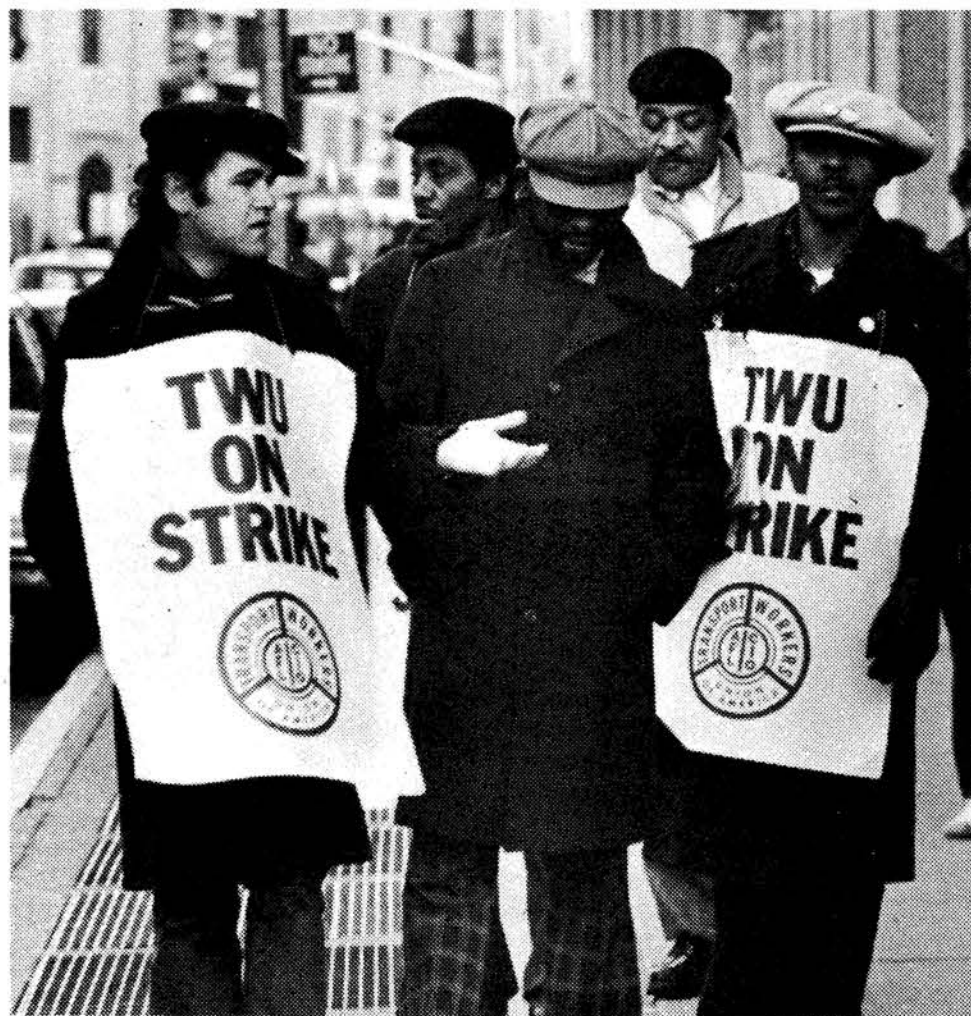


# THE MILITANT

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

## Support N.Y. transit strikers! They're fighting for all of us



Militant/Stu Singer

Transport Workers Union pickets in front of Transit Authority building on Jay Street in Brooklyn. Page 8.

The following statement was issued April 9 by the Socialist Workers Party candidates from New York: Victor Nieto for U.S. Senate; Reba Williams Dixon for U.S. Congress, Nineteenth District; Robert Miller for U.S. Congress, Seventeenth District.

Mayor Edward Koch and Gov. Hugh Carey are out to break the transit workers' strike and deal a crippling blow to all labor in New York.

The city and state are stonewalling negotiations. With the aid of antilabor courts, they are imposing punitive fines on the unions, their officers, and individual members. And above all, the Democratic and Republican strike breakers are trying to turn the other working people of New York against the transit workers.

In one of his many mud-slinging antistrike tirades, Koch asserted: "You are hurting the poorest of the poor, the Blacks, the Hispanics, the poor whites, and people living in Bedford Stuyvesant and the South Bronx who can't afford not to come to work."

How touching! The mayor's heart bleeds for the poor, for Blacks and Hispanics.

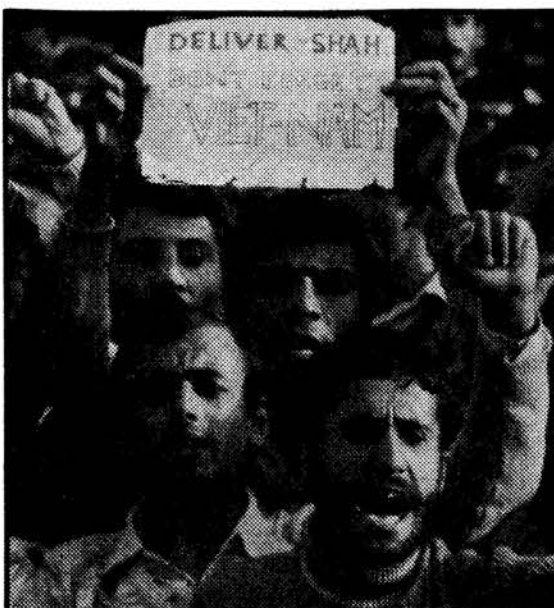
Is that why, since the day he took office, he's been trying to shut down schools and hospitals in impoverished Black and Hispanic neighborhoods? Is that why the Metropolitan Transportation Authority had new tokens minted—before the strike began—in preparation for another fare hike that will hit hardest at the poor?

If the mayor is so concerned about workers who can't

*Continued on next page*

**Behind  
new  
smears  
against  
Cuba**

—PAGE 4



**No  
sanctions  
against  
Iran—  
send back shah!**

—PAGE 3



## ...transit

Continued from front page

afford to lose a day's pay, why doesn't he declare an emergency and require employers to pay all workers who can't get to the job?

Even simpler, why doesn't he just settle the strike? All the transit workers are asking is a pay increase to bring them somewhere near the increased cost of living, and to hang on to hard-won working conditions that Koch wants to take back [see box below].

Of course the strike is hard on the poor and working people of this city. It's hard on the strikers too. But Koch, Carey, and the MTA deliberately forced a strike, knowing full well the hardships it would cause.

They provoked a strike to "teach a lesson" to all workers that wage cuts and contract take-backs are the order of the day. The same order President Carter is giving with his national austerity plan of more money for the Pentagon, less for social needs; higher prices at the gas pump and grocery store, strict limits on wages.

In trying to incite other working people against the transit strikers, Koch is trying to

trick workers into acting against their own best interests.

The transit workers are fighting for every worker, every poor person in this city and throughout the country. A victory for the transit unions would be a victory for all of us.

If Koch and Carey succeed in breaking the transit unions, it will weaken every other union. And a badly weakened labor movement will make it easier for Koch and Carey to slash away at jobs, schools, hospitals and other essential services.

Just think: outside of rent allowances that go to the slumlords, welfare payments in New York have not increased in six years. Six years during which the cost of living has gone up more than 58 percent!

If the transit workers can be denied a catch-up wage increase, it will be that much harder for welfare recipients to get some compensation for inflation.

But, city officials argue, the transit workers are highly paid. They don't need more.

That's a lie too. The only reason the capitalist politicians can even dare to use such an argument is that there are so many workers in this city getting such shamefully low wages

that the modest pay of a transit worker looks good by comparison.

But if the transit workers lose, will that make it easier for low-paid garment workers to win raises? No way. It will be harder.

But, says our fast-talking mayor, the government is broke. We don't have the money to meet the union's demands.

Bunk.

The money is there. It's there in the \$150-billion-plus war budget Carter is proposing. Instead of building underground railroad tracks all across Utah and Nevada for the MX missile, why can't these billions go to clean up and improve the New York subways, pay the workers a decent wage, and eliminate the fare?

Fact is, there is money right in New York for the subways. But Koch refuses to collect it. No, we're not talking about another fare hike. We're talking about collecting it from those who can afford to pay.

According to city estimates, Wall Street firms, other employers, and the big merchants of the city are losing \$75 million to \$100 million a day in the strike.

A lot of money. But what does it mean? It means that ordinarily the employers, department stores, and so on make that much money daily just because the subways and buses are running. Without the transit system, they lose cash customers and they lose the labor of workers from whom they extract their profits. Why not put a modest transit tax on those millions a day in profits?

Koch and Carey, like all good Democratic and Republican officeholders, don't favor taxing the rich. That would be biting the hand that feeds and controls them. No, they prefer shedding crocodile tears for the poor, while socking it to us.

Finally, consider this. A big percentage of the transit strikers are Black and Hispanic. If there was a drop of sincerity to Koch's claimed concern for Blacks and Hispanics, why is he out to take away the modest gains these workers have managed to win through their union?

The entire labor movement of the whole country, together with the Black and Hispanic communities, ought to stand in full solidarity with the transit workers.

Their fight is our fight. Their victory will be our victory.

## What are the issues?

### WAGES

Workers want to recoup some of the buying power they've lost to inflation since 1974. Since that year their wages have increased less than 25 percent, while the Consumer Price Index has gone up 54 percent.

Transit workers are not living high on the hog. A subway conductor makes \$7.48 an hour. After taxes, that's barely \$200 a week—not much to support a family in New York.

### GIVEBACKS

The Transit Authority demands that workers give up union working conditions won over decades. The most important disputes concern:

•**Part-timers.** Management wants to bring in part-time workers, who would not be eligible for most benefits enjoyed by full-timers. This would create two groups of workers who

would be pitted against each other, weakening the union and driving down wages and conditions for all.

•**Differential pay** for working weekends. Management wants to eliminate it. Workers who have to work on the only two days they could normally spend with their families think they are entitled to some compensation.

•**Break time.** Management wants to cut it by twenty minutes. Workers ask whether any human being can be expected to toil in the city subways, or drive buses over the crowded and potholed streets, for a solid eight hours without compensated breaks.

•**Wage cuts** for new hires. Management wants to cut wages for trainees and stretch out the time before new workers get full pay. This depresses the general wage scale and encourages firing of regular employees. Besides, new workers pay the same prices at the store.

## Militant Highlights This Week

- 6 U.S. clergy condemn Salvadoran junta
- 7 Unionists link war drive, big oil
- 11 Gov't round-up of Puerto Rican activists
- 12 Socialist ballot drive
- 13 Zimmermann backs Harvester strike
- 14 Celia Sanchez and the Cuban revolution
- 16 Three Mile Island actions
- 17 Striking miners speak out
- 18 Lane Kirkland: Meany's heir
- 23 Louisiana oil workers still out
- Birmingham closes bombing case
- 6 Solidarity With Nicaragua
- 7 As I See It
- 12 Campaign Calendar
- 16 Nuke Notes
- 24 In Review
- 25 The Great Society
- By Any Means Necessary
- What's Going On
- 26 Our Revolutionary Heritage
- Letters
- 27 Learning About Socialism
- WORLD OUTLOOK
- 19 Grenada: One year of revolution
- 21 Media lies about Afghan rebels



### Union president: draft serves big oil

The head of the Service Employees International Union says nationalizing oil companies, not draft and threats of war, is solution to energy crisis. **Page 7.**

### Puerto Rican activists arrested

FBI dragnet against alleged terrorists is an attack on all fighters for Puerto Rican rights. **Page 11.**



### Striking coal miners defy gag order

They describe safety violations and use of company goon squads by Consolidation Coal Company. **Page 17.**



## The Militant

Editor: STEVE CLARK

Associate Editors: CINDY JAQUITH

ANDY ROSE

Business Manager: PETER SEIDMAN

Editorial Staff: Nan Bailey, Nancy Cole, Fred Feldman, Jim Garrison, Suzanne Haig, Osborne Hart, Gus Horowitz, Diane Jacobs, August Nimtz, Harry Ring, Priscilla Schenk, Stu Singer.

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

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscriptions: U.S. \$20.00 a year, outside U.S. \$25.00. By first-class mail: U.S., Canada, and Mexico: \$50.00. Write for airmail rates to all other countries.

For subscriptions airfreighted to London and then posted to Britain and Ireland: £3.00 for ten issues, £6.00 for six months (twenty-four issues), £11.00 for one year (forty-eight issues). Posted from London to Continental Europe: £4.50 for ten issues, £10.00 for six months, £15.00 for one year. Send checks or international money order (payable to Intercontinental Press account) to Intercontinental Press (The Militant), P.O. Box 50, London N1 2XP, England.

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



# Hands off Iran! Send back shah!

By Janice Lynn

President Carter's latest actions against Iran have nothing to do with gaining the release of the Americans being held in the U.S. Embassy in Tehran.

During the past five months, the Iranian masses have continually made it clear that the Americans would be released as soon as the shah was returned to Iran.

But Carter refused to meet this simple and just demand. He refused to even acknowledge Washington's role in imposing the shah's regime in the first place, or Washington's role in backing this dictator for twenty-five years against the will of the Iranian workers and farmers. And it was Carter who provoked the crisis in the first place, by bringing the shah into the United States.

On April 7, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini reaffirmed his stand that, barring return of the shah, "the hostages will be in the hands of the struggling Moslem students until the Islamic parliament decides their fate." He repeated that the hostages were in good health and were not being mistreated. This was also confirmed by the three American clergymen who visited them in the embassy on Easter.

## Carter prolongs crisis

Carter has now chosen to prolong the crisis. On April 7 he announced a series of measures designed to undermine and prepare the ground for crushing the Iranian revolution.

He broke off all diplomatic relations with Iran, formally imposed an economic boycott, declared that an estimated \$8 billion of Iranian property could be seized by U.S. banks and corporations, and ordered all Iranian



Youth pull down statue of shah's father in Tehran during struggle that overthrew monarchy. Carter's continued support for royal mass murderer is prolonging hostage crisis.

diplomats to be out of the country in less than twenty-four hours.

Carter warned that "other actions may become necessary." Administration officials indicated that a next possible step might be a naval blockade that could stop goods from entering Iran and oil from leaving.

Washington already has a twenty-seven-ship task force in the Arabian Sea, off the Iranian coast, that includes two carriers and a contingent of

1,800 combat marines. Such military action could have disastrous consequences not only for the hostages but for all American working people.

In his statement, Carter declared, "The Iranian government can no longer escape full responsibility by hiding behind the militants at the embassy." Although Iranian President Abu al-Hassan Bani-Sadr has expressed his disagreement with the students on many occasions, the gov-

ernment has so far not attempted to defy the overwhelming sentiments of the Iranian masses by moving against them.

One of Carter's goals is to replace this government with one more like that of the ex-shah, which deferred to Washington while trampling on the needs and outraging the deepest beliefs of Iranians for twenty-five years.

## Threats from Iraq

Coinciding with Washington's escalation, Iran also faces increasing hostility and military threats from the regime in neighboring Iraq. While trying to maintain a militant image, the Iraqi rulers have moved closer to Washington since the Iranian revolution. They fear the example of the revolution, such as the gains won by Iran's Kurdish minority in its fight for autonomy (Iraq has a large and restive Kurdish population).

As a result of Carter's menacing threats and the flareup of hostilities with Iraq, the Iranian military has been ordered on full alert.

In response to Carter's moves, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini declared April 8, "This is the beginning of the dawn of final victory of a nation against the bloodthirsty superpower which was forced to cut relations."

Several families of the hostages in Iran expressed their opposition to the expulsion of the Iranian diplomats, explaining that the Iranian chargé d'affaires had been one of the few helpful people during the past five months. Most of the families reached expressed the opinion that they were glad Carter was finally doing something. But most held out little hope that Carter's actions would measura-

*Continued on page 22*

# U.S. athletes say 'no' to Olympic boycott

By Bernie Senter

DENVER—The boycott of the Moscow Olympics declared by the Carter administration faces growing opposition.

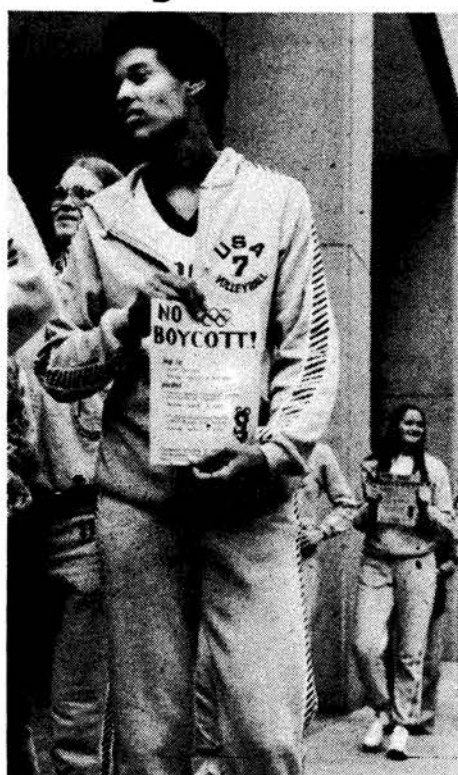
The U.S. Olympic Committee has been resisting pressure to endorse it (the deadline for accepting an invitation is May 26).

Millions of Americans, like others around the world, look forward to the Olympics as an exceptional display of athletic ability by talented people from many countries.

And fewer and fewer Americans think that Soviet military support to the government of Afghanistan justifies Carter's attempts to bust up the Olympics.

The heart of opposition to the boycott is the athletes who have trained for years with the Olympics as their goal.

The main way Carter is trying to "change their minds" is by threats. "Deputy Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher . . . was only the latest official to say that Mr. Carter would use any legal means available . . . to stop the athletes from going," reported



Militant/Tom Vernier  
U.S. women's volleyball team protests Carter's boycott in Denver April 5.

Steven R. Weisman in the April 5 *New York Times*.

Another method is redbaiting. Some media have portrayed athletes who disagree with Carter about the boycott as "dupes of Moscow."

But so far the athletes haven't bowed to the pressure.

Groups of athletes across the country have come together to try to win public support for their view. They organized national jog-ins and demonstrations across the country on April 5.

The United States women's volleyball team arrived in Denver on that day for a series of protest actions against the boycott.

The day's activities were sponsored by the Colorado Citizens to Save the Olympics. Attorney Harry Nier, organizer of the CCSO, said Carter's boycott was "an attempt to whip up a cold war spirit."

He said Carter's pressure on the athletes is in violation of the Amateur Sports Act of 1978. The act specifies that the government not interfere with the Olympics.

The women's volleyball team was elected by the U.S. Olympic Committee

to participate in the Moscow games. Many team members have been training for six years to compete in these events.

They all feel that Carter's decision to boycott the Olympics is wrong. They also believe that any alternative sporting events would be unrealistic.

One of the athletes told me, "The first few weeks following the events in Afghanistan were rough for us. When we were on tour giving exhibitions some people jeered us and called us names."

"In the last few weeks the change has been spectacular. Now most people are with us."

Arie Selinger, the team coach, said, "We have been getting phone calls and letters at seven-to-one in favor of participation. This boycott is a violation of our rights as American citizens."

The women volleyball players have differing views on issues such as the draft and Afghanistan, but they all think that it is Carter who is introducing politics into the Olympic games. For most of them, this was the first

*Continued on page 22*

## Special offer to new readers

**The Militant—10 weeks/\$2.50**

Labor is on the march to win the Equal Rights Amendment. Working women are in the front ranks of that fight, and the fights to defend legal abortion, protect affirmative action, and organize unorganized women. Read about the battle for equal rights every week in the *Militant*.



## Subscribe today

( ) \$2.50 for ten issues (new readers only)  
( ) \$5 for four months ( ) \$20 for one year  
( ) New ( ) Renewal

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

14 Charles Lane New York, New York 10014



## U.S., not Castro, closes doors to emigres

# Behind new smears against Cuba

By David Frankel

A vast new frame-up against the Cuban revolution is under way. The U.S. government and media are using the events at the Peruvian Embassy in Havana to smear Cuba as one big island prison.

They claim that the reason thousands have descended on the embassy is that the Cuban government has reversed its alleged previous policy of refusing to let people leave Cuba.

What are the facts?

The policy of the Cuban government, from the very beginning of the revolution, has been to allow anybody who wants to leave Cuba to do so.

It is true that there are people in Cuba who want to get out and can't. The reason is that capitalist governments—in the first place, the U.S. government—are not willing to take them in!

New York Times Havana correspondent Jo Thomas admitted this in

### Further coverage

Special feature on revolutionary leader Celia Sanchez, page 14. Cuba and Grenada, page 19. Che's speech on 'two, three, many Vietnams,' page 26.

an April 8 dispatch. She noted: "The United States and Spain are virtually the only countries accepting immigrants from Cuba, which has granted far more exit permits than there are opportunities to leave" (emphasis added).

The lack of "opportunities to leave" is a polite way of saying that the United States and Spain severely restrict the number of visas they will grant. Since early 1978, the U.S. has admitted fewer than 10,000 Cubans. Most of them were former prisoners or relatives of persons already in the United States.

### Open-door policy

The open-door policy and humanitarian attitude of the Castro leadership have been reaffirmed in practice by the latest events.

The Cuban government has told the people at the Peruvian Embassy that they are free to go to any country that will accept them. It has provided food, water, toilets, and medical care for them. It has offered safe-conduct passes so they can travel back and forth between the embassy and their homes without hindrance.

But why has this dramatic incident erupted so suddenly? What prompted thousands of Cubans to camp out in the garden of the Peruvian Embassy?

The truth is that the latest incident is one more example of how Washington has cynically played on the hopes and fears of Cubans who want to leave their country. U.S. imperialism has used these would-be emigres as pawns in its twenty-one-year-long undeclared war against the Cuban revolution.

Washington uses its blockade against Cuba to try to strangle the island's economy and foment unrest. At the same time, the U.S. government hands out only limited numbers of visas to would-be Cuban emigrants. And the U.S. blockade makes transportation hard to come by.

This means thousands of Cubans who want to leave—and who are free to go at any time as far as the Cuban government is concerned—have no way of getting out.

Those who hijack boats—often taking their crews hostage—are treated as "political refugees" by Washington and do not have to worry about the regular immigration quotas. Thus Washington's policy encourages dangerous and criminal actions, which the

U.S. media then trumpet as heroic "escapes" from Cuba.

But Cuba's doors are open—it's the U.S. doors that are closed.

### Peru Embassy

Where does the Peruvian Embassy come in?

Latin American nations have a long-standing diplomatic agreement that political refugees can be granted asylum in an embassy and then safe conduct out of the country.

As an Agence France-Presse dispatch from Havana printed in the April 9 *Newark Star-Ledger* explained, this agreement "has been responsible for the spate of Cubans attempting to crash their way into the Peruvian and Venezuelan embassies in buses and armored trucks over the past 11 months."

The dispatch continued: "Western embassies here, on the other hand, do not grant political asylum. While Latin American missions are tightly guarded by police armed with submachine guns, the Western embassies simply close their gates. . . ."

The current incident began April 1 when a group of Cubans seeking to prove that they were political refugees crashed through the locked gates of the Peruvian Embassy in a bus. A Cuban soldier was killed.

After Peruvian officials refused to hand over the criminals to Cuban authorities, the Cuban guards around the embassy were withdrawn. The Havana Communist Party daily, *Granma*, said the Cuban government would not protect "embassies that do not cooperate with their own protection."

### Calling Lima's bluff

The military regime in Lima had been pretending to defend democratic rights, and the right of asylum in particular, against the Cuban government. It reacted with outrage when its bluff was called.

"The Peruvian government," reported a dispatch from Havana in the April 8 *Washington Post*, "has repeatedly stated that the situation at the embassy was created by the Cuban government, by its decision to withdraw guard protection in violation of the Vienna Convention on diplomatic protocol."

In short, the Peruvian generals demanded that the Cubans live up to the slanders in the capitalist press and prevent people who had hopes of leaving Cuba from going to the Peruvian Embassy!

"Now it remains to be seen," said a statement in *Granma*, "how the government of Peru will deal with its illustrious guests, and if its government wants to receive in its country all the antisocial and lumpen elements of Cuba."

*Washington Post* correspondent Lexie Verdon reported April 6 that the Peruvian generals "were not ready to deal with such large numbers of refugees."

An April 5 *New York Times* dispatch from Lima said the Peruvian Foreign Ministry described the would-be emigres as "a mob whose motivations and real intentions are not known."

Washington has likewise refused to offer refuge to the people seeking to emigrate. State Department public relations officer Hodding Carter told

### MIAMI

#### BEHIND THE EVENTS IN CUBA Speaker:

Miguel Pendas, National

Committee member of the  
Socialist Workers Party

Friday, April 18, 8 p.m.

8171 N.E. Second Avenue

For more information call

(305) 756-8358

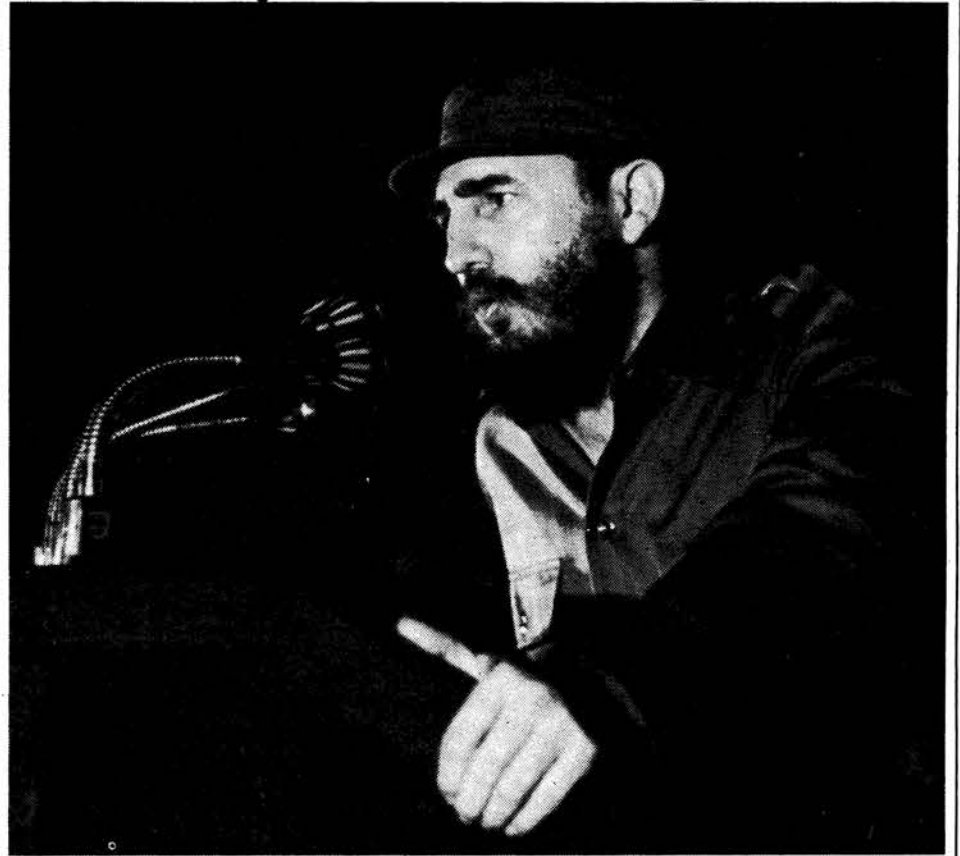
reporters that anybody wanting to come to the United States had to get to Peru first.

"Once in Peru," Carter generously explained, "they can go to the American Embassy and request visas or begin steps to come to the United States as refugees."

the Missile Crisis of October 1962, the United States government cancelled daily flights between the United States and Cuba and refused to reopen them, although we protested. . . .

"The United States not only cancelled flights between Miami and Cuba, it also exerted all kinds of pres-

## Fidel speaks on emigration



"The U.S.A. uses immigration from Cuba as a political weapon. However, historically, the United States has always been forced to establish restrictions, since people from many countries with lower living standards would like to go there as immigrants. And I can tell you one thing: if before the Revolution the United States had permitted free entrance of Cuban citizens without restrictions, a much larger number would have gone then than the total of all those who have left since the Revolution or who will in the future. To what other underdeveloped country in this hemisphere has the United States offered its citizens an opportunity to immigrate freely? Any other Latin-American country to which it made such an offer would empty out overnight. . . ."

"The idea of going to the United States has always been a big attraction for a certain number of people because it is the wealthiest nation in the world. However, in spite of the fact that we are still poor and underdeveloped, the overwhelming majority of our men and women will never abandon their country. So—we'll see. I will not say that all who stay will be with the Revolution. But something which no one can deny is that the great majority of the population supports the Revolution. They are prepared to make great sacrifices, to give their lives for the Revolution. I would ask you how many who live in the United States would be willing to give their lives for capitalism and for representative democracy?"

Interview with Lee Lockwood, 1965

Carter insisted that decisions on admitting the emigres would be made on a case by case basis.

### 'Stunning reversal'

There is a long history to Washington's manipulation of the refugee issue, and to its attempts to portray Cuba as an island gulag with a ban on emigration similar to the policy followed by Moscow.

Perhaps the biggest lie in the capitalist media was the statement in the April 8 *Washington Post* that "the Cuban offer of safe passage out of the country was viewed as a stunning reversal of past policy of the Castro government."

Fidel Castro has explained Cuba's real policy many times over the years. In October 1965 he told U.S. journalist Lee Lockwood:

"The Cuban government has always had the same policy since the beginning of the Revolution, of allowing those who want to leave the country to do so freely. Under that policy, tens of thousands of Cubans left Cuba every year, from 1959 until 1962. Right after

sure on Mexico and Spain to cancel their air service to Cuba. These were the only ones that continued, in spite of the pressure."

### Washington's shift

Explaining Washington's shift in policy, Castro pointed out:

"In the beginning, after the Revolution, America did everything possible to encourage the highest number of people to leave Cuba, both as a propagandistic move against the Revolution and to drain the country of its technicians and qualified personnel. . . ."

"After the October Crisis, they decided it was a better policy to prevent people from leaving, based on the hope of an internal uprising taking place in Cuba."

Washington accompanied this policy of choking off immigration with shipments of arms and efforts to form counterrevolutionary groups within Cuba. Its attempts failed completely.

Faced with a situation in which Washington was restricting immigration, encouraging hijackings, and try-

Continued on page 22



## 10 million choose to stay

# Why some people want to leave Cuba

By Harry Ring

The fact that several thousand Cubans have gone to the Peruvian Embassy seeking visas to leave their country is portrayed by the U.S. rulers as proof that the revolution is a failure.

An editorial in the April 9 *New York Times* was typical. "The Havana Ten Thousand are rendering a verdict on Castroism," it proclaimed. Their message, it seems, was so eloquent that the views of the rest of Cuba's ten million people were not considered.

Is the *Times* correct? The record says otherwise.

The crowd at the Peruvian Embassy is part of a small minority of the Cuban population. Caught between the determination of the Castro government and the majority of Cubans to maintain their solidarity with revolutionary struggles in Africa, Central America, and the Caribbean—no matter what the economic and military risks involved—and Washington's stepped-up threats, economic pressure, and military encirclement of Cuba, they are trying to escape.

There are two principal reasons why people are leaving, or want to leave, Cuba. One is essentially economic. The other is political.

### Cuba's living standard

It is an incontestable fact that the standard of living is lower in Cuba than the United States.

While the Cuban diet is sufficient, food is much less plentiful than here.

And Cubans don't have the cars, boats, color TVs, cassette players, electric hair dryers, blue jeans, and other consumer goods that working people in this country can buy.

From this standpoint, the United States has some attractive power—not only for Cubans, but for all victims of imperialist privation. This is much more true in countries where most working people lack basic necessities of life.

Witness the million or more jobless Mexicans who try to cross the border each year.

Why does Cuba have a lower living standard?

Hoping their readers are ignorant of Cuba's history and economy, the *Times* editorial states that "two decades of Castroism have left Cuba with a stagnant one-crop economy." And it arrogantly asserts that "the plague of shortages, from coffee to cigars, can no longer be blamed on the American blockade"—as though that blockade had suddenly been lifted. "Cuba is poorer today than before the revolution," the *Times* concludes.

Every word a lie.

Revolutionary Cuba is battling to overcome centuries of imperialist domination, first by Spain, then the United States. As a colony, its economy was totally warped. The people were compelled by the imperialists—not by "twenty years of Castroism"—to depend for survival on a single crop, sugar.

This meant riches for the oppressors and terrible poverty and dictatorial oppression for the masses.

Peasants were driven off their land so that, without means of livelihood, they would be compelled to work in the sugar harvest.

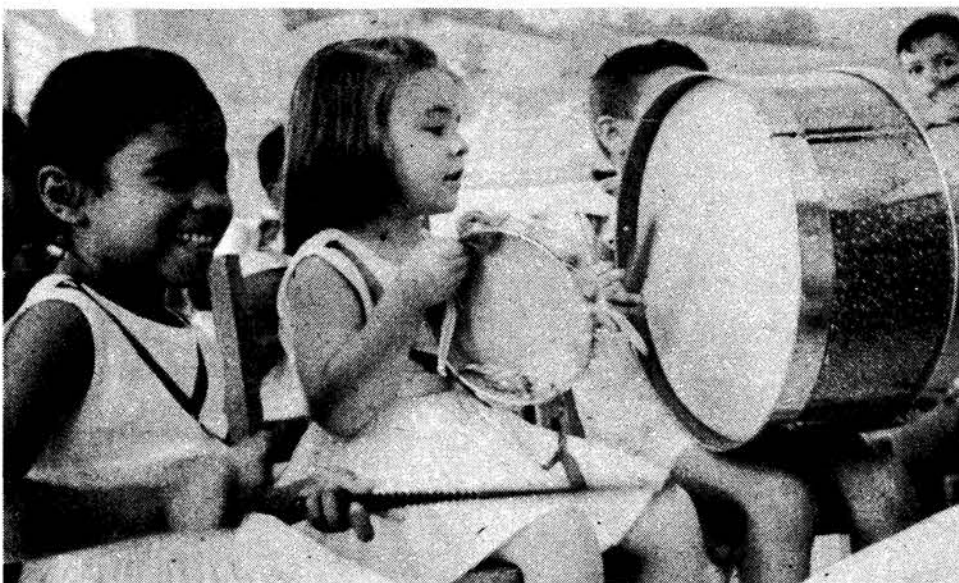
That meant four months of back-breaking, low-paying work and then a "dead season" of mass unemployment the rest of the year.

People lived in floorless, thatched-roofed huts. Hunger and disease were widespread.

Under the best of circumstances, such a legacy could not be overcome in two short decades.

### U.S. attacks

From the outset, Washington has tried to strangle the Cuban revolution. Early on, it imposed the economic blockade, using its economic muscle to



**BEFORE & AFTER:** Above, impoverished rural family at time of revolution, when unemployment, disease, and illiteracy were rampant. Below, day-care center established by revolutionary government. Today there are schools and jobs for all, free medical care, no racist discrimination. But legacy of imperialist domination and continuing U.S. blockade mean living standards remain lower than in advanced countries.

compel other countries to respect it.

Cuba was forced to rely on what imports were available from the Soviet-bloc countries. Only gradually did it breach some of the walls of the capitalist blockade.

Washington did not limit itself to economic weapons. In 1961, it organized an invasion by counterrevolutionary exiles—an invasion which the Cuban people smashed in a couple of days.

But the continuing U.S. military threat and its promotion of sabotage, arson, and assassinations, compel tiny Cuba to remain in a constant state of military readiness, allocating precious resources and personnel to defense.

Despite these enormous difficulties and more, Cuba has made astonishing progress.

### Huge advances

The Cuban diet is limited. But, as in no other Latin American country, hunger has been eliminated. Even though not yet abundant, the food supply has increased. And like other basic needs, it is distributed equitably by rationing—not inequitably by the power of the peso.

The massive housing shortage inherited by the revolution has been only partially overcome. But there are no more rent-gougers and slumlords in Cuba. No family pays more than 10 percent of its income for rent.

In some fields, Cuba has surpassed the United States. Cuba has wiped out illiteracy. It has free education for all from nursery school through the university.

In glaring contrast to the United States, Cuba's system of socialized medicine provides free health care for everyone. Cubans live twenty years longer on the average than they did before the revolution.

There is year-round employment and the prices of essentials have been frozen for years.

Cubans may not have an electric can opener in the kitchen, or electric chimes on the front door.

But they have uprooted racism and are waging an impressive fight against long-entrenched sexism.

Years of low sugar prices on the world market, topped by recent agricultural plagues, have put the Cuban economy under pressure. The low sugar prices are not the product of "Castroist mismanagement" but of imperialist domination of the world economy.

In other countries in Latin America, Asia, and Africa, raw materials prices (except for oil) have been plummeting. This has led to a horrible growth of unemployment and hunger.

Cuba has escaped these consequences because of the revolution.

The *Times* accuses Cuba of "subsisting on a demeaning Soviet dole that now amounts to about \$3 billion a year."

The underdeveloped capitalist countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, on the other hand, have the good fortune to be dependent on high-interest loans from U.S. and other international bankers. When the governments can't meet the payments, the bankers often move in to dictate economic policies. Brutal austerity programs are imposed on the masses.

### Cuba's revolutionary course

Even as it continues the uphill struggle for economic development, Cuba stands fast on its revolutionary principles.

And this is the second source of the desire of a small minority of the population to leave—the political one. Cuba

has responded to the rise of revolutionary struggles in Asia, Africa, and Latin America by deepening its commitment to aid freedom fighters in other countries.

It has sent troops to fight U.S.-backed military invasions of Angola and Ethiopia.

It has sent hundreds of doctors, teachers, and technicians to help peoples trying to overcome imperialist domination.

It has responded to the growth of freedom struggles in the Caribbean and Central America by forging ties with revolutionary governments in Nicaragua and Grenada, and by unflinching solidarity with the people of El Salvador.

The Cuban people know they must pay a price for their readiness to support their class brothers and sisters in other lands.

They know this means that Washington will maintain its economic blockade against them, step up terrorist attacks, and use every means to weaken the revolution.

Even sharper confrontations with Washington—like the October 1962 "missile crisis" when the survival of humanity hung in the balance—are possible.

The big majority of Cubans are inspired by revolutionary victories in other countries. They recognize that even though they may draw increased fire from the United States, these victories are their own best defense, their best guarantee of progress.

That's why tens of thousands volunteer for military or technical service in Africa, or to go to the Nicaraguan countryside to join the battle against illiteracy.

But a minority of Cubans do shrink from the sharper confrontations with Washington. They prefer to get out of the line of fire—out of embattled Cuba and into the United States. They are, as Raúl Castro called them in a recent speech, the "faint-hearted."

The division between the vast majority of revolutionary Cuban workers and farmers and the fainthearted minority doesn't stop at the revolution's foreign policy.

### Fight against bureaucracy

The *Times* editorial gloats about a Raúl Castro speech that "complained about false production figures, worker slowdowns and managerial buck-passing."

But Raúl Castro's recent speeches are a sign of the strength and confidence of the revolution, not of its weakness. He didn't try to cover up errors and bureaucratic chiseling, but laid them bare and called on working people to carry out a nationwide discussion with a view to eliminating them.

That's the response of a revolutionary leadership that sees the working people as its source of strength.

Of course, all Cubans look forward to the day when Washington no longer threatens their country. And they would enjoy many of the material things available in this country. In due time, they will have them.

Meanwhile, they have the very real gains of the revolution and the battle to extend and deepen it. They have their revolutionary dignity and their confidence in the coming victories of the world socialist revolution.

It is this vast majority of Cubans that counts, not the small minority that wants out. It is the verdict of the majority that will be recorded by history.

Socialists in this country have more reason than ever to deepen our solidarity with the Cuban revolution. That means fighting for an end to the blockade, for an end to the military threats, for a normalization of relations with Cuba.

And redoubling the fight for socialism here in the United States.



# U.S. church leaders condemn Salvadoran junta

By Nancy Cole

Church leaders in this country who recently returned from El Salvador have launched a campaign to end U.S. military aid to that repressive regime.

The church officials were on a fact-finding tour in El Salvador when Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero was assassinated March 24. They brought back descriptions of the "barbarity of the repression" there.

"We have heard testimony from eyewitnesses of rape, torture, mutilation, decapitation, garroting, and the murder of unarmed and defenseless men, women and children," they said in a report.

From January through the end of March, more than 900 were killed in the small nation of 5.5 million people.

According to the *Washington Post*, the "church leaders took issue with reports from the U.S. ambassador and the ruling junta that leftists bear much of the responsibility for the killings. The visiting church leaders said they found extensive evidence of killings and other atrocities carried out by members of the military forces, often in uniform, who moved into villages and chose their victims from prepared lists."

The church delegation to El Salvador consisted of representatives of the National Council of Churches, American Friends Service Committee, and U.S. Catholic groups. They went in

response to President Carter's rejection of Archbishop Romero's February plea to end military aid from Washington.

Although the U.S. government now likes to portray Romero as one who blamed both the right and left for El Salvador's violence and absolved the ruling junta, his letter to Carter proves that a lie (see box).

The *Christian Science Monitor* pointed to the reason for his murder April 4: "Before his assassination last month, the Archbishop of San Salvador, Mgr. Oscar Arnulfo Romero, had reportedly come to the conclusion that this hoped-for center could not hold and that between the two evils, the extreme left enjoying popular support would be preferable to the extreme right defending the narrowest of privileged oligarchies and exercising power through a trigger-happy Army."

"That is apparently why he was against US military aid to El Salvador—an attitude that helped invite his murder, presumably at the hands of the extreme right."

Carter is continuing to give full backing to the military junta, despite its growing isolation inside El Salvador and around the world.

Three Christian Democratic cabinet ministers resigned following Romero's murder, joining other leaders of their party who had broken with the regime earlier. They call themselves the Social

Christian People's Tendency and claim the support of a majority of the party's ranks.

This grouping joined with forty-eight independent trade unions, professional organizations, and social democratic and left groups April 3 to form the Democratic Front. The coalition vowed to become "one more soldier in the revolutionary process." It said it would ally with the Revolutionary Coordinating Committee of the Masses, the coalition of the four main workers and peasants organizations.

This "sign of cooperation between the middle class and the left," as news dispatches here described it, is a worrisome development for Carter, who is concerned with preventing "another Nicaragua" at any costs.

U.S. Ambassador Robert White has been called to Washington for consultation—a sure sign that some new conspiracy will be hatched against the Salvadoran people.

It is time for a renewed outcry from people in this country: U.S. hands off El Salvador!



## Solidarity with Nicaragua!

### New York plans May 3 conference

A Conference in Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People is planned for New York City on May 3. The morning session will include a panel of speakers—a representative of the Nicaraguan government, Princeton University Prof. Richard Falk, and David Funkhouser, chairperson of the National Network in Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People.

Among afternoon workshop topics are the role of women in the new Nicaragua, education, U.S. foreign policy toward Nicaragua, agricultural development, and health care.

A broad list of workshop speakers include those from Latin American solidarity groups, National Council of Churches, and Robert Lopez, international representative of the United Auto Workers.

The conference will end with an 8 p.m. benefit concert by Los de Palacaguina, the first Nicaraguan cultural group to tour this country since last year's victory there.

The conference is sponsored by the New School Latin American Students Association. For more information, call (212) 260-6677.

### Folk group to tour 12 cities

Los de Palacaguina will tour twelve other cities while in the United States. According to the April National Network Newsletter, "the group has just concluded a widely acclaimed European tour that took them to Paris, Bonn, Rome and a number of other major European cities. LOS DE PALACAGUINA brings to the United States the same great tradition of folk and protest music that the well-known Chilean groups have made so popular."

The schedule is: New Orleans April 19-20; Houston April 22; Seattle April 25; San Francisco April 26; Los Angeles April 27; Albuquerque April 30; New Haven May 3; Camden/Philadelphia May 4; Chapel Hill, North Carolina May 6; Washington, D.C. May 7; Boston May 9; and Miami May 10.

For more information, contact the National Network (202) 223-2328.

### New Jersey coalition formed

On March 25, a meeting in East Orange, New Jersey, formed the New Jersey Coalition in Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People. A letter had earlier gone out to 160 labor, community, and religious leaders throughout the state inviting them to the meeting and to a reception for a Nicaraguan representative.

The letter was signed by Lorenzo Oakley, Community Action Program director, United Auto Workers Region 9; Paul Stagg, director, New Jersey Council of Churches; Alfonso Roman, director, Congreso Boricua; Grizel Ubarry, director, Aspira, Inc.; and Connie Woodruff, Democratic National Committee.

Among those at the March 25 meeting were representatives from the Newark Teachers Association, the United Labor Agency, and International Union of Electrical Workers District 3.

The first major project of the new coalition will be building participation in the May 3 solidarity conference in New York City.

### Solidarity round-up

The Greater St. Louis Latin America Solidarity Committee showed the film *Sandino Vive* at Washington University on March 26. Author Richard Millet (*The General and Guardians of the Dynasty*), who had just returned from Nicaragua, also spoke. Nearly 100 attended, and \$250 was cleared for Nicaragua's literacy crusade.

Nicaragua solidarity activity was launched in Utah last month with seven showings of the film, *Nicaragua, September 1978*. It was shown along with the labor film, *With Babies and Banners*. A total of 150 people attended the showings at the University of Utah in Salt Lake City, Utah State University in Logan, and a small commercial theater in Salt Lake. Thirty people signed up for more information on the Salt Lake Nicaragua Solidarity Committee.

On Monday, March 17, the Health Rights Committee of New York University Medical School held a bake and plant sale to raise money for the medical needs of Nicaragua. The collection totaled \$288. Another \$100 was contributed at a Nicaragua slide showing that afternoon.

The Coalition to Aid Nicaraguan Democracy in Milwaukee estimates it has raised close to \$50,000 in material aid for Nicaragua. A Catholic congregation there recently raised \$5,000 to buy twelve boat motors,



Funeral for one of 900 victims of U.S.-backed regime in El Salvador

Militant

## Romero's letter to Carter

The following is excerpted from the letter sent by Salvadoran Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero to President Carter on February 17.

I was very much worried by the report that the U.S. government is looking at ways to promote the arms race in El Salvador by sending military teams and advisers to "train three Salvadoran battalions in logistics, communications, and intelligence." If this report is correct, instead of promoting justice and peace in El Salvador, your government will be sharpening the injustice and repression against an organized people that has fought on many occasions to win respect for its most fundamental human rights.

The present junta, and above all the armed forces and the security forces, have unfortunately shown no capacity to find a solution to the grave problems our country faces by making the necessary political and structural changes. In general, they have simply resorted to repressive violence, leaving more people killed and wounded than the military regimes of the recent past, whose systematic violation of human rights was denounced by the International Commission on Human Rights.

If it is true that last November "a group of six Americans was in El Salvador . . . handing out \$200,000

worth of gas masks and protective vests and showing how to use them in combatting demonstrators," you should be informed that after that time it could be seen that the security forces, with better training and personal protection, launched a still more violent repression against the Salvadoran people, using deadly weapons.

Therefore, since as a Salvadoran and as archbishop of the archdiocese of San Salvador, it is my duty to defend Christian principles and justice in my country, I call on you, if you really want to protect human rights,

- To ban any such military aid to the Salvadoran junta
- To guarantee that your government will not intervene directly or indirectly—by means of military, economic, or diplomatic pressures, or any other such means—to decide the fate of the Salvadoran people.

At this time, we are living through a grave economic and political crisis in our country. But it is clear that the people are becoming conscious and organizing and have thus begun to prepare themselves to run the country and to assume responsibility for the future of El Salvador. It is equally clear that only the people of this country can overcome this crisis.



# Unionists link war drive, oil monopolies

By Nan Bailey

When thousands of young people marched in Washington, D.C., shouting "We won't die for Exxon," they were speaking for millions of others who are learning that U.S. foreign policy represents the interests of the giant corporations, not the American people.

This deeply felt sentiment is also reflected in recent official statements from the labor movement.

The Service Employees International Union (SEIU) and the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) have joined in protesting the Carter administration's attempt to reimpose the draft.

At their February 12-13 International Executive Board Meeting, ILWU leaders issued a statement which read in part:

"The ILWU rejects the notion that American young people—most of whom will inevitably be poor and working class—must be prepared to die to protect the interest of a handful of unbelievably wealthy oil companies. . . ."

The latest issue of the SEIU's *Service Employee* contains a column by SEIU President George Hardy titled, "No war for Big Oil—nationalize!" (see text below). Hardy was one of two vice-presidents of the AFL-CIO to vote against the draft at the February AFL-CIO Executive Council meeting. William Winpisinger of the International Association of Machinists was the other.

The SEIU's explicit linkage of its

antidraft stand to its opposition to the U.S. energy monopolists was also spelled out in the February "Political Action Report" printed by the California SEIU. It criticizes the Carter administration for "whipping up a war and getting ready to draft young people to fight it."

"But if there's a war in the Middle East," the article goes on, "they will be fighting for Exxon, Texaco, and the rest of the oil giants. . . . They own America; let them fight for it."

The SEIU newsletter, in an unprecedented statement by a major union, exposes in detail the collusion between the White House and the oil barons in robbing the American people and attempting to whip up war sentiment in order to defend oil profits.

This article lists the top oil companies and their reports of record earnings in 1979—their greatest increase in profits in history.

At the top of the SEIU's list is Exxon, "the biggest oil company in the world, [which] has now become the biggest and most profitable industrial company in the world, overtaking General Motors for the top spot. The last time that Exxon held the number one position in profits was 1974." The SEIU points out that it is "surely a coincidence that the last great oil 'shortage' occurred in that same year."

Mobil, Sohio, Sun Oil Company, and Atlantic-Richfield (ARCO) also posted record profits for 1979.

"Meanwhile," the newsletter points out, "while this grand larceny continues, the nation's press by and

large reports that the huge OPEC oil price increase is responsible for the huge profits of the oil giants—the big oil companies just happened to be in 'the right place at the right time' as the theory goes. The facts show, however, that the bulk of the price increases are not due to the Arabs in the mid-east but to the pin-striped desert raiders of Park Avenue."

The SEIU goes on to uncover some telling facts, indeed:

- "Texaco executives testified under oath before a Congressional Committee that most of their price increases are due not to raises in the price of foreign crude but to a pricing strategy that is based on 'what the market will bear.'"

- "... At this same hearing the executives of the third largest oil company based in the U.S. admitted that their refinery costs had increased by only 28 percent last year, while the price of the finished product jumped by over 102 percent."

- "Stuart Eizenstat, the President's domestic adviser, wrote in a memo to the President, which he hastily withdrew, that, 'Increases in the price of crude oil by the OPEC nations can account for much less than one half of the price increases so far this year in refined petroleum products.'"

- "Jimmy Carter's Department of Energy was called before the same committee to testify as to why they had not investigated these actions by the oil companies. The Department's answer: 'The major refiners (the big oil companies) were responsible com-



panies that would not gouge the consumer—therefore, they did not attempt to verify any of the numbers used in their various heating oil profit studies."

The SEIU's conclusion?

"The next time you hear about the irrational situation in Iran where 53 Americans are being held captive by a bunch of thugs and the government of Iran can't do anything about it, think about the situation here: 220 million Americans are being held hostage to the big oil companies and the American government under the leadership of Jimmy Carter is unable to cope with the crisis—or won't."

"Has somebody bought off the whole administration?"

## SEIU's Hardy: 'No war for Big Oil—nationalize'

The following is the full text of a column written by George Hardy, president of the 625,000-member Service Employees International Union. It is reprinted from the March issue of the SEIU newspaper, the *'Service Employee,'* where it appeared under the headline: 'No war for Big Oil—nationalize!'

America is heading for a showdown with the Big Oil companies.

Inflation is now skyrocketing at nearly 18 percent a year. Even President Carter has called the latest price increases "a crisis."

Yet the President steadfastly refuses to muzzle these crooks.

Meanwhile, the incestuous relationship between the oil companies and a handful of Arab dictatorships is caus-

ing a foreign policy crisis for the United States.

It's time to nationalize these oil barons. America cannot afford another round of double digit inflation. It is wrecking the economy, destroying the lives of our young people, the elderly, the poor. It is making it impossible to plan one's life, to buy a house, to start a family.

And on top of this President Carter has the audacity to ask our children to fight a war to protect American oil company interests in the Mideast.

I for one do not want American youth to be asked to fight a war to keep the world safe for Standard Oil and a few Arab sheiks.

And it's not just the American economy that's being shattered. Europe is suffering just as hard. And the poor countries of the Third World are being destroyed by these inflationary in-

creases in the price of energy.

Yet President Carter signs a "windfall profits tax" bill that he knows is just peanuts. And he tries to sell it to the American public by saying that it will help the little saver. But in this day and age what poor person even has a bank account.

And at the same time he's signing this bill, the Energy Department announces a new series of overcharges by the oil companies. Mobil Oil and seven others were charged with violating the price guidelines.

We can expect the President to again slap these crooks on the wrist and ask them not to do it again.

The American public is fed up with the gangsters who run these oil companies. People on fixed incomes or Social Security cannot make ends meet. Billions of dollars are leaving our pockets every day and flowing into the coffers of the

oil barons and their Mideast cohorts.

In other countries people have some protection from this highway robbery. Other countries control and run their own energy supplies. Canada and Mexico both have a national oil company, and the price of gasoline is far less in these countries than in the U.S.

The cost of regular gasoline is 65 cents a gallon in Mexico, 84 cents a gallon in Canada. Why should Americans be forced to pay more? Why do we even need Mideastern oil? We have plenty of Alaskan oil, and we can get millions of gallons a day from Mexico. The fact is, we are subsidizing these Arab dictators so they can rob us.

We have to wake up to this threat to our way of life before it's too late. Before America is bankrupt. And before American youth are killed defending oil wells in Saudi Arabia.

## A deadly threat to Latino youth

By José G. Pérez

Carter's proposals to prepare for the reimposition of the draft are a deadly threat to young Latinos in the United States.

Carter says he proposes draft registration as a preventive measure, to avoid war. It's the same story we've always heard from Democratic and Republican politicians when they seek to steer the country towards war. Nobody should believe it.

The members of Congress vote for the war budget and the declarations of war. For voting the right way, they receive the backing of the big-business press, the capitalist parties, and those who finance election campaigns.

The generals and admirals make the battle plans, decide tactics and strategy, and give each other medals for their bravery and military genius.

The patriotic millionaires turn their factories to war production, and do it so well they go from being simple millionaires to multimillionaires.

The workers pay for all this with their money and the blood of their sons—and if Carter has his

way, with the blood of their daughters too.

Latinos are the victim of every form of discrimination in American society. The fortunate ones among us are second-class citizens—the rest, not even that. The only time we get preferential treatment is in wars. In 1970, according to the census, we were 6 percent of the U.S. population.

### As I see it

But in Vietnam, 18 percent of the U.S. dead were Latinos.

It's not surprising, therefore, that Chicano and Puerto Rican protests against the draft and the Vietnam War were so massive. The biggest Chicano demonstration was the moratorium of 30,000 people in Los Angeles on August 29, 1970. In Puerto Rico, independence forces organized demonstrations of tens of thousands of people against the draft and the war. And there were large Latino contingents in the multinational

antiwar protests.

The Puerto Ricans shouted, "A Vietnam yo no voy porque yanqui yo no soy" (I won't go to Vietnam because I'm not a yanqui). The Chicanos answered, "¡Raza sí, guerra no!" (Our people yes, the war no!)

What war would Carter drag us into? It would be another imperialist war against some country fighting for liberation.

In El Salvador, U.S. "advisers" are instigating crackdowns against protests by workers and farmers. In Nicaragua, demonstrations of tens of thousands of people have condemned CIA subversion.

The working people of the United States have no stake in helping Washington carry out such dirty work. And Latinos in this country have an important role to play in explaining this to the rest of the working class, because we know better what is really going on in Latin America.

One of the best ways we have of promoting solidarity with the revolutionary struggles in Central America is precisely to organize a powerful movement against the draft.

From *Perspectiva Mundial*



# Unions fined \$1 million as strike takes hold

## 'Our union was built on backbone, not money'

By Stu Singer

NEW YORK, April 9—After nine days the powerful strike by 33,000 transit workers is beginning to bring this city to a halt.

Attacks against the striking unions are escalating. On April 8 they were fined \$1 million under the state's Taylor Law (see page 10).

There is no substitute for the subway and bus system which carries millions of people a day in New York City. The temporary solutions people have been using are wearing out.

Traffic jams are almost at a point called "grid lock"—where the traffic literally cannot move.

Attendance at some city colleges is down 75 percent or more. Workers absent from the large garment industry are estimated at 12-20 percent of the labor force.

Tens of thousands of people have been walking very long distances. Others ride bicycles and even roller skate in the traffic-clogged streets. Numerous accidents, sprained and broken bones, and heart attacks have been the result.

The transit unions have reduced their wage demand to 15 percent the first year and 10 percent the second year of a two-year contract. But the Metropolitan Transportation Authority won't talk about wages until the union bows to its demands for givebacks of working conditions.

The judge who handed down the gigantic Taylor Law fines is promising to increase them as the strike con-

tinues. But on the urging of management the union leaders are not being jailed. It is feared this would increase the unions' determination to fight.

Transport Workers Union President John Lawe responded to the enormous fine by saying: "It will break our treasury, but our union was not built on money but on backbone." He refused to urge workers to return to work "until I get a reasonable wage settlement."

National president of the Amalgamated Transit Union, David Maroney, ordered the 2,500 ATU members, who are bus drivers and mechanics in Queens and Staten Island, back to work. But the two locals of the ATU probably will not do so without the TWU.

The TWU ratification procedure requires the membership be able to read and then vote on a proposed contract before returning to work.

In addition to the workers on the bus and subway systems, negotiations are going on for workers on the Long Island Railroad (LIRR) and the PATH train system.

The unions on both these lines have been working without contracts for as long as two years. The LIRR operating unions went on strike for one day April 1. But they returned the next day while negotiations continued. The LIRR normally carries 175,000 commuters into the city.

Local 1330 of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen working for the PATH are planning to go on strike at

12:01 a.m., Saturday, April 12. The PATH carries about 60,000 commuters into Manhattan from New Jersey.

The PATH carmen can be forced back to work by President Carter for sixty days under the national Railway Labor Act. But union general chairperson Salvatore Raia told the Newark *Star-Ledger*, "I have a mandate from the membership. If there is no agreement by 12:01 a.m. Saturday, they will peacefully withdraw their services."

"They have been without a new agreement and without any new wage increase for 22 months. The morale of the men is such that they may defy a presidential order."

PATH workers refused for one day, April 8, to operate the special service between midtown and downtown New York. Although the service was resumed the next day, a conductor explained the action to a *Militant* correspondent: "We felt it was strikebreaking [to run the special train] and we wanted to show the bosses our power."

The issues in all three contract negotiations are similar. The state-run boards that administer each transportation system claim they have no money and require "productivity increases" in order to provide wage hikes. What they mean is to force more speedup, unsafe conditions, and wage inequities.

Newspaper articles and editorials, radio and television news and commentaries, all rage against the transit workers. They are constantly reminded of the "automatic" Taylor Law fines

against each striker. Amnesty is out of the question, say government officials and the media.

The contracts for most city workers expire at the end of June. If the transit workers win a decent wage hike and preserve their contract protection, it will inspire hundreds of thousands of others. Workers in the private sector are also watching the strike closely.

The mayor is actively campaigning against the unions. He claims overwhelming support for the city's stand.

As pieced together by New York *Daily News* columnist Jimmy Breslin April 6, Rich Richardson, a fifty-six-year-old union member, was riding his bicycle across the Brooklyn Bridge to work when he encountered Koch and his gaggle of reporters and cops. Richardson said, with the microphones turned on, "You union-breaking bastard. Nobody believes your crap."

This sentiment is much more widespread than anyone admits.

In its March 24 editorial preparing for the strike, the *New York Times* called on New Yorkers to endure "genuine suffering." And as the strike goes on, more and more pain is being inflicted on the working people of this city.

But this is posing the questions: Who forced the strike? Who runs the city?

A few support meetings for the transit workers are beginning to be organized on college campuses and in the Black community. Support from other unions is starting to come in (see box). The stakes are high.



Militant photos by Stu Singer  
Millions of New Yorkers are walking, riding bicycles, and sitting in hours-long traffic jams. Above, Brooklyn Bridge. Banks and Wall Street brokers organized buses and boats to get some employees to work. Note Merrill Lynch sign on chartered bus.

### UTU offers solidarity

United Transportation Union Local 800, representing Conrail firepersons and engineers, passed this resolution April 8 to be sent to the New York transit workers:

"We, the members of UTU Local 800 of Hoboken, New Jersey, send you our warmest greetings of solidarity in your fight for decent wages and against the givebacks. Your fight is of the utmost importance for all of us in rail and for all unionists. You and your union have our support."

## New York transit pickets speak out

By Robert Dees and Stu Singer

NEW YORK—The parasites who run New York are attacking transit workers as overpaid, underworked and greedy for more.

The best response to these charges comes from the transit workers themselves.

What are the conditions for maintenance workers underground?

Gil, a Puerto Rican signalman who was picketing the Transit Authority headquarters on Jay Street in Brooklyn:

"It gets very hot down there in the summer. There are a lot of rats. The heating of the wheels when the trains brake burns up the oxygen, making it hard to breathe."

"In the 8 years I've been working here, 7 of my friends have been killed. They get hit by trains. You're not injured—just killed."

"We are not greedy. We want better conditions for ourselves. We want better conditions for the public too."

Richard, who is Black, works as a clerk in a subway token booth. He was also on the Brooklyn picket line:

"Instead of talking about how much overtime money a few people get, they

ought to investigate the amount of pressure on us at work. Check out all the guys who have high blood pressure, heart conditions, hearing loss."

"I have a partial hearing loss in my right ear because I used to be a motorman and that's the side the window is on."

"In the R-44 and R-46 trains, there is asbestos in the brake shoes. This means asbestos fibers are released every time the brakes are applied, and we are breathing them in all the time."

Phil, the picket captain in Brooklyn, is also a clerk. He is white, in his 40s:

"We have a demand for us to be able to go to private doctors because the Transit [Authority] doctors always lie. We need our own doctors to study this hearing loss. The Transit police proved they are suffering from it and they are not subject to nearly the noise that we are."

Mayor Edward Koch and Metropolitan Transportation Authority head Richard Ravitch are the two main public figures leading the attack against the transit workers.

Phil: "People in this area think Koch is a racist. They voted him out of office. They do not support him

against us in the strike. [Union president] John Lawe ought to get the minority leaders in this community to come out and speak for us."

Richard: "The mayor is trying to break the back of labor in New York. The community is for us, not for the mayor. He travels around between City Hall and Wall Street. You don't see him coming down here. He's not concerned about the poor people."

Stanley, the picket captain in the Bronx, said: "Look at Koch on the Brooklyn Bridge talking about how great he's doing. Koch will never see a poor day in his life. He doesn't have any cares."

"Look at Ravitch. Is Ravitch hurting? Do you think any of this fazes Ravitch? Come on. This guy's got a silver spoon in his mouth, and will always have it. The guy's a multi-millionaire."

The pickets in the Bronx had very strong opinions about the Taylor Law, which prohibits public employee strikes. One picket after another spoke about it:

"Abrogate it. It's the law of the capitalists. They tell you one man, one vote. No such thing. No such thing."

"Well, I think the Taylor Law is

unfair. What they're saying to us is we have to work, regardless of the conditions, regardless of anything, we must work. In other words the Taylor Law is saying, work or else. The penalty is too severe."

"I think it's taking away our right to strike for higher wages during this double digit inflation. We cannot survive as long as it keeps going up."

TWU pickets in the Bronx explained their views on the strike in general:

"I understand everybody's got to work. But for what we have to go through here in the New York Transit Authority we're not being compensated enough. Look at the man who has to work nights on this stinking subway. And that's one of the givebacks they want. The man should be compensated even more, not less."

"Some people say it's going to be a long strike this time. I don't know how these politicians work their things. I'm here with the rest of the crew, just walking this line. I hope that something happens soon. Some people say that since this is the first one [of the 1980 city contracts] they're trying to set an example for the rest of the city unions. If they can break us, they can break the others."



# Who do New Yorkers blame for strike?

By Stu Singer

NEW YORK—The outcome of the transit strike depends on a contest for support of the people of New York. The union is fighting against a political and news media monopoly that has been pushing this war for five years.

The austerity drive that began in the 1974-75 depression targeted New York first. People were told the city was broke. Many were convinced. Sacrifices were demanded from everyone.

Every union in the city took contracts far below the inflation rate. There were cutbacks in jobs, housing, health care, education, transit.

Since the strike began, we have been told the transit workers stand alone. New Yorkers who have suffered without public transit since April 1 are told to blame the "greedy" transit workers.

Do they?

What is the attitude of people in New York? Are they being "cheered on by the irrepressible resistance . . . symbolized by Mayor Koch," as a *New York Times* editorial claimed April 8?

Here are some responses.

On side streets off Seventh Avenue, near Madison Square Garden, I talked to a group of garment workers taking a break. The workers on the street were all men, mostly Blacks.

"What do you think about what the transit workers are asking for?" Replies varied:

"I make half as much as them. We don't have anything like their pensions and vacations. If I had their job I would never go on strike. It would be great."

"The transit workers should get their money. Everybody should get a raise. Look at inflation."

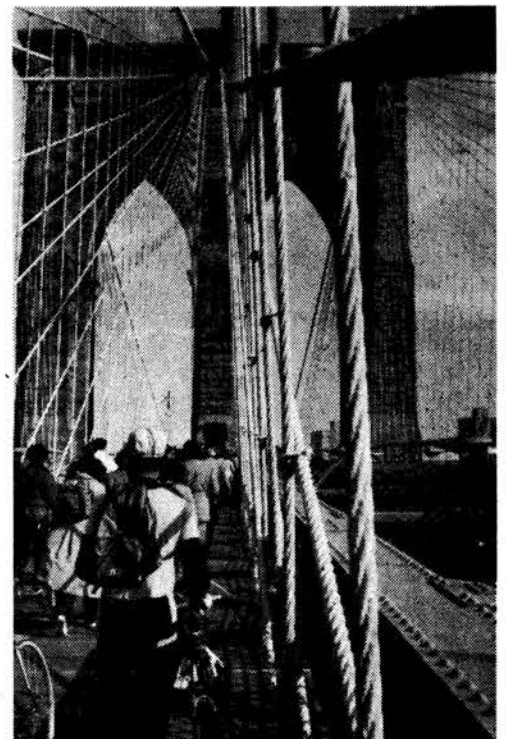
"They spent \$2 million on new tokens. I didn't need new tokens. They should have used that money for the workers."

"I wish I could get what those transit workers get. They retire on a \$20,000 a year pension. I don't support them. I used to be a teamster, but now I own my own truck."

An elevator operator, friend of the truck driver, came by. The trucker said, "Hey, this guy supports that subway strike." His friend said, "Hey, I do too. That strike is good. It will help other



Left, low-paid New York garment workers push carts through clogged streets. Right, Brooklyn Bridge, 4 p.m., April 7.



Militant photos by Stu Singer

people if they get what they want."

Manhattan, the business center of New York, is an island. Tens of thousands now walk over bridges every day in order to get to work. The walk can be pleasant. But not when you are forced to do it twice a day.

The Brooklyn Bridge goes from near City Hall in Lower Manhattan across the East River to Brooklyn.

Mayor Koch campaigns on the bridge in the morning. He has been confronted a number of times by supporters of the transit strike. But he dismisses these people as "whackos," claiming the majority crossing the bridge support him against the transit workers.

I went there to find out.

Of fifteen people I spoke to, only four held the union to blame for the strike. Six blamed the city and expressed support for the transit workers. Five others said they did not have enough information about the issues.

The differences in opinion show a polarization. Blacks, in general, and white union members tend to support the transit workers. White profession-

als and management people oppose the union. Very low-paid workers, Black and white, seem to be divided.

A white woman, about thirty years old: "I'm against the union. Their demands are exorbitant. The city has no money to pay them. I'm a lawyer. I went to school for ten years. I make more money than the transit workers and I don't need a union."

A Black man in his forties: "I hold Koch responsible. He should give them their raise. Koch is hurting all the poor people, not just Blacks. I'm in the District 65 union and I know how important the union is. What the transit workers get will benefit our union

and people in general."

Two Black junior high school students: "I love the strike. The city should give them what they want." And: "The workers are right. I think that's what the others think at school."

The large number who don't know enough about the issues indicates skepticism with the "news" on the strike, which all these people have seen, heard, or read.

A systematic effort to explain what their working conditions are like and what their demands actually are would help the union generate much more support.

## Socialists mobilize to aid strike

By Peter Seidman

"The eyes of the world are focused on New York City this week," Sam Manuel reported April 6 to a special meeting of the New York-New Jersey District of the Socialist Workers Party.

The meeting was called to discuss how members of the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance would build support for the striking transit workers.

Manuel, who is SWP district organizer, explained: "This is not just a strike over wages and working conditions, but a challenge to the rulers' drive to cut health care, education, and other essential services for all city residents. This is part of a broader struggle in which every working person in the city has a vital stake."

New York-New Jersey socialists voted to go on a mobilization footing to aid the transit workers' struggle.

In the face of a barrage of propaganda designed to pit other working people against the strikers, the top priority is to get out the truth about the issues, the justice of the union's demands, and the city's union-busting schemes.

That's why the meeting set a goal of selling 750 copies of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* as a central part of their solidarity effort.

This will help set a brisk pace as our eight-week national spring drive to boost the circulation of the *Militant* and *PM* goes into its fifth week.

The New Yorkers are also distributing more than 11,000 copies of a statement in English and Spanish by SWP

senatorial candidate Victor Nieto backing the strike.

In addition, socialists are discussing the need for solidarity in their union locals and with other workers on the job.

These plans are ambitious. The strike itself means that it's harder to get to some of the best sales locations. The socialists are also actively aiding the SWP presidential campaign with its big push to get on the ballot in Massachusetts.

Nonetheless, by Tuesday, with more than 400 papers sold, the special drive was on schedule.

More than sixty papers have been sold to picketing members of the TWU during the last two weeks.

SWP congressional candidate Reba Williams sold eleven of these at two picketlines. Most of the workers were glad for her support. Some were skeptical that someone as young as Williams had much of a chance in the election. But all knew no other candidates were supporting their struggle.

The top salesperson so far is Bill Henry, a new member of the YSA. Henry has sold thirty-nine papers so far this week, fifteen of these to fellow workers at the Brooklyn Navy Yard.

As the scoreboard shows, sales of issue twelve dropped slightly from the previous week. We're also slipping behind nationally on subscription sales. Every area should discuss measures to catch up on this important area soon.

## Sales scoreboard

Branch	MILITANT		PM		TOTALS			YS		Ttl. % Ind.	Subscriptions	
	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	%	Goal	Sold		Goal	Sold
Philadelphia	135	278	25	1	160	279	174.3	100	34	3.1	60	11
N.Y. Lower Manh.	60	139	40	26	100	165	165.0	145	2	4.1	30	2
Iron Range	70	76	0	0	70	89	127.1	75	11	16.0	35	10
Washington, D.C.	100	123	25	30	125	153	122.4	150	**	3.2	25	4
Pittsburgh	185	221	0	1	185	222	120.0	100	91	4.7	50	5
Portland	85	99	0	0	85	102	120.0	30	3	0.0	20	2
Los Angeles	240	234	35	94	275	328	119.2	100	6	17.9	70	11
Salt Lake City	110	122	7	12	117	124	114.5	25	12	5.4	20	2
San Jose	90	70	0	33	90	103	114.4	70	30	9.7	25	5
San Antonio	60	58	25	37	85	95	11.7	50	37	6.8	25	0
Indianapolis	75	81	0	0	75	81	108.0	100	45	26.9	15	8
Atlanta	100	106	0	0	100	106	106.0	60	20	5.5	25	4
Birmingham	115	121	0	0	115	121	105.2	80	37	17.0	30	4
St. Louis	80	84	0	0	80	84	105.0	75	14	25.5	20	7
Piedmont	90	93	0	0	90	93	103.3	85	24	7.6	20	8
Baltimore	90	90	0	0	90	90	100.0	60	39	13.1	35	10
Denver	86	87	14	13	100	100	100.0	75	8	4.6	20	2
Houston	80	71	10	19	90	90	100.0	40	**	**	25	3
Louisville	80	79	0	1	80	80	100.0	75	5	9.4	25	1
Morgantown	80	80	0	0	80	80	100.0	75	29	7.3	30	1
Kansas City	100	100	7	6	107	106	99.0	60	19	12.0	35	3
San Diego	120	98	20	39	140	137	97.8	150	24	24.8	40	8
San Francisco	150	120	40	65	190	185	97.3	90	19	.9	**	7
Gary	65	60	5	7	70	67	95.7	30	10	15.5	25	1
N.Y. Brooklyn	80	79	10	7	90	86	95.5	140	**	**	25	4
Albuquerque	105	93	25	30	130	123	94.6	80	**	10.5	30	6
Tidewater	80	70	0	0	80	70	87.5	100	18	17.0	25	2
Cleveland	80	67	10	7	90	74	82.2	30	10	3.5	15	6
Seattle	140	112	5	0	145	112	77.2	130	34	13.0	30	8
Twin Cities	175	105	0	26	175	131	74.8	100	**	12.9	80	12
Dallas	80	44	20	26	100	70	70.0	115	17	5.7	25	3
Milwaukee	90	68	10	0	100	68	68.0	145	**	29.4	35	4
Cincinnati	80	50	0	0	80	50	62.5	40	**	**	15	4
Toledo	60	37	0	0	60	37	61.6	50	**	8.1	15	0
Oakland/East Bay	90	60	10	0	100	60	60.0	100	15	**	0	2
Detroit	210	118	10	4	220	122	55.4	75	16	12.3	100	14
Tacoma	80	44	0	0	80	44	55.0	65	17	11.4	20	0
Miami	70	39	10	2	80	41	51.2	60	5	23.9	15	9
Chicago	215	117	35	9	250	126	50.4	125	**	24.6	50	7
New Orleans	75	27	5	3	80	30	37.5	75	7	32.4	40	5
Newark	140	50	20	3	160	53	33.1	75	**	**	30	5
N.Y. Upper Manh.	95	39	30	9	125	39	31.2	140	**	**	40	11
Albany*	50	0	2	0	52	0	0.0	50	**	**	25	3
Boston*	150	0	0	0	150	0	0.0	50	**	**	40	17
Phoenix*	100	0	25	0	125	0	0.0	90	**	**	25	9
Miscellaneous												19
TOTALS	4691	3909	480	501	5171	4426	85.6	4100	658	10.3	1385	269

\*Petitioning to put SWP on the ballot.

\*\*Information not available.

Ttl. % Ind. indicates week's percentage of Militant, PM, and Young Socialist sales reported at plant gates and to co-workers on the job.

Covers sales of issue twelve of the Militant, the first week of sales of issue six of PM, and the first week of sales for the April YS.



## What is it? Where did it come from?

# N.Y. bosses use anti-union Taylor Law

By August Nimtz

NEW YORK—The heaviest strike-breaking club that this city's bosses are trying to use against the transit workers is the state's Taylor Law. This anti-union statute makes strikes by public employees illegal and exacts vindictive penalties on strikers.

On the first day of the strike, Democratic Governor Hugh Carey asserted that the penalties under the law are "automatic and must be applied."

In an April 2 editorial, the *New York Times* said "the workers need to feel the pressure of the Taylor law . . ."

Putting it more bluntly, a *Daily News* editorial two days later said "the TWU [Transport Workers Union] must face the cold reality that there's no escaping the strike's heavy cost to them."

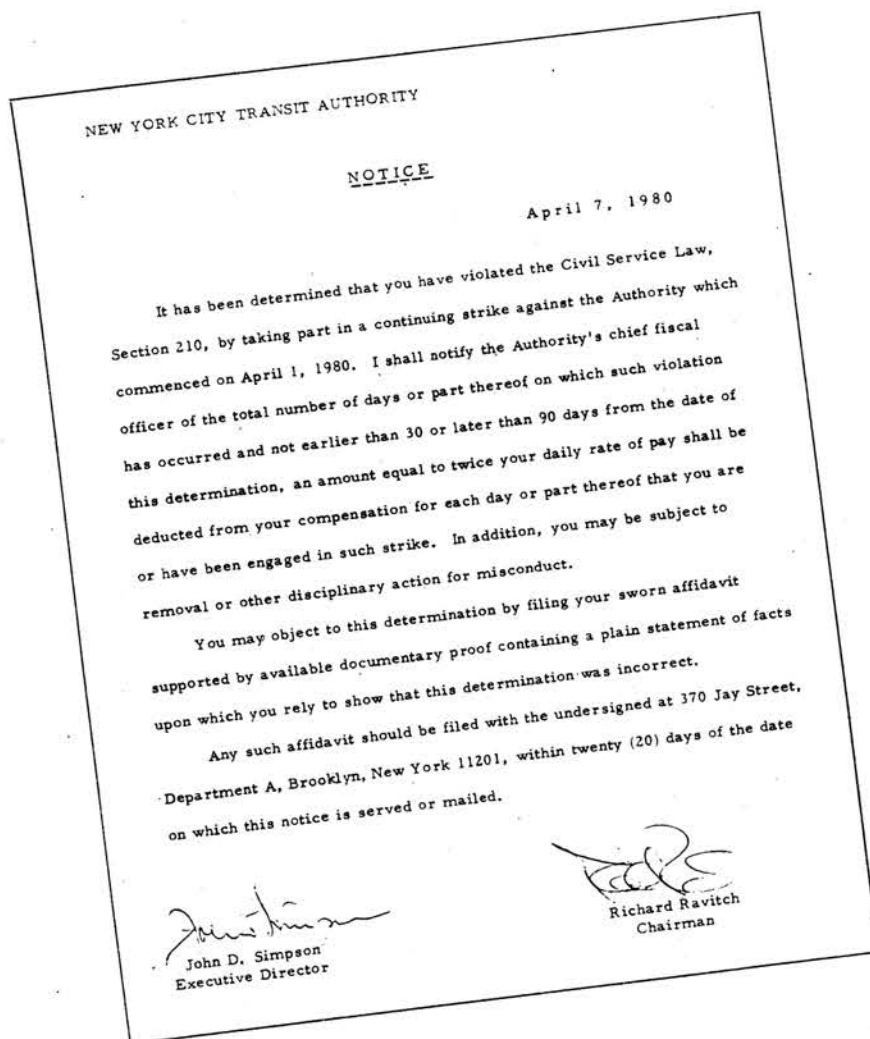
What is the Taylor Law and where did it come from?

State politicians enacted the law after the 1966 transit strike in New York. For thirteen days, and for similar reasons as today, the TWU and the Amalgamated Transit Union had shutdown the subways and buses. The strike ended in a victory for the union.

At that time the state already had a law against public employee strikes—the Condon-Wadlin Act. But it proved unworkable. Enacted in 1947, it required that strikers be fired and, if rehired, denied any pay increases for three years.

It was under this law that Mike Quill, then the TWU president, was jailed for leading the strike. However, faced with strikers who refused to retreat, the city had to back off. The workers got a good part of their demands. Quill was released from jail (he died shortly afterwards) and the penalties of the law were not applied.

Concluding that the state needed a more effective weapon against public employee strikes, Nelson Rockefeller, the Republican governor who was elected as a "friend of labor," assembled a commission headed by George Taylor, a professor, to draft a new anti-strike law. It was presented as a more liberal labor law.



Notice given to each transit worker on fine of two days' pay for each day on strike.

The new law proposed by the Taylor commission also banned strikes by government workers. It provided that a striking union could be penalized by withdrawing its right to have union dues deducted from its members' paychecks. It said striking unions could be fined \$10,000 for each day of a strike. A striker could be jailed thirty days and fined \$250.

With the backing of Rockefeller and Travia, the Democratic speaker of the state assembly, a bipartisan coalition voted the proposals into law. The Taylor

Law became effective September 1, 1967.

In 1969 a slave-labor provision was added—a two-for-one penalty. Workers can be fined two days pay for each day on strike!

The Taylor Law was enacted over the opposition of the city's public employee union. On May 23, 1967, for example, the TWU, the United Federation of Teachers, and District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees brought an overflow crowd of 25,000 to Madison

Square Garden to demand that what was then called the RAT (Rockefeller-Travia) law not be put into effect.

In the years since, the law has been used frequently against public workers. And while stronger public unions have at times successfully defied the antilabor law, others have been forced to accept lousy contracts because of the restriction on their right to strike.

The Taylor Act remains in force because the union officialdom continues to support the Democratic and Republican "friends of labor" who imposed it.

A particularly grotesque example of this dead-end strategy was the behavior in 1968 of Albert Shanker, president of the UFT.

Shanker led his union that year in a racist walkout to thwart Black and Puerto Rican parents who were fighting for a say over their children's schools. To ensure defeat of the progressive, pro-labor fight for community control, Shanker extracted a mandate from the UFT to support for reelection in 1968 and 1969 seventy of the ninety-three state legislators who had voted for the Taylor Law!

He hustled votes for these antilabor politicians because they stood in racist opposition to a pending bill that would have offered a measure of community control.

Five years later, Shanker urged labor support for the election of Carey as governor on the claim that Carey would work to get rid of the Taylor Law. Carey won with labor backing. Not only is the Taylor Law still on the books but Carey is applying it with enthusiasm against the transit workers today.

This suicidal strategy on the part of the labor bureaucrats makes it painfully clear that real friends of labor will not be found in the parties of the bosses, the Democrats and Republicans.

Only a party based on the unions and accountable to them—a labor party—will be able to put in office genuine representatives of the working-class majority. Repeal of the union-busting Taylor Law would surely be at the top of the agenda of such an independent labor party.

## Calif., Minn. unions discuss need for labor party

By Fred Feldman

The bipartisan drive to slash government services to working people and force big cuts in real wages is compelling more unionists to think seriously about the idea of forming their own party.

"What happened to all those 'friends of labor' we were supposed to have elected?" they are asking, as Republican and Democratic legislators scramble for a chance to take a slice out of our living standards.

According to the March 31 *Union Advocate*, a labor paper published in St. Paul, this question came up at the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly March 26.

"Has organized labor's place within the Democratic Farmer Labor Party [Minnesota's Democratic Party] deteriorated to the extent that union members should withdraw from the DFL and form their own labor party?" asked the paper.

The delegates "apparently felt that was the case when they unanimously adopted a report of the Assembly Executive Board calling on the Minnesota AFL-CIO to consider such a move."

In California, discussion of forming a labor party came to public attention when John Henning, secretary-treasurer of the state AFL-CIO, called last Labor Day for meetings to discuss the question.

The March 21 issue of the *California*

*AFL-CIO News* indicates the growth of interest since then. It reported that a resolution on the labor party proposal was adopted at the forty-fourth Convention of the California State Council of Carpenters in Anaheim:

"Anthony Ramos, the State Council's executive officer, said this week that fundamentally it calls on the Carpenters organization to cooperate with other labor organizations in supporting the concept of a Labor Party that would be in the interest of and beneficial to the labor movement."

The *News* reported that Mary Yunt, secretary-treasurer of the Orange County Central Labor Council, had informed the California AFL-CIO in a letter that "her council has approved a resolution 'to support any action you might take in formation of a Labor Party.'"

Similar resolutions have been adopted by the Alameda County Central Labor Council, the Marin County Central Labor Council, and the San Mateo County Central Labor Council.

The source of these resolutions is the growing belief of union members that the unions must do something about the government's antilabor policies—and that the officials' long-standing strategy of supporting the Democrats has failed.

Labor's political impasse is agitating even the top echelons of the AFL-CIO, where President Lane Kirkland has

reacted with anger to the Carter administration's budget-cutting drive.

On April 3 he announced the formation of a coalition of 147 groups to fight the cutbacks. Membership in the coalition ranges from the United Auto Workers to the National Conference of Catholic Bishops.

The coalition called Carter's revised budget a "misguided approach to fighting inflation that runs counter to the general welfare of the American people, especially the weak, the poor, the handicapped, minorities, and the young and elderly of our society."

Speaking April 2 to a conference of the Building and Construction Trades department of the AFL-CIO, Kirkland complained about the antilabor offensive of the Democrats:

"If the Democratic Party is to be a clone of orthodox Republican economic policy, can we be expected to buy the proposition that there is now, at long last, a significant difference in our two major political parties? . . . If the Democratic Party is to mouth Hooverite Republican slogans, we in the labor movement will find it very hard indeed to maintain our political enthusiasm. When there is so little difference, there is too little to choose and too much to lose."

The formation of the coalition to oppose Carter's budget and Kirkland's statements mean that strains are growing in the "national accord" Kirkland reached with Carter last September.

Under the accord, Kirkland and other union officials joined with corporation executives and government officials to develop Carter's 7.5-9.5 percent wage guidelines.

These discussions and shifts signal that advocates of a labor party will have more opportunities to put forward their views on the job and in the unions, and an increasingly positive response when they do so.

### Labor history and its lessons for today

**Labor's Giant Step: Twenty Years of the CIO** by Art Preis. 538 pp., paper \$7.95

Books by Farrell Dobbs:  
**Teamster Rebellion** 192 pp., paper \$4.45

**Teamster Power** 255 pp., paper \$4.95

**Teamster Politics** 256 pp., paper \$4.95

**Teamster Bureaucracy** 256 pp., paper \$4.95

**The 110-Day Coal Strike: Its Meaning for Working People** by Nancy Cole and Andy Rose. 40 pp., \$7.50

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



# Eleven Puerto Rican nationalists jailed

By Gus Horowitz

Eleven people were arrested in the Chicago suburb of Evanston April 4, charged by the police with robbery and possession of weapons, and accused in the mass media of being linked to an alleged Puerto Rican terrorist group, the Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional (FALN).

Bail was set at \$22 million—\$2 million each—a prohibitive figure clearly set to keep them all behind bars.

Among the five women and six men arrested were Carlos Alberto Torres, accused of being the leader of the FALN, and his wife, María Haydee Torres.

Upon entering the preliminary court hearing April 7, Carlos Torres said, "I consider myself a freedom fighter, fighting for the freedom of Puerto Rico." About fifty demonstrators marched outside to denounce the arrests, chanting slogans for Puerto Rican independence.

"I protest this hearing," Torres told the judge. "You have no jurisdiction over me." The other defendants also rejected the authority of the U.S. court system in their case. Refusal to accept the jurisdiction of U.S. courts is a long-standing tradition among some Puerto Rican nationalist groups.

Five of the defendants, who refused to give their names, had still not been identified at the time of the April 7 hearing.

The case was turned over to the Chi-

cago courts, where another hearing was set for April 15. After trial over the local weapons and robbery charges, Carlos and María Torres face federal and New York City charges in connection with bombings attributed to the FALN. Authorities have threatened to indict others on these charges as well.

Authorities are also seeking to indict some of the defendants in connection with the brief takeover March 15 of the New York campaign headquarters of Republican presidential candidate George Bush, and the Chicago campaign headquarters of President Carter. The FALN has been accused of these actions, too.

Altogether, police and FBI officials have accused the FALN of more than 100 bombings in the past five years, including several that resulted in injury and death.

To back up its charges against the FALN, the FBI names Carlos Torres number one on its ten-most-wanted list, and put María Torres on the list as well.

However, no evidence has ever been produced linking Carlos Torres, the chief defendant, to any of the bombing incidents.

He was indicted after a November 1976 police raid on a Chicago apartment said to be rented in his name. The police alleged that the apartment was a "bomb factory." But Torres was not around, and the police story is suspect.

The police claim the following: A dope addict broke into the building where Torres's apartment was located, found dynamite, and began selling it. The police found out about the dope addict and arrested him. This led them to the apartment.

It is on this dubious tale that the charges against Torres were based.

Leaders and activists in the Puerto Rican liberation movement have in past years challenged the police and FBI version of FALN activity.

Nothing was known about the origins or political views of the FALN, the movement spokespeople pointed out. It had no known connection to any existing group in the United States or on the island.

Nevertheless, under cover of a hunt for the FALN, the courts and police carried out a generalized attack on the Puerto Rican movement over several years.

Juan Mari Brás, leader of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, charged in May 1976 that a federal grand jury in New York set up ostensibly to investigate the FALN, was actually conducting an "inquisitorial fishing expedition" against the PSP. A PSP member was jailed for several months for refusing to testify before the grand jury.

Grand juries in New York and Chicago broadened their attack in 1977.

In New York, they went after the National Commission on Hispanic Affairs of the Episcopal Church. Carlos Torres had worked with the commission during 1976.

María Cueto, then-director of the commission, and her secretary, Raisa Nemikin, had both known Torres, but denied any knowledge whatsoever of the FALN. They were jailed for several months for refusing to testify before the grand jury fishing expedition.

Meanwhile in Chicago several Puerto Ricans associated with the movement-run Rafael Cancel Miranda High School were subpoenaed.

The government also tried to link the FALN to the New Mexico Raza Unida Party and the Denver, Colorado, Crusade for Justice, both of which are Chicano groups.

Several movement activists who refused to testify were jailed for months. The last ones were not released from prison until May 1978.

The two-year witch-hunt by the New York and Chicago grand juries not only failed to show any links between the FALN and the movement groups, but also failed to produce any real evidence against Carlos Torres.

## Pulley: 'Free the eleven now!'

Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, issued a statement April 8 denouncing the arrest of eleven Puerto Rican nationalists as "an attack against the entire Puerto Rican freedom struggle."

"Free them now!" he demanded.

The government's "campaign against the alleged terrorism of the FALN," he said, "has been used to cover up the day-by-day violence that Washington uses to hold Puerto Rico as a colony, and to hide the grinding poverty and oppression that it inflicts on the Puerto Rican people here in the U.S. and on the island."

"For example," Pulley said, "the U.S. Navy continues to bomb, shell, and strafe the Puerto Rican island of Vieques as 'target practice,' in complete disregard of the safety and livelihoods of its residents."

"Washington has on its hands the blood of Angel Rodríguez Cristóbal

and countless other Puerto Rican patriots. This government has no right to charge Puerto Rican freedom fighters with violence."

(Cristóbal was found dead in a Florida prison cell last November under suspicious circumstances after being jailed for a Vieques protest.)

"It is no coincidence," the socialist candidate declared, "that the Carter administration has launched this witchhunt against the Puerto Rican movement just when the government's refusal to put a stop to the escalating terrorist activities of anti-Castro Cuban hit squads is arousing protests."

"Washington armed and trained these right-wing killers; it allows them to bomb and murder with impunity. Now it hopes to divert attention from its own crimes with lurid, unsubstantiated charges of terrorism against the victims of oppression."



Militant/Dan Dickeson

Thousands welcomed four Puerto Rican nationalists on their return home last fall after twenty-five years in U.S. prisons. Witch-hunt around alleged FALN terrorism aims to intimidate all independence fighters.

# Penna. socialist condemns anti-OSHA bill

The following statement was released by Linda Mohrbacher, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from Pennsylvania. Mohrbacher, thirty-one, is a steelworker at U.S. Steel's Edgar Thompson Works in Pittsburgh.



Militant/Nancy Cole

LINDA MOHRBACHER: 'Is \$26 billion too much to spend to save lives?'

Along with all the other rights they're trying to get working people to live without, Congress is now on an all-out drive against our right to a safe and healthy work place.

My opponent in this election, Republican Sen. Richard Schweiker, is leading the charge with a proposed bill to gut the 1970 law that established the Occupational Safety and Health Administration. This he has the gall to tag the Occupational Safety and Health Improvements Act of 1980 (S-2153).

The bill would exempt up to 90 percent of all work places from regular inspections. Safety inspectors would be allowed at the work site only after a business had killed or maimed workers. And OSHA would pretty much have to take a company's word for its safety record.

Since its inception nearly a decade ago, OSHA has been under steady fire from the employers.

The courts have consistently sided with big business. In 1978 the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that employers could insist on search warrants before admitting OSHA inspectors.

The Carter administration joined the fray, counting its 1978 elimination of

1,000 "nitpicking" OSHA regulations as part of the "fight against inflation."

None of this satisfied the employers. Their goal is nothing less than wiping the entire piece of legislation off the books.

The Chamber of Commerce complains that since 1971 business has spent \$25 billion and the government \$1 billion on occupational safety and health.

These are no doubt inflated figures. But even if they weren't—is this too much to spend to save lives? The nine-year figure falls considerably short of the \$34 billion Carter wants to spend on 200 MX missiles. The yearly average of \$2.8 billion supposedly spent by all businesses in the country doesn't come close to the \$4.3 billion in profits raked in by Exxon—just one corporation—last year.

Close to 5,000 workers die in on-the-job accidents each year. One hundred thousand die from work-related diseases. Between 20 and 40 percent of all cancer is caused by on-the-job exposure.

These figures show that OSHA needs to be improved, not demolished. OSHA's budget is kept to less than three cents

per worker. Inspectors are pitifully few. The fines and penalties meted out to employers—an average of sixty dollars per violation—are slaps on the wrist.

OSHA nonetheless was a step forward for working people in the fight to have some say about our working conditions. My party joins with the entire labor movement in condemning this bipartisan assault on the right to safety. We demand that OSHA be preserved and strengthened.

The anti-OSHA bill is endorsed by some of the biggest so-called friends of labor on Capitol Hill. It offers a painful lesson in what the two big-business parties have to offer working people. No matter how much support the labor movement may throw these fair-weather friends during the elections, when push comes to shove both Democrats and Republicans always side with the employers.

It's one more important reason why labor should develop its own political voice through an independent labor party based on the unions. Then we wouldn't have to sit back and listen to a chorus of politicians telling us profits are more important than our lives.



# SOCIALIST BALLOT DRIVE



Militant/Diane Jacobs

## Mich. SWP fights for ballot place

By Fred Feldman

An April 20 rally and dinner will be the highlight of the opening stage of a fight to get the Socialist Workers Party presidential ticket on the Michigan ballot.

On April 12, socialist campaigners will begin petitioning on the streets of Detroit and elsewhere in the state. Their goal: to line up well over the 18,339 signatures demanded by state officials of parties (other than the Democrats and Republicans) seeking a place on the ballot.

In addition to the presidential ticket of Pulley and Zimmermann, the SWP is running Bill Arth and Martha Dowling for Congress from the Fourteenth and Sixteenth districts. They face incumbent Democrats Lucien Nedzi and John Dingell.

The socialists are also fielding Andrew Walden, a student at Cass Technical High School and leader of the Young Socialist Alliance, for a place on Detroit's Central School Board.

The April 20 rally and dinner will feature vice-presidential candidate Matilde Zimmermann. In addition, the gathering will hear greetings from Russ Bellant, president of the Student-Faculty Council of Wayne State University. Bellant, a steelworker on leave from his job to complete his studies, is a leader of the Committee Against Registration and the Draft.

Getting the required 18,339 signatures will depend to a large degree on the efforts of a full-time team of petitioners, plus several large-scale mobilizations of volunteers for several weekends. Daily petitioning by volunteers is also being organized.

Getting the signatures is only the first hurdle.

Michigan law is set up to try to prevent Michigan voters from having any choices other than Republicans and Democrats in the November elections.

Parties other than the Republicans and Democrats are required to get about 5,000 votes in the August 5 primary election in order to challenge the two capitalist parties. Given the focus of attention on the race for the Republican and Democratic nomination, it is not surprising that no party has ever met this requirement.

The SWP campaign is preparing a challenge to this law.

SWP spokesperson Tony Dutrow was optimistic about the petitioning drive. "We think a lot of people in Detroit want to see a working-class point of view on the ballot," he said. "What's more, we think a lot of them are going

to be angry as they learn about the lengths Michigan officials go to in order to prevent it."

To help the petitioning effort, contact the Michigan SWP at 6404 Woodward Avenue in Detroit. Or phone (313) 875-5322.

## Rail safety issue spurs petitioning

By Mark Schneider

BOSTON—"If you asked me to sign that petition a few hours ago I would have said 'no thanks,' but what happened this morning changed my mind."

That's what one Somerville woman told Kip Hedges April 3 as he gathered signatures to place the Socialist Workers Party presidential ticket on the Massachusetts ballot.

The woman was referring to one of the worst railway accidents in a metropolitan area in U.S. history. A collision between a locomotive and a tanker car in a switching yard sent billowing columns of phosphorous trioxide into the air. Thousands of people had to be evacuated from their homes. Hundreds of railroad workers, fire fighters, and neighborhood residents were treated for inhalation of the toxic fumes.

Schools were closed and roads were sealed off in the area. Emergency workers reported that the disaster might have been much worse if the wind was blowing toward downtown Boston.

The accident drove home the perils of transporting hazardous material by rail without enforcement of safety standards.

Government and railroad officials tried to place the blame for the disaster on the train crew. Somerville Mayor Eugene Brune, no expert on railroad-ing, said, "I don't see how the engineer could have missed seeing that tanker."

Nelson Gonzalez, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress in the 6th District, immediately issued a statement explaining why such accidents occur.

"The Somerville rail disaster is an example of what happens under work conditions where safety is sacrificed for profit. The number of railroad disasters has shot up dramatically in the recent years. The carriers are reducing crew sizes and cutting safety standards. When you have fewer workers doing more work, disaster is inevitable. This is example number one in the Boston area of what Carter's 'pain and discipline' program is all about." Gonzalez, a machinist at the General Electric plant in Lynn, is a member of

International Union of Electrical Workers Local 201.

On the second Saturday of the drive, April 5, Massachusetts petitioners garnered 8,100 signatures. Nearly 100 campaign backers hit the streets in the Boston area and smaller teams fanned out into Springfield, in the central part of the state, and Pittsfield in the west. Their efforts brought the total to 31,000 after eight days.

Since the campaign committee is planning to gather 65,000 signatures in all—well over the 40,000 demanded by state law—the drive is running several days ahead of schedule.

A particularly successful part of the petitioning effort has been the recruitment of volunteer petitioners.

If you would like to help place the socialist candidates on the ballot in Massachusetts, call (617) 262-4621 in Boston or (413) 253-3387 in the Springfield-Amherst area.

The Massachusetts Petitioning Center is located at 510 Commonwealth Avenue, Fourth Floor, Boston, Massachusetts 02125.

## 14,000 sign up in Ariz.

By Nancy Berry and Dan Fein

PHOENIX—More than 14,000 Arizona voters have signed petitions to put the Socialist Workers Party candidates on the ballot in the November elections.

In addition to Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann, candidates for president and vice-president, the party is running Rob Roper for Congress from the First District.

Roper, twenty-five, is a laborer at Midland-Ross Capitol Casting Division in nearby Tempe and a member of United Steelworkers Local 4102.

Dozens of campaign supporters threw themselves into the petitioning effort, which placed the party well over the 10,800 signatures required by state law for parties other than the Republicans and Democrats.

Petitioners found growing interest among working people and youth in putting a working-class alternative on the ballot.

In Tucson, where 3,500 people signed petitions, twenty young supporters of the Pulley-Zimmermann ticket plan to establish an ongoing campaign committee.

A Black student at Phoenix College responded when asked to sign, "No, I already have my party picked out." When told the petition was for the Socialist Workers Party, the student responded, "Hey, that's my party."

A member of the Plasterers' union signed for Rob Roper, saying, "I've got to sign. He's a member of the Steelworkers union."

Roper stands in sharp contrast to his incumbent opponent, House Republican minority leader John Rhodes.

Rhodes has been in Washington since 1950. He supports nuclear power and is a strong backer of the Palo Verde Nuclear Generating Station being built forty miles upwind from Phoenix.

Roper, on the other hand, has participated in antinuclear marches in Phoenix and calls for converting Palo Verde into a coal-fired plant.

For thirty years Rhodes has supported Washington's war moves, from Korea through Vietnam to Iran. Roper, a draft-age member of the Young Socialist Alliance, has spoken out against the draft.

At a recent antidraft rally, Roper received a big round of applause when introduced as John Rhodes's opponent.



Hear the Socialist Workers candidates



### CLEVELAND Campaign Rally

Speaker:

Matilde Zimmermann, SWP candidate for vice-president  
Sunday, April 13

6 p.m. refreshments, 8 p.m. rally  
Cleveland State University  
Univ. Center, Room 201, 2nd floor  
For more information call  
(216) 991-5030

### MORGANTOWN Campaign Rally

Speakers:

Matilde Zimmermann, SWP candidate for vice-president  
Tom Moriarty, SWP candidate for governor of West Virginia  
Saturday, April 19, 7:30 p.m.  
Fairmont Hotel, Town Club Room  
200 Jefferson Street  
Fairmont, West Virginia  
For more information call  
(304) 296-0055

### Andrew Pulley candidate for president

April 11-13	Kansas City
April 17-19	Louisville
April 20-22	Albuquerque
April 24-27	Phoenix

### Matilde Zimmermann candidate for vice-president

April 11-12	Toledo
April 13-15	Cleveland
April 18-19	Morgantown
April 20-22	Detroit
April 28-29	Piedmont

For more information call the Socialist Workers Party branch nearest you. See the directory on page 27 for phone numbers and addresses.

Pulley & Zimmermann in 1980!



# Zimmermann backs UAW strikers at Harvester

By Jenny Lee Austin

INDIANAPOLIS—One of the first things that Matilde Zimmermann, vice-presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, did when she arrived here March 24 for a two-day tour was to visit the United Auto Workers pickets at the International Harvester plant.

The United Auto Workers union has been striking Harvester since November 1.

The striking workers were friendly. They were pleased at Zimmermann's show of support—so different from the cold shoulders and outright hostility they have gotten from Republican and Democratic politicians.

Among the picketers Zimmermann talked to were Norman Bennett, Keith Shipp, Dennis Pope, and Tom Burrell.

They told her that the company had dropped the demand for forced overtime, which had forced the strike, but that other issues were still unresolved.

Bennett, Shipp, and Pope figured out that the strike had cost them over \$5,000 apiece. They said they had far too much invested to go back without a good contract.

The picketers also felt they had to remain on strike to support their brothers and sisters at other plants across the state and country.

The discussion ranged over many topics. The Harvester workers liked Zimmermann's proposal that the unions should get together to form a labor party, a party that could support strikes instead of trying to break them.

Another issue on which some strikers agreed with Zimmermann was the

crisis in Iran. When she said the only solution to the crisis was to send back the shah, Burrell declared: "I'd send him back, too. Every man's got to do his own time."

Campaign supporters passed out copies of a statement by Danny Booher and Liz Sommers, SWP candidates for governor and lieutenant-governor of Indiana, supporting the strike.

On March 25 Zimmermann and gubernatorial candidate Booher spoke at a rally at the gates of the Stewart-Warner corporation. Booher, a member of the United Steelworkers of America, works at Stewart-Warner. The candidates talked with a number of steelworkers who support the SWP campaign.

A campaign rally was held that night at the Marott Hotel.

Jesse Wilson, a Black member of United Auto Workers Local 933, wasn't able to attend because of his work schedule. But he sent a message. Writing of the Democratic and Republican office-seekers, Wilson said:

"If these politicians cannot even use the word racism, then how can they talk to us, the victims of racism? If they cannot even use the word exploitation, then how can they talk to the exploited? If they cannot even use the words political oppression, how can they speak to those who are politically oppressed? If they cannot even use the words working class, then they must not be addressing the needs of the working class."

Wilson pledged his support to the socialist campaign.

## Ky. Dems slash aid to disabled workers

By Chris Rayson

LOUISVILLE—The Kentucky state legislature meeting in Frankfort has passed House Bill 532 March 31 severely limiting state benefits for victims of industrial injuries.

This bill, slated to become law on July 15, rewrote current workmen's compensation law in Kentucky. Its most important feature stops benefits to partially disabled workers after eight years. Currently, benefits can be paid for a worker's lifetime.

In addition, the bill imposes new limits on state benefits to black lung victims and more restrictive definitions of disability.

Gov. John Brown pushed the bill through a Democratic-controlled legislature despite a massive protest of 12,000 workers at the state capitol March 19.

Labor leaders were outraged by the legislature's action.

Luther Ford, lobbyist for the United Mine Workers, told the *Courier-Journal* April 1, "I'm crying. I don't know how I'll explain it to anybody."

Leonard "Scottie" Smith, executive secretary-treasurer of the state AFL-CIO, vowed that "this vote will be remembered as long as its bad effects are felt."

Tom Swetland, a member of International Union of Electrical Workers Local 761 and Socialist Workers candidate for the U.S. Senate from Kentucky, told the *Militant*, "The legislature's slashing of workmen's compensation benefits is part of a drive against workers' standard of living. This is what Gov. Brown meant by his campaign slogan 'Brown means business.'"

Swetland noted that the state AFL-CIO, the mine workers, and almost all of organized labor supported Brown in the recent election.

"All this did was disarm labor in the face of Brown's attack. Any talk now of throwing the bums out to put other Democrats and Republicans in is to repeat the same mistake. What we need is a labor party, based on the unions, that will mobilize workers to fight for their interests, independent of the bosses' parties."

"Workers will respond to a fighting perspective," Swetland said. "Look at the overwhelming response among workers to the March 19 march. An effective follow-up to the march would be an aggressive campaign for independent labor candidates, who would campaign for repeal of House Bill 532 and full protection for disabled workers."

## Launch Mo. petitioning



Militant/Antonio Vindel

ST. LOUIS—A March 30 rally here heard Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate Matilde Zimmermann (above) and SWP candidate for governor Martin Anderson. The rally built support for petitioning drive beginning April 12. Missouri officials require parties other than Republicans and Democrats to collect nearly 18,000 signatures. SWP supporters aim to get 35,000. If you want to help put socialist alternative on ballot in Missouri, contact SWP offices in St. Louis and Kansas City at addresses and phone numbers listed on page 27.

## Put your tax refund to work

By Jim Garrison

As the deadline for filing tax returns falls upon us this week, the news is full of government haggling over how to divide up the take from our wages in the 1981 federal budget.

The tiffs between Congress and the president are all pretty civilized.

One debate involved how much money to take away from the cities. The "rural conservatives," as the press calls them, insisted on a \$2.4 billion cut in federal funds for the cities. The "urban liberals," on the other hand, fought for a cut of only \$1.9 billion. Advocates of the bigger cut won.

But sometimes the outcome was different.

Carter's original 1981 budget proposal released in January called for a military budget of \$146.2 billion. Pentagon officials explained that this sum along with the current outlay for 1980 were totally inadequate.

In response, the budget-balancing administration recommended an increase in military spending to \$150.5 billion, the belt-tightening House Republicans wanted \$152.4 billion, and the tight-fisted Senate Budget Committee recommended an increase to \$156.3 billion.

Your tax dollars at work for you? Hardly. But there is an alternative.

The Socialist Workers campaign of Andrew Pulley for president and Matilde Zimmermann for vice-president calls for government spending to meet human needs rather than to protect private profits. The Pulley-Zimmermann campaign calls for taxing the incomes of the rich and

the profits of big corporations—all of which are produced by working people—and eliminating all taxation of workers.

In order to get out this message, the Socialist Workers campaign needs contributions from workers who believe as they do.

With inflation at around 18 percent, you are likely to find that the tax return you receive will provide little relief in the long run.

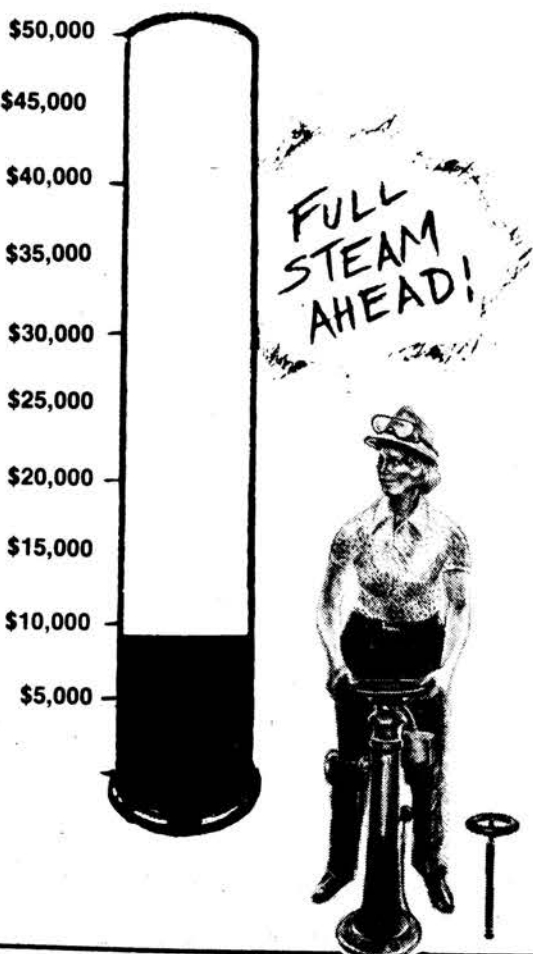
But you can make those tax dollars work for you. You can contribute your refund to the drive to raise \$50,000 for the Pulley-Zimmermann campaign. So far \$8,899 has been donated. Your contribution can give a big boost to the effort to spread the word about the socialist alternative.

Enclosed is my contribution of \$ \_\_\_\_\_  
Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_  
Zip \_\_\_\_\_ Phone \_\_\_\_\_  
Union/School/Org. \_\_\_\_\_

Make checks payable to:  
Socialist Workers Presidential Campaign Committee  
14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

A copy of our report is filed with the Federal Election Commission and is available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C.

A federal court ruling allows us not to disclose the names of contributors in order to protect their First Amendment rights





By Betsey Stone

Last January, Celia Sánchez Manduley, one of the foremost leaders of the Cuban revolution, died in Havana after a long bout with cancer. Tens of thousands of Cuban workers, peasants, and students turned out for the funeral.

Armando Hart, Cuba's minister of culture and a revolutionary leader who had known Sánchez since the early days of the underground, gave a eulogy describing her many contributions. Hart's speech was printed in the Cuban newspaper *Granma*, along with other articles about the life of this extraordinary revolutionary fighter.

The reaction in the U.S. press to the death of Celia Sánchez was quite different. Major dailies around the country carried lurid "reports" claiming that Celia Sánchez had been killed in a supposed shootout between Fidel Castro and Raúl Castro. The New York Spanish-language *El Diario-La Prensa* and other newspapers also cited "partially confirmed" rumors to the effect that in addition to Sánchez, Raúl may have also been killed and Fidel wounded! *El Diario* speculated that possibly the shootout had grown out of an argument over Raúl's "demotion" in the Cuban government. "It is known that relations between the brothers never were very cordial," the article said.

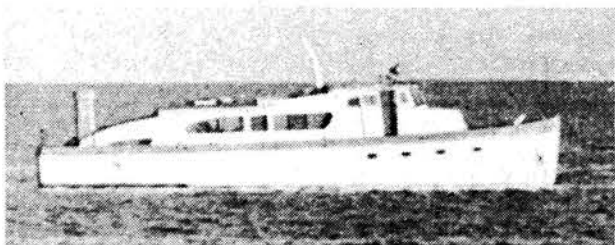
Such preposterous stories reflect wishful thinking on the part of the opponents of the Cuban revolution. They wish that the Cuban leadership was divided, that Raúl and Fidel and the other leaders of the revolution were motivated by desire for personal gain and were the type of people who would shoot each other in arguments over posts.

The capitalist press had the same reaction to the leadership of the 1917 Russian revolution. A newspaper headline in 1919 read: "Lenine Shot by Trotsky in Drunken Brawl." But the Bolshevik leaders, like the Cubans, were not that type of people. It was only with the rise of the bureaucracy headed by Stalin that the killings of revolutionaries began.

#### Revolutionary leadership team

The truth is that the leaders in Cuba today have worked together longer and maintained a revolutionary course longer than any other leadership in history where a workers' revolution has taken

Betsey Stone is a member of the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party and managing editor of *Pathfinder Press*.



The 'Granma'



Left: Celia (center) marching with Haydée Santamaría (right). Center: Celia flanked by Fidel, Raúl, Che, Camilo Cienfuegos, and Juan Almeida. Right: Celia (second from left)



# Celia Sánchez and the Cuban revolution

power. In the whole past quarter of a century, no one in this leadership has turned against the revolution, or lost heart, or gone over to reformism. Three have died—Camilo Cienfuegos in a plane crash, Che Guevara in battle in Bolivia, and now, Celia Sánchez.

Fidel Castro is the central leader of the Cuban revolution and his role has been crucial to its success from the beginning. But one of Castro's strengths—and a strength of the Cuban leadership as a whole—has been the ability to inspire others and to build a collective leadership.

The central leadership team in Cuba has included many individuals of a very high caliber. Celia Sánchez was a prime example. Sánchez was a hero of the revolution, someone who was looked to as the embodiment of the finest qualities—courage, audacity, intransigence, political maturity, and total commitment to the revolution. Before and after the victory in 1959 she shouldered enormous responsibilities, yet she understood completely that the important thing was not what she did as an individual, but how she could contribute to what could be accomplished collectively. Whatever needed to be done, she did it, regardless of the nature of the task.

#### July 26 Movement

Celia Sánchez was among the first to take up the struggle against the Batista dictatorship in the 1950s. She was one of the founders and early central leaders of the July 26 Movement, concentrating her efforts on the underground in Oriente Province where she grew up. This eastern end of Cuba, with a big concentration of Afro-Cuban proletarians, proved a powerhouse of support for the revolution. This was especially true of the provincial capital, Santiago de Cuba.

When Fidel Castro and the other rebels sailed on the "Granma" from Mexico to Cuba in November 1956, it was Celia Sánchez who organized the trucks that were to meet them on the beach. Storms and the unseaworthiness of the "Granma" meant that the rebels didn't arrive at the time and place

scheduled. Instead they landed in a swamp, lost most of their supplies, were attacked and dispersed by Batista's soldiers and planes.

During the days when the underground fighters did not know what had happened to the "Granma," Sánchez helped rally the movement. She was captured by police and government soldiers and narrowly escaped.

After learning that Castro and a small group from the "Granma" had miraculously survived and regrouped in the Sierra Maestra mountains, Sánchez and other members of the underground went up to see them. The names of those who accompanied her are all well known in Cuba today—Frank País, leader of the underground in Santiago, who was murdered by police later that year; Armando Hart, now head of the Ministry of Culture; Vilma Espín, president of the Federation of Cuban Women; and Haydée Santamaría, who is president of Casa de Las Americas.

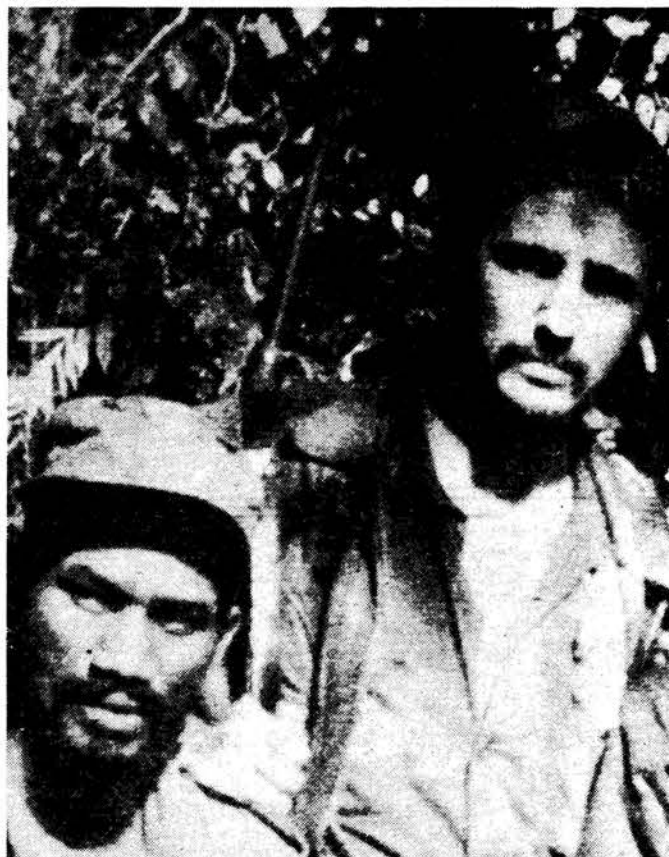
After this meeting in February, Sánchez and others began to gather supplies and reinforcements needed for the survival of the guerrilla band. Sánchez brought the guerrillas their first food, supplies, clothing, and money. In March, she and Frank País organized and brought to the Sierra the first contingents of reinforcements.

In his eulogy, Hart described Sánchez's courage in carrying out this task:

"Celia's executive ability, her talent for making the most daring plans a reality, her great concern for detail—virtues which all the Cuban people are aware of—were clearly evident during those historic and unforgettable weeks. Moving, in the first months of 1957, an armed contingent of nearly 60 men from Santiago de Cuba and other parts of Oriente to Manzanillo, sheltering them in the underbrush for more than two weeks, just a few kilometers from the city and right off the highway from Bayamo to Manzanillo and then moving them to the Sierra Maestra was a task which required not only courage but organizational ability, skill, talent and daring."

#### Guerrilla fighter

Sánchez was the main link between the guerrillas in the Sierra and the urban underground. In his *Reminiscences of the Cuban Revolutionary War*, Che Guevara comments, "In those days contradictory news would arrive, sometimes telling us that Celia Sánchez was in prison, other times that she had been killed. . . . We did not know whether or not to believe these at times hair-raising things. Celia, for example, was our only known and secure contact."



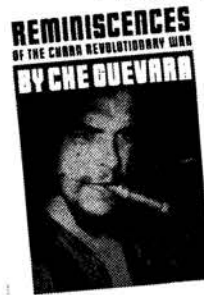


# ez le lution



Celia counts money she raised in cities to support Sierra Maestra fighters.

## Reminiscences of the Cuban Revolutionary War



By Che Guevara

A dramatic account of the guerrilla struggle which succeeded in smashing the Batista dictatorship, by a central leader of the Cuban revolution. \$5.95. Order from: Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y., 10014 (include \$.75 postage and handling).

Her arrest would mean complete isolation for us."

In March 1957, Celia Sánchez joined the Rebel guerrilla army. She took part in the first significant battle, the attack on the El Uvero army barracks.

She carried out many different tasks as part of the guerrilla force, organizing medical care for the wounded, serving as a courier and liaison, and helping to set up Radio Rebelde—the voice of the guerrilla movement.

As a guerrilla fighter, she was known for her



Granma

with young women Sandinistas, applauds victory of Nicaraguan revolution.

coolness under fire and her stamina and ability to cover long distances on foot. She was the first woman to join the guerrillas, but was soon joined by others, most notably her two compatriots from the underground—Vilma Espín and Haydée Santamaria. In 1958, she was one of the organizers of the Mariana Grajales women's platoon.

### Role of urban underground

Che Guevara's *Reminiscences of the Revolutionary War* provides a valuable picture of how the guerrilla struggles in the Sierra helped forge the team of revolutionary cadres who were to lead the Cuban revolution over the next decades. But there is no equivalent book about the underground movement in the cities, despite the decisive role played by the underground in allowing the guerrillas to survive and in making victory possible.

Raúl Castro pointed to the need to write such a history in a speech last year on the anniversary of the November 30, 1957, uprising of the Santiago underground. He stressed the importance of the underground in organizing the working class, and quoted a letter on this question sent by Frank País to the leaders of the July 26 Movement:

"What has happened is that we're forgetting how important the workers are. . . . We must make up for lost time and make it our business to penetrate all the trade union and workers' organizations."

Hart's eulogy also stressed the importance of the underground to the victory in Cuba. According to Hart, it was Celia Sánchez's role in the early underground movement—especially her contacts and political influence among the workers in the area of Manzanillo—which made it possible for her to be so effective in building support for the guerrillas.

### After victory

After the victory in 1959, the Cuban leadership faced the even greater challenges of mobilizing the working class and peasantry to abolish capitalism and to stand up to the military and economic assaults of U.S. imperialism.

Once again, Sánchez played a central role. Her main assignment was that of general assistant to Fidel Castro. She was a combination adviser, chief of staff, personal secretary, and troubleshooter. She was organizer of Castro's household and often accompanied him on trips.

The editorial in *Granma* described one of her last trips—her participation in the Cuban delegation to the United Nations last fall:

"There, as always, she organized everything, foresaw everything, working behind the scenes, inspiring everybody with her enthusiasm and zest for living—in spite of the fact that her own life was running so short. We remember her brimming over with happiness as she talked with the Puerto Rican patriots and later, radiant as she listened to the ovation that followed Fidel's speech."

Sánchez, like Castro, was a tireless worker, who took her meals when she could and would go for days without sufficient sleep. She took on many varied responsibilities. She was secretary to the Council of State, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, and a deputy to the National Assembly of People's Power.

She was in charge of organizing all formal affairs of state, although she rarely attended them.

She concerned herself with countless details of the revolution and, according to Hart, could often be found helping to iron out problems on the farms, in the plants, schools, hospitals, and other institutions.

She had a passion for history and took on the task of collecting and preserving documents and other materials on the revolution for use by future generations.

### Celia's view of leadership

How did Celia regard her position of leadership in the revolution? According to Hart, "She had the



Granma

power and authority, the sense of creativity, but she never thought of them as the means for personal benefit and gain. . . . She used them to create, to build, to build something of collective value, to leave a lasting mark on history, to take a step forward in securing happiness for the people."

The *Granma* editorial says Sánchez combined "an affable, unassuming and frank demeanor" with a "highly developed sense of criticism and a great spirit of revolutionary intransigence."

Hart elaborates on this:

"Celia's character was a mixture of sweetness, affection and a zest for living enhanced by the most rigorous observance of principles and revolutionary work. This combination of being exacting and being profoundly humane constitutes a tremendous example for us."

Hart spoke of Sánchez's example with the full knowledge that there are individuals in positions of authority in Cuba today who are bureaucratic and misuse their authority.

In a series of speeches over the past year, Raúl Castro castigated such individuals as factory managers who are irresponsible in their attitude toward their work or who take privileges for themselves. He pointed out that those who are the most bureaucratic and self-seeking are often the same ones who give in to imperialist pressure and raise questions about Cuba's policy of material aid and solidarity with revolutions in other countries. He accused such individuals of a "faint-heartedness" that flourishes in difficult times. (See March *International Socialist Review*.)

Celia Sánchez was the opposite of such faint-hearts. Her intransigence stemmed from her identification with the struggles of the masses and her strong belief in the revolutionary capacities of the workers and peasants of Cuba, whom she saw respond again and again to the greatest of challenges.

In the Soviet Union, when the Stalinist bureaucrats and "faint-hearted" ones succeeded in pushing aside and defeating the revolutionaries in the 1920s, it was because the working class itself had been decimated by war and famine and because the Soviet Union was isolated internationally after the failure of the revolution in Germany.

In Cuba, despite the poverty and the enormous problems faced by the revolution, the working class has grown stronger over the past twenty years. The Cuban workers and peasants have become more politically conscious and more internationalist. And as one revolution after another has occurred in the neo-colonial world, Cuba has become less isolated internationally. This has inspired the Cuban masses and has reinforced the staying power of the revolutionary leadership.

### Nicaragua and Cuba

The recent victory of the workers and peasants of Nicaragua has been especially important. The January 20 issue of *Granma* contained a picture of Celia Sánchez standing on the platform at the July 26 celebration last summer, applauding enthusiastically as the women guerrilla fighters from Nicaragua were introduced. How much it must have meant to her to greet these fighters and to know that they represented even larger numbers of women who fought in the Nicaraguan revolution and who have come forward to take leading roles in the workers and farmers government.

Celia Sánchez was extremely conscious of the importance of the Cuban revolution as the first socialist revolution in the Americas and as an inspiration to revolutionaries throughout the world.

This same consciousness of the historical contribution of Cuba was also clearly evident in Hart's eulogy:

"It has been the lot of our generation of revolutionaries and the people of Cuba today to experience extraordinary moments of world history. Twenty or 25 years ago, even the most romantic and idealistic of us would never have dreamed of the magnitude of the work and the importance of the tasks that the Revolution has carried out. In a convulsed world, plagued by grave contradictions, Cuba has placed itself at the vanguard and become a standard bearer for all humanity. And in this immense undertaking, whose historic and international significance is widely recognized, Celia Sánchez holds a special place of honor."

### Further Reading

Selected Speeches of Fidel Castro 134 pp., \$4.00

Fidel Castro at the UN 46 pp., \$1.25

Che Guevara Speaks 159 pp., \$3.45

Dynamics of the Cuban Revolution by Joseph Hansen, 393 pp., \$5.95

Order from: Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014 (include \$.75 for postage and handling). Free catalog on request.



# TMI anniversary actions build April 26 march

By Nancy Cole

In some fifty cities across the nation, rallies, marches, and picket lines marked the first anniversary of the Three Mile Island accident over the March 28 weekend.

And London was the scene of Britain's biggest antinuclear protest yet as a reported 11,000 people rallied.

This all accompanied the actions near the site of the accident itself in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. There, thousands of residents participated in one or more activities on March 28 and 29 (see April 11 *Militant*).

It was an anniversary dreaded by the nuclear industry and its main cheerleaders, the Democratic and Republican politicians. They viewed it with "apprehension," reported the *New York Times*, because "the event has given strong political impetus to those opposed to the construction of atomic reactors."

In other words, the "event" that continues to place the lives of about a million central Pennsylvanians in peril has prodded millions of Americans to think seriously about nuclear power and many to actively join in opposing it.

The utility trade association, the Edison Electric Institute, responded to the anniversary with an expanded public relations drive to try to convince people that the industry "made a prompt, effective response to the accident; that it is continuing to improve nuclear operations; and that other developments affecting energy supplies have made the need for nuclear power more urgent than ever."

The industry believes this stepped-up campaign of lies is needed because, as Claude Poncelet, scientific adviser to the Westinghouse Electric Corporation, recently wrote, "a constructive and meaningful resolution of the nuclear power controversy will not happen by itself."

He's right. When the opponents of nuclear power make it clear that they are the majority and that the majority will no longer tolerate nuclear power, the controversy will be resolved. The people of Harrisburg for one are certainly determined to bring this about. The next chance for them to demonstrate it, along with others across the nation, is the April 26 March on Washington.

New endorsements for the antinuclear protest include United Mine Workers Local 2874 in Marianna, Pennsylvania; the Coal Miners Political Action Committee of the UMW District 6 in Ohio; District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees in New York City; and Local 2005 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers in Philadelphia.

A broad list of speakers for the April 26 rally range from antinuclear activist Dr. Helen Caldicott to National Organization for Women Labor Task Force Director Sarah Nelson to Carlos Zenon from the Fishermen's Association in Vieques. United Steelworkers Local 1010 official Mike Olszanski will also speak, as will South African Dumisani Kumolo and Washington D.C. city councilwoman Hilda Mason.

On the following day, April 27, the Labor Task Force of the Coalition for a Non-Nuclear World will meet in Washington at the offices of the International Association of Machinists. Labor Task Force Chair Jerry Gordon has sent out a letter on stationery from his union, the United Food and Commercial Workers, inviting unionists and labor organizations to send representatives to this meeting to plan a labor campaign against nuclear power.

For leaflets, posters, and more information on the national antinuclear activities, contact the Coalition for a Non-Nuclear World at 413 Eighth Street, SE, Washington, D.C. 20003. Telephone (202) 544-5550.



March 28 protest across from Three Mile Island.

Militant/Nancy Cole

## March 28 protests

In Chicago, some 500 attended an antinuclear rally March 28 and a series of workshops the next day.

Speakers included Dick Greenwood, education director for the International Association of Machinists; nuclear physicist Michio Kaku; United Mine Workers legal counsel Michael Holland; and Mike Olszanski, environment committee director for United Steelworkers Local 1010 in East Chicago, Indiana.

Five buses are reserved to bring Chicagoans to the April 26 March on Washington.

In Baltimore 125 people rallied in a send-off for one bus and thirty cars that traveled to Harrisburg for the March 29 protest there.

In Salt Lake City, Utah, a teach-in March 26 at the University of Utah heard from UMW District 22 staff representative Richard Aragon and Preston Truman, who, like hundreds of others in southern Utah, got cancer from exposure to fallout during nuclear weapons testing.

The Brine Shrimp Alliance has also called a rally against nuclear power and weapons for April 26 in Salt Lake City.

Fifty-six demonstrators were arrested at General Public Utilities headquarters in Parsippany, New Jersey, March 28 after a peaceful protest of 200.

Twenty-six were arrested for "trespassing" at a nuclear plant in Missouri's Callaway County. In Berlin, Connecticut, two people were arrested for handing out antinuclear literature at Northeast Utilities because the company charged they were "interfering" with workers entering the building.

One hundred protested in Montpelier, Vermont; 200 in Austin, Texas; 200 in Chattanooga, Tennessee; 150 in Providence, Rhode Island; 100 in Cleveland; 200 in Portland, Oregon; 75 in Ann Arbor, Michigan; as well as in scores of other cities.

# No nukes!

Notes from the movement against nuclear weapons and nuclear power



## House report cheers nuclear power

Government agencies and representatives have come up with some amazing statements in their attempts to defend nuclear power. But it will be hard to top a U.S. House committee report released April 3. "Three Mile Island was a serious accident, but not a serious threat to human health," was the incredible conclusion of a study by the House Science and Technology Committee. Even if the worst had come to pass and there had been a meltdown, the report says, "there would still have been two or three days available for the public to be evacuated."

The quality of scientific testimony that led to these grand proclamations included assertions that the risk of a nuclear accident affecting human health might be even lower than that alleged in the 1975 Rasmussen report. Dr. Norman Rasmussen, whose study provided guidelines for the Nuclear Regulatory Commission until it was finally put aside last year, claimed the chance of a serious nuclear accident was as remote as that of a meteor strike on a city—once in a million years.

The April 3 congressional report compared the amount of radiation received around Three Mile Island right after the accident to that resulting from a week in Denver's high altitude.

It was 200 times less than that for flight attendants, contends Rep. Mike McCormack whose subcommittee prepared the report, "and the stewardesses insist on the right to go on flying when they are pregnant."

Nuclear power is the "safest major industry on earth," McCormack said.

The only reason the congressional committee conceded TMI was a "serious accident" is because of "the severe mental stress caused among the population near the plant, which was greatly exacerbated by the press coverage."

"Mental stress" are the latest code words for public opposition to nuclear power in the Harrisburg area. The study proposes countering this with a government drive to deluge the public with propaganda on how safe nuclear power is compared with other energy sources.

A dissent at the end of the report by representatives Howard Wolpe and Richard Ottinger says the study is "a classic example of blaming the victim." They report that the committee heard no testimony from nuclear critics.

## Cleveland meeting on 'Jobs, Energy, Labor'

Sixty people turned out for a Cleveland meeting on "Jobs, Energy, and Labor" March 16. The event was sponsored by the North Shore Alert and the Labor Education Research Project. Featured speaker was Mike Olszanski, executive board member of United Steelworkers Local 1010 in East Chicago, Indiana.

Local 1010, which with 18,000 members is the largest local in the union, is officially on record against nuclear power. Olszanski is also head of Local 1010's environment committee, which, he said, is actively educating the membership about the dangers of nuclear power.

## 60,000 demonstrate in Brittany

More than 60,000 people rallied March 16 at the proposed nuclear reactor site in Plogoff, Brittany (in western France). The protest was preceded by six weeks of demonstrations that coincided with a government inquiry required by French law before a nuclear plant can be built.

Plogoff is a fishing village, and fears that the plant would threaten livelihoods as well as health sparked militant antinuclear protests.

When the mayors of Plogoff and two nearby villages shut down the town halls that were being used for the showcase inquiry, hundreds of armed riot police were brought in. Villagers then organized a boycott of the inquiry. Daily vigils were held and demonstrations were planned for the weekends. Some 30,000 protested February 3. At the February 29 demonstration, nine were arrested. They were all released the day after the March 16 protest.

To mark the final days of the six-week inquiry, shops and schools in Plogoff were closed March 14.

## GPU sues Babcock & Wilcox

To supplement the millions it rips off from energy consumers, General Public Utilities Corporation, parent company of the Three Mile Island nuclear plant, is suing the reactor's manufacturer for more than \$1 billion.

GPU went to court March 25 in an effort to recover \$400 million in damages it says it has already incurred from the March 1979 nuclear accident near Harrisburg. It also wants reimbursement for any further losses from Babcock & Wilcox and its parent company, J. Ray McDermott and Company.

GPU is charging Babcock with "gross negligence, strict liability for equipment failure, intentional breach of contract and breach of express and implied warranties."

The utility says the manufacturer failed to train plant personnel properly and that it did not improve operating procedures after a similar sequence of events took place eighteen months earlier at another Babcock-manufactured reactor.

The lawsuit quotes government reports on the TMI accident that found key relief valves had stuck nine times before the TMI accident but Babcock did not inform its customers.

GPU is also suing for \$400 million it says it needs to get the plant started again, an action the people of Harrisburg have vowed to prevent.

—Compiled by Nancy Cole



# Striking W. Va. coal miners state their case

By Pat O'Brien

MORGANTOWN, W. Va.—Striking coal miners put their jobs on the line here April 4 by telling their story to reporters at a news conference organized by two area ministers.

Arbitration Review Board Ruling 108 bars miners from even talking about their bitter confrontation with the hard-line industry giant, Consolidation Coal Company.

Reporters jammed into the room as the news conference began with an announcement that pickets had closed three more Consol mines in neighboring United Mine Workers District 6. Up until then, the strike had been confined to Consol mines in District 31.

The new closings bring the number of miners off the job in northern West Virginia to 4,700. Twelve deep mines are shut down, including nine of West Virginia's ten largest.

News conference organizers Revs. John Chewing and Robert Withers were joined by Rev. Andy Urich, one of the eleven UMWA Local 4060 miners fired in early March under ARB 108.

Several highly respected UMWA leaders from 4060 and other locals involved in the strike also spoke but asked that their names not be disclosed to try to protect them from certain victimization by Consol.

Rev. Urich, a Baptist pastor, has worked at Consol's Four States mine for thirty years. He explained that the dispute began over a temporary work assignment and that UMWA Local 4060 President Mike Zemonick tried to resolve it by talking with mine superintendent Barry Dangerfield.

Urich, who was present during the discussion and the events that followed, said that Zemonick told the miners to go to work while the dispute was being resolved.

Dangerfield then came out "shouting and waving his arms," ordering the miners to get to work, Urich said. "That's just not done in the coal mines. He might as well have lit off a stick of dynamite in there. Then the men just got dressed and went home."

Later Dangerfield testified that Zemonick had told miners, "This mine won't work today." Consol fired Zemonick on phony charges of "instigating a work stoppage." That and the subsequent firing of ten more miners, including Urich, sparked the current walk-out.

Miners at the news conference here said that Zemonick was targeted by Consol because he was doing a good job of representing the Local 4060 miners.

Four States miners are also con-



'Consol wants to intimidate every local union officer and every local mine committee,' said a local UMWA official.

cerned about safety. They report that in 1979 the mine had 270 violations of the federal safety law. The nearest mine that is comparable in age and size, Bethlehem Steel's Barrackville mine, had eighty-four, even though the Four States mine was working short weeks.

Sue Hayhurst, who has lived most of her life within a few feet of Consol's Robinson Run portal, described the company intimidation campaign she has been subjected to during the strike. She and her husband, Claude Hayhurst, are not connected with the UMWA or with Consol.

She told how Consol men snapped pictures of her and took down her car's licence number as she stopped at her mailbox. While talking to several neighbors, a car with four men, including two Consol superintendents, blocked her way.

When a lone picketing miner, masked to protect his identity, appealed to her to help get him away from the Consol goons, she had to race over country roads to escape from the company pursuers.

"If I wake up dead some morning, I just hope they ask Consol about it first," she told the *Militant*.

Miners at the news conference were well aware that national contract negotiations are set to begin this month.

One local UMWA leader said that all decisions on disputes at the mines in this area are being decided by top-level

Consol management. "The mine superintendent can't even tell you if it's raining outside without calling higher-ups," he said.

He continued, "My own strict personal opinion is that big bucks is the answer behind it all. Multibillions of dollars are going to be thrown into the industry. It's already started. Consol, which is owned by Conoco [a large oil company], wanted to put us on alert and prove that they can hold the miner in line."

"They want strict control of the work force. They're telling the members that

you will do what we want you to do, when we want you to do it, and how we want you to do it. They want to use this to intimidate every local union officer and every local mine committee."

The miners know they have a tough battle in front of them. But now that the truth is beginning to emerge, they may find that working people, who have to pay \$1.30 and up for a gallon of gas, will have little sympathy with the oil-dominated coal industry and its demand for higher profits at the expense of the miners.

## Arbitrators deny free speech

MORGANTOWN, W. VA.—Although there are no restrictions on what Consol officials say—and they've been saying plenty against the miners—strikers here have been gagged by Arbitration Review Board Ruling 108.

"The passing out of information relating to a dispute, even in public places near an affected mine (meaning beyond mine site entrances), cannot realistically be viewed as the exercise of constitutionally protected freedom of speech and must be viewed instead as a contractually improper act of work

stoppage inducement," the ruling states.

Any miner found guilty of violating this blatantly pro-company ruling is subject to immediate discharge.

"I just feel it's unjust and unconstitutional," Rev. Andy Urich, one of the miners fired by Consol, told reporters here April 4.

"They're saying we can't even talk about things on the street," he said. "I fought in two wars for the country I love. The Constitution guarantees us the right to free speech. This is making it so you can get fired just for talking."

# Balto. residents hit nuclear commission plans

By Baxter Smith

BALTIMORE—Admitting that "we go to these type of meetings with a certain amount of trepidation," Nuclear Regulatory Commission officials held two meetings here recently to enlist public comment on plans for clean-up of the Three Mile Island nuclear facility near Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

The meetings drew about 550 antinuclear activists, environmentalists, and others.

All who addressed the NRC opposed any plans that would risk endangering lives or the environment in the cleanup and disposal of the plant's radioactive wastes.

The clean-up will require the disposal of more than one million gallons of contaminated cooling water. Some 600,000 gallons of it is said to stand seven feet deep in the reactor containment building.

Due to extreme radioactivity in the building, no one has been able to enter it since the accident one year ago. The rest of the water is in the adjacent auxiliary building.

About 100 gallons of water used to

cool the reactor becomes contaminated and accumulates each day even though the damaged unit is not generating electricity.

The two meetings solicited comment for preparation of the draft of an NRC Environmental Impact Statement on the clean-up, slated for publication by mid-June. A final version of the EIS is due out in September but the NRC has indicated that some disposal of the wastes may proceed before that if deemed necessary.

Richard Vollmer, NRC staff support chief, while admitting that there was "extensive core damage" to the reactor, presented the NRC's position that the operation will "probably not be environmentally successful if cleanup takes three or four years."

"We could soon have a submerged facility," he said, and might "have to issue canoes" because of the accumulating contaminated water.

General Public Utilities Corporation, the parent of Metropolitan Edison which runs the plant, has been pressing the NRC to speed up the cleanup. The plan to immediately release 57,000 curies of radioactive krypton gas into

the air has sparked outrage in the Harrisburg area.

Metropolitan Edison is purchasing a demineralizer system at a cost of \$30 million through which it can process the water in the reactor building. This new system will augment the plant's Epicor II system, which has processed and stored on site 400,000 gallons of contaminated water.

One possible course of action is then to dump the treated water into the Susquehanna River, which surrounds the island.

But this plan and other news did not hang well at the meetings.

Speakers protested that dumping wastes into the Susquehanna, which flows into Chesapeake Bay, could upset the ecological balance in that part of eastern Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. Numerous species of shell and fin fish would be threatened or wiped out.

The crowd at Johns Hopkins University gave Dave Zwick of the Clean Water Action Project a big hand when he lectured the NRC on its responsibilities.

"Your proposal should be not to allow any of it to be dumped into the bay," he said.

But it was Daniel Franklin Beck, president of the Baltimore County Watermen's Association, who really set the crowd afire.

Lumbering to the mike with his chestnut beard and helmet of blond hair waving, he exclaimed:

"We do not want, need, or will not tolerate any waste such as you propose to dump into our water system!"

Beck, a professional fisherman for twelve years, explained that 16,000 watermen draw upon the bay for their livelihoods for fishing, crabbing, and oystering.

He pointed to the poisoning several years ago of waterlife in the James River with the chemical Kepone and warned:

"You must find another place of disposal other than dumping it into the Chesapeake Bay and its rivers."

Stan Kollar, a biologist, reflected the feelings of many when he accused the NRC of catering to the financial needs of the utilities rather than human needs.



By Frank Lovell

Lane Kirkland is the natural heir of the late George Meany, the practitioner of class-collaboration. Meany himself handed the presidency of the AFL-CIO to Kirkland a few months before he died.

The president of the AFL-CIO is paid \$110,000 a year. George Meany got that, plus expenses, until he died last January. This was said to be partial compensation for the many responsibilities he assumed.

Millions of dollars annually flow through the federation's treasury and its political-action funds. The president is ultimately responsible for this cash flow. Surrounded by a staff of assistants, he searches for answers to the problems of the national economy and tries to cope with weighty matters of government. National defense and foreign trade are of deep concern to the head of the American labor movement.

Under these circumstances the AFL-CIO president appears to wield great power. But the source of this power is hidden.

The AFL-CIO is a voluntary federation of affiliated unions. It does not bargain directly with any group of employers for wages and working conditions. The federation does not call strikes, nor does it order boycotts against anti-union employers. It may organize support for unions under attack and endorse boycotts, but its will to do so is weakened by proscriptive clauses of the Taft-Hartley Law.

The federation is careful never to violate any law,

in the halls of government. The doors would be closed to them.

Kirkland's background is different from Meany's, and his sense of where he fits in the class struggle is different on that account. Meany came from the working class and got his early training as a worker and member of the plumber's union.

Kirkland has no on-the-job union experience. He never filed a grievance, never fought for overtime pay he was cheated of, never went on strike, never walked a picket line . . . except to have his picture taken.

#### Kirkland's background

Kirkland is more at home with employers than workers, and always has been. He was born in South Carolina, of a plantation-owning family. When this country entered World War II, young Kirkland enrolled in the U.S. Merchant Marine Academy and became a ship's officer.

After the war he got a shoreside job with the Navy Department in Washington, D.C., while attending Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service. He graduated in 1948. He was twenty-six years old. At that time he had no experience in union struggles, and was clearly uninterested in workers' problems.

Kirkland got into the "union business" by accident almost, to solve his own immediate unemployment problem upon graduation from Georgetown University. He took a temporary job with the research staff of the old AFL, and never left. Kirkland had the qualities and qualifications that

guarantee fair treatment for both workers and employers. The tendency is for these two groups of bureaucrats to discover common ground among themselves, to develop mutual interest for their own self-protection, and to enhance their own power through their connections in the rival camps of capital and labor.

#### Anticommunism

Meany discovered early in World War II that he could wield great influence in the old AFL because of his connection with the State Department and various government spy agencies. His anticommunism was useful as a factional weapon against the CIO unions during the war and after, especially in the Cold War years.

This is part of the Meany legacy fully shared by Kirkland, but not bequeathed to him. Meany acquired his anticommunism pragmatically. Kirkland brought this poison with him from his class origins and his formal education in the principles of ruling class diplomacy.

Kirkland is "more hawkish," as the journalists say, than Meany ever was. A.H. Raskin, longtime labor editor of the *New York Times*, says that he "has been a superhawk, as unwavering as Meany in his belief that the Soviet Union cannot be trusted and that ever higher levels of armaments were needed to protect the United States and world freedom."

The meeting of the AFL-CIO Executive Council in February, under Kirkland's leadership, endorsed Carter's scheme to register all young Americans for compulsory military service.

The *Nation* magazine recently listed "Lane's friends," and the various big-business organizations he serves. Among his banker and corporate friends are C. Douglas Dillon, Robert Roosa, Michael Blumenthal, Paul Volcker, and David Rockefeller.

Kirkland is listed on the board of the Rockefeller Foundation, the Council on Foreign Relations, the Brookings Institution, the Trilateral Commission, and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. He is a founding member and co-chairman of the Committee on the Present Danger, a group of warmongers dedicated to continuation and expansion of U.S. imperialist military might.

#### 'National accord'

As "labor leader," Kirkland's stellar achievement to date is a deal he hatched last September with the Carter administration for economic controls. At the time it was hailed in the *AFL-CIO News* as "a historic 'national accord' setting out the basis for American labor's 'involvement and cooperation' with the Carter Administration on dealing effectively and equitably with inflation and full employment. . . ."

Kirkland explained that the accord was an "American adaptation" of the concept of a social contract between labor and government, an approach "never tried before" in the United States. He could have added that where it has been tried before—in Britain for example—it always hampered the unions in their fight against the effect of inflation and for cost-of-living wage raises.

The accord between Carter and Kirkland adopted "the principle of shared austerity." Carter was persuaded to establish a tripartite "pay board," which has set wage guidelines of 7.5-9.5 percent, while inflation rampages at 18 percent.

In extended negotiations to "win" Carter's agreement to set up the new pay board, Kirkland agreed to back off on union support of a national health plan.

#### Business program

When the whole deal was cut and dried and Carter and Kirkland jointly announced what a wonderful never-before-tried-in-America thing had been wrought, no representative of big business was present to offer congratulations and pledge full participation. Quite the contrary. A flood of angry denunciations from employer associations and business groups charged that the Carter-Kirkland accord was nothing but a political payoff to "big labor."

This is why not much more has yet been said about the accord, almost as if it never happened.

The capitalists were demanding drastic cuts in all federally financed social welfare programs, a balanced federal budget, increased military outlays, lower taxes on profits. This is now the "new economic policy" of the Carter administration.

Kirkland's first "innovative" venture onto the field of national power politics revealed both the extent and the source of his power. He appears to be powerful only when he has the collaboration and support of influential sectors of the employing class. His influence is restricted by his faith in capitalist economy and his collaboration with labor's enemies. The new AFL-CIO president is an unwitting hostage in the enemy camp.

# Lane Kirkland Meany's heir



especially unjust antilabor laws. It supports the capitalist system of government, and confines its activity mostly to lobbying the U.S. Congress and campaigning for the election of "friendly" politicians in the Democratic and Republican parties.

Within the councils of the AFL-CIO Meany expressed the consensus of the top union officialdom. He never challenged the prerogatives of capitalist management.

#### 'Never walked a picket line'

In 1955 when the AFL and CIO merged, Meany spoke to a Congress of American Industry in New York on "What Organized Labor Expects of Management." He told the captains of industry that officials of the federated union movement "actually have very little power."

"It may interest you to know," he said, "that I as president of this great organization [AFL-CIO] that has such tremendous power and I never went on strike in my life; I never ran a strike in my life; I never ordered anyone else to run a strike in my life, never had anything to do with a picket line. So if that is the type of power people have in mind, they should get another fellow for president, because I have no experience with that type of power."

Meany was simply giving assurances of his intentions as the new AFL-CIO president. All he ever asked of the capitalists was a little cooperation.

Meany was several stages removed from the ranks of the AFL-CIO affiliated unions, and from the life of the American working class. Nonetheless, his close association with government and industry depended entirely upon the potential power of the organized union movement. Without these working class organizations, there would be no need for Meany and his kind in corporate board rooms and

Meany needed. He became Meany's chief staff assistant and in 1969 was promoted to Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL-CIO.

For more than thirty years Kirkland has been on the union payroll. But he never was elected to any job by working men and women, and never had any need to account to working people for any of his words or deeds. Meany graded him.

The union movement today is honeycombed with Kirkland-types, "bright young men" who took jobs in the service of the union bureaucracy. These types are now becoming "leaders" without experience in the field. They live and think more like the employers than like workers. They have memorized all the arguments against the anti-union employers' positions, but they are incapable of mobilizing the ranks of the union army in class battle. They have been taught that such battles are unwise and unnecessary. They think their sophisticated arguments will convince the employing class.

This is one of the differences between the old line bureaucrats of the Meany type and the present day replacements. Most of the aged bureaucrats were at one time or another involved in class warfare. Some were in street battles against cops and hired thugs of the employers. They decided that such battles ought to be avoided when possible, and they got softened up in their comfortable well-paid jobs as union officials. But they knew from their own experiences that they don't have much influence with the bosses without an army behind them, however ill-equipped and unprepared it might be.

This is what Meany could not impart to Kirkland.

Federation officials try to serve as mediators between the contending class forces. In this capacity they become closely associated with government agents and politicians who also pretend to



# World Outlook

News, analysis, and discussion of international political events

## 'Forward ever, backward never'

# Grenada celebrates one year of revolution

By Jerry Hunnicutt

ST. GEORGE'S, Grenada—"As revolutionaries, we cannot be bought. As revolutionaries, we will stand on our feet and face the world," Prime Minister Maurice Bishop declared here on March 13 at a mass rally marking the first anniversary of the Grenadian revolution.

"Our revolution is for democracy, for justice, for equal participation by the people of our country in all the decisions which affect their lives. The revolution has reminded us of a great truth of history, that a people who are united, a people who are conscious, a people who are organized can defeat dictatorship, can defeat oppression, and can defeat imperialism."

As Bishop spoke, he was repeatedly interrupted by applause, cheers, and chants from the crowd of 30,000 that filled Queen's Park on the edge of St. George's, the capital of this small Caribbean island.

When Bishop praised Cuba for its aid to Grenada and pledged that the People's Revolutionary Government of Grenada would try to follow Cuba's example of giving assistance to struggling peoples around the world, the crowd erupted into loud chants of "Long live Cuba! Long live Cuba!"

The spirit of the rally and its size—more than one quarter of the country's entire population—were indications of the strength and popularity of the Grenadian revolution.

It was only one year ago that Bishop's New Jewel Movement (NJM) led an insurrection here that toppled the hated dictatorship of Sir Eric Gairy.

### Social gains

Since that time, the People's Revolutionary Government, headed by Bishop, has taken numerous steps to improve the living standards and social position of the workers and toilers of this island.

Over the past year, the vast bulk of the working class has been unionized. Economic assistance has been given to poor farmers. Educational and health facilities have been significantly upgraded. Women have won new rights and workers have won legal protection against victimization by employers.

Most of Gairy's old repressive apparatus has been dismantled, and a new People's Revolutionary Army and People's Militia were established to help defend the country from counterrevolutionary attack and imperialist pressure. The population is being mobilized and organized through unions, women's groups, youth organizations, and village committees.

The first anniversary of the March 13, 1979, insurrection has given the NJM leadership an opportunity to demonstrate the vitality and strength of the revolution and to help push the revolutionary process forward.

### 'Festival of Revolution'

The "Festival of the Revolution" lasted for nearly two weeks, from March 2 to March 13. In addition to four major rallies, it included numerous panel discussions, press conferences, arts and crafts exhibitions, and cultural performances.

Days of solidarity were held with the peoples of Africa, Latin America, Nicaragua, Vietnam, Cuba, and Jamaica. About 1,000 international guests attended, some from far away, but many from other countries in the Caribbean.

Upon arriving in the country at



Crowd of 30,000 at anniversary rally in St. George's

Intercontinental Press-Inprecor/Jerry Hunnicutt

Pearls Airport, visitors were greeted with a large billboard reading, "Welcome to Revolutionary Free Grenada."

Throughout the island were similar billboards, among them ones that read, "Peoples of the Caribbean Unite," "Freedom for Southern Africa," "No Revolution Is Worth Anything Unless It Can Defend Itself—Long Live the People's Militia," and "Workers and Farmers Unite." The slogan of the revolution, "Forward Ever, Backward Never," was everywhere.

Most houses and buildings bore two flags, the Grenada national flag and the flag of the revolution. The Cuban flag and the flag of the Sandinista National Liberation Front of Nicaragua were also quite common.

I asked Grenadians what they thought about Cuba's assistance to the Grenadian revolution. One young worker just out of high school told me, "We would not have been able to accomplish half of the things that we have if it had not been for the Cuban assistance."

### International Women's Day

For the first time in Grenada, International Women's Day was celebrated on March 8. It was the second major rally of the festival (following a youth

and students' rally a week earlier).

Some 10,000 women and men turned out at Seamount, an old racetrack just north of the eastern town of Grenville, to celebrate the gains that women have made since the beginning of the revolution and to discuss the problems that women still face and how to solve them.

The central theme of the rally was summed up in the slogan, "Towards Justice and Equality for Women."

The first speaker was Nouri Francis, a leader of the People's Revolutionary Army (PRA). "The revolution has given women a new role to play," she told the audience.

"Women are playing an equal role in defending our revolution alongside men. Women are leaders of the PRA and the militia. We are patrolling the beaches and the countryside. And we are prepared to defend our revolution against Gairyism and against foreign aggression."

### Oppressor is imperialism

Lucy Strong, representing the Commercial and Industrial Workers Union, one of the main unions in Grenada, declared that "working women all over the world have the same oppressor—world imperialism."

She said that her union recognized "that our problem in society does not stem from individual men, but that the same problem keeps men oppressed also: the capitalist system of exploitation and oppression, and imperialism."

She concluded by saying, "The only way forward for women is to unite with our male co-worker in the fight against imperialist domination."

Greetings were presented by women from St. Lucia, Jamaica, Guyana, St. Vincent, the United States, and other countries.

One representative of the NJM National Women's Organisation declared, "When we call for national liberation, we call for an end to all forms of exploitation and injustice. The only system that can bring true liberation is socialism."

Prime Minister Bishop was the keynote speaker at the women's rally. He outlined the role of women in the formation and development of the NJM and explained the crucial role that they play in the revolution.

He pledged that the People's Revolutionary Government would continue its efforts to fight against discrimination in the workplace and to press for equal pay for equal work for women.

He announced the drafting of a law to grant three-month maternity leave to women workers, with two months at full pay; the proposal is now being circulated among trade unions and village committees for discussion.

### 'Workers and farmers unite!'

The following day, a rally of 12,000 trade unionists and small farmers was held in Point Saline, in southern Grenada, at the construction site for a new international airport.

As the hundreds of buses, vans, cars, and trucks filled with demonstrators arrived at the site, they were greeted by a huge billboard that read "Workers and Farmers Unite Against Imperialism!"

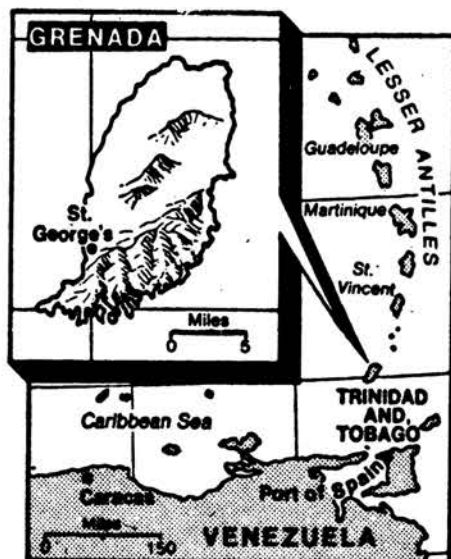
Unionists were identified by tee-shirts bearing the names of their unions, such as the Bank and General Workers Union, the Commercial and Industrial Workers Union, and the dockworkers union.

Evidence of the substantial Cuban support for the airport project was evident in the scores of Cuban trucks, bulldozers, and other construction equipment on display at the rally.

Selwyn Strachan, the minister of labor, works and communications, pointed to the construction of the airport as an example of the government's determination to develop Grenada's economy. "This one project," he said, "will aid our fight against poverty and backwardness and push us further in the direction of greater production, education, and liberation."

Unison Whiteman, the minister of agriculture, outlined the steps that the regime has taken to aid working

Continued on next page





## ...Grenada

Continued from preceding page

farmers. State assistance and loans to farmers have been increased, and new feeder roads have been built in outlying areas to make it easier for farmers to transport their crops to market.

"The society that we are trying to build," Whiteman said, "is one where everyone who is looking for work can find it, a society where everyone can have decent housing, a society where all workers can get good wages, a society of true justice and equality."

The next speaker was Vincent Noel, the president of the Bank and General Workers Union and the Commercial and Industrial Workers Union, as well as a member of the People's Revolutionary Government.

"Throughout the history of our country," Noel pointed out, "we have seen the workers and farmers exploited. But we are now bringing that to an end."

He explained how all the anti-working-class legislation that existed under the Gairy regime had been abolished and how workers were given the right to strike and the right to organize "fighting trade unions that will defend workers." Since the beginning of the revolution, Noel said, more than 1,000 new jobs have been created.

As an example of the support among workers for the revolution, Noel noted that the dockworkers in St. George's had voluntarily donated the equivalent of one-day's work by unloading without pay a ship bringing Cuban construction equipment for the airport project.

### 'Grenada is a giant'

One of the highlights of the rally was a speech by Jesús Montané, a member of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party, who delivered greetings from the Cuban government.

"This revolution," he said, "was one of the most important events in the Caribbean and the Americas in the last year. It dealt a most powerful blow to imperialism and reaction around the world."

"This is proof that in our time the importance and political influence of a country cannot be measured by its size, its economic or military power, or its millions of inhabitants. It shows that a small country with a strong revolutionary determination and clear positions can become a true giant in the battles of the workers and other progressives of the world."

"What we see in looking at the people of Grenada is a giant that is rising up in the Caribbean, holding high the banner of social justice and people's revolution."

Answering the imperialist charges that Cuba was meddling in the affairs of Grenada, Montané stated, "Each people will rise up to make its own revolution. None of them will need to be told when and how. It is a law that when people are oppressed, they will rise up and fight that oppression."

Montané added, "It is also a law that free and revolutionary peoples express solidarity for one another." He stressed that Cuba had every right to extend its solidarity to Grenada, a right that "no one, no country, can deny Cuba."

### 'You can count on Cuba'

"Brothers of Grenada," said Montané, "you can count on Cuba for our firm and militant solidarity." The crowd responded with thunderous applause.

Montané was followed by Maurice Bishop. The prime minister denounced the imperialist threats against Grenada, especially regarding Grenada's ties with Cuba. He rejected such interference in Grenada's affairs and reaffirmed his government's right to estab-



Above, International Women's Day celebration. Below, March 13 Che Guevara commemoration rally. Inset, Grenadian Prime Minister Maurice Bishop (left) and Nicaraguan Commander of the Revolution Daniel Ortega were keynote speakers at anniversary rally.



Intercontinental Press-Inprecor photos by Jerry Hunnicutt

lish ties with whoever it wants to.

"The revolutionary government and fraternal people of Cuba have helped us in many areas, in health, in education, in the fishing industry, and in the airport," Bishop said.

"But when we look at Cuba, we don't just look at the material aid. What we look at first and foremost is the revolutionary example that Cuba has set for Latin America and the Caribbean. We see Cuba's example as a beacon of light in our area for over twenty years."

"We are the first to recognize that if not for the victory of the Cuban revolution there could be no Grenadian revolution or Nicaraguan revolution."

The audience broke out with chants of "Cuba! Cuba! Cuba! Cuba!"

Pointing to Cuba's solidarity with and assistance to anti-imperialist struggles around the world—and to Grenada's own gestures of solidarity—Bishop declared, "We look forward to the day when we can join with the countries of the socialist world like Cuba and give real assistance to peoples struggling for their freedom."

The Festival of the Revolution culminated with the March 13 rally in Queen's Park, the largest single mass mobilization in Grenada since the beginning of the revolution a year ago.

Besides the speeches, an important feature of the action were parades by members of the People's Revolutionary Army, the People's Militia, and the national police. The parades were held as a display of the Grenadian people's determination to defend their revolution from Gairy supporters and from U.S. imperialism.

International struggles took a prominent place in most of the speeches at

the March 13 rally. Besides Bishop, the keynote speakers included Jamaican Prime Minister Michael Manley and Nicaraguan Commander of the Revolution Daniel Ortega Saavedra.

Ortega presented greetings to the Grenadian people on behalf of the Sandinista National Liberation Front. Noting that the overthrow of Gairy came several months before the ouster of the Nicaraguan dictator Somoza, Ortega explained, "While we were still fighting in the final offensive against the vicious dictator Somoza, we were inspired by your victory."

"The peoples of Nicaragua and Grenada have the same enemy—Yankee imperialism," Ortega said. "But we all know that the strength of our peoples is greater than the strength of our enemies. Our enemies are concerned because they do not want to see more Grenadas and more Nicaraguas."

When Ortega finished speaking, he presented Maurice Bishop with an automatic rifle in a display of solidarity with the Grenadian revolution.

### Caribbean unity

Internationalism was also a central theme of Bishop's speech.

Standing up to the pressures from Washington, he affirmed, "To those who continue to believe that the United States or elements in the United States have the right to regard our region as a lake, as an extension of America, as part of their backyard, we say: No!"

The crowd responded with chants of "No way!"

Bishop condemned the legacy of colonialism in the Caribbean, which divided up the region and left it politically fragmented into numerous states. He made a strong plea for Caribbean

unity, maintaining, "We have one basic history and one basic cultural background. We have one future."

Bishop called for an end to all foreign military bases, installations, and military task forces in the Caribbean and Latin America, a demand directed at Washington, which has troops scattered throughout the region.

He affirmed Grenada's support to the right of all peoples to self-determination and underscored his government's solidarity with those in the Caribbean still suffering from colonial and neocolonial rule.

"We give our firm and unwavering support to the people of Puerto Rico in their fight for independence," he declared.

Referring to the presence of Haitian revolutionists at the rally, Bishop also stated, "It is our revolutionary duty to support the people of Haiti" against the Duvalier dictatorship.

"There is a new world that is emerging," Bishop said, citing the examples of Zimbabwe, Vietnam, Laos, Cuba, Grenada, Nicaragua, and other countries.

"We saw that the meaning of this new emerging world is that imperialism can be defeated. Imperialism is not invincible. The people of the region can in fact unite and organize to begin the serious task of taking control of their own national resources."

"We in free Grenada will never compromise," Bishop went on. "And we will always stand with any people in any part of the world who are being oppressed. Those fighting for their freedom, for their independence, for their national liberation will know that they are able to find in Grenada true friends and true allies."

From Intercontinental Press-Inprecor



## Tibet 1959, Afghanistan today

# How news media lie about rightist rebels

By David Frankel

The U.S. news media claim that the rightist rebellion in Afghanistan is a national liberation struggle of a whole people, provoked by repression and Soviet expansionism. They accuse the Afghan government and Soviet military forces of wiping out villages, perpetrating wholesale massacres, and using poison gas.

These atrocities, it is claimed, are designed to secure Afghanistan as a base for further Soviet aggression. Pakistan or Iran are next in line. And if nothing is done, the official language in Saudi Arabia may soon be Russian!

There is nothing new about this kind of propaganda. Twenty years ago, when Chinese troops suppressed a counterrevolutionary revolt in Tibet, the same charges were raised.

Tibet, historically a separate country, had been controlled by China for several centuries. Following the first Chinese revolution of 1911 and the disintegration of the Chinese central government, however, Chinese rule in Tibet existed more in name than in fact. After the third Chinese revolution in 1949, Tibet was reoccupied by Communist Party-led troops.

The Peking regime initially promised the feudal rulers of Tibet that it would not touch the oppressive property relations there. Over the next few years, however, it proved less and less possible for Tibetan feudalism to coexist with the Chinese workers state. Feudal rebellions broke out in 1954 and 1956, and again in 1959.

As in Afghanistan, one of the big complaints of the rightist forces was "Communist education" of children—meaning any education at all—and the undermining of the political authority of the traditional religious leaders.

The religious leaders also happened to be, along with the nobility, the only landowners. The Drepung monastery outside of Lhasa, for example, owned estates with 25,000 serfs.

### Feudal lords

The feudal lords fought bitterly against the curtailment of their ancient privileges. Defenders of capitalism glorified this fight as a struggle in behalf of the Tibetan people and its national rights.

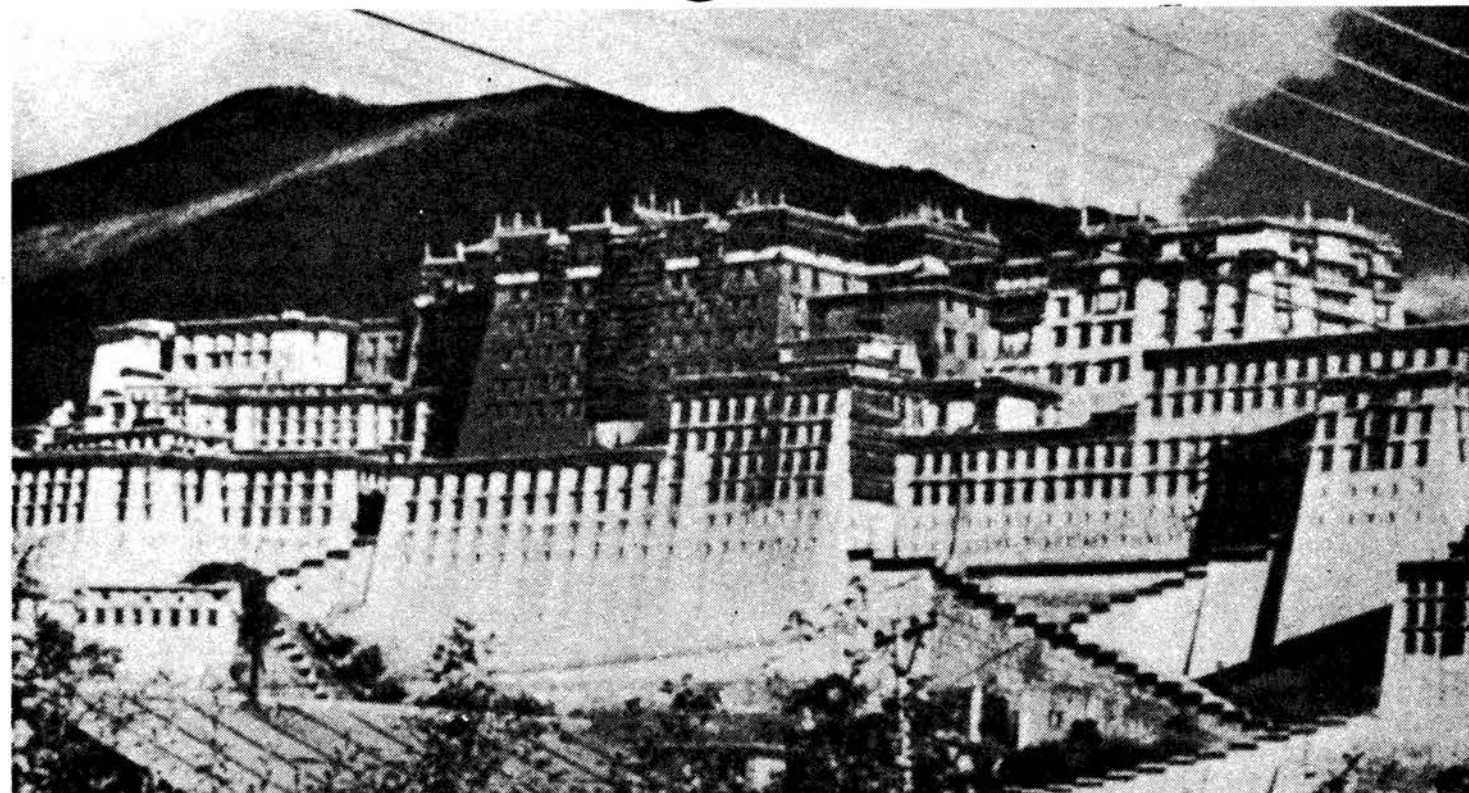
Indira Gandhi, at that time president of India's Congress Party, was described in the March 31, 1959, *Christian Science Monitor* as backing the rebels because "all that is good in the Tibetan way of life was being destroyed. She feels that while Tibetan feudalism must disappear, the Dalai Lama [the Tibetan priest-king] is the right man to lead his country to progress."

Typical of the charges in the big-business media were the widely syndicated articles of British journalist Noel Barber. The April 20, 1959, issue of the *Militant*, summarized Barber's claims as follows:

Barber charges that the Chinese are carrying out genocide against the Tibetans. They are driving the Tibetans off the land, massacring them, and replacing them with Chinese colonists now numbering four to five million. . . . They have 750,000 troops to carry out the butchery. All this is preparatory to building up Tibet as a staging ground to invade India. The Tibetan people are fighting a heroic battle to the death whose meaning is to alert Asia and the West to the true nature of Chinese Communism.

### Lies

As the *Militant* explained, all this was a pack of lies. The feudal nobility and the Lamaist theocracy in Tibet, who monopolized the country's wealth



Dalai Lama's palace in Lhasa, Tibet.

and lived by extorting unpaid labor from the toiling masses, were not fighting in the interests of the Tibetan nation. Nor was the Chinese army fighting a whole people.

The capitalist press claimed that Chinese forces were suppressing the Tibetan masses in the same way the Soviet bureaucracy suppressed the Hungarian revolution in 1956. Tibet was characterized as an "Asian Hungary," just as the entry of Soviet troops into Afghanistan is today being compared to the Kremlin's invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968.

Answering this charge, Daniel Roberts explained in the April 13, 1959, *Militant*:

In Hungary an industrial working class fought for socialist democracy—the most advanced form of social organization that mankind can attain in this epoch. The revolutionaries, it is true, also demanded national independence, since the main oppressor of the Hungarian people was the Soviet bureaucracy. But that wasn't what determined the progressive character of the Hungarian uprising. The workers led the revolt. They rejected any idea of returning to capitalist or landlord rule. They sought to advance further on the road to socialism by eliminating the misrule of a bureaucratic parasitic caste. That is why, in the 1956 conflict, social progress was on the Hungarian side.

In Tibet, the landlords and monks lead the revolt in order to preserve a social order that most of mankind has left far behind. Although the Mao regime is bureaucratic (and although this undoubtedly affected Chinese dealings with Tibet adversely), the Chinese Communist Party defends social relations that are progressive not only in comparison with feudalism but with capitalism as well. Unquestionably, in the present conflict, the Chinese government fights on the side of social progress. [Emphasis in original.]

### China's role

Unlike the case in Afghanistan, where a revolution had been going on independently of the Soviet intervention, Roberts noted that in Tibet the peasants "were evidently not yet ready to rebel against the Dalai Lama, the nobles and the monks."

The crime of Mao's Stalinist regime was not in eradicating the feudal system in Tibet—it was in preserving and defending it for nearly a decade.

The Tibetan serfs were terrorized and brutalized by their overlords. But the Peking bureaucracy did nothing to help them free themselves from this oppression until it had no other choice

but to defend its own base against imperialist-backed threats.

Of course, the imperialists took full advantage in their propaganda of the lack of any independent revolution in Tibet. As Roberts noted:

"The fact that the Chinese were forced to fight off a feudal rebellion before the class antagonisms in Tibetan society could explode the old order from within has given every reactionary in Asia . . . a field day for anti-Communist agitation."

However, that did not change the lineup of class forces in Tibet and the conflicts between those forces. Today, it is easy to see how correct it was to focus on the basic class forces involved in the struggle.

### CIA aid

To begin with, both the narrow base of the counterrevolutionary rebels and the involvement of imperialism in aiding the rebellion has now been proved. In an interview with Chris Mullin published in the January 19, 1976, British *Guardian*, the Dalai Lama admitted that his forces had received extensive aid from the CIA.

"The situation was desperate," he told Mullin. "Our forces were quite inef-

fective on their own; a few thousand could not destroy the Chinese military."

A special training program for Tibetan rebels was established at Camp Hale in Colorado, according to Mullin, and other Tibetans were trained in Taiwan. A CIA-backed army of more than 2,000 Tibetan tribesmen was established in Nepal's Mustang Valley.

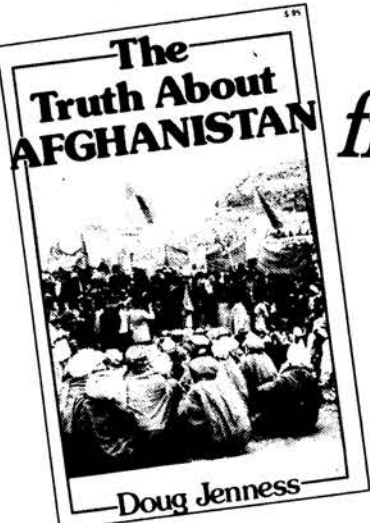
Raids into Tibet by this CIA-sponsored outfit "continued sporadically for about eight years—the last being in the autumn of 1969." At first, Mullin reported, the CIA's employees "were able to strike as far as eight days on horseback into Tibet, but after 1963 the Chinese began to fortify the border and by 1967 the raids had become virtually impossible."

The Tibetan rightists were also aided by the Indian regime, which fought a brief border war with China in 1962.

As for which side represented social progress and the interests of the Tibetan nation, we are now in a position to produce the testimony of the same capitalist newspapers that at one time were talking about Chinese genocide against the Tibetan people.

In 1979, the entire foreign press

*Continued on next page*



**The Truth About AFGHANISTAN**  
Doug Jenness

## New from Pathfinder

- How did the Afghan revolution develop?
- What have been its achievements?
- Who are the "Muslim rebels"?
- How has the U.S. government intervened?
- What is the role of the Soviet Union?
- What about the right of self-determination?
- Are we moving toward war?
- What does this mean for American workers and youth?

This pamphlet is essential reading for activists in the anti-draft movement. 32 pp., \$95.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.  
(Include \$.75 postage)



## ...Tibet

Continued from preceding page

corps resident in Peking was invited to visit Tibet. Reporter John Fraser noted that "we have been allowed unprecedented access not just to the people of Lhasa, but also to the nomads and herdsmen of the interior."

### Social progress

According to Fraser, "Road building, electrification, and agricultural reform have been carried out by the Chinese in a conscientious way for the average Tibetan peasant, and life has become more circumspect and dull, but material well-being has improved from what he would have known under the theocratic government before 1951." (*Christian Science Monitor*, July 24, 1979.)

New York Times correspondent Fox Butterfield concurred with Fraser's report of progress. In a dispatch carried in the July 20 issue he said:

Under the old Lamaist theocracy, it was said, the only thing in Tibet that turned was a prayer wheel. There were no roads, no motor vehicles, no industry, not to mention no schools or medical care outside the monastery. Lhasa was so remote it took over 100 days to walk to the nearest real city, Chengdu, in Sichuan Province. The bulk of the population were impoverished serfs.

Now the Tibet Autonomous Region, which sits at an average altitude of 14,000 feet, has 260 factories, 10,000 miles of roads, and 6,300 schools. Television was introduced to Lhasa this spring, for three evenings a week, along with a telephone service that reaches New York.

In the electric-equipment plant, Tibetan workers earn an average of \$51 a month. Workers in China as a whole average only \$35 a month. The Tibetan workers are beneficiaries of Peking's policy of heavily subsidizing development and living standards here.

### Stalinist bureaucracy

Tibet, like the rest of China, continues to be ruled by a Stalinist bureaucracy that places the preservation of its own material privileges ahead of the needs of the working class and of the world revolution.

But the destruction of the feudal system in Tibet was entirely progressive, regardless of the leadership under which this task was accomplished. It has benefitted the Tibetan masses.

It is possible, of course, that at some future point a struggle by the Tibetan workers and peasants against the Stalinist bureaucracy in Peking may take the form of a national struggle, with demands for the right to self-determination. Socialists would sup-

port such a struggle.

It is one thing when the toiling masses raise national demands as part of a struggle against their oppression. It is another thing when the exploiters, fighting to preserve their class rule, try to cloak their reactionary aims in the rhetoric of national liberation, as in Tibet in 1959 and in Afghanistan today.

There is a danger to the national independence of the Afghan people today. It is the imperialist-backed counterrevolution.

A victory for the rightist forces in Afghanistan would ensure that the country would once again be subordinated to Wall Street and used as a pawn in Washington's counterrevolutionary maneuvers in that part of the world.

### Defensive response

Moscow does not claim that Afghanistan is part of the Soviet Union, and it has repeatedly insisted that Soviet forces will withdraw from Afghanistan following the defeat of the imperialist-backed counterrevolution there.

Like Peking's move against the feudal forces in Tibet, the Kremlin's decision to intervene in Afghanistan was not based on any intention of extending the socialist revolution. It was a defensive response to Washington's attempt to turn the country into a base of operations against the Soviet workers state.

However, U.S. policymakers are clearly afraid that, regardless of Moscow's intentions, the defeat of the rightist forces in Afghanistan will create conditions more favorable to completion of the social revolution that began in April 1978.

The stakes are far higher in Afghanistan than was the case in Tibet. Afghanistan has more than ten times the population of Tibet and is more strategically located.

The class struggle in Afghanistan before the entry of Soviet forces there had attained a far higher level of development than had the class struggle in Tibet, and is therefore potentially more explosive.

Finally, the conflict in Afghanistan is occurring at a time when the workers and peasants are on the march around the world and when imperialism is on the defensive.

That is why the imperialist ruling class has raised such an outcry over the entry of Soviet troops into Afghanistan. And that is why it is so important for revolutionists to answer the lies about the Soviet presence there being a violation of Afghan national rights.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

## ...Iran

Continued from page 3

bly shorten the hostages' captivity, and showed little enthusiasm for the new economic sanctions.

Even the *New York Times* in its April 8 editorial was forced to admit that "breaking diplomatic relations and moving toward further modest sanctions are not measures likely to win release of the hostages soon, but they may blunt some of Ronald Reagan's charges of appeasement."

Unwilling to immediately end the crisis by returning the shah, the government and media have begun to step up their racist anti-Iranian campaign. This is another attempt to see if the American people can be whipped up enough to free Carter's hands for military action.

They have been unable to reverse the antiwar sentiment that has so far prevented the U.S. military from intervening in Iran or elsewhere. The vocal and growing antidraft movement is evidence of this.

Carter is once again trying to turn Iranian students into scapegoats. He invalidated visas held by Iranians wishing to enter the United States and ordered all Iranians deported as soon as their visas expired.

In Washington, D.C., police SWAT teams stationed themselves across the street from the Iranian Embassy to be sure Carter's expulsion orders were carried out. They sported bullet-proof vests and sniper rifles, prepared to fire into the Iranian Embassy's windows. Iranian consulates in other cities were closed down by U.S. marshals just minutes after Carter's speech.

The embassy staff began a hunger strike to protest Sadat's conspiracy "against the peoples of Egypt and Iran," and to demand "the extradition of the criminal despot shah." Iranian chargé d'affaires, Ali Agah, explained, "The U.S. government still does not understand our revolution." He added that "the most important achievement of our revolution is the preservation of our human dignity."

Carter's threats against Iran are not in our interests. Our interests lie with the Iranian people who are struggling to rebuild their country free from U.S. domination and exploitation. Carter should immediately lift these sanctions against Iran and resolve the hostage crisis by returning the shah and his wealth to the Iranian people.

## ....Olympics

Continued from page 3

time they ever participated in a political demonstration.

In Colorado Springs, the U.S. Olympic Committee has established a training camp. The volleyball team, which trains and lives there, explained how nearly all the athletes there—at times up to a couple hundred—are against the boycott.

On March 21, President Carter in-

vited 200 athletes to the White House to explain the boycott. The news media, by and large, attempted to minimize athletes' opposition to the boycott. One of the volleyball players who was there tells a different story.

"Four of our team went to visit Carter along with other Olympic athletes. He got a very cold reception. First he lectured us about how much he wants to support us and help us. Then he didn't let us ask any questions until the press was dismissed. None of us applauded him, or even stood up when he left the room. We were mad."

Carter made little headway at a subsequent meeting with athletes April 3.

Protest activities will continue with a picket line April 12 at the U.S. Olympic Committee headquarters in Colorado Springs. The Olympic Committee House of Delegates will be in session then to decide whether or not to send the athletes to Moscow. As one of the team members told me, "We want to go to the games and we will do what we can to get there."

## ...Cuba

Continued from page 4

ing to exploit the situation for anti-Cuba propaganda, Castro dramatically turned the tables. In October 1965 the Cuban government opened up the port of Camarioca and publicly announced that Cubans in the United States could come there by boat and pick up anybody who wanted to leave.

"We were the ones to force the Government of the United States to live up to its moral obligation to those people who, following U.S. policy, had sent their families to the United States and had taken out a passport to travel there," Castro explained in a September 1978 interview.

He added: "About 900 vessels came from Florida, and the Government of the United States had no alternative but to allow those people to make the trip."

Having been boxed in by Castro, Washington was forced to allow the opening of a few regular flights from Cuba to Miami. These lasted until April 1973, when they were again halted by the U.S. government.

Today, the Carter administration is trying the same con-game of blaming Cuba for keeping people in, when it is really Washington that is keeping them out.

But, as Castro reminded the imperialists in his March 8 speech this year, the Cuban government has had some experience in dealing with such a propaganda offensive.

Castro noted that "we had to open up the port of Camarioca once. We think it shows lack of maturity on the part of the United States to create similar situations once again, because we hold the view that this revolutionary association is voluntary, voluntary! The struggle for socialism and communism is a voluntary one: that was, is and will be our view."

## For the very best coverage of world politics

Frankly, 'Intercontinental Press/Inprecor' carries far more articles, documents, and special features about world politics than the 'Militant' has room for.

'Intercontinental Press/Inprecor' is published to help people struggling for a better world learn from each other's successes and setbacks. You can't afford to be without it. Fill in the coupon below and subscribe today.



Intercontinental Press/Inprecor, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.

☐ Send me six months of 'Intercontinental Press/Inprecor.' Enclosed is \$15.

☐ Send me a sample copy. Enclosed is \$.85.

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

## Militarism & the Draft

Militarism and Anti-Militarism by Karl Liebknecht

176 pp., \$2.00

The Socialist Workers Party in World War II

by James P. Cannon

446 pp., \$6.45

Out Now! A Participant's Account of the American Movement Against the Vietnam War by Fred Halstead 759 pp., \$9.95

"Revolutionary Strategy in the Fight Against the Vietnam War," an Education for Socialists booklet. 94 pp., \$2.50



Order from: Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014 (include \$.75 for postage and handling).



## Some oil strikers still out in La.

Many of the 55,000 oil refinery strikers across the country have gone back to work after their locals approved contract terms along the lines set in the Gulf Oil agreements March 14.

But oil workers everywhere expressed considerable dissatisfaction over company reprisals during the strike, and over the failure of the contract to meet their health and wage requirements in face of inflation.

**Militant** correspondents Karen Newton and Susan White report from New Orleans that as of April 4 three Louisiana locals of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union remained out on strike.

They are 400 workers at the Tenneco refinery in Chalmette; 225 at the Chevron refinery in Belle Chasse; and 160 at the Good Hope refinery in Good Hope.

On March 26 the Tenneco workers voted almost unanimously not to accept the Gulf terms, most of them feeling that the health and vacation benefits failed to meet their needs. Other key issues stemmed from company attempts to weaken the union.

Five workers were fired during the strike, and Tenneco has so far refused to take them back. Also, the company insists that the date for reopening contract discussions be set six months later than the national pattern for OCAW. The workers see this as a move to divide them from the rest of the international union, thereby undercutting their bargaining power.

Tenneco even sent letters to each individual member of the union in an effort to divide the ranks. This was roundly repudiated in a petition signed by union members.

Issues are roughly the same at the Chevron plant, and the



Picket at Chevron plant in Belle Chasse, Louisiana.

workers of both locals are carrying out joint activities in continuing the strike.

At Good Hope, an independent refinery, key issues are health, safety, and the company use of a union-busting subcontracting operation (see March 28 *Militant*).

The union has filed suit with the National Labor Relations Board against the corporation, charging that it uses a fictitious subcontractor to camouflage the hiring of nonunion labor.

In a countermove, the company slapped an \$82,000 damage suit against the union, alleging sabotage prior to and during the strike.

Union officials rejected the claim, saying the move was "an attempt by the company to evade the real issues in this labor dispute, which are unsafe and unhealthy working conditions at the plant and the eroding of the union by the use of subcontractors and salaried personnel."

## Burroughs tries to bust UAW local

By Elizabeth Ziers

DETROIT—One hundred striking members of United Auto Workers Local 1313 picketed the Burroughs Corporation stockholders meeting here March 26. Insults and boos greeted stockholders as they scurried across the picket line in front of the Rackham Building.

"We're here to show our determination and solidarity. And we're here to say that if Burroughs has enough money to pay Blumenthal \$600,000 a year, they can shell out a little to us," remarked picket captain Bill Frame.

Frame—one of 1,700 workers on strike against Burroughs since February 29—was referring to the appointment of W. Michael Blumenthal, Carter's former Treasury Secretary, as the next company chairman.

The central issues in the strike are the company's demand for a fifty-five cent cap on the cost-of-living allowance and the union's demand for shorter time to retirement. Unlike "Big Three" auto agreements the Burroughs contract does not provide retirement after thirty years.

Workers feel that their demands are hardly unreasonable. The corporation, which makes computer components and calculators, had record earnings of \$306 million in 1979—an increase of 21 percent.

Burroughs is making it clear that it's out to bust the union. The UAW narrowly lost a recent representation vote in a Pennsylvania plant. Management carried out an antiunion propaganda campaign, threatening workers that if the UAW won it would move South. Burroughs has forty-five plants nationwide; only three—in Detroit—are unionized.

Frame thinks he'll be collecting the fifty-five dollars a week strike benefits for quite a while.

"Burroughs claims they can outlast us. They say they'll move all the work down to their southern plants," Frame said. "I say go ahead. All the technological know-how is up here."

Frame says the company has supervisors working in the plant, "but they can't do any work. All the know-how is out here on the picket line."

## Cleveland: buses roll despite school board sabotage

By Pat Wright

CLEVELAND—The second phase of school desegregation here got under way March 18 in spite of transportation problems.

Although an estimated 22,500 junior high school students involved were ready, they were often left standing at the curb.

Buses broke down. Whole routes were not covered. Hundreds of students were late or never arrived to classes at all.

James Hardiman, NAACP lawyer, said that in addition to transportation foul-ups, school officials have also failed to implement educational improvements required by the court. These include magnet schools, non-discriminatory grouping, a fair pupil discipline code, and

cooperative programs with business and cultural institutions.

NAACP lawyers have urged U.S. District Judge Frank Battisti to bring contempt of court proceedings against the school board officials and to strip them of their responsibility for desegregation.

In January, a report filed by Daniel McCarthy, the court's special master for desegregation, charged school officials with not following court orders in planning and carrying out desegregation. Many of these charges the school board could not dispute.

These are old tricks for the Cleveland School Board. Over the past twenty-five years, it has spent millions of dollars in court and other expenses to keep Cleveland schools segregated.

Since the Supreme Court up-

held the decision to desegregate last summer, school officials have tried to give the appearance of doing all they could to prepare, while accepting very little responsibility for anything that goes wrong.

Two weeks before phase two began, the board suddenly came up with several thousand dollars for a long-awaited clean-up campaign of a few schools on the predominately Black east side. Desegregation proponents have always contended this would happen when white children would have to go to Black schools.

Citizens Opposed to Rearranging Kids (CORK), a racist antibusing group, had called for disrupting desegregation. But they could muster only about fifty people to demonstrate at the school board offices on the starting day.

## B'ham closes bombing case

By Nan Bailey

The government cover-up of the bombing of the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama, continues.

Birmingham police and the county district attorney's office announced March 28 that they were again closing their files on the 1963 bombing in which four Black children were murdered.

In February, local officials said they were reopening the investigation. Their action came two days after the *New York Times* reported the discovery of possible new evidence in the case: a 302-page report by the Justice Department detailing FBI complicity with Klan violence.

The Justice Department has refused to release this document, but it was leaked to the *New York Times* in February. The study shows, according to the *Times*, that former FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover blocked prosecution of Robert Chambliss and three other Ku Klux Klansmen for the church bombing.

To date, only Chambliss has ever been brought to trial.

After twice requesting the document from U.S. Attorney

General Benjamin Civiletti, and twice getting no response, Birmingham officials say they will not spend any more time on the investigation.

Asked by local reporters why the case was being closed, District Attorney Earl Morgan explained that although he

hasn't seen the document, he is confident it contains no new evidence!

Said a smug Morgan, "I just wanted to be satisfied that we knew everything that had ever been made known to the FBI. And now I'm satisfied that we do and there's nothing new."



Ruins of church where four Black girls were murdered

## N. Carolina DA: Klan shot first

By Kate Daher

GREENSBORO, N.C.—During a pretrial hearing in Superior Court here March 25, District Attorney Michael Schlosser testified that members of the Ku Klux Klan and Nazis fired the first shot at an anti-Klan rally last November 3.

The racist attack left five anti-Klan demonstrators dead. Fourteen Klan and Nazi members have been charged with felonious rioting and first-degree murder. Their defense attorneys claim that the anti-Klan protesters fired first.

Judge James Long denied a defense motion to drop all charges against the racists.

The defense had argued that since indictments were not brought against the anti-Klan demonstrators, the Klanners and Nazis should not be charged either. Claiming that

their clients were being "selectively prosecuted," defense attorneys said the defendants "were provoked" into firing on the demonstration.

According to eyewitness accounts at the time of the rally, the first shot came from a racist who got out of his car and fired into the air. "That was the signal," one eyewitness told the *Militant*. Then more racists pulled weapons from trunks and a van and repeatedly fired into the peaceful demonstration, stopping occasionally to reload.

Ever since the massacre, Greensboro police and news media have tried to turn the victims into the criminals. They have red-baited the Communist Workers Party, which organized the March 3 protest, and have pushed the allegation that the anti-Klan protesters started the shooting.

Prosecutor Schlosser's statement and the judge's refusal to drop charges against the killers reflect the widespread public outrage over the slayings and attempted cover-up. Too many people, locally and across the country, saw the cold-blooded murders on television for the attempted whitewash to have any credibility.

Nevertheless, three of the anti-Klan demonstrators who survived the massacre are still charged with "inciting a riot" and "resisting arrest."

Messages demanding that charges be dropped against Nelson Johnson, Rand Manzella, and Willena Cannon should be sent to Mayor Jim Melvin, 210 North Greene, Greensboro, North Carolina 27402; send copies to Greensboro Justice Fund, 39 Bowery, Box 404, New York, New York 10002.



# In Review

Revolution and the 20th Century Novel. By Paul N. Siegel. Monad Press, 1979. 288 pp. Cloth \$14, paper \$4.45.

*Revolution and the 20th-Century Novel* is the most recent in a series of works published in the late 1970s that may augur a new direction in Marxist cultural studies. Along with Perry Anderson's *Considerations on Western Marxism* (1976), George Novack's *Polemics in Marxist Philosophy* (1978), and E. P. Thompson's *The Poverty of Theory* (1979), Paul Siegel's book avoids the pitfalls of vulgar Marxism (which reduces cultural phenomena to economic functions) and the neo-Marxism of those who downplay class factors in theories of ideology and aesthetics.

Siegel presents ten essays about novels, exploring the relationship between literary characterization and the sociological perception of revolution. He groups the works into four periods, each of which is exemplified by a dominant political theme.

These are: evolution and revolution at the beginning of the century, as shown in Arnold Bennett's *The Old Wives' Tale* and Jack London's *The Iron Heel*; revolutionary consciousness in the 1930s, as shown in André Malraux's *Man's Fate*, Ignazio Silone's *Fontamara*, and Richard Wright's *Native Son*; post-World War II disillusionment, as shown in Arthur Koestler's *Darkness at Noon*, Norman Mailer's *The Naked and the Dead*, and George Orwell's *1984*; and the re-examination of the Russian Revolution in the post-Stalin era, as shown in Boris Pasternak's *Doctor Zhivago* and Alexander Solzhenitsyn's *Cancer Ward*.

## Social Context of Culture

Siegel is well-equipped to explore culture in its social context. His first book, *Shakespearean Tragedy and the Elizabethan Compromise* (1957), dem-

## Books

onstrated the distinguishing features of his method.

The thesis of this early work—subsequently elaborated in *Shakespeare in His Time and Ours* (1968)—is that Shakespeare's plays are partly a literary expression of the world view of the "new aristocracy" that evolved in Queen Elizabeth's time. This social class was the senior partner in a temporary alliance with the nascent bourgeoisie and defended itself ideologically through the doctrine of "Christian Humanism" (which Siegel defines as Medieval Christianity tempered by classical learning).

In his newest book, Siegel is just as responsive to the ultimately decisive role played by class relations in shaping the context of the twentieth-century novel. On the one hand, he clarifies the complex social situations that engender the political attitudes of the authors; at the same time, he measures the fictional representation of the historical process depicted in each novel against its true character.

This in no way hinders Siegel's ability to provide a close and sensitive reading of the novels.

## Revolutionary Perspective

His premise is that the ten books under consideration diverge from the mainstream of the modern novel, which has progressively lost interest in ideas and society.

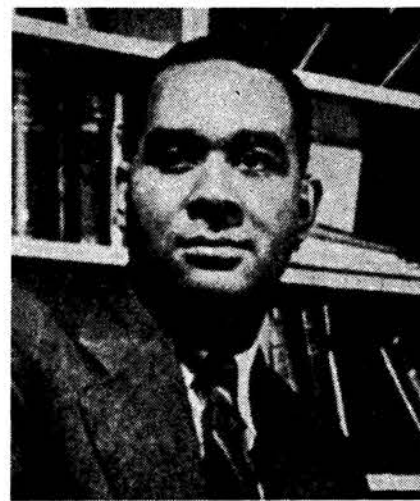
Siegel writes as an unabashed parti-

Alan Wald is a frequent contributor to the 'International Socialist Review.' His book 'James T. Farrell: The Revolutionary Socialist Years' is published by New York University Press.

# Revolution and the Novel



A few of the authors whose work Siegel discusses: (above) Alexander Solzhenitsyn, (right) George Orwell, Richard Wright, (below) Jack London.



san of social revolution. He sees a close connection between literature and politics, but doesn't confuse the two. In his preface he quotes Leon Trotsky's remark that "A work of art should, in the first place, be judged by its own law, that is, by the law of art." But he also includes Trotsky's corollary: "The effort to set art free from life, to declare it a craft self-sufficient unto itself, devitalizes and kills art."

Among his noteworthy judgments are that *The Old Wives' Tale* is centrally concerned with the idea of revolution, that *Darkness at Noon* and *Doctor Zhivago* are inferior works of art, and that *Man's Fate* has been overrated.

Siegel's negative assessment of *Darkness at Noon* is cogent and his critique of *Doctor Zhivago* augments an earlier one by Isaac Deutscher ("Pasternak and the Calendar of the Revolution," reprinted in *Ironies of History*).

In the case of *Man's Fate*, however, Siegel's claim is based on a dislike for Malraux's approach to the creation of character. In his perception the main figures lack "depth" because they are depicted by a "phrase of physical description, two or three sentences about their past lives, and their partici-

pation in philosophical dialogue and violent action. . . ."

In my view, Siegel would find Malraux's style more agreeable if he considered *Man's Fate* in light of the tech-

niques and objectives of literary modernism (the experiments in form and sensibility primarily associated with the 1920s), rather than from the vantage point of classical aesthetics. Modernist writers such as Franz Kafka, Bertolt Brecht, and Malraux are conscious rebels against the traditional artistic canons.

In conjunction with this lack of sympathy for experimental techniques, there is only one other troublesome aspect of Siegel's book: an unexplained silence on the Marxist tradition in literary criticism (including Antonio Gramsci, George Lukács, and others) since the time of Trotsky's masterwork, *Literature and Revolution* (1924).

## 'Native Son'

However, the achievement of Siegel's book lies not so much in general opinions about literary merit or affinities with various critics as in his precise analysis of and incisive commentary about the individual novels.

A fine example of his ability to combine political acuity and literary discernment is his defense of *Native Son*. Siegel's revolutionary outlook permits him to read the text more accurately than liberal critics such as Irving Howe, Alfred Kazin, James Baldwin, and Robert Bone.

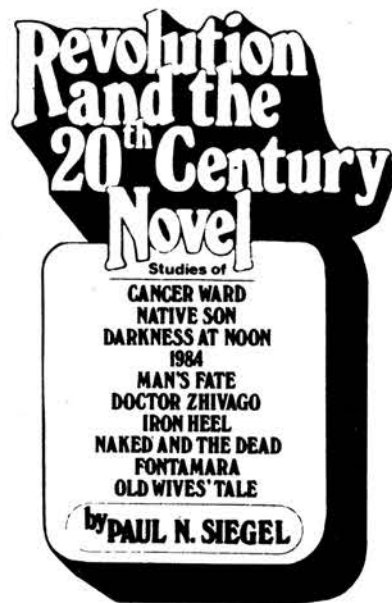
Siegel documents how, contrary to the consensus of these critics, the closing speech by Bigger Thomas's lawyer is not a party-line oration but a humanist's plea for understanding.

In a striking conclusion, Siegel compares the thesis of Frantz Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth*—that the violence of the oppressed may be part of a psychological struggle against dehumanization—with Wright's view that Bigger Thomas is not a criminal but a victim driven to the only form of rebellion and self-affirmation available to him.

In its ability to stimulate a heightened appreciation of *Native Son* and other novels, Siegel's book is unmatched by any analogous studies of which I am aware. Irving Howe's *Politics and the Novel*, a work of verbal brilliance with many striking insights, lacks the patient scholarship and sense of completeness in Siegel's work. Alan Swingewood's *The Novel and Revolution* is theoretically more daring but less persistent in unraveling the intricacies of the particular novels considered.

*Revolution and the 20th Century Novel* is a significant clarification of the relationship between literature and society. Radicalizing workers and students have at last acquired an exemplary handbook of applied literary criticism on the modern novel of revolution that is itself informed by a Marxist perspective and animated by a revolutionary outlook.

—Alan Wald



Paul N. Siegel, the internationally known Marxist Shakespearean scholar and critic, studies in depth ten 20th-century novels concerned with the concept of social revolution, analyzing them as works of art and probing their political ideas. Siegel provides a rounded critical approach that gives the reader deeper appreciation of these novels as expressions of 20th-century thought.

A Monad Press Book.  
Distributed by Pathfinder Press.  
288 pages, cloth \$14, paper \$4.45.  
Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.  
(Include \$.75 for postage and handling.)



# The Great Society

## Harry Ring



**Subjective**—Tiffany's runs occasional ads extolling "free enterprise." Apparently forgetful, Tiffany president Walter Hoving took an ad blasting Bunker Hunt, the Texas tycoon who cornered some 200 million ounces of gold, driving the price sky high. Presumably to Hoving's satisfaction, the price then plummeted, catching Hunt for a few hundred million.

**Well motivated**—Some regard Bunker Hunt a ruthless pirate. But he does have ideological and religious concerns. A contributor to ultraright causes, he's also a church giver. "By and large," says Hunt, "I don't think a country can amount to much unless it's a Christian country."

**The new cuisine**—Numerous food product companies are pushing their wares in classrooms with material allegedly offering the kiddies "nutritional information." The winner, in our view, is "Cooking with Dr. Pepper."

**Sounds like the savior**—A new videotape recorder attachment, "The Killer," erases commercials while programs are being taped.

**Marlboro country**—In one field at least, the USA is still top dog. Of the \$70 billion spent worldwide on advertising in a single year, 54 percent—\$38 billion—was expended right here. The

runner-up, Japan, spent a piddling \$6.2 billion. Cuba wasn't even in the running.

**Inside view**—"Are you prepared for: War, Riots, Famine, Depression, Worthless Money?" If not, subscribe to *Capitalist Dawn*, a business newsletter.

**In N.Y. it's included in the rent**—A growing number of zoos, coping with shrinking budgets, are urging donors to "adopt" particular animals. At the San Francisco Zoo, for \$15 a year, you can be the "parent" of a hissing cockroach.



Jim Berry  
'Hi! I'm a phony politician and a complete jerk. I hope you'll vote for me...'

## By Any Means Necessary

### Blood on the gold

A small dispatch from United Press International appeared in a number of U.S. papers recently:

"JOHANNESBURG, South Africa (UPI)—The death toll from yesterday's [March 27] accident at the Vaal Reefs gold mine has risen to 31. . . .

"The cable of a shaft elevator snapped . . . plunging a work detail of three white miners and 28 blacks more than a mile to their deaths in the world's deepest gold mine.

"The 12-foot-high double-decker elevator cage was compressed to a height of less than 12 inches on impact."

The greatest tragedy is that such accidents are par for the course in the land of apartheid.

From 1936 to 1966, 19,000 men died in gold mine accidents in South Africa. Ninety-three percent were Black. This reflects not only the predominance of Blacks in the mining work force but also a death rate for Blacks that was nearly twice as high for white miners in that thirty-year period.

In 1976 (the last year for which I have seen figures) the death rate in all South African mines—in which Blacks make up about 86 percent of the work force—was 1.2 per thousand. That means two to three miners killed each day.

This is about twice the death rate in U.S. coal mines, which itself is two to five times the rate in Western European capitalist countries.

These figures testify to the enormity of the exploitation that Blacks are subjected to in South Africa, in the work place as well as throughout society.

It's no coincidence that South Africa has probably the worst mine accident rate of any industrial country. It may be the only industrial capitalist country in which the overwhelming majority of mine workers—Blacks—are barred from having their own union.

For a country that works overtime to make sure that Blacks have no effective unions, the situation in the mining sector is even more restrictive. The racist officialdom justifies this in part on the grounds that more than two-thirds of the Black mine workers are defined as "foreigners." Most come from the bantustans, Botswana, Lesotho, or the Transkei—nominally Black-ruled areas carved out by the racists as reservations, completely dominated by South Africa economically, politically, and militarily.

The "foreigner" designation conveniently allows the racists to deny these migrant Black workers any protective rights. Their attitude is that these migrants, desperately trying to escape from the impoverished areas of southern Africa, should be grateful to the South African capitalists for exploiting their labor. It's an attitude that undocumented workers from Mexico in the United States are familiar with.

The death rate in the mines also reflects the intensity of the effort by the gold mine owners to squeeze as much labor as possible from Black workers. With the soaring price of gold over the last year or so, the capitalists have acted accordingly—that is, speeding up production, pushing workers to

their human limits in order to realize super profits.

The mine where the thirty-one workers fell to their death is one of the richest in South Africa. It earned its owners \$238 million in 1979. It also claimed the lives of sixty-six workers in the same year.

Is it an exaggeration, as South Africa's apologists claim, to say that the money that racist government receives from its sales abroad of its gold Krugers is blood money?

None of this says anything about the existence that those workers who haven't yet been killed must endure each day: a pay scale which gives them one-tenth of what white workers earn; the squalid overcrowded all-male dormitories (workers are not allowed to have their families with them); the miserly disability compensation; the absence of effective health and safety codes.

I've heard defenders of U.S. investment in South Africa argue that withdrawal of these firms would mean hardships for Blacks. A variant of this argument is that Blacks may have some grievances in South Africa, yes, but militant struggle might lead to violence.

Let the dying screams of the Vaal Reefs miners give the answer. Hardship and violence are everyday reality for South African Blacks. These are truly men and women who have nothing to lose but their chains, and who need make no apology for taking up arms in the revolutionary struggle against their oppressors.



## August Nimtz

## What's Going On

### CALIFORNIA

#### BAY AREA

**U.S. IMPERIALISM IN CRISIS.** Speaker: Barry Sheppard, National Organizational Secretary, Socialist Workers Party. Tues., April 15, 7:30 p.m. U.C. Berkeley, Life Sciences Building, Room 2503. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (415) 763-3792 or 824-1992.

#### EAST BAY

**CUBA TODAY: EYEWITNESS REPORT.** Speakers: Kathe Latham, Robert Mattson, members of United Transportation Union in the Bay Area who recently visited Cuba. Sat., April 12, 7:30 p.m. 2864 Telegraph Ave., Oakland. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 763-3792.

#### SAN FRANCISCO

**NICARAGUA: THE SHOWDOWN APPROACHES.** Eyewitness report and slide show by George Johnson, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate in California. Sat., April 12, 8 p.m. 3284 23rd St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 824-1992.

**REPRESSION AND RESISTANCE IN EL SALVADOR.** A panel discussion: Stella Ampuero, news reporter; Father Moriarty; representatives of Amnesty International and the BPR (People's Revolu-

tionary Bloc); and Juan Martinez, Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., April 18, 8 p.m. 3284 23rd St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 824-1992.

### FLORIDA

#### MIAMI

**BEHIND THE EVENTS IN CUBA.** Speaker: Miguel Pendas, national committee member, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., April 18, 8 p.m. 8171 N.E. 2nd Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (305) 756-8358.

**OPEN HOUSE: MEET ROSE OGDEN, SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY CANDIDATE FOR U.S. SENATE.** Sun., April 27, 1-4 p.m. Refreshments served. Donation: \$2. 8171 NE 2nd Ave. Ausp: Florida SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (305) 756-8358.

### NEW JERSEY

#### NEWARK

**SUPPORT THE NEW YORK TRANSIT WORKERS. SUPPORT THE PATH WORKERS.** Speakers to be announced. Sat., April 19, 7:30 p.m. 11-A Central Avenue. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

### NEW YORK

#### ALBANY

**THE 1980 ELECTIONS: WHY WORKING PEOPLE NEED A LABOR PARTY.** Speaker: Frank Lovell, National Committee member of the Socialist Workers Party, former member of United Auto Workers union. Fri., April 11, 7:30 p.m. 103 Central Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (518) 463-0072.

#### LOWER MANHATTAN

**NUCLEAR POWER: MIRACLE OR MENACE?** Slide show. Thurs., April 24, 7:30 p.m. 108 E. 16th St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$2. Ausp: N.Y. Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (212) 260-6400.

### OREGON

#### PORTLAND

**THE STRUGGLE FOR PUBLIC OWNERSHIP OF UTILITIES.** Speakers: Rich Rohde, member, Oregon Fair Share; Michael Alexander, member, Ratepayers Union; Russell Farrell, member, executive committee, Public Utility District Coalition. Sun., April 20, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

### WASHINGTON, D.C.

**STOP U.S. WAR MOVES AGAINST IRAN REVOLUTION.** Speakers: Rob Costa, an organizer of the March 22 mobilization against the draft, working with Washington Area Coalition Against Registration and the Draft; Joe Stork, an editor of MERIP Reports, author of the book *Mideast Oil and the Energy Crisis* (Monthly Review Press); Jane Harris, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., April 11, 7:30 p.m. 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

**REVOLUTION IN GRENADA: ONE YEAR LATER.** Eyewitness account and slide show. Speakers: Jerry Hunnicutt, recently returned from Grenada; others. Thurs., April 17, 7:30 p.m. 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 747-7699.

### WASHINGTON

#### PUGET SOUND

**CARTER'S AUSTERITY PROGRAM, THE DRAFT, AND U.S. WAR DRIVE.** Speaker: Barry Sheppard, Socialist Workers Party National Organizational Secretary. Sat., April 19, 3 p.m. 4868 Rainier Ave. South, Seattle. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (206) 723-5330.



## Our Revolutionary Heritage

### 'Two, three, many Vietnams'

Ernesto "Che" Guevara was a central leader of the Cuban revolution and became the most famous martyr of the revolutionary struggles of the 1960s in Latin America.

In the interval between his departure from Cuba in the spring of 1965 and his death in Bolivia in the fall of 1967, Guevara made one public statement. It was his message "from somewhere in the world" to the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America. It was made public in Havana by the news service Prensa Latina on April 16, 1967.

Guevara, like Fidel Castro and other leaders of the Cuban revolution, recognized the necessity of international solidarity with struggles against imperialism. International solidarity, they explained, made it possible for the working people of even relatively small countries like Vietnam or Cuba, to end U.S. domination and strike big blows against U.S. imperialism.

The Cuban leaders were inspired by the Vietnamese revolution. They saw that Vietnamese resistance to U.S. occupation was relieving pressure on the Cuban revolution and giving rise to other outbursts of revolutionary struggle.

Che also criticized the Soviet and Chinese rulers for the gross inadequacy of their aid to Vietnam.

In the thirteen years since this message was issued, the world's working people gained a more advantageous position in the battle with U.S. imperialism. We are witnessing the beginning of the fulfillment of Che's vision of "two, three, many Vietnams"—from the Iranian and Afghan revolutions to the ending of white rule in Zimbabwe to the overthrow of Pol Pot in Kampuchea (Cambodia) to the revolutionary struggles in Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Grenada.

Following are excerpts from Che's message.

\* \* \*

It must be remembered that imperialism is a worldwide system, the final stage of capitalism, and it must be beaten in a worldwide confrontation.

[We must] take as a tactical line the gradual freeing of the peoples, by ones or by groups, involving the enemy in a difficult struggle outside of his terrain; liquidating his bases of support, that is, his dependent territories.

This means a long war. And, we repeat it once again, a cruel war.

Let no one be mistaken on this when he sets out to initiate it, and let no one

vacillate in initiating it out of fear of the results which it can bring upon his own people. It is almost the only hope for victory. We cannot evade the need of the hour.

Vietnam teaches us this with its permanent lesson in heroism, its tragic daily lesson in struggle and death in order to gain the final victory.

Over there, the imperialist troops encounter the discomforts of those accustomed to the standard of living which the North American nation boasts. They have to confront a hostile land, the insecurity of those who cannot move without feeling that they are walking on enemy territory; death for those who go outside of fortified redoubts; the permanent hostility of the entire population.

All this continues to provoke repercussions inside the United States; it is going to arouse a factor that was attenuated in the days of the full vigor of imperialism—the class struggle inside its own territory.

How close and bright would the future appear if two, three, many Vietnams, flowered on the face of the globe, with their quota of death and immense tragedies, with their daily heroism, with their repeated blows against imperialism, obliging it to disperse its forces under the lash of the growing hate of the people of the world!

And if we were capable of uniting so as to give our blows greater solidity and certainty, so that the effectiveness of aid of all kinds to the people locked in combat was increased—how great the future would be, and how near!

If we, on a small point on the map of the world, fulfill our duty and place at the disposition of the struggle whatever little we are able to give, our lives, our sacrifice, it can happen that one of these days we will draw our last breath on a bit of earth not our own, yet already ours, watered with our blood. Let it be known that we have measured the scope of our acts and that we consider ourselves no more than elements in the great army of the proletariat; but we feel proud at having learned from the Cuban Revolution and its great main leader the great lesson to be drawn from Cuba's attitude in this part of the world: "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?"

Our every action is a call for war against imperialism and a cry for the unity of the peoples against the great enemy of the human species: the United States of North America.

#### From a rail unionist

I realize this may be a few days late, but I was not even aware of your newspaper until last night. I am the local chairman for the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers Division 778 of Des Moines, Iowa. A brother gave me a copy of your newspaper (March 28) at last night's meeting. I would like to see more of your paper and ideas and am enclosing one dollar for the three-issue sample as described on the front page of the above issue.

Thank you.

C.H.

Des Moines, Iowa

#### The news they hide

For many years I have read the *Washington Post* for information about the world and its governments. Last year, for example, I started reading about the popular revolution going on in Nicaragua against U.S.-appointed dictator Anastasio Somoza, whose sole purpose for the American government was to secure American

businessmen's money.

After the revolution last year the capitalist newspapers stopped writing about Nicaragua's revolution. For a while, I thought Nicaragua ceased to exist, mainly because the *Washington Post's* only interest is on Wall Street and not the interest of the workers' triumph in Nicaragua against their former American bosses.

I wanted to know more about the post-revolutionary Nicaragua, so I wrote the *Washington Post* a letter asking if they could shed some light on it. The fact that the *Washington Post* never wrote me back or published my letter is no surprise to me. Because all the *Post* and other capitalist papers care about is the rich, not the tens of thousands of people who lost their lives so they could be free to choose their futures without foreign imperialism.

But thanks to one newspaper, the voice of the Nicaraguan people can be heard. That's why I read that newspaper—the *Militant*.  
Charles Taylor  
Manassas Park, Virginia

### Shanker vs. Cuba

The Spring issue of *American Educator*, the magazine of the American Federation of Teachers, contains an article by William A. Douglas, an associate director of the International Labor Program at Georgetown University, entitled, "The Cuban Experiment." The article is meant as a review of a book, *Cuba—Order and Revolution*, by Jorge I. Domínguez, 683 pages selling for \$25.

The review is the latest attack by [AFT President] Albert Shanker on the advances of working people throughout the world. There is nothing new about an anti-Cuban review in the AFT journals. What is surprising are some of the things the author of the article admits to about this "totally dictatorial regime."

While consistently downplaying the importance of the gains made by the revolution, he does point out that the "living standard of Cuba's poorest groups has improved under Castro." (The article does not mention that this was the vast majority of the population in 1959 when Batista was defeated). He also states that social services, including education, medical care, and housing have greatly improved since the revolution.

By further admission he tells us that the two groups who have benefited most by the revolution have been "the rural poor and blacks." He also admits that the wealth of the nation has been "more evenly distributed and destitution has been eliminated."

You start to wonder where the problem is. Well, Douglas tells us that the people of Cuba have been made to suffer terribly for all that they've gained.

In trying to convince his readers of this, he points to the fact that it took ten years to achieve the above mentioned victories (he

doesn't mention the fact that *Brown vs. the Board of Education* was decided in 1954, and still has not been achieved); the fact that economic progress has been slow (he doesn't talk about the U.S. blockade); and that education beyond the sixth grade is discouraged by the Cuban government because "it is easier to control a people who are less well educated." He doesn't explain why that same government would start a literacy campaign in the first place. The arguments are almost laughable.

One sentence towards the end of the article sums up the entire nature of the AFT leadership. It reads, "The gains of the revolution, after all, are quite modest; a successful adult literacy campaign, installation of a public health care system, implementation of universal schooling and elimination of racial segregation." Mr. Douglas does not tell us why, if these gains are so modest, the United States has not been able to achieve them.

What is important to note is that this is the type of "educational" material that goes out to teachers from the AFT. The racist nature of this article is attested to by the author's lack of concern for the gains made by Black people in Cuba, just as the racist nature of the AFT leadership can be seen in their stand against affirmative action.

The advances that the author considers "modest" are the very ones that Albert Shanker seems least concerned with, i.e., the rights of Blacks, the rights of the poor, the rights of students, and ultimately, the rights of all working people.  
Ronald Repps  
United Teachers of  
New Orleans/AFT  
New Orleans, Louisiana

## Our party is your party

**THE MILITANT is the voice of the Socialist Workers Party.**

**IF YOU AGREE with what you've read, you should join us in fighting for a world without war, racism, or exploitation—a socialist world.**

**JOIN THE SWP. Fill out this coupon and mail it today.**

- ☐ I want to join the SWP.  
☐ Send me \_\_\_\_\_ copies of *Prospects for Socialism in America* at \$2.95 each. Enclosed \$\_\_\_\_\_  
☐ Please send me more information.
- Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_  
State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_  
Telephone \_\_\_\_\_

SWP, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014

## JOIN THE SWP



## Dioxin in prison

I am in the middle of reading your latest issue of the *Militant* (March 28). I just read the insert from our sister in the women's prison at Alderson, West Virginia. I had to write to explain: it is a widespread practice of the federal prison administration to use 2,4-D herbicide.

My first fifteen months were spent at McNeil Island Penitentiary in Washington State. McNeil is a large island with dairy cows, beef cattle, and their own pig farm.

The island was sprayed at least once a year with what was told to me by staff personnel was 2,4-D.

McNeil has a huge supply of cats running around inside. Where I worked a mother cat had six kittens. Now I am a cat lover, it is very easy to transfer a lot of affection to little kittens in prison, which was what I did. When they quit nursing, I kept four kittens and sent the mother and remaining ones to the dairy farm (lots of milk).

Now I only fed these cats meat off my plate, or steaks from the officers' kitchen, a little pork, and calves liver. All four within two weeks became paralyzed in their front and rear legs along with several other strange effects. Two died. When I left the other two were six months old, with massive stunted growth. Four other cats inside died the same way, plus the mother and little ones at the dairy (they drank mostly milk) died.

There was a vet in prison with me. He checked my cats and said he had never seen anything like that in animals.

Now I know a lot about Agent Orange, 2,4-D and 2,4,5-T, dioxin. I've studied it and fought with people about using it. These cats showed effects that result from dioxin poisoning. I've never known who to write to about my fears. One officer who gave me the information quit eating the food. Myself and several friends have done likewise.

Take into consideration the size of those cats compared to the amount they ate. The effects are what could be the long-term effects on us. After their agony, to wonder if the same substance went into my body is frightening.

I plea the same as my imprisoned sister. Please do whatever you can. They damage our minds and bodies enough, we mustn't let them poison us too!

Thanks for the truth of the *Militant*.  
A prisoner  
California

**The 'Militant' special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help out, send your contribution to: Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.**

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

# Learning About Socialism

## Who should pay taxes?

April 15 is the final day set by the government for filing income tax returns. Millions of dollars are being ripped out of the incomes of working people in order to pay for the war budget, cops, and other antihuman expenditures.

At the same time public services that provide for basic human needs are being cut back in order, we are told, to balance the budget.

The socialist view of taxes was summarized by Jack Barnes, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, in a report to the December 1978 plenum of the SWP National Committee.

Following are some excerpts from his presentation.

We should explain clearly that one of the advantages of a workers government is that there will be much less waste, much less government bureaucracy, an end to the war budget. The entire tax burden will be drastically reduced.

Marx wrote that the Paris Commune [the workers government briefly established in Paris in 1871] "made that catchword of bourgeois revolutions, cheap government, a reality by destroying the two greatest sources of expenditures—the standing army and state functionarism."

A workers government in this country would accomplish the same thing immediately. A capitalist government never will.

But under capitalism, we are in favor of taxes, because we are in favor of public expenditures. We favor public schools, public libraries, public transportation, public health. We want more and better health workers, librarians, school teachers, transport workers, and a lot more workers providing social services that *working people* need.

In fact, the social services that we have today are the result of struggles by the workers to wrest them from the capitalists. We had to fight for the right to public education, and we still don't have real public education available to all through university level.

The rulers didn't give us libraries out of the goodness of their hearts. In fact they are trying to take them away. Now, they open them at 11 a.m. and close them at 3:00 in the afternoon—on the days they are open.

They didn't give us public transportation. We had to fight for what little we have. They have given us virtually no public-health services.

The victories our class has won in establishing these services are a major conquest.

The services we have today amount to a raise in the standard of living and an improvement in the conditions of life for the working class. They are part of the real wages, the social wages, of the working class. And employment of workers to perform these services is one of the pressures keeping down the size of the industrial reserve army [of the unemployed], which is also to our advantage.

In a workers state, the number of people employed in providing public social services will increase tremendously.

The question is how to pay for this under capitalism? Who shall bear the burden of these necessary social expendi-

tures? Here is where the capitalist fakery comes in.

The capitalist politicians have enacted an endless maze of different taxes, tax laws, exemptions, and preferences. There are the capital gains taxes, sales taxes, social security taxes, different kinds of property taxes, different rates on different taxes. Anyone who can understand it all is better than I am, or wasting their time, or probably both. Because the whole thing is a total fraud.

There is no change necessary in the basic position on taxes taken in the *Communist Manifesto*. There Marx and Engels proposed a progressive, or graduated, income tax. They thought this over and, in the final draft, they included an adjective. They advocated a *heavy* progressive income tax.

What Marx and Engels meant was that the capitalists should pay taxes and the workers should not. That is our proposal. We are against any taxation of any kind on working people. The capitalists should pay all the taxes.

The tax structure should be simplified. There need be no property taxes. No capital gains taxes. No withholding taxes. No social security taxes. No sales taxes, (the most reactionary and regressive of all).

All taxes are paid out of one source—income. What is a "property" tax? Did you ever see a capitalist pick up a piece of his factory and carry it down to the tax assessor?

The capitalists, like the workers who own a home, pay property taxes out of their income. We are for simplifying the whole thing. We're for taxing the capitalists' income enough to meet all the basic social expenditures that society needs.

And we are against workers paying any taxes.

Maybe the best way to express it is just to say straight out: People who work for a living shouldn't pay taxes. We work hard enough for our money, and we get little enough as it is. Capitalists, who get billions and billions in income—whether they keep it in the form of capital or some other form—should pay the taxes.

Don't forget one final thing, and the most fundamental. Where does all this income originate? It comes from labor. All the income for all the classes comes from value you produce. In discussing the tax question, you have to start there.

\* \* \*

### Like father, like son

Last week's column, "Lenin's pamphlet on imperialism," referred to Wilhelm Liebknecht as one of the revolutionary internationalists in the German Social Democratic Party who opposed World War I. Actually it was Karl Liebknecht (1871-1919), Wilhelm's son.

Wilhelm Liebknecht (1826-1900) was a founder of the German Social-Democratic Party. He was convicted of treason by the monarchist regime in Prussia (the most powerful German state at the time) after he opposed credits for the Franco-Prussian war of 1870 as a member of the Reichstag (parliament).

## If You Like This Paper, Look Us Up

Where to find the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and socialist books and pamphlets

**ALABAMA:** Birmingham: SWP, YSA, 1609 5th Ave. N. Tel: (205) 328-9403. Send mail to P.O. Box 3382-A. Zip: 35205.

**ARIZONA:** Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 1243 E. McDowell. Zip: 85006. Tel: (602) 255-0450.

**CALIFORNIA:** East Bay: SWP, YSA, 2864 Telegraph Ave., Oakland. Zip: 94609. Tel: (415) 763-3792. Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2211 N. Broadway. Zip: 90031. Tel: (213) 225-3126. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 201 N. 9th St. Zip: 95112. Tel: (408) 998-4007.

**COLORADO:** Denver: SWP, YSA, 126 W. 12th Ave. Zip: 80204. Tel: (303) 534-8954.

**FLORIDA:** Miami: SWP, YSA, 8171 NE 2nd Ave. Zip: 33138. Tel: (305) 756-8358.

**GEORGIA:** Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 509 Peachtree St. NE. Zip: 30308. Tel: (404) 872-7229.

**ILLINOIS:** Champaign-Urbana: YSA, 284 Illini Union, Urbana. Zip: 61801. Chicago: SWP, YSA, 434 S. Wabash, Room 700. Zip: 60605. Tel: (312) 939-0737.

**INDIANA:** Indianapolis: SWP, YSA, 4850 N. College. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 283-6149. Gary: SWP, YSA, 3883 Broadway. Zip: 46409. Tel: (219) 884-9509.

**KENTUCKY:** Louisville: SWP, YSA, 131 W. Main #102. Zip: 40202. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

**LOUISIANA:** New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3319 S. Carrollton Ave. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.

**MARYLAND:** Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2913 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013. MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, c/o Rick Drozd, 203 E. Cashin, U. of Mass. Zip: 01003. Tel: (413)

546-5942. Boston: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

**MICHIGAN:** Ann Arbor: YSA, 4120 Michigan Union, U. of M. Zip: 48109. Detroit: SWP, YSA, 6404 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 875-5322.

**MINNESOTA:** Mesabi Iron Range: SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 1287, Virginia, Minn. Zip: 55792. Tel: (218) 749-6327. Twin Cities: SWP, YSA, 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

**MISSOURI:** Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. St. Louis: SWP, YSA, 6223 Delmar Blvd. Zip: 63130. Tel: (314) 725-1570.

**NEW JERSEY:** Newark: SWP, YSA, 11-A Central Ave. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

**NEW MEXICO:** Albuquerque: SWP, 1417 Central Ave. NE. Zip: 87106. Tel: (505) 842-0954.

**NEW YORK:** Capital District (Albany): SWP, YSA, 103 Central Ave. Zip: 12206. Tel: (518) 463-0072. New York, Brooklyn: SWP, 841 Classon Ave. Zip: 11238. Tel: (212) 783-2135. New York, Lower Manhattan: SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 260-6400. New York, Upper Manhattan: SWP, YSA, 564 W. 181 St., 2nd Floor. Send mail to P.O. Box 438, Washington Bridge Sta. Zip: 10033. Tel: (212) 928-1676. New York, City-wide SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 533-2902.

**NORTH CAROLINA:** Piedmont: SWP, YSA, 216 E. 6th St., Winston-Salem. Zip: 27101. Tel: (919) 723-3419.

**OHIO:** Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 970 E. McMillan. Zip: 45206. Tel: (513) 751-2636. Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 13002 Kinsman Rd. Zip: 44120. Tel: (216) 991-5030. Oberlin: YSA, c/o Gale Connor, OCMR Box

679. Zip: 44074. Tel: (216) 775-0084. Toledo: SWP, YSA, 2120 Dorr St. Zip: 43607. Tel: (419) 536-0383.

**OREGON:** Portland: SWP, YSA, 711 NW Everett. Zip: 97209. Tel: (503) 222-7225.

**PENNSYLVANIA:** Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16444. Tel: (215) 734-4415. Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, 5811 N. Broad St. Zip: 19141. Tel: (215) 927-4747 or 927-4748. Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, 1210 E. Carson St. Zip: 15203. Tel: (412) 488-7000. State College: YSA, c/o Jack Craypo, 606 S. Allen St. Zip: 16801. Tel: (814) 234-6655.

**TEXAS:** Austin: YSA, c/o Tom Dynia, 2024 Goodrich Ave. #110 Zip: 78704. Dallas: SWP, YSA, 5442 E. Grand. Zip: 75223. Tel: (214) 826-4711. Houston: SWP, YSA, 806 Elgin St. #1. Zip: 77006. Tel: (713) 524-8761. San Antonio: SWP, YSA, 1406 N. Flores Rd. Zip: 78212. Tel: (512) 222-8398.

**UTAH:** Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. Zip: 84102. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

**VIRGINIA:** Tidewater Area (Newport News): SWP, YSA, 111 28th St. Zip: 23607. Tel: (804) 380-0133.

**WASHINGTON, D.C.:** SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699.

**WASHINGTON:** Olympia: YSA, Room 3208, The Evergreen State College. Zip: 98501. Tel: (206) 866-7332. 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:** Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 3901 N. 27th St. Zip: 53216. Tel: (414) 445-2076.



# THE MILITANT



Militant/Diane Jacobs

## Ratify ERA in Illinois!

### Come to Chicago

April 26 labor conference

May 10 march and rally

Workers, American Federation of Teachers, and United Electrical Workers, to build for the ERA march.

They plan a news conference April 14 to announce Pittsburgh support for the Chicago march.

The Allegheny County Labor Council has endorsed the May 10 march, and the Pittsburgh Metro Area Postal Workers Union has donated office space and facilities for building the action.

In Milwaukee, United Auto Workers Region 10 has reserved buses for its members.

On April 2, Local 800 of the United Transportation Union in Hoboken, New Jersey—representing firepersons and engineers on Conrail—passed a resolution endorsing May 10. The resolution authorized a representative of Local 800 to attend the April 26 labor conference in Illinois, and an official delegation to carry a banner representing the local at the May 10 march.

The urgency of ERA passage in Illinois was stressed by NOW President Eleanor Smeal in a priority message recently mailed to members.

"This month marks start of final 24 month period remaining to win passage of ERA," Smeal wrote. "If we are to win we must score victories in the 1980 legislative sessions in key states. These states represent our best chance of winning ratification of ERA before extension deadline granted by Congress expires. . . .

"Even though you don't live in Illinois, the outcome of the Illinois vote certainly affects you. Until three more states ratify the ERA, the entire country remains an unratified nation.

"NOW is launching an unprecedented nationwide effort to bring resources to bear in winning the Illinois vote. . . .

"One hundred-fifty NOW action teams have been organized in every legislative district in the state.

"Student activists on forty-five Illinois college campuses have been mobilized. . . .

"Vote in Illinois legislature will be taken before June 30th."

NOW is building this national march on the scope of the historic July 9, 1978, march in Washington, D.C., for ERA extension, attended by tens of thousands.

Marchers will assemble at 9:30 a.m. May 10 on Columbus Drive between Monroe and Jackson streets. The march will move south on Columbus Drive to the Old Band Shell Area (Roosevelt Drive end of Grant Park) for a rally.

The banners of contingents will be in the suffrage colors of purple, white and gold, and marchers are asked to wear white.

The May 10 march will bring to a climax a series of spring actions for ERA ratification in Illinois. On April 23 students from throughout the area will rally on the steps of the capitol building in Springfield. Buses are being organized from major campuses in Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin, Michigan, and Indiana.

On April 26 the Illinois Labor Conference for ERA, backed by virtually the entire labor movement in the state, will be held at the Plumbers Hall in Chicago.

For more information on May 10 and April 23 contact ERA Ratification Project, 18 South Michigan Avenue, Suite 110, Chicago, Illinois 60603. Telephone (312) 782-7205.

For the labor conference contact: Illinois State Federation of Labor, 300 North State Street, Sixteenth Floor, Chicago, Illinois 60610. Telephone (312) 222-1414.

By Suzanne Haig

An Equal Rights Amendment freedom train sponsored by the National Organization for Women will leave New York City for a whistle-stop journey across New Jersey and Pennsylvania on the way to the National March for ERA May 10 in Chicago.

The maximum fare will be ninety-nine dollars. The train will leave New York City at 5 p.m., Friday, May 9, with stops in Newark, Metro Park, Trenton, and Pennsylvania.

It will arrive in Chicago at 9 a.m. May 10, and leave for home at 7 p.m. on Saturday. Arrival time in New York City is Sunday noon.

The Essex County, New Jersey, NOW chapter headlined their April newsletter "All aboard for ERA Mother's Day March."

They are also building the march and the train trip with leaflets. (For tickets contact the NOW chapter in your area.)

The ERA train trip will be an exciting one. Hundreds of women's rights activists and trade unionists will be on board for lots of discussion about how to win ERA.

In the Pittsburgh area, twenty buses have been reserved for May 10. NOW chapters in that city are joining with a number of unions, including the Postal

## 1,000 Chicanas, Latinas hold conference

By Sylvia Lopez

SAN JOSE, Calif.—One thousand Chicanas and Latinas from throughout the United States and Mexico attended the National Hispanic Feminist Conference held here March 28-31.

Support for the May 10 march and rally in Chicago for the Equal Rights Amendment, called by the National Organization for Women, was a major theme of the proceedings.

Eleanor Smeal, president of NOW, gave greetings to the conference and urged everyone to come to Chicago on May 10. Several ERA workshops featured NOW leaders such as Jane Wells-Schooley, vice-president, and other panelists who spoke on ERA and the Chicago action.

NOW had a large table of May 10 leaflets and materials. A huge banner, "ERA, Now," hung behind it. People signed up to go to the march on a chartered plane from the Bay Area.

A resolution in support of ERA ratifi-

cation was overwhelmingly passed, and the ERA appeared in Spanish and English in the front of the conference brochure.

Equally significant was the conference vote to go on record in opposition to the draft for both women and men.

The participants voiced support to the very struggles that the U.S. government wants to use young men and women as troops to crush. Loud applause greeted passage of a resolution calling for a halt to all U.S. military aid to the Salvadoran junta and for granting aid to Nicaragua with no strings attached.

The conference also enthusiastically voted to send a message of solidarity to the women of Nicaragua in support of their struggles.

Sylvia Gonzales, co-chair of the National Organization for Women's minority committee, was the conference project director. Advisory board members included Angela Cabrera, president of the National Conference of Puerto Ri-

can Women; Wilma Espinoza, president of the Mexican-American Women's National Association; Helen Muñoz of the National Association of Cuban American Women; and others.

Students, professional and working women came to the conference, which was overwhelmingly youthful. Three young Chicanas traveled from Arkansas in a battered 1960 pickup.

People walked around, eager for conversation and new ideas. Everyone sported a button: "Yo soy una feminista" (I am a feminist); "¡Adelante Mujeres!" (Forward Women!); and others.

The conference offered more than 100 workshops dealing with health care, desegregation, feminism, working women, bilingual studies, history and culture of Chicanos and Latinos, and other topics.

Resolutions passed included opposition to police brutality, against forced

sterilization, and support to the struggle of undocumented workers.

Upon learning that the American Indian Movement had called a boycott of Holiday Inn because the company had built over an Indian burial ground, conference participants voted to move their activities to another site and to support the boycott.

The United Steelworkers union and California NOW were among those organizations that placed greetings in the conference brochure.

Many organizations had tables, including NOW, Alliance for Survival, United Farm Workers, and the Socialist Workers Party.

Participants bought \$200 worth of socialist literature including *Militants*, *Perspectiva Mundials*, and *Young Socialists*. Many took materials on the SWP presidential campaign, especially vice-presidential candidate Matilde Zimmermann's statement on women and the 1980 elections.