousand new schools, twenty-five thousand homes, hundreds of miles of new roads."

The alternative to such programs, which would involve the Nicaraguan working masses directly in solving the problems they face, is grim.

Capitalist investors, out to make the highest possible profits with the least amount of risk, are not likely to put their money into Nicaragua.

Nor are the American imperialists about to pour into Nicaragua the billions in economic aid that would enable the government to cushion the impact of inflation and shortages.

Already, workers in Managua have begun to indicate what their expectations are. "A revealing indication of how Nicaragua may be run in the near future came yesterday," Karen

DeYoung reported July 24, "when several hundred employees of the Intercontinental Hotel called a 'people's power' meeting and asked for Borge to be present."

The workers demanded the right to elect their own manager. Borge told them: "Abuses here and in other companies are over forever. The first thing you have to do is organize yourselves. To protect the rights of the workers by defending your own interest, electing your own leaders."

Here in the United States it is our job to help the Nicaraguan people choose their own future by demanding that the U.S. government, which was responsible for so much bloodshed and suffering there, provide massive reparations to help rebuild the Nicaraguan economy.

Right-wing vandal slapped on the wrist

By Steve Iverson

SAN JOSE, Ca.—The man responsible for an attack on the San Jose Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance headquarters July 4 was let off with a slap on the wrist at his pretrial hearing July 13. Steven Ray Norris pleaded guilty to malicious mischief and was sentenced to the ten days in jail which he has already served and to pay the cost of the window he admitted breaking.

At noon July 4, a fire was deliberately set in a closet at the rear of the headquarters. Later that day, Norris was caught by SWP members after he threw a concrete brick through the front window of the SWP offices.

Despite the fact that arson investigators originally connected Norris to the fire, the district attorney has refused to prosecute him on that charge. The police and the arson department are no longer pursuing the investigation.



Militant/Steve Iverson
San Jose socialists point to window broken by right-wing vandal.

In an ominous development, the owner of the building in which the SWP and YSA have their offices told the two organizations July 14 her insurance company had refused to renew her policy, claiming the socialists' political ideas "invite attacks." She suggested she might raise the rent to cover higher insurance rates or ask the SWP and YSA to move.

"We view this as another attack on our right to function like any other political party," said SWP chairperson John Lemon. "Responsibility for this denial of insurance ultimately rests with the district attorney, the police, and the city administration. It's their responsibility to deter right-wing terrorist attacks and protect civil liberties."

"The insurance company is trying to turn the victim into the criminal and trying to finish what the arsonist

began—forcing us out of our headquarters. The company will fail, just as the arsonist did," Lemon asserted.

The San Jose SWP and YSA are demanding a full investigation of the arson attack. The Santa Clara Valley Chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union has decided to send a delegation to the district attorney to demand a complete and thorough investigation, focusing especially on the possibility of conspiracy—that is, whether right-wing groups were connected to the attacks. Prominent individuals, including Janet Cunningham, president of the San Jose-South Bay NOW, have sent letters of support.

"The police and the arson squad should get the evidence if they don't have it," Lemon said. "That's their job."

"A vigorous investigation to find the arsonist and bring him or her to justice would help to deter future attacks."

Texas SWP wins campaign disclosure suit

By Rick Berman

HOUSTON—The Socialist Workers Party has won an important victory for civil liberties in Texas. On July 11 a three-judge federal panel ruled that SWP candidates do not have to turn over lists of campaign contributors to state officials.

The judges ruled that the SWP "demonstrated at least a reasonable probability that the compelled disclosure of the names . . . will subject them to threats, harassment or reprisals from either government officials or private parties."

Debby Leonard, the SWP candidate for mayor of Houston, declared: "During the past ten years we've seen everyone from the FBI, to the state police, to the Houston police, to the Ku Klux Klan try to keep the SWP out of Texas."

"When I first ran for mayor in 1971, the Ku Klux Klan bombed and machine-gunned our campaign headquarters. As it turned out, members of the Klan were also Houston cops. The Klan had free rein for their terrorism. Can you imagine turning over the names of my campaign supporters to

the government during that campaign?

"In our suit we submitted evidence of political burglaries against party members, of FBI attempts to pressure the University of Texas and University of Houston to kick the Young Socialist Alliance off campus, and much more."

The July 11 ruling resulted from a suit filed by the American Civil Liberties Union for the Texas SWP in 1974. In a similar ruling last January, the SWP won exemption from federal election laws requiring disclosure of campaign contributors.

Such disclosure laws were built up as reforms that would help limit the influence of wealthy political contributors, especially after the Watergate scandals.

In reality, the disclosure laws have done nothing to limit the power of the wealthy few. Big money has continued to roll into the Democratic and Republican parties, while those who try to build a working-class alternative to the capitalist parties are asked to provide the government with a ready-made enemies list.

Socialist files for mayor

By Michael Boys

SAN DIEGO—Supporters of Raúl González, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor here, have filed signatures of 500 registered voters to qualify for the ballot—200 above the required minimum.

Fifty signatures were gathered at Solar Turbines, where González is a member of International Association of Machinists Local 685.

"The response was great," said campaign supporter Kathryn Crowder of the petitioning at Solar. Crowder is a member of IAM Local 755 at nearby Rohr Industries. "We would have gotten many more signatures but most of the workers lived outside of San Diego," Crowder said.

González and eight campaign supporters petitioned at Solar during a shift change. They reported interest in the campaign even among workers unable to sign the petition or not registered to vote.



Militant/Mark Friedman
San Diego mayoral candidate Raúl González (right) gets signatures of co-workers at Solar Turbine.

Meeting commemorates life of John Shaffer

By Rick Berman

HOUSTON—On July 21 the Socialist Workers Party here held a memorial meeting for John Shaffer. A member of the Houston SWP branch, Shaffer died of a heart attack on July 15.

Speaking at the meeting were Debby Leonard, who is the SWP candidate for mayor of Houston and a member of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 4-227; David Rossi, a member of International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 716 and a longtime comrade and friend of Shaffer's; and Rick Berman, the Houston SWP branch organizer. Messages were read to the meeting from the SWP Political Committee as well as from comrades and friends from around the country.

Shaffer was a worker who came to the socialist movement relatively late in life. But once convinced of Marxism, he dedicated his last decade to building a revolutionary workers party in the United States.

He was born fifty-five years ago in Atlanta, Kansas, into a working-class family. Growing up in the depression years of the 1930s taught him firsthand about the hard knocks of life under capitalism.

His parents separated when he was very young. Unable to support all nine children on her own, his mother had to send some of the children, including John, to a Lutheran orphanage in Winfield, Kansas.

At thirteen Shaffer left the orphanage and found a job in a bakery shop. Baking became his trade.

Shortly before he entered the army, he met and married Jeanne, who was to become his life-long companion.

He fought in Europe in World War II, was decorated for bravery in action, and was seriously wounded three times. The wounds left him partially disabled. After the war, John and Jeanne eventually settled in Oklahoma City.

John was almost totally self-educated. He was a voracious reader, expert in many fields, including astronomy, philosophy, and history.

His studies in philosophy and history led him to read the works of Marx and Engels. Long before he made contact with any socialist organizations, he considered himself a Marxist.

Shaffer's first actual contact with the socialist movement was in 1968 when he bought a subscription to the *Militant* from one of his sons, Walter.

Through reading the *Militant*, John and Jeanne became supporters of the Socialist Workers Party. During this period they were active in the antiwar movement and worked with the Young Socialist Alliance chapter at the University of Oklahoma in Norman. John led classes on Marxism and helped recruit a number of students to the YSA.

In 1970 John and Jeanne decided to join the SWP.

Despite many personal difficulties, John, who was then forty-seven, and Jeanne decided to uproot their lives and go where the party needed them. Since there was no SWP branch in Oklahoma City, they moved to Houston where a new SWP branch was fighting for its existence against Ku Klux Klan terrorist attacks.

After arriving in Houston, John pitched in on the defense campaign. A Committee to Defend Democratic Rights in Houston was formed to unite a wide

range of political groups in opposition to Klan terror. John's first assignment was to meet with NAACP and other Black leaders to enlist their support for the defense effort.

During John's years in Houston he was an activist and leader of his union, the Bakery and Confectionary Workers. He served for years as a shop steward and member of the executive board.

Shaffer's major contribution, however, was in the internal discussions in the SWP. He closely followed international and national politics and vigorously participated in party discussions and educational activities. In later years his health deteriorated, preventing him from participating in many other activities.

In 1974 important political differences led Shaffer out of the Socialist Workers Party. After a period of time some of the differences diminished.

As the party began to respond to new opportunities in the working class by centering party work in the industrial unions, Shaffer became convinced that the party was heading in the right direction, and he decided in early 1977 to rejoin.

He believed that his remaining differences could best be discussed inside the party, because party policies would be tested and clarified by socialist industrial workers applying them in the class struggle.

To the end of his life, John had the utmost confidence in the revolutionary potential of his class. And he believed that the Socialist Workers Party was on the way toward becoming the mass workers party of the American socialist revolution.

Cuba's dramatic gains

The following has been excerpted from an interview with Humberto Pérez, vice-president of the Cuban Council of Ministers and president of the Central Planning Board. The interview appeared in the February 16, 1979, issue of the Cuban magazine 'Bohemia' under the title "What the People Should Know"; it was conducted by Marta Harnecker. The translation is by 'Intercontinental Press/Inprecor.'

Prior to the victory of the revolution, the country's work force stood at some 2.2 million workers, and of those 33% were unemployed. Unemployed or underemployed, that is; working only certain days during the year. Thirty-three percent—about 700,000 persons—were in that situation. Today all workers have jobs. The total number of persons employed in the economy has now reached approximately 3.1 million.

This means that the revolution has created 1.5 million new jobs in the past twenty years. Jobs have been assured to all who are able to work, and the female population has increasingly been incorporated into the work force. In 1958 there were only about 190,000 women workers—about one-eighth of all employed workers. Today the number of women who work has risen to about 800,000—more than one-fourth of all workers.

Another related factor is the length of the working day. Before the revolution, the legal working day was also eight hours, but in reality—as is quite well known—for most workers the

In this issue we celebrate the twenty-sixth anniversary of the July 26, 1953 attack on the Moncada Barracks in Santiago de Cuba. Led by Fidel Castro, the young rebels who made the assault saw it as the opening of the drive to overthrow the Batista dictatorship.

The attack was defeated. But the July 26 Movement, born of that event, persisted in the struggle. Less than six years later, on January 1, 1959, Batista fled and the Rebel Army marched into Havana as the leadership of a victorious struggle that culminated in the first socialist revolution in the Western Hemisphere.

working day was far longer than eight hours. For agricultural workers, the working day ran from sunrise to sunset—twelve or more hours a day. In commerce as well—especially in the food industry and in certain industries located mainly in the interior of the country—the working day far exceeded eight hours.

Today the working day—legally and in fact—is eight hours for everyone, with the exception of construction workers. They work a ten-hour day, but they get paid for all ten hours, not just eight.

Social security

Another gain of the revolution, reflected for each individual person, is in the area of benefits or insurance for workers who become sick. Prior to the victory of the revolution, workers received only nine days of paid sick leave a year; those who were ill for more than nine days were not covered after the ninth day. Today, a worker who falls ill can be covered even for an entire year's absence from work.

For sick workers who remain at home, 50% of their wages are covered. Those admitted to hospitals—where they receive medical care, medicine, and meals free—continue to receive 40% of their wages. Those who suffer accidents on the job or occupational



In a Santiago de Cuba child-care center

Militant/Harry Ring

ailments related to their work receive 70% of their wages if they are at home or 60% if they are hospitalized.

Another question which is of extraordinary importance for the security and peace of mind of the individual is that of old-age retirement. Before the victory of the revolution only a very few categories of workers received old-age pensions. In some cases these pensions were never even paid, or if they were paid at all they were ridiculously small. There were pensions of 1.5 and 2 pesos a month [US\$1.50 and \$2 at the time].

In 1958 the total of all expenditures for social security was 105 million pesos, which means that the government and pension funds were paying out 16 pesos for each person in the country for social security. But in 1978, 600 million pesos were spent on social security—62 pesos per person. In 1950 there were only 154,000 pensioners, while today there are more than 650,000. All workers today know that when they reach the established age a pension will be guaranteed.

Free medical care

We have about one doctor for every 680 persons in the country, the highest level in Latin America. Moreover, there is more adequate distribution of medical services. In 1958, 65% of the doctors in Cuba were in Havana, with only 35% in all the rest of the country. But today, on the contrary, only 36% live in Havana while the other 64% are in other areas. In addition, whereas in 1958, 62% of the hospital beds were in Havana, today—again conversely—39% of them are in Havana and 61% in the rest of the country.

Prior to the revolution, for every 1,000 children born, 60 died during their first year. Today the figure is down to 23 per 1,000. Diseases such as diphtheria, malaria, and polio have disappeared, and others have been greatly reduced. The life expectancy at birth was calculated at 59 years in 1958; today it is 72 years.

According to United Nations statistics, this figure places us alongside the United States and Canada in this very important index of public health, far ahead of the rest of the countries of Latin America.

The budget for public health in 1958 amounted to only 3.3 pesos for each person in the country. In 1978 the public health budget is 40 pesos per capita—twelve times as much.

And most importantly, all these services are provided free of charge.

No children without schools

In 1958, 22% of those old enough to read and write were illiterate—more than 1 million illiterates. Among the rural population, the illiteracy rate stood at more than 40%. As for primary education, only 70% of school-age children attended schools, and there were only 17,000 primary-school teachers in the country.

Today there are no illiterates, all children of primary age go to school, and there are more than 90,000 teachers for those grade levels. Of the primary-school students, 54,000 are in full-time boarding schools and more than 280,000 are in part-time boarding schools.

In the secondary schools, where there were only 88,000 students in 1958, today there are more than 1 million. Of these, more than half attended boarding schools. And the number of secondary-school teachers has gone from 4,500 in 1958 to almost 70,000 today.

As for higher education, there used to be 15,000 students and 900 professors. But we now have almost 140,000 students, of whom more than 55,000 attend part- or full-time boarding schools. We have about 8,800 professors.

The education budget in 1958 was 74 million pesos—11 pesos per capita. In 1978 that budget was more than 1 billion pesos, meaning that the government spent 110 pesos for each Cuban to be educated—10 times as much.

Higher wages

According to available statistics, the per capita personal income in Cuba in 1958 was less than 400 pesos a year. Out of this, people presumably had to pay—if they could—for services that the revolution today provides free of charge: medical and hospital care, education for their children, and so on. The per capita income we speak of here included the income received by workers, but it also averaged in the income of the capitalists. As a result the per capita figure was mere arithmetic rather than real; the "average" was quite inaccurate, considerably higher than the real income of the workers.

In 1978, per capita income—which is now much more even and better distributed since there are no longer any

capitalists nor any unemployed in the country—was 650 pesos per year. And people no longer have to pay out of their own earnings for medical or hospital care when they get sick, nor for the education of their children, since these are free.

In 1958, the average wage was about 73 pesos a month. But the average for agricultural workers was less than 50 pesos, and in most cases wages were less than 30 pesos a month. Agricultural workers in 1958 numbered nearly 400,000 in all; including their families, they were responsible for approximately 2 million persons—34% of the entire Cuban population. In the overwhelming majority of cases, according to a survey carried out by a Catholic group at the time, these workers received wages of less than 42 pesos a month.

Today, the average wage of agricultural workers is about 115 pesos—three times as much—and the average wage for the country as a whole is about 140 pesos a month.

Basic services are free

In addition to these personal incomes—which as we have seen are much higher now than they were before—basic services are free, so that the people do not have to spend a cent to receive them. Other services and products are sold at prices that have been virtually frozen since the early years of the revolution, while throughout the world prices have risen astronomically. This is especially true for food prices.

For example, to produce one pound of beef costs the country between 45 and 50 centavos—just for capital equipment costs, raw materials, feed, and other items. When you add in all the other national expenditures on ranches, transportation, meat packing, distribution, and so on, the cost of production rises to 80 centavos or more. But beef is still sold to the people at 55 centavos a pound for Grade A and 44 centavos a pound for Grade B.

The fees for use of child-care centers—which vary from 3 pesos a child for families with the lowest income to 40 pesos for families with higher incomes—only cover on the average one-third of what it costs to care for a child in one of the centers.

Before the revolution, rent payments absorbed an average of 30% of all personal income; that is still how it is in most capitalist countries. But in Cuba today, rents take up 10% or less of personal income.

Continued on page 16



Militant/Harry Ring

Lab technician in a Cuban sugar mill. Since the revolution, Cuban women have broken many long-standing job barriers.

The Cuba dialog

By Harry Ring

There are some 700,000 Cubans in the United States. A profound political development is now taking place among them.

It stems from a dialogue initiated by the Cuban government with representatives of the Cuban community abroad, principally in the United States, but also in Spain and Mexico.

That dialogue resulted in a Cuban decision to release political prisoners and permit them to emigrate.

Cuba also moved to facilitate the reunification of families divided by emigration.

And it opened its doors for Cubans abroad to visit their relatives, or simply to see their homeland.

Since January, some 12,000 Cubans a month from the United States and Puerto Rico have journeyed to Cuba.

Responsibility for this development, says Fidel Castro, rests with a group of young Cubans abroad, mainly from the United States. The group is organized as the Antonio Maceo Brigade, taking its name from the legendary leader of the Cuban struggle for independence from Spain.

In an interview, Armando García, one of the founding leaders of the Brigade, described how it came about, illuminating the story by describing his own political evolution.

García's family left Cuba in 1960, when he was eleven. They lived in

Tampa, Florida, for a year and then moved to Puerto Rico, where he grew up.

His parents initially favored the overthrow of Batista. But as the revolution took a socialist direction, his father, a prosperous pharmacist, was affected economically. They left as opponents of the revolution.

As a youth, García said, he accepted his family's negative view of the revolution.

"I grew up accepting it as fact that the revolution was bad," he said. It was my parents who were telling me this. And not only my family, but the media, school, all this."

Then, in 1969, he was drafted. Initially slated for Vietnam, he wound up in West Germany.

In the Army, for the first time, he experienced the racism which he had not directly encountered growing up in Puerto Rico.

"That began to change my thinking," García said.

Became politically involved

"In the Army, I met many progressive people. I began to realize what was happening in Puerto Rico, what was happening in Vietnam. I began to do work against the war, against racism."

With that García also began to wrestle with what loomed as a big problem for him. What was his identity?

"I began thinking," he explained, "What am I? A Puerto Rican? An American? Am I a Cuban?"

For a long time, he added, he felt he was Puerto Rican. "In many ways, I'm still Puerto Rican," he observed. "I grew up there."

"But I was escaping from the reality, I was escaping from having to accept that I was Cuban. Cuba was a 'communist' society—and that was bad."

"Finally," he continued, "when I began to see what was happening in Vietnam, I began questioning myself about what was happening in Cuba."

"And, by then, I accepted that Puerto Rico should be independent. But I had to get deeper into it. I had to think—well, independent, but what kind of a political system?"

"That," he said, "took me to Cuba. To analyze what was happening in Cuba."

"To accept the fact that I was Cuban."

He had finished his term in the army, returned to Puerto Rico, then went to San Francisco.

There, he met members of the Black Panther Party and some Chicano activists. They gave him reading material on Cuba.

"For the first time," he said, "I read Ché. One of them gave me the book, *Ché Guevara Speaks*. That was a turning point. From then on I really studied about Cuba and learned about my culture."

He returned to Puerto Rico, joined the Puerto Rican independence movement, and deepened his knowledge of Cuba.

He went to New York to help found a magazine, *Joven Cuba* [Young Cuba].

"Basically," he explained, "it was an attempt to bring young Cubans in the U.S. to see themselves as Latins, and to see themselves as Cubans. To encourage them to see their identity and to encourage them to fight together with other minorities. To search for their roots and to search for the truth about what was happening in Cuba."

Then he met others who were publishing *Areito*, a magazine on Cuba and Latin America with a generally more literary content.

Proposed contingent to Cuba

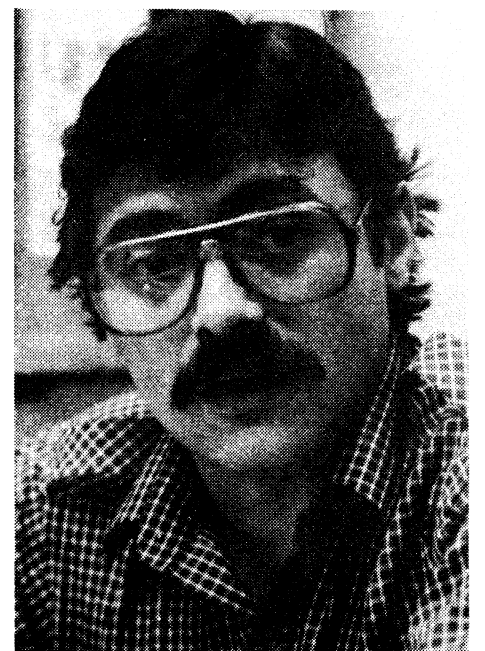
It was the editors of *Areito* who proposed to the Cuban government that young members of the Cuban community abroad be permitted to visit the island.

Many had tried to go with groups like the Venceremos Brigade, García explained. But Cuban statutes did not permit those Cubans who left during the revolution to return.

"We thought that was a contradiction," García observed.

In 1977, the Cuban government responded favorably to the *Areito* proposal. The Antonio Maceo Brigade was established and fifty-five members went to Cuba that December.

This July, a second contingent went



Armando García

Militant/Harry Ring

to Cuba. This time their ranks numbered some 230.

It was during the first visit that the Brigade met with Castro and other top Cuban leaders.

The *brigadistas* stressed a major point to the Cuban leadership—the importance of grasping the changes that were occurring in the Cuban community abroad. The need to comprehend that it was not the monolithic counterrevolutionary community that so many assumed.

They described the social stratification, the experiences in the United States, the racism, the continuing deep sense of being Cuban. All this, they argued, made it feasible and valuable for the Cuban government to reach out to the community abroad, to initiate a dialogue.

The Cuban leadership listened care-

'Maceitos' at Cuba camp

During its meetings with the leaders of the Cuban revolution, the Antonio Maceo Brigade proposed that in addition to the dialogue, Cuba develop additional ties with the Cuban community abroad. Among these were cultural and scientific exchanges, scholarships to Cuban universities, and the perspective of making it possible for those who wish to return to do so.

Another proposal was that children in the Cuban community abroad be able to attend summer camp in Cuba.

This is now being done. Seventy *maceitos*, Cuban children from the U.S., aged nine to fourteen, are now spending a month at the José Martí international camp in Cuba. This will be a regular program in the ongoing dialogue.



Militant/Harry Ring

At the Cubanacan, the Havana fine arts institute established by the revolution.

For Cubans in U

ue: an interview

fully, considered the issue, and agreed.

At a press conference, Fidel Castro invited representatives of the community abroad to come to Cuba for discussion. He stipulated only two conditions: No counterrevolutionaries could come and the government of the United States could not be involved in any way.

The dialogue was on.

Meanwhile, what about the Maceo Brigade's first visit to their homeland?

"For me," García said, "it was emotionally a deep experience. I had been through this identity crisis, and, finally, I was there. Finally I was accepted as a Cuban and finally I felt like a Cuban."

"Politically," he added, "it taught me a lot. I had tended to idealize the revolution. I think a lot of people on the left in the United States idealize the Cuban revolution in many ways. They don't understand the historical background of an underdeveloped country, how difficult the problems are."

"I had a general idea of the problems," he continued, "but I think I idealized it because I didn't understand clearly what Cuba had been through—the Bay of Pigs invasion, the missile crisis, the economic blockade, the continuous attacks of the counterrevolutionaries on the island."

"I didn't realize I would see kids in the tourist areas asking for cigarettes, or pens, things like that. I was so idealistic I thought everything was perfect."

But, he emphasized, there is no hunger in Cuba. "You don't see people in the streets asking for money. When I was a kid, the number of beggars was incredible, anywhere you went in Havana."

"The other thing that was very impressive," he continued, "was to see the elimination of slums. Where I had lived, three blocks from my home, was the biggest slum in Havana. I used to play ball with kids from that barrio."

"The first thing I did was go back there. And that slum was eliminated."

García and the other *brigadistas* were struck with many of the accomplishments of the revolution—particularly the education system.

For him, though, the most striking thing was speaking to young people. "I talked to people eighteen who were so mature politically," he said, "so much more sophisticated than I was. I thought back to when I was eighteen and what I was doing then. And I saw these young people—wanting to study, wanting to be involved in sports, wanting to be involved in the society. And their feeling of internationalism."

'Productive part of society'

"And it was impressive," he added, "to talk to the children, eight, nine years old. How they act like kids but at the same time how serious they are, how disciplined. Not the discipline the media here talks about—regimentation, like little soldiers."



Militant/Harry Ring

In his speech to the court, after the attack on Moncada barracks, Castro vowed the fortress would be turned into a school. These are pupils at the Moncada school.

That's not true. It's a discipline of respect for others. They've already learned to see the need for study, the need to be a productive part of society."

What about the thousands of Cubans from the United States who have gone back to visit? What is their reaction?

"I've talked to several," García said. "Their opinions range. First of all they realize the stories of people dying of hunger are not true. But coming from a consumer-oriented society, some of them complain about the rationing. How easy it is to get things here and not there."

"But many come back very impressed with what the revolution has accomplished—especially in education. They see their families and realize everyone's studying. All the young people—and some of the old people."

"They see people are eating, they're working, they're studying. It's not the hell they thought it was."

Generally, he said, those who are better off financially are not as favorable.

"But those from more poor backgrounds see their families have job security, medical security. They come back more impressed."

It's important to understand in this regard, García stressed, that it's only the beginning of a process. You don't undo in six months the massive propaganda that the Cuban community has been subjected to for twenty years by the media and by the counterrevolutionaries.

Besides what visitors are seeing in Cuba, he explained, a very important side of the new thinking is their experience here in the United States. Cubans, he said, are more and more tasting the reality of the "American dream."

"Especially since 1974," he said. "I think that recession was the turning point."

"I could tell from my family, for example."

"Since they came from Cuba, they had jobs. Good jobs, bad jobs. But they worked."

"In '74, my mother was without a job for the first time. She couldn't get a job at all."

"My uncle was in the street, getting unemployment. My aunt too."

"I saw a change in my family," he said. "We'd argue about Cuba and the job security situation in this country."

"They always brought up the point that in this country you could get a job whenever you wanted to. Then that argument went down the drain."

The result, he said, is that their minds are not closed about Cuba as they had been.

"Of course," he added, "I think we made a contribution by helping to end the situation of no communication between the two communities."

Another big impact on the community here, he said, came with the Cuban decision to release the political prisoners—those jailed for counterrevolutionary activity.

"This was one of the issues that had been exploited by the counterrevolutionary groups," García commented. "Not that they really cared about the prisoners. But it was a rallying point."

Also, he noted, the community realizes that the problem of the delays in the released prisoners getting here to join their families rests not with Cuba but with the U.S. government. "There's a lot of anger in the community about this," he said.

García feels that the development of the dialogue will ultimately prove of

benefit not only to the Cuban community here, but to American working people generally.

Despite material difficulties, he said, working people in Cuba are better off than they are here.

"The Cuban revolution," he said, "has geared the society toward the working class. If American working-class people could see what I saw in Cuba it would teach them—as it taught me—how it is possible to organize the society toward the working class."

The Maceo Brigade

Membership in the Antonio Maceo Brigade is open to members of the Cuban community abroad who left Cuba, on their parents' decision, before the age of eighteen, or were born here of Cuban parents.

Application for membership is based on agreement with the Brigade's efforts to win restoration of U.S. diplomatic and trade ties with Cuba and an end to the U.S. blockade.

No one who has been involved with counterrevolutionary groups is eligible.

The Brigade currently has functioning groups in Miami, New York, New Jersey, Houston, Austin, Boston, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Chicago.

The Brigade also has members in Puerto Rico, Mexico, Spain and Venezuela.

Information may be obtained by writing to the Antonio Maceo Brigade, Box 1125, Cathedral Station, New York, N.Y. 10025.

.S., a new view

Cuban literature flourishes

By Ernest Harsch

In the two decades since the beginning of the Cuban revolution, Cuban art and literature has flourished to an unprecedented extent. In a country where a large section of the population was unable to read or write twenty years ago, the virtual abolition of illiteracy has led to enormous advances in the country's cultural level.

A brief survey of this development and of the state of Cuban literature today was provided in the June 10 *New York Times Book Review* by Peter Winn, an American professor of Latin American history who spent three weeks in Cuba talking with writers and editors.

On the growth of the Cuban publishing industry since the revolution, Winn wrote:

In 1958 the Cuban publishing industry consisted of two textbook houses, most of whose production was exported to Central America. There was little in the way of trade books, except for small, privately printed editions of poetry or fiction. . . .

The Cuban revolution brought with it a revolution in publishing. Only a million textbooks were produced in 1958, but more than 24 million books were published in 1977. Although most of these were texts for the greatly expanded Cuban school system, a sizable number were trade books.

The revolution's subsidized book prices—most Cuban books are paperbacks that sell for less than \$1—and its emphasis on literacy and education have enlarged the book-buying public, while nationalism and ideology have created a new audience for a growing number of Cuban authors. As a result, instead of the 1,000 to 2,000-copy printings of the pre-revolutionary period, a successful novel now sells out printings of 40,000 to 80,000, and first novels are published in handsome editions of 5,000 to 10,000 copies. The best-selling novel in Cuba since the revolution, Gabriel García Márquez's "One Hundred Years of Solitude," has sold more than 125,000 copies—in a country with a population the size of New York City's.

According to Winn, the trade books in Cuba are published by the recently established Ministry of Culture "through a network of presses that operate within general ministerial guidelines but retain a high degree of editorial autonomy." Writers can submit manuscripts directly to these presses.

The expansion of publishing and of education in general has provided an impetus to the emergence of many new, young writers. Amateur "writers' workshops" have been set up in factories, schools, and towns throughout the island. Literary contests are frequent, with winners assured of publication.

Histories and novels are the most popular works. Among the best selling books over the past year was Raúl Valdés Vivó's *Ethiopia: The*

Unknown Revolution, an account of the social forces that led to the overthrow of Emperor Haile Selassie in 1974 and the progressive social programs that have been implemented in Ethiopia since then. The popularity of the book—and the fact that thousands of Cuban youths volunteered to fight in defense of the Ethiopian revolution—is a reflection of the high degree of internationalism among Cuba's people.

A new genre that has developed in Cuba is the *testimonio*, or testimonial literature, ranging from oral history to written memoirs. According to Winn, "*testimonios* are among the most original and widely read publications in Cuba—as are the didactic 'oral essays' of Fidel Castro, the last of the charismatic orators."

Another new genre that has developed in Cuba since the revolution is the political mystery. Promising young writers like Luis Rogelio Nogueras use it as a medium through which they can reach broader audiences with their social commentary.

Winn commented:

The bookstores of Havana, however, are not the place to find out what Cubans are reading, which I discovered only after a survey of Eastern European titles in translation (from Bebel to Brezhnev) that filled half the shelves of a Havana bookstore. "What you see on the shelves of our bookstores is what Cubans are *not* reading," one Cuban writer explained. "What they *are* reading is sold out." What are Cubans reading? "The latest thing," he replied, generally Cuban or Latin American.

From Winn's description of the literary scene in Cuba today, there appear to be few constraints on content or style, unlike the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, where harassment, repression, strict censorship, and official favoritism toward certain literary "styles" tend to stifle creativity.

One indication of this is the influential place in Cuban literature that José Lezama Lima, who died three years ago at the age of sixty-five, has held. According to Winn, Lezama's work was marked by "apolitical pedantry and esoteric Catholicism, Baroque poetics and homosexual politics. . . . Lezama may not have been a government favorite, but the power of his poetry won him respect and admiration that assured the publication of his works."

The most serious case of literary persecution in Cuba—the detention in 1971 of the poet Heberto Padilla—has not been repeated in the eight years since then. Writers close to Padilla, Winn pointed out, stress that the case "belongs to 'a moment' in the Cuban revolution that is now past.

"These writers are now 'back in circulation,' and Cuban authors speak of significant artistic autonomy. The cultural ambience is not Paris, but neither is it Prague. Padilla himself keeps out of the limelight, but has just published a volume of what other Cuban poets are calling 'the finest Spanish translations ever' of the English romantics, including the virtually untranslatable William Blake."

In a clear indication of the government's attitude toward critical writings, Casa de las Americas, one of the leading presses in Cuba, published in 1978 *Contra Viento y Marea* (Against the Wind and the Tide). This is a *testimonio* written by a group of young Cubans who had grown up in the United States. It explains how they followed the development of the Cuban revolution, realized the gains that it had brought to Cuba, and increasingly came to identify with it.

Within that framework, some of them dealt frankly with the problems that the Cuban revolution faced. They referred to the dangers of bureaucratism and the "need for greater participation by the masses in decisions making." They note that women are still underrepresented in positions of authority. Summarizing some of the interviews that partly make up the book, the authors state, "The problem of the very negative policy followed toward homosexuals at an earlier stage of the revolution, one that has now seemingly been overcome, also comes up in these accounts, usually linked to discussions of cultural policy." There is likewise some criticism of the 1971 detention of Padilla.

Not only did Casa de las Americas publish the book, but it was considered so significant that it was awarded a special prize.

From *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*



Militant/Harry Ring

Cuban poet Nancy Morejon in a 1968 filming of a jazz poetry reading at the Bodegita del Medio. In his *Literary Letter from Cuba*, Peter Winn said Morejon "is generally considered the most promising of the young Cuban poets. . . . Her poems are powerful and passionate, integrating a romantic sensibility and lyric intensity with a poet's honesty and a revolutionary's commitment."

...dramatic gains

Continued from page 13

If we talk about per capita consumption of the main foods and principal industrial products, the rates of consumption have risen extraordinarily between 1958 and today. In fact, in most cases they are higher than for the majority of countries of Latin America. And besides, we are talking about real per capita consumption, not just arithmetical averages.

For example, prior to the victory of the revolution, according to the survey by the Catholic group I mentioned

before, among rural families 11 out of every 100 persons drank milk, 4 out of 100 ate meat, 2 out of 100 ate eggs, and only 3 out of 100 ate bread.

The per capita consumption of food grains in Cuba in 1973 was 97 kilograms, while in Spain it was 84 kilos, in Bolivia 81, in Brazil 91, in Ecuador 67, in Venezuela 88, and in Colombia 68.

The per capita production of vegetables in Cuba in 1973 was 48 kilograms. In Italy it was 39 kilos, in El Salvador 8, in Guatemala 3, in Honduras 17, in Mexico 10, in Nicaragua 11, in Venezuela 38.

The amount of protein consumed per capita in 1973 in Cuba was 65 grams a day. In Bolivia it was 48 grams, in Ecuador 47, in Brazil 63, in El Salvador 50, in Guatemala 53, in Honduras 52, in Mexico 65, in Peru 60, in Venezuela 62, and in Colombia 47.

These figures, provided by international organizations such as the FAO [United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization], demonstrate that our rationing system and the earning power of our people assure everyone a standard of living far superior to that existing in other countries that do not even have rationing.

When it comes to industrial products, there have also been advances and

increases in the per capita distribution of some items such as cloth and inner and outer garments—although we are still very far from satisfying the needs of the entire population. . . . But there has been a significant increase in the distribution and sale of televisions, refrigerators, radios, washing machines, electric irons, pressure cookers, and so on. Last year, in 1978, 196,500 televisions were distributed to the population, 36,000 more than in 1977; as were 93,200 refrigerators, 18,000 more than the year before; 93,300 washing machines, 19,000 more than in 1977; 80,000 fans, 79,000 more than in 1977 when virtually none were distributed. The same was true of many other manufactured goods.



Militant/Eric Simpson

Socialist workers discuss new class-struggle trends

Conference sees big opportunities in industrial unions

By Malik Miah

How are American workers responding to energy shortages and gas lines? To wage guidelines and soaring prices? To layoffs? To the *Weber* case and other attacks on affirmative action? To nuclear power? To attempts to drive women out of industrial jobs? To union-busting assaults?

What conclusions are workers drawing about the Carter administration and the employers? About the two-party system? About how their unions can defend their rights and living standards against these new attacks?

What is the response to socialist proposals on how to fight back effectively?

These and other questions were discussed by socialist workers in the United Steelworkers, United Auto Workers, International Association of Machinists, and railroad unions during four national conferences organized this spring by the Socialist Workers Party.

The purpose of the four industrial conferences was to bring together socialist activists in these unions to discuss the impact of the capitalist offensive on each particular industry and its work force and to exchange experiences about how workers are resisting the antilabor assaults. Most important, the meetings were held to discuss and decide what socialist workers, acting together as a national team, can do to move these struggles

forward and win new supporters and members to the socialist movement.

The political background to these meetings is the analysis the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance make of the crisis of American capitalism today and its effect on organized and unorganized workers, working farmers, Blacks, Latinos, women, and youth.

The draft political resolution for the upcoming SWP convention, which is now under discussion in all party branches, explains that because of the deepgoing economic crisis of world capitalism, "the ruling class has no choice but to move against the most powerful organized sections of the labor movement as it deepens its austerity drive against American workers. This calculated and systematic offensive is already under way, and it will intensify."

However, the resolution continues, "Resistance to this antilabor offensive has begun, led by a new generation of working-class fighters starting to emerge from the union ranks. They are being pushed toward using the power of their basic class organizations, the unions, to defend their interests. They are moving toward understanding that their political interests lie in opposing the austerity drive of the capitalists and defending all of its victims. More than any time in decades, they want their unions to be identified with and use their power on behalf of progressive social struggles. They are learning

that the fate of these struggles and of their class depend on each other.

"Thus there are new and greater possibilities to convince workers of the need to transform the unions into instruments of struggle in the interests of the entire class. There are new and greater possibilities to involve workers in revitalizing independent movements that fight uncompromisingly for Black, Latino, and women's rights."

Helping to bring about this transformation of the unions—into powerful,

democratic organizations controlled by the ranks and fighting for the workers' interests on every level, including politically—is the strategic goal of socialists in the unions. Only that kind of labor movement can successfully bring to power a workers government and begin the socialist transformation of society.

How to advance these goals in practice, in the new opportunities in the unions today, was the prime subject of the four conferences.

United Steelworkers

More than 100 socialist steelworkers met in April. They came from Chicago, Gary, Baltimore, Pittsburgh, Birmingham, Los Angeles, the San Francisco Bay Area, Phoenix, Houston, and other cities. Participants included young workers in the Young Socialist Alliance, workers from the big basic steel mills, and others from small shops and other USWA-organized industries.

The main perspectives report was given by Dick McBride, a member of USWA Local 1010 at Inland Steel in East Chicago. Local 1010, with some 18,000 members, is the largest local in the USWA and has been a center of

militant opposition to the international union bureaucracy.

"Our experiences have confirmed our party documents, which characterize our future as one of intensifying class conflict, a future more like the 1930s than any other period," McBride said. "Today it is clear to us more than ever before that in the rulers' drive against the standard of living of the workers they have targeted the only thing we have—the industrial unions."

The unsuccessful attempt to break the power of the United Mine Workers in last year's 110-day strike was the first frontal assault on a major indus-

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trial union in more than thirty years. The miners beat back the government and the coal operators. But the antilabor drive continues in other forms.

Steelworker battles

Now, McBride noted, "the spotlight is on our union, the USWA. We are fighting a crucial organizing strike in Newport News [Virginia] and the most important civil rights case in America, the *Weber* case."

In both cases the union leadership has taken progressive stands under pressure from the militancy of the ranks.

McBride said that union officials such as USWA President Lloyd McBride, United Auto Workers President Douglas Fraser, and AFL-CIO President George Meany have "no political perspective on how to fight the capitalist offensive and defend our class." They preach reliance on the courts, Congress, and the National Labor Relations Board. They rarely bring into play the organized might of the membership, fearing that the ranks may get out of control.

This false strategy of collaboration with the employers and the government has weakened the unions, strangling their potential power in the red tape of arbitration, mediation, and subservience to capitalist politics.

'Ranks not like their leaders'

But, McBride said, "the rulers have a problem. The ranks aren't like their leaders. McBride, Fraser, and [United Mine Workers President Arnold] Miller are pessimistic, housebroken, docile. The ranks are not. That's why the ranks of the coal miners went beyond Miller. That's why the Newport News strikers overruled the leadership's position of going back to work like lambs, or, as one striker put it, going back like a cow with its head down. They are determined to continue their fight."

"The rulers' offensive is changing our union," McBride said. "Our members feel it and are beginning to look toward the union for protection and a way to fight back. The Black workers have forced the union to defend them—to oppose the *Weber* case and come out for affirmative action. The women have forced the union to support the Equal Rights Amendment and acknowledge the organizing of women's committees and special women's conferences."

McBride explained that on the one hand the union officials feel the pressure from the bosses' offensive, which threatens the existence of the union, and on the other, from the workers who want a powerful union to protect them.

"This is why the officials organized the first international USWA civil rights conference of more than 1,000 people. There they talked about the need to fight *Weber*, about women's rights. They talked about how important the Newport News strike is. They talked about how union organizing and civil rights go hand in hand.

"We know they are long on talk and short on action. But there were serious unionists at this conference. People who want civil rights committees to be real, who heard about *Weber* for the first time and got excited about Newport News. These are people we can work with to help strengthen our unions."

Role of socialists

McBride said that the pressures on the union officialdom—"provide new openings for those who want to make the union more effective. It is easier for women's committees to operate, easier to build the fight against *Weber*, easier to organize strike solidarity, to support the ERA."

Such activities, he said, strengthen the union against the employers. They teach the workers self-confidence and point the way forward. "We say the union movement must be democratic so it can use its power. It must practice solidarity. And it is going to have to break from capitalist politics and build

a labor party based on the unions."

"We are fighting for this strategy in the labor movement," McBride said. "We know that out of these battles a new, class-struggle leadership will be forged, and we will be an essential part of it. We are not waiting around for somebody else to come along and lead us. We rely on our ability to win over the rank and file to our perspective."

"Today we are getting a hearing, which inspires us to be bolder with our ideas. We must remind ourselves that what we, the SWP, say and do means something to the workers. They are watching and learning from us. We are discussing with a growing layer of workers our day-to-day perspective in the unions. Weber, ERA, Newport News. What kind of union we need to fight back. What kind of party we need."

McBride concluded by summarizing the main tasks of socialists in steel:



Militant

Newport News. 'We rely on our ability to win over the rank and file to our perspective. Today we are getting a hearing, which inspires us to be bolder with our ideas.'

- to get out socialist ideas by distributing the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and other literature, campaigning for SWP candidates, and bringing co-workers to forums and classes;

- to encourage the union to take up such major social and class issues as affirmative action, passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, and opposition to nuclear power;

- to build and strengthen the union by showing how it can act in defense of its members on questions of working conditions, health and safety, and other day-to-day clashes with the employers.

"Through these steps," McBride said, "we will win steelworkers to our party, which is part of the process of building a class-struggle left wing in the union."

During the discussion period steelworkers spoke on the issues raised in McBride's report based on their own experiences.

Andrew Pulley (Local 1066, U.S. Steel Gary Works) spoke on the impact of his recent campaign for mayor of Chicago on the SWP ticket. The campaign got a good response inside the plants. One of the main ideas put forward by the Pulley campaign was the call for an independent labor party based on the unions.

"Once you lay out the labor party idea," Pulley said, "and the role workers in the union will play, it makes it clearer how workers can put into practice the other points in our

program. It makes everything we say sound more realistic. When I spoke in front of union meetings I raised the idea of the union running its own candidates, right now."

Markie Wilson (Local 65, U.S. Steel South Works) said that Pulley's campaign made it easier to "explain that there are two classes in society. Andrew is a steelworker. [Democratic mayoral candidate] Jane Byrne's father is a big honcho for Inland Steel. I would ask, 'So which side are you on? Our candidate is a steelworker.'"

Pam Burchett is the SWP candidate for mayor of Salt Lake City. She works in a small shop in the right-to-work-for-less state of Utah. She said that "my co-workers became interested in the party and took us very seriously" when she announced her candidacy.

Since the Three Mile Island disaster, support has risen in the unions for protests against nuclear power plants.

continue their strike despite a return-to-work proposal from the union officials. Socialist steelworkers immediately mapped out plans to step up solidarity activities through their local unions.

Dick McBride said that one of the main lessons of this battle was "the narrowing of the gap in consciousness between Black and white workers. The seriousness of their struggle and the abuse they've suffered under Tenneco brought them together."

"The Blacks had taken the lead. The whites were getting more class consciousness. So they came together. The continuing offensive from the rulers will recreate this situation in more and more union locals."

"New blood will come to the fore," he said. "It is these people we look towards. It is this layer that will tend to agree with our perspective for labor. We will need to educate further on labor solidarity—from sticking together at Newport News, to organizing solidarity with anyone who has a hard time getting a decent contract."

"In this light we want reports in our union meetings on Newport News, on the Teamsters strike, on the auto workers' contract talks. We think that strike support committees ought to be a regular institution in our unions."

Jane Van Deusen (Local 13000, Kaiser Aluminum) from New Orleans discussed the issues in the *Weber* case and experiences in organizing union opposition to Weber's racist, anti-woman, antilabor lawsuit. Everywhere efforts were made to get meetings in defense of affirmative action initiated through the unions, success was the order of the day. Members of Van Deusen's local traveled to union-sponsored meetings across the country to get out the facts in the case.

Most significant, the socialist steelworker noted, was the fact that the union took up defense of the rights of Blacks and women to affirmative action, and that more and more workers recognized this as a *union* issue, a *working-class* issue. The potential power this brings to the fight for Black, Latino, and women's rights was highlighted two months later when the U.S. Supreme Court upheld affirmative action and overturned *Weber*.

Women in steel

A panel discussion on women in steel was held at the socialists' meeting. It noted that although the number of women in basic industry is growing, they are not yet viewed as a "normal" part of the work force. This is reflected in the fact that most steel mills still have women's washrooms and lockers in portable trailers, which can be easily removed.

Marie Head (Local 1014, U.S. Steel Gary Works) pointed out that there are a "disproportionate number of women being fired, especially while we're still on probation. This has come to be called 'the revolving door policy,' where women are hired just to fill the consent decree quotas on paper, and they're fired before their [probationary period of] 520 hours are up."

These discriminatory firings are one of the big issues wherever women work. The newly formed union women's committees—or in some cases women's caucuses that haven't yet been recognized by the unions—have tried, sometimes successfully, to defend victimized women.

Other issues taken up by women's committees, Head explained, include fights against sexual harassment fueled by the companies' antiwoman positions, maternity leave benefits, fair apprenticeship testing and programs, child care, and such broad social issues as *Weber* and the ERA.

Several USWA districts have held women's conferences. In District 31, Head reported, the second conference, held last February, was twice as large as the first one.

"We are for recognized women's committees in the locals," she said, "and on the district level and international level. We want women to become active in the civil rights committees and safety committees also. This is happen-

Even before that, the official position of USWA District 31 (Chicago-Gary) was against the construction of the Bailly nuclear plant in northern Indiana.

Mitch Rosenberg from Local 1066 told how steelworkers were more and more joining and playing a leadership role in the local antinuclear coalition. "We want to take the antinuclear movement into the unions," Rosenberg said, "and we want to take the unions into the antinuclear movement."

Sidney Hunter, a young steelworker from Detroit and an activist in the Young Socialist Alliance, said that this issue is well-received by his fellow workers on the job. "I just explain that if Fermi II [a nuclear reactor near Detroit] goes, we all die. No problem after that. No one is for it. Then I explain how capitalism is the cause of all this."

Charlie Rosenberg (Local 2609, Bethlehem Steel, Sparrows Point) explained that "health and safety is a big question for workers at the point. Eight steelworkers have died there in the last twelve months. For example, a millwright died of poisonous gas because the company refused to add an odor to it so it could be smelled."

Newport News & Weber

Special points in the steel discussion took up the Newport News strike and the *Weber* "reverse discrimination" case. The meeting took place just after the Newport News strikers voted to

ing and will be important to revitalizing these committees."

Barbara Bowman (Local 2609) told of the formation of women's advisory committees in both locals at Sparrows Point. She said there are about 1,000 women out of a work force of 20,000 there. Most of the women are in their twenties and thirties. "There's a generalized understanding among the women that the company has been forced to hire them and that their presence in the mill is political to the core."

Formation of the two union women's committees was spurred by the July 9, 1978, march on Washington for the ERA, Bowman said. Both committees were officially approved by their locals and have held meetings with up to seventy members. They received greetings from UAW President McBride and from the District 31 Women's Caucus on their founding.

Ilona Gersh (Local 1938, U.S. Steel

Minntac) from the Mesabi Iron Range in northern Minnesota reported the formation of a women's committee in her local. Few women worked in the iron mines, she said, until the consent decree was signed in 1974. (The consent decree was an affirmative-action agreement between the basic steel companies, the union, and the federal government.) Now more than 400 work at U.S. Steel's Minntac facility alone.

The majority of members of the National Organization for Women on the Iron Range are women miners. "It isn't any mystery why," Gersh said. "These were the women who first took on the big companies on the Iron Range and had to battle their way for a decent-paying job." The women view both the NOW chapter and the union women's committee as their organizations. "The miners have helped give the NOW chapter a perspective on the main political questions of the day—like abortion and affirmative action."

Machinists & Aerospace

The first national gathering of socialists in the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers was held in May on the West Coast. Most participants came from the Pacific Northwest and California. This included members from San Diego, the Bay Area, Seattle, Tacoma, and Portland, as well as Louisville, Kentucky. Many of those attending work in the aerospace industry, where the IAM has its largest concentration of members.

The IAM is the fifth-largest industrial union in the country and one of the most important on the West Coast. For example, there are reportedly 500,000 employees in aerospace and related industries in California alone, many represented by either the IAM or the United Auto Workers. In the Puget Sound (Seattle-Tacoma) area, Boeing employs 75,000 workers, of whom nearly 30,000 are IAM members. The IAM also has thousands of members in rail, transport, truck and auto mechanics, and the electrical industry.

IAM President William Winpisinger is a major national political figure in the labor movement. He sometimes uses radical rhetoric and is widely portrayed as a left-winger in AFL-CIO councils. He is vice-chairperson of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee.

The report on tasks of socialists in the IAM was given by Craig Gannon, SWP District Organizer in the Puget Sound. He outlined the bosses' offensive and its effects on IAM members. The IAM's large membership in the aerospace and military industries gives it a special role to play in the struggle against Washington's war drive and attempts to bring back the military draft. "The IAM has a brochure on the effects of military spending and how it causes inflation, how it does not create jobs or social wealth," Gannon reported.

The stance of the IAM leadership also legitimizes antinuclear discussion and activity in the union, Gannon noted. Winpisinger is head of the Citizen/Labor Energy Coalition. "He calls for a moratorium on nuclear development and for government funding for alternative energy. He's a member of the solar lobby. He spoke at the big antinuclear demonstration in Washington, D.C., on May 6," Gannon said. One of the big Boeing locals endorsed a June 3 antinuclear protest in Seattle and members marched with an official union banner.

New generation

Indeed, Gannon reported, socialist workers are finding great receptivity among IAM members on a wide variety of issues. As in steel, a new generation of young militants is in the IAM. Their attitudes have been shaped by Vietnam, the civil rights movement, women's liberation struggles, and revo-

lutionary upsurges in Africa, Iran, and Indochina. They are looking to the union to fight back against the employers' offensive.

In San Diego, for example, IAM Local 685 put out a fact sheet on the *Weber* case, initiated a labor/community task force to oppose *Weber*, and helped organize an anti-*Weber* speak-out. At Boeing, several locals held educationals on the *Weber* case even though some local officials tried to squelch the events.

In 1972, Gannon noted, the IAM estimated that 30 percent of its members were Blacks, Latinos, other oppressed nationalities, and women. The figure can be assumed to be higher today. Thus solidarity with the struggles of these oppressed workers is a key question for the IAM.

The need for solidarity with other unions is also especially evident because in many companies IAM is not the only union. Other unions hold contracts with the same employer and even in the same plant. This calls for solidarity and coordinated activity on a day-to-day basis as well as in collective bargaining.

Behind the rhetoric

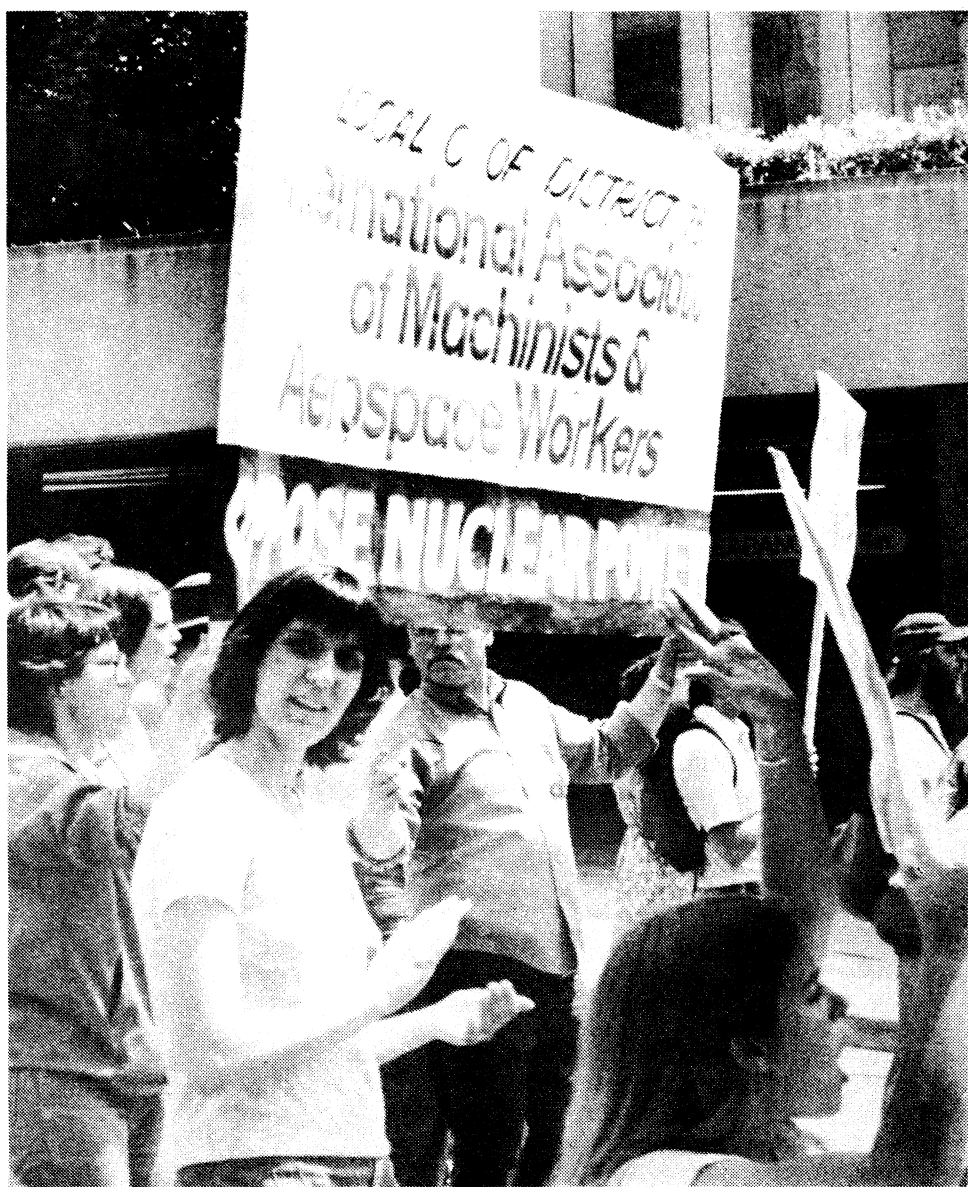
Behind Winpisinger's "socialist" veneer, however, the IAM bureaucracy follows a class-collaborationist course not significantly different from other union officialdoms. Winpisinger is an outspoken advocate of protectionist trade barriers to protect "our" industries, for example. And with a union lawsuit in California against the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, the IAM leadership is helping make OPEC a scapegoat for the energy crisis caused by U.S. oil companies.

With the approach of the 1980 elections, Winpisinger's rhetoric about finding "alternatives" to the capitalist Democratic Party has gone by the board. Now he is openly boosting millionaire Sen. Edward Kennedy as the best candidate for labor to support.

When it comes to confronting the employers over wages and working conditions, the IAM officialdom acts no differently from other union bureaucracies, eagerly seeking conciliation at the workers' expense and fearing to mobilize the power of the ranks.

One example Gannon cited was the IAM contract that "ties the wages of 30,000 IAM members at Eastern Airlines to Eastern's profits." The fact that the ranks are far more combative than their leadership was also shown when striking IAM members at United Airlines—in defiance of Carter's wage guidelines—voted down two contracts accepted by their negotiators.

It is pressure from the ranks that is leading Winpisinger and other union officials to speak out more, Gannon explained. At the same time, Winpisinger's stance prompts valuable discus-



Militant/Phil Norris

Seattle, June 3. 'The stance of the IAM leadership helps legitimize antinuclear discussion and activity in the union.'

sions on social and political issues facing the union and provides openings for socialists to win a hearing. The 1980 SWP presidential campaign, which will emphasize the need for a labor party, will be an especially good vehicle for such discussions.

Winning members of the machinists' unions to socialism will be greatly aided by the recent decision by the Young Socialist Alliance to orient its membership toward the new opportunities among young workers in industry. A special report on the YSA's perspectives was given by Kris Huget (Local 1005, Freightliner) from Portland.

At Boeing, it was reported, whole sections of the production process are made up of young workers straight out of high school. At one San Diego plant, 40 percent of the work force is retiring in the next two years, opening the way to a big influx of youth.

Activities discussed

In the discussion period, Raúl González from San Diego pointed to the wide variety of activities socialist workers have participated in in IAM District 50, which encompasses ten locals and more than 20,000 members. In addition to the anti-*Weber* campaign, these included solidarity with IAM strikers at a General Dynamics electronics plant and passage of a resolution by one local calling for opening the books of the energy corporations. González has also gotten a

good response to his socialist campaign for mayor of San Diego.

Phil Norris (Local 751-F) from Tacoma said that Boeing IAM locals had passed resolutions against *Weber* and against nuclear power and run articles in the union paper about these issues.

Portland socialists told how more than thirty subscriptions to the *Militant* had been sold on the job at the Freightliner plant there.

Jim Burfeind from Louisville, Kentucky, described work as a member of an IAM local of 300 in a General Electric plant with more than 17,000 workers, most of whom are in the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE). He said he worked closely with socialists in the IUE local on joint campaigns among both unions and all the workers.

Burfeind also reported on how socialists at GE had responded to a barrage of right-wing harassment of him on the job. "We got the union to back me up," he said. "Workers learned that once we focused our fire on the company we could beat them." He added that about twenty workers at the plant buy the *Militant* weekly.

The socialists discussed the need for the union to defend women co-workers from discrimination and from company-inspired harassment.

Summing up tasks in the IAM, Gannon said that "we want to be bolder. We want to open up and get out our ideas and talk socialism."

United Autoworkers

The Socialist Workers Party has a long tradition in the United Automobile, Aerospace and Agricultural Implement Workers. Socialist workers were active in the pioneer organizing drives and strikes that built the UAW in the 1930s and '40s. Then as now, their goal was to make the UAW a democratic, fighting union that represents the ranks and fights in the interest of the working class as a whole, and labor's allies as well.

More than 100 socialists in the UAW, primarily in the auto industry,

met in May. They came from all the major centers of the industry and many other cities: Detroit, Cleveland, Chicago, Toledo, St. Louis, New Jersey, New York, the Bay Area, Kansas City, and Minneapolis.

The UAW is the second largest industrial union not affiliated to the AFL-CIO (only the Teamsters is bigger). More than 800,000 of its 1.5 million members work in the auto industry. This industry is central to the entire American economy, with

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especially close ties to the steel, rubber, glass, aluminum, and rail industries.

"Ninety-three percent of the personal travel in the U.S. is by automobile," noted John Hawkins from the SWP's Trade Union Coordinating Committee, who reported to the meeting on perspectives. "One out of six people depend on the industry for jobs."

One-sided class war

This centrality, Hawkins said, is one reason the UAW is a prime target of President Carter's 7 percent wage guidelines. The UAW contract talks this summer will be among the most important in the country. The contract has prompted a lot of discussion in the plants. So have comments by UAW President Douglas Fraser decrying the "one-sided class war" the bosses are carrying out.

Auto workers are intimately familiar with the results of this class war, Hawkins said, as "the victims of a constant drive to increase productivity through a steep intensification of labor and the widespread introduction of the ten-hour day, six-day week."

Auto workers are "looking for solutions to the crisis confronting them on and off the job. They're looking for an effective strategy to fight back."

For example, the socialist proposal for a shorter workweek with no reduction in pay is gaining a wider hearing as a solution to the crisis of unemployment and overwork. So is the idea that workers themselves should control the speed of the line and other working conditions to protect their health and safety.

So far the response to the bosses' assault has been sporadic and uncoordinated. But auto workers are radicalizing and are also receptive to socialist proposals for how to fight back—through union democracy, working-class solidarity, and independent labor political action.

'Progressive Alliance'

This class-struggle strategy is in sharp contrast to that of UAW President Fraser, who, like Winpisinger of the Machinists, portrays himself as a progressive and even left-wing union leader. Fraser has given lip service to progressive social causes while allowing working conditions for auto workers to deteriorate shamefully. His "Progressive Alliance" with civil rights, women's, environmental, and consumer groups aims to clean up the image of the Democratic Party, not to mobilize the ranks of these potential allies in independent struggles. Fraser is staunchly opposed to formation of a labor party and remains a supporter of the Carter administration.

Nevertheless, the positive stands Fraser sometimes takes under pressure from the ranks, like those of Winpisinger, help to give socialists opportunities for both discussion and action in the union. Many examples were cited in the discussion period.

John Erickson from Local 59 in Chicago described the importance of health and safety issues and told of the UAW's role in the Chicago Area Committee for Occupational Safety and Health (CACOSH), which holds regular educational events.

Rick Smith from Local 1058 in Toledo explained how his local had established a solidarity committee for ongoing support of other union battles. "The solidarity committee is an important way to build democracy in the union," he said. "Our committee elects its own chairperson and is open to all members. It is not a caucus. We see the committee giving workers the self-confidence that they can make a difference."

George Johnson (Local 1364, GM Fremont) from California said that "in the last five or six months there has been an obvious shift to the left among workers, because of Three Mile Island, the Iranian revolution, and the gas shortage." He said the idea of a labor party comes up in many discussions.

Vivian Sahner (Local 980, Ford Metuchen) agreed with Johnson. "I think



Washington, July 9, 1978. 'Sexist attitudes are a tool of the rulers to keep us divided. They are not in the interests of male workers, and we can convince the majority of them this is true.'

discussing the idea of a labor party will help us recruit to the Socialist Workers Party. Generally in the plant I have found much greater receptivity to discussing how the whole system is run. Inflation, the long hours, and so forth make this clear."

Jeff Powers (Local 451, Baker Material) from Cleveland said that the contract talks "will allow us to discuss many things, including government intervention. Fraser says he is against it. So are we. This leads into discussing the labor party. And it will help us get our socialist candidates before local meetings and CAP [Community Action Program, the UAW's political arm] councils."

Powers and Glen Arnodo, members of the Local 451 education committee, produced a slide show on the Newport News strike under union auspices and presented it at a number of UAW meetings in the area. (The slides were also shown at the socialist gatherings and enthusiastically received.)

A report on the YSA's turn toward young industrial workers was given by Sue Skinner, SWP candidate for mayor of Toledo and a member of UAW Local 12. These young workers, she said, "are most interested in broad social questions such as nuclear power, the draft, and other issues." She gave examples of the good response Toledo socialists have gotten among young auto workers.

Labor party in Canada

The socialist gathering heard a report on the recent Canadian elections from Art Young, a leader of the Revolutionary Workers League/Ligue Ouvrière Révolutionnaire.

The UAW is one of the most powerful unions in Canada. But unlike the U.S. wing of the union, the Canadian UAW does not support the two capitalist parties, the Liberals and Conservatives. The UAW and other major industrial unions in Canada back the labor party there, the New Democratic Party.

Formed in 1961, the NDP receives 15 to 20 percent of the vote across Canada, much higher in industrial areas. In last May's election, the unions launched their biggest effort yet to increase support for the NDP. This led to a 50 percent increase in the party's seats in parliament and, more important, to heightened political discussions within the unions.

The existence of a party based on the unions—even though its program and leadership are class-collaborationist—represents an advance for the Canadian workers. And the ruling-class profit drive in Canada is pushing more workers there toward involvement both in their unions and in the NDP, Young explained.

Coverage in the U.S. news media of the Canadian elections has made more workers here aware that their unions follow a different political policy north

of the border. It has sparked increased interest in forming a labor party here.

In the discussion on Young's report, American socialists sought to learn more about the NDP and pointed to the importance of collaboration between socialists in the "international" unions that span both countries.

Women on the line

The UAW is perhaps the only major industrial union that already has official women's committees. The big job is to make them functional.

Mary Jo Vogel (Local 980, Ford Metuchen) reported that the origin of these committees can be traced back to World War II, when women first entered the auto industry in large numbers. By 1959 the union urged locals to create standing women's committees; in 1962 a UAW convention mandated establishment of such a committee wherever locals included women members. With the new wave of feminism in the late 1960s and the entry of many women into basic industry in the 1970s, "more and more UAW locals are reactivating their women's committees."

Vogel pointed to the wide range of issues these women's committees deal with—from inadequate restrooms, coveralls and workgloves for women, to child care, affirmative action, the ERA, and the need for a shorter workweek.

Women's position in the auto industry is not yet secure, she said, which makes every fight for job protection crucial. "Sexist discrimination is a weapon the bosses use to keep the number of women in industry small and to drive us off the job. It includes discrimination in hiring and the day-to-day harassment and discrimination on the job," Vogel said.

"Sexist attitudes on the part of our co-workers are ultimately the fault of

the bosses, too. These attitudes are a tool of the rulers to keep us divided. They weaken the potential power of the union. So it is not at all in the interest of male workers to propagate these ideas, and we can convince the majority of them that this is true."

Describing a fight against sexual harassment that drew support from many Metuchen workers, Vogel concluded that male co-workers "are against violence or harassment against any worker, especially when it comes from the boss. Whether male workers know it or not, they see sexist treatment as a class issue—if the boss can drive women out of the plant, then cracking down on the men too is that much easier."

She said that one male worker told her, "If you women can stand up to this, then maybe that's how we can bring about some changes in the union."

Elizabeth Ziers (Local 600, Ford River Rouge) told how she and other women in the stamping plant there got a committee going.

After deciding on the aims of the committee and securing the approval of the local president, "we distributed and posted meeting-building leaflets which explained the role of the union women's committee in fighting for everything from ending the double oppression of Black women on the plant floor, to winning the ERA and federally financed child care. An article was printed in the Local 600 newspaper, *Ford Facts*."

"Our first meeting in September 1978 drew about twenty women, mostly Black."

From Cleveland, Linda Joyce (Local 1747) described how the National Organization for Women's Labor Task Force helped bring together women in auto and spur the activities of union women's committees.

Railroad unions

In the rail industry the capitalist offensive has taken the form of a systematic drive to reduce the size of train crews, intensify the work of the remaining rail workers, and force thousands of workers out of the industry.

This crisis and the response of rail workers were vigorously discussed at the conference of socialist rail workers held in the Midwest in June. Participants came from all over the country and from many of the rail unions, including the United Transportation Union, the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks, the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, and others.

The political perspectives report was

given by Lynn Henderson (UTU Local 1000 on the Burlington Northern) from Minneapolis. "Rail service is vital to the functioning of the economy," he began. "And it will be vital to any reorganization of this society along more rational and humanitarian lines. Such basic industries as food, coal, steel, auto, oil, petrochemicals, could not function for a moment without the railroads."

"The capitalists have a deep appreciation of the vital role the railroads play," Henderson said. "That explains why the railroad unions are throttled with the Railway Labor Act and numerous other legal blocks that make it practically impossible for railroad unions to carry out a legal strike. And

that is why the government moves so quickly—as it did in the national BRAC strike last year—to bring court injunctions and force striking rail workers back to work.”

The capitalists aim to consolidate the entire rail system into as few as half a dozen or so major carriers. They intend to make massive cuts in jobs and service to the point where they can maximize profits on what is left. “The reductions in rail service will adversely affect all workers, farmers, small businesses, and hundreds of towns and cities across the nation,” Henderson said.

Social issue

Thus the rail crisis is a prime social issue. For example, the government plans to eliminate most long-distance passenger train service just when the energy crisis has forced more and more working people to look to trains for transportation.

In addition to fighting against specific aspects of the carriers’ attacks, Henderson explained, socialists should explain the need to resolve this crisis by nationalizing the rail industry and turning it into a public service. To assure that society’s transportation needs are met, the railroads should be publicly owned, with conditions and safety controlled by the rail workers. Unlike Amtrak and Conrail, which are run by the government bureaucrats in the interests of private industry, management of the rails should be placed in the hands of an independent, popularly elected board that functions completely in the open.

The changing composition of the railroad work force heightens receptivity to such radical solutions, Henderson noted. Although Blacks and women have historically been excluded from rail, “Blacks have now successfully broken into the work force on a large scale. Women are beginning to make significant gains. The median age of rail workers is falling rapidly and will continue to fall in the near future.”

Adding to the anger of new rail workers will be the fact that the recently signed rail contracts set their wages at only 80 to 85 percent of the wages of those hired before the contracts.

A key aspect of the carriers’ anti-labor drive is reduction of crew sizes (crew consist). Generally this means trains can be run with an engineer and two brakemen instead of an engineer and three brakemen. With trains made up of 70 or even as many as 120 cars—extending for well over a mile—this crew cutback means a serious reduction in safety. Switching crews in the rail yards are also being slashed.

“The crew consist agreements are spreading from railroad to railroad,” Henderson said. “They started with the Milwaukee Road and Conrail, which they correctly figured were weak links. The excuse was, ‘These roads are on the verge of bankruptcy. If you don’t accept crew consist reductions they’re going to go under.’”

In fact, the Milwaukee Road is bankrupt despite crew cuts. And now, Henderson explained, the Burlington Northern, one of the richest railroads, is

talking about crew consist reductions.

Bankruptcies and mergers are also used to cut back the rail work force. The Milwaukee Road bankruptcy threatens the jobs of 5,000 to 10,000 workers.

Resistance

These attacks are provoking resistance and protests, although the capitalist news media have largely blacked out the truth.

In Los Angeles, workers on the Southern Pacific stood firm against an arbitrary layoff plan despite carrier threats. “The lesson I learned from this,” said Jim Little of UTU Local 240, “is that the workers look to the union when they’re under attack.”

Soo Line workers in Minneapolis and St. Paul staged a three-day work-to-rule slowdown to defeat a company speedup program.

“Probably the most dramatic protest took place in January and March in the Conrail yards in Youngstown, Ohio, and Pittsburgh,” Henderson said. When three conductors were pulled out of service for exercising their right of early quit time, all 500 workers in the Youngstown yard shut it down. “Many got out in roving buses to spread the word to other yards. Within three days they had shut down the huge Conway yard near Pittsburgh, one of the largest in the country, with more than 5,000 workers.” The bosses were forced to rehire the three conductors.

In contrast to this combativity among the ranks, the top officials of the UTU and the other rail unions have refused to put up a fight against the carriers’ demands. They look to peaceful collaboration with the employers and reliance on capitalist politicians. At a militant protest meeting of 300 rail workers in Minneapolis June 5 to protest the Milwaukee Road bankruptcy swindle, the ranking UTU officials who spoke lamely urged members to send letters to Congress.

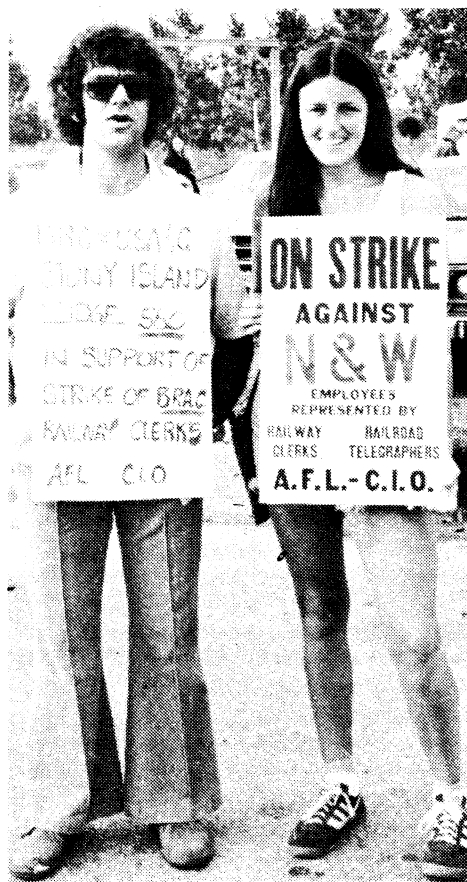
New strategy needed

A growing number of rail workers realize that a new, class-struggle perspective and leadership are needed. Central to the development of a class-struggle left wing will be the fight for union democracy, including the right of the members to ratify contracts with one person, one vote, and to exercise democratic control over union functioning generally. The lack of any rank-and-file vote on contracts is an especially sore point among UTU members.

Developing working-class solidarity is also necessary for the rail unions—still divided into more than a dozen crafts—to become effective, fighting organizations. Henderson pointed to the BRAC strike as showing the potential for solidarity in rail.

In addition, he said, every struggle of railroad workers “puts them in direct conflict with the government,” because of the antiunion Railway Labor Act. “Explaining the need for a labor party comes naturally in this situation.”

Henderson said that socialists should “take the lead in initiating, participating in, and projecting a



Militant/David McDonald

‘BRAC strike showed potential for developing solidarity among craft-divided rail unions.’

class-struggle response in and through the union to the day-to-day class warfare being waged against the workers.” Examples ranged from getting the union to act against safety violations to defending the Milwaukee Road workers. We should think and act as leaders of the union, Henderson said, whatever our formal position in the union.

In Minneapolis this approach led to a successful public protest forum against the Milwaukee Road bankruptcy, sponsored by a half-dozen union locals and organized by an official union committee.

Only recently have women gotten into rail operating crafts. Women’s committees have not yet emerged like in steel or auto. But pressure on the union to defend women rail workers is increasing.

Nuclear power

The conference included a panel discussion on the fight against nuclear power. Doug Hord (UTU Local 620, Burlington Northern) from Chicago reported that “the railroads carry much of the high-level radioactive waste. The tonnages involved are too high for highway travel. In Chicago one shipment came through under armed guard that weighed 200 tons.

“A socialist on the B&O one night noticed a radioactive placard on a car next to the caboose on an outbound train. Since this is a violation of federal safety standards, his switch crew

was assigned to cut the car off, set it on an adjacent track, go back and get ten or so more cars, then pick up the radioactive car and place it closer to the center of the train.

“All went fine until they came back to pick up the car, only to find it had disappeared. It was nowhere in sight. Vanished.

“They went looking and found it down the track a ways. It had hit a derail and gone on the ground. The carmen who were called had a real hard time rereiling it.

“The reason for all this was that the steel casement and lead lining of the car—presumably packed with dense radioactive material—was so incredibly heavy that even the full airbrake application was insufficient to hold it still, even on the nearly indiscernable grade it sat on.”

Hord reported that he had given presentations on the nuclear issue before three UTU locals and gotten a good response.

In the aftermath of Three Mile Island, antinuclear resolutions were adopted by rail union locals in a number of cities. A Philadelphia rail worker reported that “for about a week and a half the company couldn’t get anyone to go to Harrisburg.”

Sylvia Zapata of UTU Local 539 in Denver told how her co-workers became politicized around Three Mile Island since “we work over three uranium dumps.”

Hord explained that using coal as an alternative to nuclear power for generating electricity should have special appeal to rail workers. “Sixty percent of the coal now travels over the rails. There is no other way that such a bulk commodity in large quantity can be economically shipped across country.”

The United Mine Workers union opposes nuclear power and urges burning coal instead. The UMWA explains that coal is plentiful; it can be mined safely and burned cleanly. Conversion to coal would open up thousands of new jobs both in mining and on the railroads.

Hord urged getting rail workers involved in antinuclear coalitions. Labor outreach committees of such groups, he said, “can provide educational talks, films, literature, and publicity for various antinuke actions.” Active involvement of the UMWA and rail unions in the antinuclear fight would be a big step toward building the kind of powerful movement that can force a halt to the nuclear danger.

One of the major tasks decided at the conference was to continue helping to organize a union campaign against the Milwaukee Road bankruptcy scheme. It was agreed that the momentum of the successful protest meeting in Minneapolis should be extended, with union speak-outs in other cities where possible. Demands for no layoffs and no reductions in service should have a wide popularity among rail workers, farmers, and other working people. Demanding that the books of the Milwaukee Road be opened to reveal the financial shenanigans that led to bankruptcy, and the attempt to boost capitalist profits by firing thousands of workers, also helps expose the real nature of the carriers’ plan.

Issues facing the labor movement today

The 110-Day Coal Strike by Nancy Cole and Andy Rose. Story and lessons of the miners’ battle in 1977-78, which marked a turning point in labor’s response to capitalist assault. 40 pp. \$75.

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Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Please add 75¢ for postage.

Palestinian student faces deportation from U.S.

By Jane Roland

Elias Ayoub, a Palestinian Arab who is an Israeli citizen, studies economics in this country. He completed a four-year undergraduate program in three years, receiving high honors, and was accepted by three universities for graduate work.

The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) is trying to deport him, claiming he has "failed to establish a definite educational goal."

The government is so intent on deporting an obviously superior student because Ayoub has spoken out defending the rights of Palestinians and explaining their status as second-class citizens in Israel.

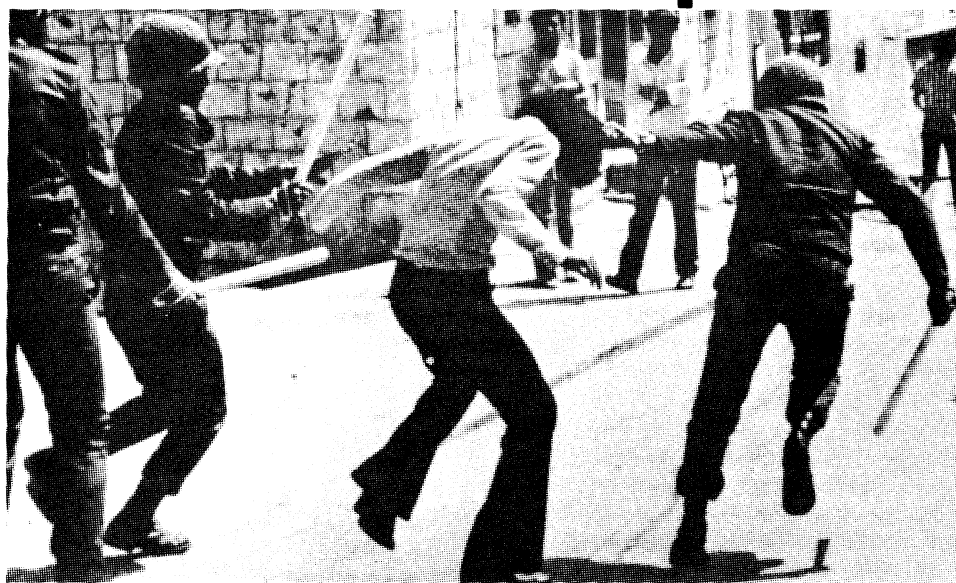
"I have been trying to talk to people about Palestinian rights," Ayoub told the *Militant*. "I think the government is trying to deport me because they don't want the American people to know about the tragedy of the Palestinian people. They want to silence me, to keep me from telling, for instance, how the Sadat-Begin accords can't bring peace to the Middle East."

Ayoub added, "Israel has discriminatory policies, including inadequate educational services, towards the Arab population. That's why I chose to study in this country."

Ayoub came here in June 1976 to attend Lansing Community College in Michigan. He later transferred to Ohio State University and now attends the New School for Social Research in New York.

When he transferred from Lansing to Ohio State, Ayoub completed all the necessary paper work requesting permission from the INS for the change. They didn't respond.

Because of the INS's inaction, Ayoub became "out of status" and "deportable." He was asked to leave the country voluntarily in December 1978. The INS charged Ayoub had no "educational



Palestinians in Israel face severe repression

goals" because he had changed his major from philosophy to economics and transferred colleges.

But two months earlier, the Cincinnati office of the INS notified the FBI that it was investigating Ayoub because he was "subversive." Ayoub has a copy of the letter from his INS file, obtained under the Freedom of Information Act.

At his deportation hearing May 16, immigration judge Gordon Sacks wouldn't allow Ayoub to prove his academic credentials. He refused to look at his high grade-point average. He dismissed the evidence presented by Ayoub's lawyer as "irrelevant." And he ruled that testimony by an academic counselor from Ohio State was "inadmissible." The INS based their case at the hearing solely on the fact that Ayoub hadn't left the United States by December.

Ayoub has also obtained a letter from the INS to the U.S. consul in Tel Aviv. The letter told the consul that

Ayoub had been asked to leave the U.S. and that "subject has been identified as a very strong activist in the 'Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.'"

"This is a fabrication, a total fabrication," said Ayoub. "I am not a member of any group. But when I go home, of course, these fabrications will be used against me."

"When Palestinians get arrested in Israel, they try to get evidence against them. But most of the time they have no evidence, so they try to extract a confession under torture. And if a person can resist this torture and not sign a confession, they'll detain the person administratively, without any charges or court hearing. There are 4,000 political prisoners in Israel today."

"Zionists say that the prisoners in Israel are terrorists," Ayoub said, "but many of these people haven't been convicted of terrorist acts. They were convicted, maybe, for spraying anti-

Israeli slogans on a wall, or participating in a rally or demonstration. Some haven't been charged with anything, but were detained administratively. And some are charged and convicted of being members of Palestinian organizations. That is illegal in Israel."

Ayoub wants to return to Israel when he has finished his schooling. "I want to participate with my people and build my future there. I'd like to do research and teach."

He says he will continue to fight for his right to finish his education in this country, because more is at stake than just his education.

As the Elias Ayoub Defense Committee declared in an appeal, "This outrageous attack on the civil liberties of a student who has merely exercised his constitutional right to freedom of speech cannot be tolerated. If the government can abuse with impunity the rights of aliens, who are legitimately in this country, then similar violations of the rights of U.S. citizens are only a step away."

Ayoub is beginning to reach out for support for his struggle. In June the American Civil Liberties Union in Columbus issued a statement on his behalf. The Undergraduate Student Government Association of Ohio State University, where he studied, passed a resolution asking the INS to restore his student status. And the Palestine Human Rights Campaign has taken up his case.

The Elias Ayoub Defense Committee urges concerned people to protest this political victimization. They ask that messages of protest be sent to Vernon Hazlett, District Director, INS, P.O. Box 537, Cincinnati, Ohio 45201, and Leonel Castillo, Director, INS, Washington, D.C. 20536. Please send copies to the Elias Ayoub Defense Committee, and write them for more information: P.O. Box 3169, Columbus, Ohio 43210.

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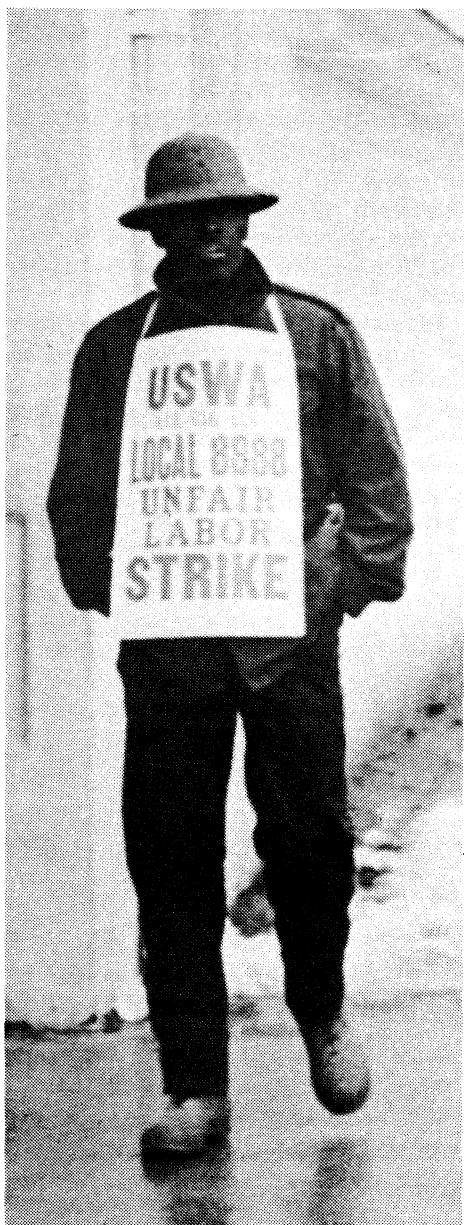
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...Steelworkers

Continued from back page

imilar pledges in the nineteen months since the USWA's shipyard election victory.



Militant/John Cobey

The Steelworkers defeated the Peninsula Shipbuilders Association, a company union, by 9,093 to 7,548 in the January 1978 representation election. Tenneco is asking the court to overturn those results because twenty to fifty-six unaccounted-for blank ballots were allegedly found in or near polling places. The NLRB has found the company charges groundless, but Tenneco continues its delaying tactics through the courts.

The Fourth Circuit Court is scheduled to hear final arguments in the appeal on September 10 in Baltimore.

Earlier this year the Steelworkers struck for eighty-five days for union recognition, suspending the walkout in April to await an NLRB ruling and to regroup the union's forces.

While there is much sentiment for renewing the strike, the question of timing is on the minds of many Steelworkers. Some favor waiting for Tenneco's response to the court decision before taking action. Others lean toward calling a second strike right away. All agree the next big battle will be for both union recognition and a contract.

Whatever the decision of the membership meeting, the spirited shipyard rallies gave Tenneco a hint of what was coming.

"What time is it?" a Local 8888 member would shout.

The answer came back in one voice, calling, "Steelworker time!"

In last week's *Militant* we incorrectly reported that W.H. Lee, a Newport News Steelworker, had been sentenced to a year in prison for violating Virginia's right-to-work laws. The worker's actual name is W.D. Frye and he was convicted for "assaulting an officer" during the cops' bloody attack on Steelworker picket lines April 16.

Trotsky on France

Leon Trotsky on France. Edited by David Salner. New York, Monad Press, 1979. 271 pp. \$4.45.

Leon Trotsky on France, a new compilation of Trotsky's writings during the French revolutionary upsurge of the mid-1930s, is a valuable new publication by Monad Press both for historical and current political purposes.

An introduction and prefaces to each of the four sections by editor David Salner provide a historical context for Trotsky's writings. These prove to be very useful to the reader unfamiliar with the history of France during the 1930s.

This volume includes most of Trotsky's public writings on the French revolutionary developments and is therefore of interest as a historical document. But beyond this, it is an important contribution to the study of political strategy.

Topics of particular concern include an evaluation of the strategy of the People's Front, the correct means of winning over sectors of the middle classes to the side of the workers, and the role of armed struggle in the revolutionary process. Each of these remain subjects of concern in developing an orientation toward world events and in constructing a strategy for revolutionary action.

* * *

During the 1930s the European working class suffered a series of defeats that set the stage for World War II. The triumph of Hitler in Germany and the victory of Franco in Spain are widely remembered today. Less well known, but hardly less important, was the failure of the workers to take power in France due to the treachery of the Stalinist and Social Democratic leaders.

The impact of the worldwide economic depression in France precipitated a severe crisis of confidence among the capitalists in their own ability to rule. Between May 1932 and September 1933, for example, the post of premier changed hands five times.

To deflect blame from themselves, the big bourgeoisie sought to convince the middle classes that the workers were the true source of the crisis. This led to the growth of mass fascist organizations which the capitalists used in attempting to violently suppress the workers movement.

In 1933 the Nazis came to power in Germany. The crushing of the workers movement in Germany emboldened the fascists of France, who intensified their violent attacks on the workers' organizations.

This culminated in an attempted coup in February 1934 by fascist and royalist organizations, and the resignation of the Radical government. The Radical Party was the chief party of bourgeois democracy at that time.

The fall of the Radical government accelerated the polarization of the French masses. The mass organizations of both the right and left continued to grow.

People's Front policy

These developments coincided with a major policy shift on the part of the French Communist Party, which, in 1934, had approximately 50,000 members.

The victory of fascism in Germany was a stunning defeat for the working class internationally. Stalin, who had ordered his followers in the German Communist Party not to join in a united front with other workers parties to combat the fascist menace, now swung to the opposite extreme. In the name of combating fascism, the Communist parties around the world were told to support the advocates of liberal capitalism instead of trying to advance the prospect of the workers taking power.

This policy of politically subordinating the working class to the demands of the antifascist capitalists was known as the People's Front. Since it was precisely the capitalist economic crisis that was giving rise to the fascist movement, support to the capitalist parties was a suicidal policy. The masses were seeking an alternative, and if the workers parties refused to offer them one, they would turn to the fascists as in Germany.

Specifically, the People's Front in France consisted of a policy on the part of the CP to support an electoral bloc with the SFIO, the main social-



Sit-down strikes, 1936: French workers take decisive action

democratic party, and the Radicals. Following the victory of the People's Front in the 1936 elections, the CP leaders declined to take part in the cabinet, believing they could be of greater service on the outside.

The chief purpose of the People's Front—from the point of view of all three parties—was to moderate the political situation, to halt the class polarization. The People's Front sought to turn the workers away from posing the question of power and counterposed the achievement of immediate, partial demands.

Depth of the crisis

The policy of subordination to the bourgeoisie led the CP to continually down play the depth of the social crisis.

Trotsky polemicized with the Social Democrats and Stalinists, who advocated support to the bourgeoisie.

"A revolutionary situation," Trotsky writes, "develops out of the reciprocal action of objective and subjective factors. If the party of the proletariat is incapable of analyzing the tendencies of a prerevolutionary situation in time, we shall inevitably have a counterrevolutionary situation."

Trotsky explains the means of determining a political situation by citing the example of the French bourgeoisie, which "enters into the struggle and, in the development of the struggle, on the basis of experience gained in the struggle, it corrects its analysis and makes it more precise. This, in general, is the only possible way of being oriented correctly and at the same time actively in political questions."

The Stalinists had called for an antifascist government led by the Radicals. "How did the masses reply?" Trotsky asks. "By giving an enormous increase in votes and seats to the Communists, as the extreme left. . . . When one and a half million voters cast their ballots for the Communists, the majority of them mean to say thereby: 'We want you to do the same thing in France that the Russian Bolsheviks did in their country in October 1917.'"

The willingness of the masses to take decisive action was confirmed immediately following these elections by the massive sit-down strikes of May and June 1936. Even before the People's Front government could take office, industrial workers in several cities, including Paris, went on strike. The strikes were accompanied by a wave of factory occupations. By early June, the strikes involved two million workers, one-fourth of all wage earners.

While the specific demands raised by the workers

were economic and immediate in character, the method of struggle indicated an understanding on the part of the workers that drastic measures were needed in order to accomplish even limited objectives given the crisis of capitalism.

Both the capitalists and reformists sought to end this strike wave as quickly as possible, fearing its revolutionary potential.

The Trotskyists in France, on the other hand, called for a deepening of the strike, for the development of committees of action to coordinate the strike action, and for the establishment of workers militias for the defense of the workers' struggle against fascist attacks.

The refusal of the reformist leaders to recognize the prerevolutionary situation also led them to deny the need for armed self-defense of the workers movement. Instead they proposed the People's Front electoral alliance, which they claimed would isolate and demoralize the fascists.

How to meet fascist violence

This policy was carried out despite the fact that the Radicals were being deserted by their traditional supporters as the middle classes sought more decisive solutions. It was a policy that was unable to effectively meet the ongoing reality of fascist violence.

Trotsky explained that the development of a workers militia was essential.

He wrote, "The secret of success, obviously, is not in the 'physical struggle' itself but in correct policies. But we call correct that policy which meets the conditions of the time and place. By *itself* the workers' militia does not solve the problem. But the workers' militia is an *integrally necessary part* of the policy, which meets the conditions of the time and place. It would be absurd to shoot guns over a ballot box. But it would be still more absurd to defend oneself against fascist gangs with a ballot."

In addition to the topics discussed here, *Leon Trotsky on France* provides the student of revolutionary history and politics with a variety of other topics. In particular, the final section contains an extensive discussion of the Marxist analysis of centrism as a current in the workers movement.

Further reading on the subject of the French revolutionary movement of the 1930s may be found in *The Crisis of the French Section (1935-36)*, by Leon Trotsky, published by Pathfinder Press. This volume contains Trotsky's internal writings on the problems of the French Trotskyist organizations of this period.

—Jim Garrison

Quote unquote

"I stepped down because of human compassion. I hate to see my people being killed."

—Anastasio Somoza, ex-dictator of Nicaragua.

JOYCE BICHLER WINS DES SUIT

"This verdict is not just for me but for all American consumers." This is how Joyce Bichler, victim of the cancer-causing drug DES, described her victory in court over Eli Lilly and Company, one of the manufacturers of the drug.

DES, or diethylstilbestrol, was given to millions of women between 1941 and 1971 to prevent miscarriages.

Not only was the drug completely ineffective in prevent-

ing miscarriages, it transmitted cancer to the daughters of the women taking the drug.

This is the first suit won by a woman victimized by the companies that pushed DES. Bichler received \$500,000 in damages.

The Lilly Company plans appeal in an attempt to thwart the many suits that will follow in the wake of the Bichler victory.

POSTAL WORKERS' FIGHT FOR AMNESTY CONTINUES

On July 21, one year after 150 postal workers were fired for participating in an "illegal work stoppage," fifty pickets assembled outside the New York Bulk and Foreign Mail Center to demand their jobs back. The two day protest began July 20.

The fired postal workers—who number 200 nationwide—were among thousands who joined wildcat strikes in New Jersey, New York, and California to express opposition to the initial postal settlement. As a result of this pressure, some improvements were made in the final contract.

Moe Biller, president of the New York Metro Local of the American Postal Workers Union, told demonstrators that his 25,000-member local would continue to fight for amnesty for the fired workers.

Ben Zemsky, national director of organization for the APWU, said, "All postal workers owe gratitude to the fired workers. Their actions won us our contract including uncapping the COLA [Cost of Living Allowance]."

In addition, a telegram of solidarity from the Canadian Union of Postal Workers was read to the protesters.

SENTENCES REDUCED FOR TWO OF CHARLOTTE THREE

North Carolina Governor James Hunt has reduced the sentences for the two Charlotte Three defendants who remain behind bars. James Earl Grant and T.J. Reddy will be eligible for parole consideration imme-

Indians set drive to abolish Bureau of Indian Affairs

BAD RIVER INDIAN RESERVATION, Wisc.—The American Indian Movement (AIM) has announced plans for a national campaign to abolish the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Demonstrations were held at at least six BIA offices July 23.

Two hundred people rallied at the Ashland, Wisconsin, office, near here. Forty police in riot gear watched the peaceful demonstration.

Another forty people picketed the BIA offices in Minneapolis. Protesters staged a sit-in at the BIA office at the Rosebud Reservation in

South Dakota, and picket lines took place at BIA offices on the Pine Ridge and Yankton reservations in South Dakota, Fort Berthold in North Dakota, and in San Francisco.

The campaign against the BIA was called to back a protest here. Opponents of the BIA-backed tribal government have been staging an occupation of the reservation community center for the past two months.

"The BIA is responsible for the crisis here at Bad River," AIM national director Clyde Bellecourt told a news conference. "The rea-

son we have a corrupt tribal government at Bad River and elsewhere is because we have a corrupt BIA. They approve all actions by tribal councils. They know about the corruption that takes place. They're part of it!"

Also appearing at the news conference at Bad River were Ron Maday, one of the leaders of the Bad River occupation, and Bill Means, executive director of the International Indian Treaty Council.

Several hundred persons had participated in the occupation, including a number of people from around the country and members of AIM.

Protesters accuse tribal chairman Eugene Bigboy of nepotism, the disappearance of funds that were collected during reservation bingo games, the illegal writing of checks, and the establishment of a secret \$16,000 bank account for his personal use. He is also accused of fraud in his election last fall.

Last week, the BIA said it would mediate the dispute, appointing three outside Indian judges to determine if petitions for Bigboy's recall were valid.

Leaders of the occupation have vowed to continue the protest until they win.



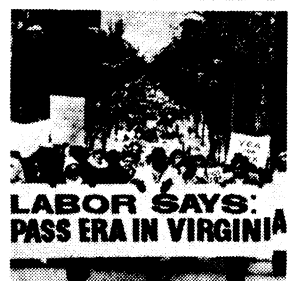
Indian leaders announce campaign to abolish Bureau of Indian Affairs.

ERA pamphlet

A new pamphlet, "Labor's Case for the ERA," has been put out by Labor for Equal Rights Now (LERN), the Virginia labor coalition sponsoring an August 12 Equal Rights Amendment conference in Richmond.

Copies can be obtained by writing or calling LERN, 116 South Third Street, Richmond, Virginia 23219. Phone: (804) 648-5801.

Labor's Case for the ERA



LABOR SAYS: PASS ERA IN VIRGINIA

diately. The third defendant, Charles Parker, was released on parole earlier this year.

Hunt, however, refused to overturn their convictions, claiming the defendants had received a "fair trial."

The three Black civil rights activists were charged with burning down the Lazy B stables in 1968. They were railroaded to jail on the basis of testimony from two witnesses later disclosed to be on the federal government's payroll.

Amnesty International concluded that the Charlotte Three were being held as political prisoners.

Grant served nearly three years on this frame-up; Reddy almost four. Supporters of their case will continue to insist upon a full admission of their innocence.

NEWSPAPER GUILD REJECTS CIA MONEY

The annual convention of the Newspaper Guild has voted to refuse government financial

assistance to its Latin American unionization drive. The Guild had received a \$100,000 grant from the Agency for International Development that was funnelled through the American Institute for Free Labor Development, a notorious CIA-controlled front. The AFLD operates through the AFL-CIO bureaucracy.

The decision, reached after a deep dispute in the 35,000 member union, reversed a position taken by the Guild's international executive board.

Cuba: twenty years of revolution

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by Fidel Castro. Castro's speech at his October 16, 1953, trial by the Batista dictatorship for the attack against the Moncada Barracks—the opening act of the Cuban revolution (Lyle Stuart publication). 79 pages, \$2.00.

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Upsurge in Africa

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The Ethiopian Revolution

by Ernest Harsch. The Ethiopian revolution, its roots and development, and the role played by Cuba. 38 pages, \$.85.

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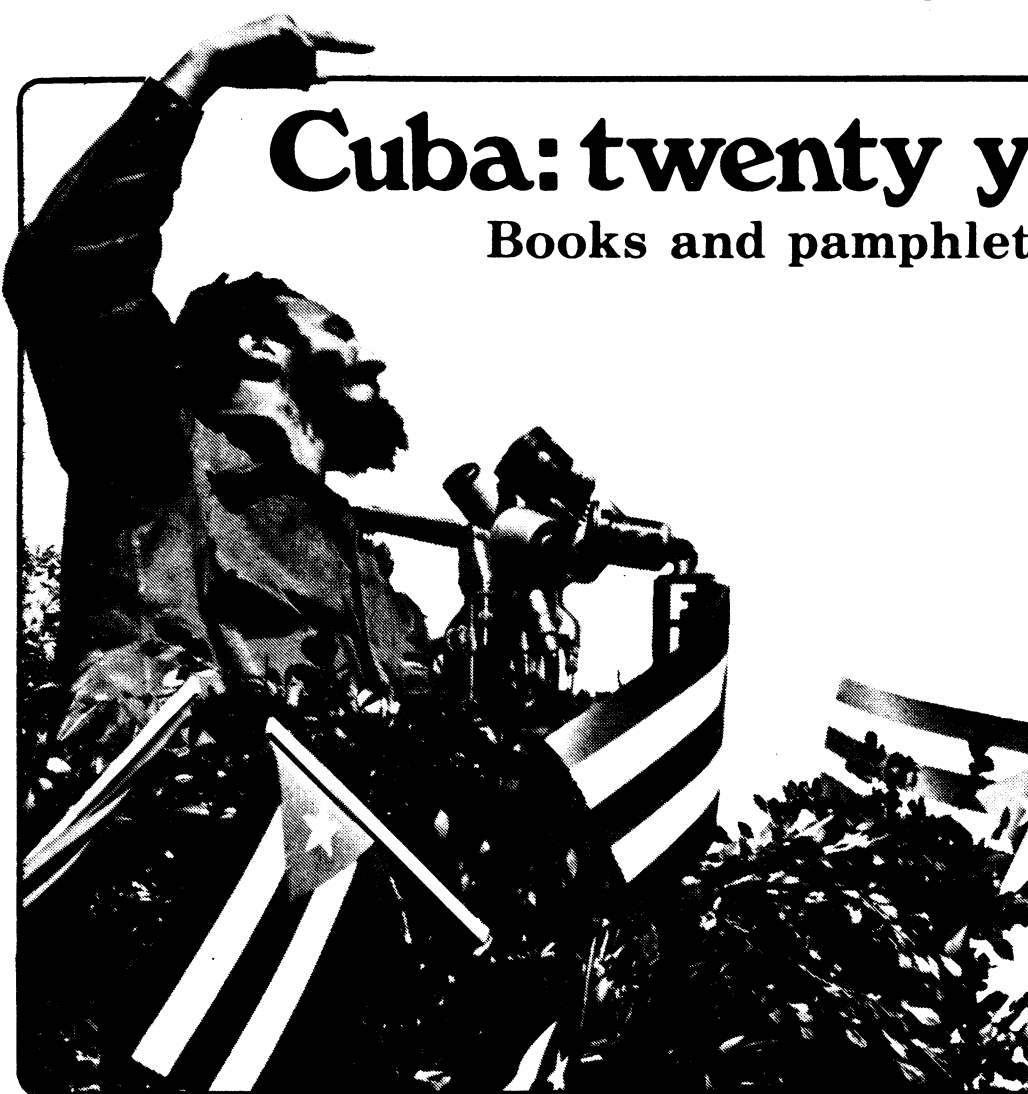
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(Offered at a special discount price)

Policies of the Cuban Leadership, by Joseph Hansen, 1967. \$5.

Twenty Years of the Cuban Revolution, by Jack Barnes, 1978. \$5.

The Theory of Permanent Revolution (on Cuba) by Joseph Hansen, 1961. Two talks, \$9.





California public workers stage job actions

By Walter Lippmann

LOS ANGELES—Squeezed between ceaseless inflation and the refusal of government agencies to offer adequate pay increases, thousands of public employees throughout California have begun job actions to force concessions in negotiations.

Tens of thousands have engaged in sickout protests, shutting down many facilities.

Negotiators for local governments, under instructions from Democratic and Republican elected officials, are proposing a miserable 2-5 percent wage increase.

In recent years, California public workers have fallen behind their private-industry counterparts in wages and benefits. At the same time, they have begun to see massive layoffs. In San Francisco, for example, the school board recently fired 1,197 teachers. That's 24 percent of all teachers (excepting bilingual teachers)—virtually everyone hired since 1967!

In the San Francisco Bay Area, strikes have closed down bus and ferry service from Marin County. Employees of the Bay Area Rapid Transit District

(BART) have rejected an offer for a 21 percent wage-and-benefit increase over three years. BART has refused the union's offer to extend its present contract on a day-to-day basis. A BART strike would affect 80,000 daily commuters.

Following the lead of California Governor Jerry Brown, who recently vetoed a pay increase for 200,000 state employees, local agencies are claiming they cannot exceed Carter's 7 percent guidelines. In most cases they haven't even approached these wage-cutting limits.

Also widespread are threats to further cut back on social services, already hard hit in the wake of Proposition 13.

Union leaders in Los Angeles have pressed demands for an 11 percent wage increase.

Bill Robertson, secretary of the AFL-CIO County Federation of Labor, announced July 19 that a strike date has been set for August 1 by the AFL-CIO unions representing 50,000 of Los Angeles County's 73,000 employees. "Our members are fed up and will strike if they do not get a fair settlement," he declared.

Witchhunt victims seek FBI files

In 1967, Thomas Ratliff, a coal mine owner and Kentucky district attorney, led a police raid on the home of Alan and Margaret McSurely. Ratliff announced afterwards the seizure of a "communist library"—the McSurely's books and private papers, including works by Leo Tolstoy, whom Ratliff described to the press as "a Russian writer."

The McSurelys were arrested and jailed under Kentucky's "sedition" law. A federal court ruled the statute unconstitutional a few weeks later.

The McSurelys were targeted because of their involvement in the civil rights movement.

Stolen papers found their way, despite a court order,

into the hands of a witch-hunting U.S. Senate committee.

As part of a \$1 million lawsuit expected to go to trial next fall, the McSurelys have asked a federal judge to order the FBI and other federal agencies to turn over all their files to them.

The FBI began spying on the couple in 1965, two years before the raid, and collected 2,000 pages in its files. The bureau has turned over only a few hundred, many of them heavily censored, and has refused to turn over the rest.

The McSurelys believe the Internal Revenue Service, CIA, and State Department also have copies of the stolen papers.

All for the best—Researchers employed by the Boulder, Colorado, Dept. of Commerce assert that pollution from oil refineries can help to make it rain and the rain can help reduce pollution. Which, they forgot to mention, leaves room for more pollution.

No bran for breakfast—A federal arbitrator upheld a Macon, Georgia, egg and poultry company rule limiting the number of times workers could go to the toilet and requiring they punch the clock each time. The arbitrator did increase the number of visits from sixteen to twenty. Prior to a walkout by the workers it had been two a week. They could simply issue each worker a monthly quota of plastic bags.

Thou-shalt-not dept.—The International Year of the Child was condemned by the International Council of Churches, a somewhat right-of-center grouping, which sees the year as "inciting children to rebel against their parents," thereby violating the Fourth Commandment that thou honor thy father and mother. Or else.

Deliberate speed—The Post Office is considering loosening its monopoly to permit private companies to deliver mail where such delivery is "urgent." How determine what's "urgent"? If the sender is willing to pay at least \$3. That may seem like a lot to get mail delivered. But after all it's not seemly for a federal institution to hurry.

Not a hot item?—A federal grand jury is probing charges that the McDonnell Douglas Corporation bribed Pakistan officials to have the government operated airline buy some DC-10s.

Don't be so touchy—A Tucson, Arizona, company which makes illuminated signs and watch dials was found to have spread radioactive waste which contaminated the food served at a nearby school. The company asked for 100 days to split to another state. "It's clear," the company president huffed, "that people don't want us in Arizona."

Union Talk

'Employee ownership'?

This week's column is by Guy Miller, a member of the United Transportation Union who works on the Chicago and North Western Railroad.

CHICAGO—The Chicago and North Western bills itself as the country's first and only "Employee Owned Railroad." The alleged sale of the C&NW to its employees seven years ago will go down as one of the shadiest deals in the long, dishonest history of American railroads.

Yet employee stock ownership is now being talked up as a possible solution to the bankruptcy of the Milwaukee Road. Milwaukee Road workers ought to be warned about our experience.

In 1956 a fast operator named Ben Heineman became chairman of the C&NW. Over the next sixteen years he systematically stripped and gutted the railroad. Under Heineman's direction the North Western eliminated thousands of jobs, including almost all of the switch tenders and firemen.

The North Western was one of the first carriers to begin experimenting with a train crew reduced from three members to two.

While the railroad was allowed to decay, Heineman and his cronies siphoned money into the more profitable parent company, Northwest Industries. By 1972 the plunder was complete and he was ready to dump the depleted, debt-ridden C&NW onto the backs of its workers.

It was a rip-off and everybody knows it. There was a gimmick where employees earning \$10,000 or less a year could buy no more than \$5,000 worth of stock, while people with higher managerial salaries were entitled to purchase up to \$100,000 worth.

At the time of the sale, C&NW had around 14,000 employees on its payroll—about 13,000 workers, and around 1,000 foremen, supervisors, and managers of various degrees.

When the 70,000 shares of stock were sold, only 1,000 employees purchased them. This broke down into 600 on salaries, and only 400 wage workers.

Business magazines estimated that wage earners got between 10 and 15 percent of the stock. Thus control remained tightly in the hands of the old

managers.

Incidentally, this total stock deal involved about \$3.5 million, which is tiny compared to the hundreds of millions of dollars involved in the Milwaukee Road bankruptcy.

That was seven years ago.

Out of the hundreds of workers I've met, not more than a dozen own stock in the company. They never got any dividends or bonuses out of it either.

Those few who do own "our" stock are distinguished by being working fools, endangering themselves and everybody who works with them. That kind of self-induced speedup is exactly what management hoped to accomplish through the "employee ownership" scheme.

The seven years since "We're Employee Owned" was first stenciled onto the company's waycars have been hard. In 1973 the North Western was the first major carrier to sign a system-wide crew consist agreement.

This settlement, reducing many operating crews from three to two, set the trend other railroads are trying to follow. The fact that these short-handed crews are unsafe keeps the C&NW near the top in accident rates for Class "A" railroads.

Several years ago the North Western instituted a program called "work factor" to speed up its clerical employees. The program broke down all clerical functions and assigned a predetermined "target time" by which they should be completed. The recession year of 1974 saw layoffs affecting over 8 percent of the work force.

In short, the concept of "employee owned" is a fraud from beginning to end. Workers on the C&NW as well as other railroads need direct control over such things as safety, the speed of work, and maintenance of track and equipment.

We need to get access to all the company's secrets by opening their books. We want to know why, when railroads are needed more than ever, are the companies phasing out more and more equipment and track?

If management is not interested in running the railroads, they should be nationalized and made to serve the public.

Certainly "employee ownership" is no solution to our problems. It's nothing more than a trick to get us to help finance someone else's mismanagement.

What's Going On

NEW YORK NEW YORK CITY

HIROSHIMA-NAGASAKI ANTINUCLEAR RALLY. Sun., Aug. 5, 12:30 p.m. Peekskill Train Station, Westchester County, near Indian Point Reactor.

NAGASAKI DAY PICKET LINE. Thurs., Aug. 9, 12 noon, Riverside Research Institute, 80 West End Ave., New York City.

ANTINUCLEAR VIGIL. Thurs., Aug. 9, 5:30 p.m., Times Square Recruitment Station.

CANDLELIGHT VIGIL. Thurs., Aug. 9, 7 p.m. Dag Hammarskjöld Plaza. These activities sponsored by the Hiroshima-Nagasaki Coalition. For more information call Mobilization for Survival

(212) 673-1808 or Shad Alliance (212) 475-4539.

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 election disclosure suit against State of Texas. Sat., July 28, 7 p.m. 835 W. 42nd St. Ausp: SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (512) 524-8774.

'History will absolve me'

At dawn on July 26, 1953 Fidel Castro led a daring attack on the Moncada Barracks in Cuba. Since then this date has been celebrated as the launching of the Cuban revolution.

Under the title of its closing words, "History will absolve me," Castro's five-hour address to the court in his own defense on October 16, 1953 became one of the most important documents in the movement that finally overthrew the hated Batista dictatorship six years later.

In the excerpts below the young Fidel outlines the kinds of measures needed to solve the pressing problems of land, housing, unemployment, education and health care.

Today, twenty-six years later, there are no landless Cubans, unemployment has been eliminated, illiteracy virtually abolished, and free medical care is available to all. Rents, which were immediately cut in half after the triumph of the revolution, have been slashed even further.

Fidel was one politician who meant what he said.

A revolutionary government counting on the support of the people and the respect of the Nation, once it makes a complete sweep of all venal and corrupt office holders, would proceed immediately to industrialize the country, to mobilize all inactive capital through the National Bank and the Bank for Industrial and Agricultural Development. . . .

After making the hundred thousand small farmers owners of the land for which they now pay rent, a revolutionary government would proceed to end the land problem once and for all time. This would be done first by establishing as the Constitution says, a limit to the extension of land a person may own for each type of agricultural undertaking, acquiring any excess by expropriation; by recovering the lands usurped from the State; by drying swamps; by setting aside zones for tree nurseries and reforestation; secondly, by distributing the rest of the land available among the rural families preferably to those in number; by setting up cooperatives for farmers for the common use of costly farm equipment, cold storage, etc. with technical guidance by experts in cultivation of crops and the breeding of livestock. Finally, by making available all resources, equipment, protection, and know-how to farmers.

A revolutionary government would solve the problem of housing by lowering rent fifty per cent, by giving tax exemption to houses inhabited by their owners; by tripling the taxes on houses built to rent; by substituting the ghastly one-room flats with modern multi-story buildings; and by financing a housing project to cover the Island on a scale never before seen which would be based on the princi-



ple that if in the rural area the ideal is for each family to own its land, then in the city the ideal would be for each family to own its house or apartment. There are enough bricks and more than enough bricklayers to build a decent house for each Cuban family.

With these three initiatives and reforms, the problem of unemployment would disappear automatically, and sanitation service and the struggle against disease and sickness would be a much easier task.

Finally, and in order to properly prepare the generation who are to live in a happy Nation, a revolutionary government would proceed to a total reform of our educational system, placing this reform at the same level of importance as other problems to be solved. . . .

From where can we get the necessary money? When there are no corrupt office holders who let themselves be bribed by big Companies to the detriment of the public treasury; when the people's money isn't stolen; when the great resources of the Nation are mobilized, and the State no longer buys tanks, bombers and guns for a country which has no frontiers to oppress the people; and when the State decides it wishes to educate the people instead of killing them; then there will be money enough.

Cuban can support splendidly a population three times larger than it now has. There is no reason then for poverty to exist at present. The markets should be flooded with produce. All pantries should be full. Everyone should be working and producing. And all of that is not inconceivable. It is inconceivable that anyone should go to bed hungry while there remains uncultivated land. It is inconceivable that there are children dying without medical care. It is inconceivable that thirty percent of our farmers don't even know how to write their names and that 99 percent don't even know the history of Cuba. It is inconceivable that the majority of the families on our farms are living under worse conditions than the Indians Columbus found when he discovered "the most beautiful land that human eyes have ever seen."

Charlotte 3 defendant appeals for Czechoslovak activists

The following letter from Jim Grant of the Charlotte Three was sent to President Gustav Husak of Czechoslovakia in an appeal to free ten recently arrested human rights activists there.

The Charlotte Three—Grant, T.J. Reddy, and Charles Parker—are three civil rights and antiwar activists who were framed up in 1972 on charges of having burned down a riding stable in Charlotte, North Carolina. They have been designated as prisoners of conscience by Amnesty International.

I would like to add my name to those who are appealing to you to free Petr Uhl, Otta Bednarova, Jarmila Belikova, Vaclav Benda, Jiri Dienstbier, Vaclav Havel, Ladislav Lis, Vaclav Maly, Dana Nemcova, and Jiri Nemec. All are members of The Committee for the Defense of the Unjustly Persecuted (VONS) and signers of Charter 77. All have been adopted by Amnesty International as prisoners of conscience.

As one who has been unjustly persecuted by U.S. imperialism because of my opposition to racism and capitalism, and my desire to bring about socialism in this country, I know full well what these people are going through. I have had to endure the filth, scum and the fascist goons of the prison system of the racist state of North Carolina for seven years and have never wavered in my fight against the enemies of human rights. I do not expect that prison will alter the will or opinions of the ten human rights activists referred to above, but will only serve to strengthen their determination to right the wrongs of their society. In addition, the jailing of these activists will only serve to give the two-faced stooge of U.S. imperialism, Jimmy Carter, grist for his propaganda mill against socialism.

Hoping that you will hear my plea, I remain, respectfully in the struggle.

Jim Grant
of The Charlotte Three
Raleigh, North Carolina

Against Soviet boycott

George Saunders's article (*Militant* July 6) explaining why supporters of the Soviet dissident movement should not call for an economic boycott of the Soviet Union was a very good exposition of the revolutionary Marxist position of the necessity to defend workers states from imperialist attack.

A couple of more points can be made in regard to this question. First, trade and the acquisition of more advanced technology makes the workers states stronger and more powerful. The workers states becoming more powerful means a tremendous advance for the world revolution and the weakening of imperialism. The weakening of imperialism brings about a deepening of the crisis of the Stalinist bureaucracy because, in the final analysis, the very existence of the bureaucracy is a product of imperialist world domination.

A few examples of this process: The Soviet victory in World War II and the resulting expansion of "socialist" territory; Soviet aid to the Chinese Revolution, which helped secure its victory; Soviet aid to the revolutionary Cuban government; and Soviet aid to the Vietnamese revolution and various national liberation movements—all of these things have helped open the road for the overthrow of both the imperialists and their Stalinist "partners."

Secondly, because workers states have planned economies, trade and the acquisition of "capital" does not lead to increasing impoverishment and exploitation of the masses as it does under capitalist regimes, but instead improves the living conditions of the people and, even more importantly, increases the working class's political power.

These are two more reasons why militant workers who support the struggle for democracy in the USSR should oppose the boycott tactic.

M.J.B.
New Orleans, Louisiana

Against the draft

Women should not allow themselves to be drafted for any kind of war work because they have never had a vote in government on whether or not there would be war.

Draftees should refuse to be drafted to leave their country and be sent to a foreign country to fight for causes in which they do not believe, and where they don't understand the language.

Draftees could make up a questionnaire and ask the government to fill it out:

- What country would he be sent to?
- What is the reason he would be fighting in the country?
- How long would he be there?
- Would he be expected to go from country to country, war to war?
- If so, what is the reason for so many wars where Americans would be expected to fight?

And any other questions the draftees want answered.

They should also ask that all American soldiers fighting in foreign countries be brought home.

If one country takes over control of the world, they will govern the working people by military rule and martial law. There will be no country to flee to because the same government will rule over all countries.

All countries are now filled with war supplies. As long as war supplies are being manufactured, draftees are going to be called upon to use them wherever the government wishes.

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Learning About Socialism

Working people should refuse to work on the manufacture of any war products or on the movement or shipment of such products
A reader
Detroit, Michigan

On GE coverage

The coverage on the General Electric contract was good in last week's *Militant* (no. 28), however there were two errors in the articles that appeared on page 8.

In the introduction to the article it says, "The GE contract was ratified over the opposition of the two biggest IUE locals." According to my understanding of the size of the International Union of Electrical Workers locals, this statement is incorrect. Louisville IUE Local 761 has 17,000 members, Schenectady Local 301 has 10,000 members, and Lynn Local 201 has 8,000 members.

In the box on the bottom of the page, Luis Castro is identified as being a member of IUE Local 301 when in fact he is a member of IUE Local 201. Nancy Rosenstock
Albany, New York

Antinuke court win

A July 6 article—"Antinuclear protesters convicted"—told of the plights of two antinuclear groups convicted of trespassing for civil disobedience. On the lighter side, on June 10 forty-eight arrests were made when the Comanche Peak Life force occupied the Comanche Peak nuclear power plant construction site near Glen Rose, Texas. During a three-day trial, Judge Sam Freas overruled the prosecution's objections and allowed evidence on the dangers of nuclear power, including the expert testimony of Dr. Ernest Sternglass, professor of radiological health physics at the University of Pittsburgh School of Medicine, and Dr. Rosalie Bertell of the Roswell Park Memorial Institute in Buffalo, New York.

Excellent work of the defense team—Lewis Pitts, who was on the defense team of the Karen Silkwood trial, and Tom Mills of Dallas—resulted in a hung jury, four for acquittal, two for guilty.

The jurors holding out for guilty both have sons who work at the construction site. After the trial, one of the jurors was quoted as saying, "Between you and me, if I had known some of these things before, I might have climbed over that fence along with them kids." Presently it is unknown if the case will be retried.

This fairly new group has been an asset to the antinuclear movement and deserves recognition.

Teri Miller
Garland, Texas

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.

Has OPEC caused the recession?

The Carter administration has admitted that the U.S. economy is entering a recession. Rising unemployment and continuing double-digit inflation are expected.

Carter is blaming the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) for the downturn. The now infamous memorandum by Carter aide Stuart Eizenstat reveals that this claim is actually a cynical political ploy. In reality, figures indicate that the economy had begun to slow down before the recent OPEC actions.

In fact, Carter's top economic experts were complaining as recently as March that the economy *was not slowing down fast enough*. They were pushing for higher interest rates to hurry up a recession. The capitalists hope for a relatively mild recession that will serve to hold down wages and facilitate their budget-cutting attacks on social welfare programs.

But if the recession is not the result of increases in oil prices, what is its real cause? Is it just a matter of government manipulation?

The fact is that periods of boom and bust are rooted in the very heart of the capitalist system. In the last 120 years the United States has never gone for as long as ten years without a recession.

Although this boom-bust business cycle can be influenced by government monetary policies, it cannot be eliminated or controlled as long as capitalism exists.

The underlying cause of the boom-bust cycle is the way that production is regulated under capitalism. No human society could survive if production were not carried out in proper proportions. For example, if society stopped building houses and instead concentrated on producing only Cadillacs, we would soon begin to suffer from exposure.

Prior to the rise of capitalism, when production tended to be concentrated in family units or in small villages, it was not too complicated to regulate what was produced. In the modern world, socialists would solve this problem by organizing production according to an overall economic plan.

But under capitalism, we have a huge, complicated economic apparatus, and no rational overall plan to guide it. Each individual corporation is interested only in maximizing its own profits. The result of this anarchy is that production under capitalism is regulated by successive business cycles.

The successive stages of the business cycle are:

1) Stagnation. This is marked by depressed production and high unemployment.

2) Recovery. Production and employment pick up as profits rise.

3) Boom. In pursuit of maximum profits, each capitalist enterprise tends to push its production levels higher. This results in overproduction—the market is unable to absorb the goods that have been produced. (From the point of view of the capitalists, actual human needs never enter into the

picture. If people cannot *pay* for what is produced—no matter how much they may *need* the products—there is a condition of "overproduction.")

4) Recession. Production is cut back sharply. Workers are laid off. The capitalists wait for the market to revive.

In addition to being necessary for maintaining the proper proportionality of capitalist production, recessions are useful to the capitalists as a means of holding down wages and increasing the exploitation of working people. Since the recession phase of the cycle is marked by a sharp rise in unemployment, workers are forced to work harder for less pay because of the fear of being fired. All this increases the profits of the bosses.

This increase in the pool of jobless—what Marx called the reserve industrial army—also enables the capitalists to easily find additional workers when the economy once again expands.

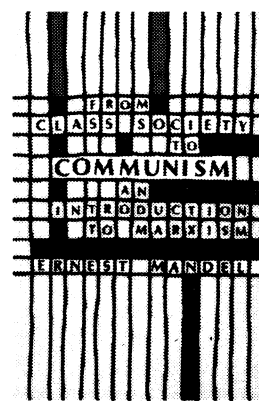
Recessions also lead to an increased rate of business bankruptcies. This enables the richest bosses to buy out their weaker rivals at bargain-basement prices, concentrating wealth in fewer hands and increasing the profits of the richest capitalists.

The only way to do away with these recurrent crises is through the creation of a workers government that would nationalize industry and establish a planned economy.

Proof of this is supplied by the experience of those countries where the working class has taken state power and established itself as the ruling class. Notwithstanding the fact that all these countries except Cuba are saddled with corrupt, bureaucratic ruling castes, they have all abolished the boom-bust cycle. The Soviet Union has not had a recession for more than fifty years.

With the extension of the socialist revolution to the rest of the planet, especially the United States, the misery caused by recurrent economic crises will be abolished forever.

—Bill Gottlieb



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VIRGINIA: Tidewater Area (Newport News): SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 782. Zip: 23607.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699.

WASHINGTON: Olympia: YSA, c/o Deann Rathbun, Rt. 1, Box 504, Shelton, Wa. 98584. Seattle: SWP, YSA, 4868 Rainier Ave., South Seattle. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330. Tacoma: SWP, YSA, 1306 S. K St. Zip: 98405. Tel: (206) 627-0432.

WEST VIRGINIA: Morgantown: SWP, YSA, 957 S. University Ave. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

WISCONSIN: Madison: YSA, P.O. Box 1442. Zip: 53701. Tel: (608) 255-4733. Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 3901 N. 27th St. Zip: 53216. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

THE MILITANT

Ala. Blacks march to protest cop terror

By Marcel Black

BIRMINGHAM—The falling rain didn't dampen the spirits of thousands of militant Blacks who marched here July 20 to protest the police murder of Bonita Carter.

Carter, a twenty-year-old Black woman, was gunned down June 22 by a Birmingham cop, George Sands. Sands shot the unarmed Carter three times in the back.

Sands has been given a desk job by Birmingham Mayor David Vann, which has outraged the Black community. When Vann ventured near the demonstration July 20, protesters chanted, "Vann and Sands have got to go."

The July 20 demonstration, which numbered from 2,000 to 3,000 people, was the high point in a month of angry protests by the Black community against the cop terror.

Demonstrations, rallies, picket lines, and meetings organized by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and other civil rights organizations have taken place in the week following the killing.

At an SCLC mass meeting Monday, July 16, a newly formed coalition of civil rights groups called for a protest march the following Friday. The coalition included SCLC, NAACP, Operation Human Rights, and the local branch of the World Community of Islam in the West.

Joseph Lowery, national president of the SCLC, said at the meeting, "We must finish a job we started long ago. We will not sit idly by and allow a Black life to be snuffed out."

The SCLC head explained that the rise in Klan and other racist violence against the Black community was the result of the "atmosphere created by the energy crisis, the economic crisis, and so on."

The problem is the system, Lowery continued. "There's something wrong with the system when poor people can't buy gasoline and oil companies



Thousands protested failure of Birmingham Mayor David Vann to fire killer-cop George Sands. Militant/Susan Ellis

are making more than they ever have. The system has got to be changed," Lowery said.

In the days before the July 16 meeting, racist violence in the Kingston community, where Carter was killed, escalated. Abdullah Rahman, a member of the World Community of Islam in the West and leader of the Kingston community, told the *Militant* that racist hooligans living in Kingston were harassing and attacking Blacks.

"They drove through the community at ninety miles an hour—almost hitting some children. Then they returned and fired shotguns indiscriminately," Rahman reported.

Muslims and others in the Kingston

section of Birmingham have "pledged ourselves to defend the community by any means necessary," said Rahman. "We are patrolling the community," he continued, "and have forced the city to send only Black police officers into Kingston."

On July 19, the same racist scum that had been shooting at Blacks for nearly a week went out in night-riding attacks. This time they shot at a Black child. Fortunately, the child wasn't hurt. The Black self-defense units in Kingston responded quickly and fought off the racist assault.

Birmingham police later arrested two whites, both of whom lived in Kingston. One was charged with public drunkenness, and the other, Jack

McDaniel, was charged with assault with intent to murder.

A third white was taken to a local hospital for a gunshot wound.

The turnout for the July 29 march and rally was an indication of the depth of the outrage in the Black community over the Carter killing. Many people had taken the day off work to demonstrate. One marcher near this reporter called out to a Black bystander to join the march. When the bystander said he had to work, the demonstrator said, "I work too, but I laid off today. I have two children and I don't want them on nobody's casualty list."

Singing old civil rights songs and chanting, "Freedom now!" and "Justice now!" the march wound its way through downtown Birmingham to the steps of city hall.

The official demands of the protest were fire Sands and hire more Black police.

Reverend Abraham Woods, Jr., the president of Birmingham SCLC, opened the rally by pointing out that the overwhelming majority of the people at the demonstration were from Birmingham. "When we put out a national call," Woods warned, "Birmingham won't be able to hold us all."

Woods also announced that the coalition that organized the protest was calling for an economic boycott of the downtown stores and outlying shopping malls.

Other speakers at the rally included SCLC President Lowery, leaders of the NAACP from around the state, and leaders of the Kingston community. Kingston resident Abdullah Rahman said that "Sands is just a leaf on the tree. If you want to get rid of the tree, you don't cut off a limb. You pull it up by its roots."

"If we want justice," Rahman continued, "we must stop those planes from rolling out of Hayes Aircraft [an airplane manufacturer in Kingston] and stop that steel from rolling out of U.S. Steel."

Va. Steelworkers hold shipyard rallies

By Jon Hillson

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—"Who's number one?"

"Steelworkers!"

"What do we want?"

"Contract!"

These were the chants shouted by hundreds of United Steelworkers Local 8888 members in lunchtime rallies July 18-19 outside the gates of the Newport News Shipyard.

The Steelworkers had asked shipyard President Edward Campbell to address the events. To hear, as one union leaflet states, "the real reason why the company has appealed the second order of the NLRB [National Labor Relations Board] to begin collective bargaining. We want to tell him, in our own words, what the continued delay is doing to us and our families, and ask him to withdraw the appeal."

The shipyard's top dog didn't show, but hundreds of Steelworkers did. They gave up their lunch breaks to hear USWA staff representatives and Local 8888 Vice-president John Townsell urge a massive turnout for the union's special membership meeting at 3 p.m.

July 29 at the Hampton Coliseum.

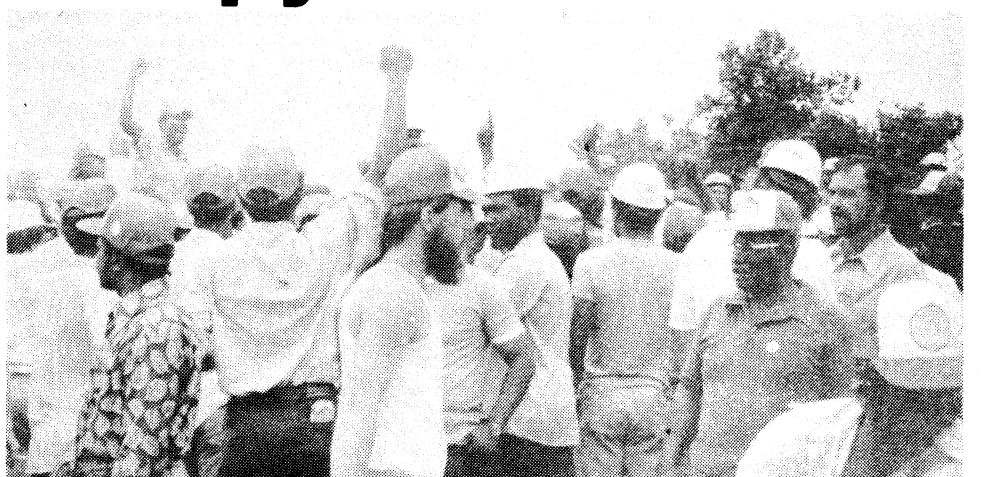
At this meeting USWA President Lloyd McBride is scheduled to present his recommendations for how the shipyard workers can counter the company's latest courtroom stall. Tenneco, owner of the shipyard, has persistently used the NLRB and courts to deny its workers their union rights.

Townsell's fiery speech at the Sixty-eighth Street gate had two hundred Steelworkers cheering.

"We face low wages, dangerous working conditions, and harassment," he said. "We are going to fight for a decent contract until we win. And we need everyone active and participating in the union to do that."

An added boost to the mood of the rallies was the news of the United Auto Workers' organizing victory against General Motors in Oklahoma City (see page 3). "This will be good for us," one Steelworker told the *Militant*. "It will be an extra push against Tenneco."

On July 24, 25, and 26, the union sponsored similar lunchtime rallies at work sites inside the yard, with Camp-



Local 8888 members rally at shipyard gate to demand union recognition and an end to Tenneco's stalling. Membership meeting July 29 will set course of action. Militant/Jon Hillson

bell requested to attend each. The USWA subdistrict office is also preparing to publish a weekly information bulletin to be distributed at the gates.

These events and numerous departmental meetings, along with strategy sessions involving hundreds of Steelworker shop stewards and volunteer organizers, underscore the readiness of

the union to decide a course of action at its July 29 meeting.

They also show the local's understanding that Tenneco's pledge not to appeal a pro-union decision by the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals isn't worth the paper it is written on. The shipyard bosses have broken two sim-

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