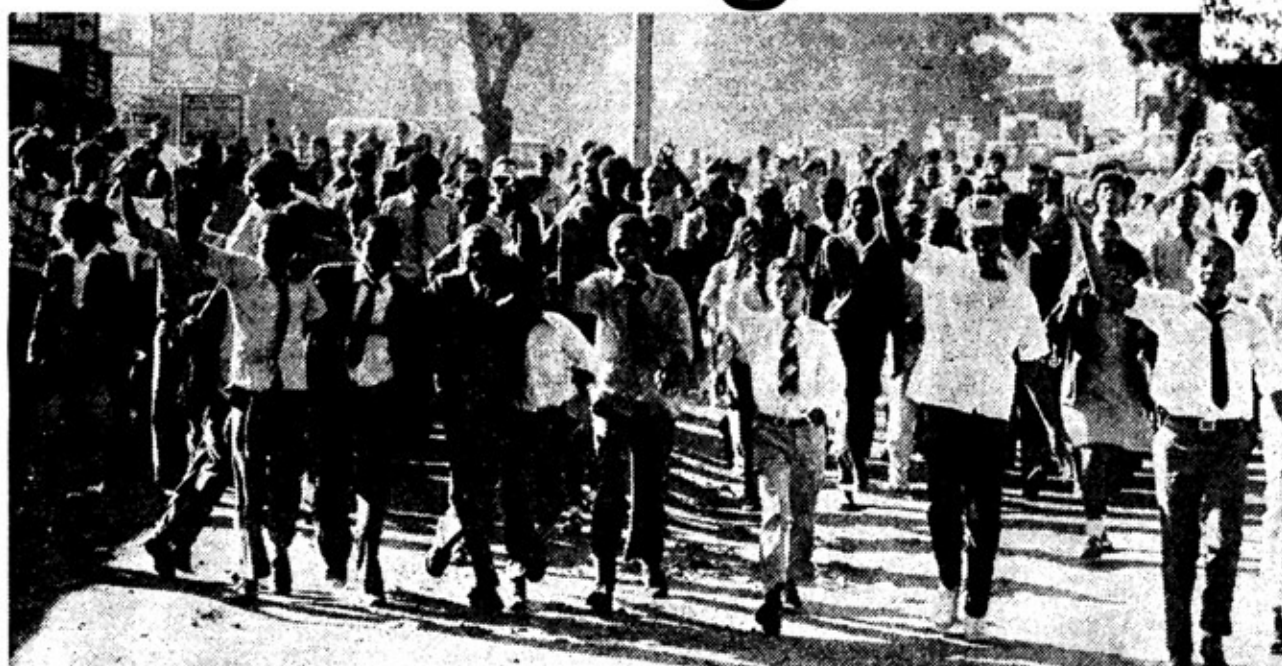


THE MILITANT

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

Upsurge in S. Africa

Students, workers challenge racist regime



Left, Johannesburg students march to protest segregation and discrimination in education. Above, cops attack student demonstrators. Repression has not stopped spread of protests, which include new wave of strikes by Black workers. Page 5.

Open the doors!

Attacks on Cuban
immigrants threaten
rights of all

—PAGES 2, 12

The coming showdown in the Caribbean



Nicaraguan youth prepare to defend revolution. Socialist Workers Party says interests of U.S. workers lie with Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada. Statement by SWP National Committee, pages 14-15.

Militant/Fred Murphy

Open the doors!

The thousands of Cubans who have come to this country in recent months have become the targets of a racist barrage.

The attack is directed from the White House. Carter, who promised Cubans they would be welcomed with "open arms," now complains that the United States is being used as a "dumping ground."

At first Carter falsely portrayed the Cubans as fleeing "tyranny." Now that lie has taken a back seat to another. He hints that they are really criminals, mental defectives, trouble-makers, and disease carriers.

Arriving in the United States, they are penned in internment camps with names like "Camp Liberty."

When they protest delays and mistreatment, they are thrown into stockades.

Those who try to help Cubans come to this country have their boats confiscated, and some have been arrested. The U.S. Navy and Coast Guard are patrolling the Straits of Florida to prevent further boatlifts. Now some relatives trying to reunite their families have also been arrested (see page 12).

Meanwhile the media pick up Carter's racist themes. Cuban "troublemakers" are blamed for everything from unemployment to the Miami rebellion. Working people are told that supposed "benefits" the Cubans are receiving come at our expense.

The pattern is familiar.

It is the same racist persecution visited on millions of people from Latin America and the Caribbean when they try to immigrate.

Quite a welcome to the "land of the free."

Initially, Carter used the desire of some Cubans to come here as a gimmick to whip up hatred of the Cuban revolution, and to try to win popular acceptance for military moves to block the emergence of "new Cubas" in the Caribbean and Central America.

But the Cuban government met Carter's attacks in a revolutionary way. It reaffirmed the right of anyone to leave and opened the port at Mariel to facilitate their departure.

This move put the spotlight where it belonged: on the racist anti-immigrant policies of the U.S. government. As a result, Carter's anti-Cuba propaganda campaign is a shambles.

Only a small minority of these Cuban immigrants were counterrevolutionists in Cuba. Many simply came here to be reunited with their families.

Tens of thousands were drawn by the same thing that makes many millions around the world try to come here. The United States is the richest country in the world. Those who can find jobs generally have a higher living standard and more access to consumer goods.

This is attractive even for some people in Cuba, which remains a poor country—subjected to an economic blockade by its giant neighbor—even though the necessities of life are guaranteed to all.

Many of the Cuban immigrants believed the claims by Voice of America and Miami radio stations that racial oppression in the United States had largely been overcome and that jobs were readily available. It may have been hard to imagine the scope of racism here, since discrimination in Cuba was abolished years ago by the revolution.

The immigrants are being quickly disabused of such illusions.

The attack on the Cuban immigrants is part of the big-business drive to impose austerity and militarization on American working people.

This policy requires whipping up hostility against immigrants, who can be used as scapegoats for unemployment, deteriorating social services, and other products of this assault on working people. The aim is to divide working people against each other and to prepare us for war by teaching us that our problems come from "foreigners."

Every working person has an interest in fighting this racist campaign, and in defending the rights of Cubans, Haitians, Mexicans, and anyone else to come here and live free from discrimination.

Defenders of the Cuban revolution, and those who favor normalization of U.S. trade and diplomatic relations with Cuba, should be in the forefront of this effort. We should demand that Carter:

Open the doors!

End the blockade against Cuba!

Stop the racist attacks on immigrants—give them full civil and human rights to live and work where they choose!

Israeli terrorism

A Zionist terror operation wounded ten people in four cities on the occupied West Bank June 2. Chief targets of the bomb attacks were militant Palestinian mayors.

All signs pointed to far-right Zionist groups as the perpetrators.

The clockwork-like coordination of the four-city operation and the sophisticated nature of the explosive devices indicated that the terrorists had help in high places, including intelligence information on the habits of the Palestinian mayors.

Zionist settlers on the West Bank voiced unabashed satisfaction with the terrorist action.

Israeli government reaction was officially opposed . . . in words. In deeds, however, the Begin government ordered troops in the West Bank to step up their protection of Jewish settlers and to use force to break a strike by Palestinians who were protesting the terror bombing.

What a contrast to Begin's reaction after Jewish colonizers were killed a month ago! Then he ordered swift collective punishment of Palestinians: a twenty-four-hour curfew; house-to-house searches; demolition of homes and shops; deportation of Palestinian mayors and other civic officials.

No such response has been taken against the Zionist far-right.

Yossi Dayan, a leader of the right-wing Kach movement, hailed the terror bombing, saying it "was just the beginning."

"As soon as the Arabs leave the country," he added, "they'll have fewer troubles. There's room in this land for only one nation. Anyone who thinks Jews and Arabs can coexist is a fool."

Dayan says openly what Begin and other responsible officials encourage covertly. They want to terrorize the Palestinian people, to drive more of them from their land. It is the history and logic of Zionism to expand in this brutal fashion.

But the Zionists will not succeed. As Nablus Mayor Bassam al-Shaka, who lost both legs in a bomb blast, said from his hospital bed: "They have taken my legs, but it only means I'm more firmly planted to the soil."

That spirit of resistance is the spirit of fighters for freedom and justice the world over.

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Eyewitness in Iran

Paul Johnston, an official of the Service Employees International Union, went to Iran with other Americans in February. What he saw convinced him that Carter is responsible for the embassy crisis. Page 7.

Steelworkers for labor party

USWA District 38 conference voted for a labor party resolution. This brings a powerful new force into the growing labor party discussion. Page 9.



Army role in Love Canal

A new criminal surfaces in Love Canal nightmare: the U.S. Army dumped chemical and radioactive wastes. Page 17.



The Militant

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Gov't cover-up seen in Jordan shooting

By Jon Hillson

GARY, Ind.—With National Urban League President Vernon Jordan still hospitalized in Fort Wayne following a sniper attack on May 29, local police and the FBI have yet to produce a single lead in tracking down his would-be assassin.

Jordan was hit at 2:05 a.m. outside his motel room with a blast from a high-powered hunting rifle. Police found a shell casing from the gun 134 feet from where Jordan was shot.

Investigators have yet to determine whether more than one assailant was involved in the attack.

Immediately following the shooting, a group of Black leaders telegraphed President Carter urging him to "leave no stone unturned in committing the Justice Department and the FBI to a full-scale investigation of the cowardly attack on the life of our friend and colleague, Vernon Jordan."

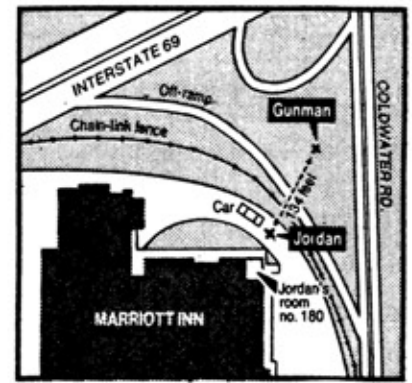
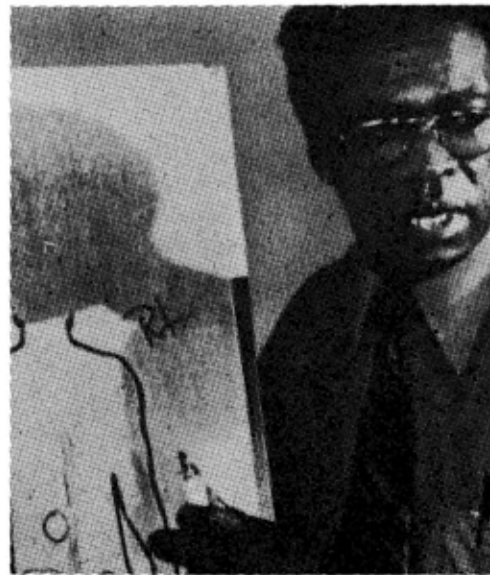
The civil rights leaders also pressed Carter to "take the strongest possible action to reverse the unconscionable cuts in social programs [made in Carter's budget] and to urge all Americans to refrain from acts of racism and intolerance in these times of the most intense pressure on the economic and social fabric of our nation."

The telegram was signed by Rev. Jesse Jackson, president of Operation PUSH; Benjamin Hooks, executive director of the NAACP; Mayor Richard Hatcher of Gary, Indiana; Dr. Joseph Lowery, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; and Carl Holman, president of the National Urban Coalition.

But instead of the vigorous investigation demanded by these leaders, the local and federal authorities have sought to take the heat off.



Militant/Omari Musa



Vernon Jordan, left. His surgeon, Dr. Jeff Towles, center, said the wound was made by a bullet that exploded. Drawing above shows how would-be assassin had staked out Jordan's motel room.

Dan Gibson, public information officer for the Fort Wayne police, immediately cautioned against calling the attack an assassination attempt.

"We are not completely ruling it out, but we're pushing it aside," he said.

The reason for this decision was not explained.

Both Carter, who initially termed the shooting "an assassination effort," and FBI director William Webster, who saw "an apparent conspiracy" at work, have retreated from those early statements.

Carter offered a particularly lame excuse. He said he had looked up the word "assassination" in the dictionary, where it was defined as "the attempted murder of a prominent person."

"This is all I meant," said Carter with feigned innocence. "I was not trying to define the nature of the crime, except [to say] that a prominent person

was the subject of an attack."

Official attention is now being focused on Martha Coleman, an executive board member of the Fort Wayne Urban League.

Jordan, who had spoken at the organization's annual banquet earlier in the evening, was returning to his motel after spending about an hour at Coleman's home following the Urban League event. Jordan had just been dropped off by Coleman when he was shot.

Implied in the media coverage is the innuendo that the shooting was connected to some romantic entanglement involving Jordan, Coleman, and mysterious other parties.

Downplaying the obvious political association of Coleman and Jordan, the media accounts center around the fact that Coleman is white and divorced, while Jordan is married.

There is no evidence, however, that

Jordan and Coleman even knew each other prior to his arrival in Fort Wayne that day.

Moreover, Jordan was busily involved in public speaking and public social events throughout the evening, until shortly before midnight. If the shooting was committed by someone who had seen Coleman and Jordan together, it could have been decided on only after that.

This notion is contradicted by the facts.

Facts show premeditation

Accounts by the police themselves say that the grass had been matted down in the spot where the would-be assassin had crouched, indicating that the person had lain in wait for Jordan for a considerable time.

The would-be killer, moreover, must have known the exact layout of the motel. The person waiting in that spot of matted grass, reported the *New York Times*, "had a relatively clear shot at the outer door to Mr. Jordan's room, the entrance to the ballroom where the dinner had been held and two corridor doors near Mr. Jordan's room."

This evidence is hardly consistent with the idea that the shooting was decided on within the hour.

In addition, Jordan's doctors, who have had extensive experience in treating gunshot wounds, said that he was hit by a bullet that exploded inside him. If a dum-dum bullet was used, it is a further indication of premeditation.

Mayor Winfield Moses, Jr., of Fort Wayne said after the shooting that the attack was the work of an "expert," of "someone who understands guns and knows how to use them."

"It was not a Saturday-night type of shooting," he stressed.

This account—which has since been dropped by Fort Wayne authorities—also does not square with the notion that the shooting had spur-of-the-moment romantic causes.

The seamy gossip in the media is a convenient cover for the apparent inability of local police and FBI agents to come up with a serious lead on the assassination attempt.

It is also reminiscent of FBI-

Continued on page 12

Pulley: gov't inaction heartens racists

The following message was sent to Vernon Jordan by Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president.

Dear Brother Jordan,

I am outraged by the assassination attempt on your life.

The U.S. government must share the blame for this attack.

Racists and other right-wing thugs, seeing a pattern of government inaction whenever they commit their crimes, have taken heart.

In Miami, Florida, after the killer cops who murdered Arthur McDuffie were let off, the police were emboldened and went on a rampage; Blacks who protested the verdict were murdered with impunity.

In Wrightsville, Georgia, police thugs regularly beat, shoot, and arrest residents of the Black community.

In Greensboro, North Carolina, the surviving victims of the murderous Klan attack last year are now being framed up, while the perpetra-



Militant/Arnold Weissberg

Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president

tors of the murders are being handled with kid gloves.

This kind of government coddling encourages the racists. Anyone who stands up for Black rights becomes a target of attack.

Furthermore, millions of pages of

FBI and other government documents show that police agencies carry out extensive surveillance on well-known Black leaders. They watched every move of Malcolm X and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. It must be assumed that you, too, were under surveillance. It is inconceivable that assassins could plot against your life without the government knowing.

I have sent a letter to President Carter demanding an immediate full-scale investigation by the Justice Department and unremitting prosecution of those responsible. I have demanded that the government open its files and make known all the facts surrounding the shooting.

I am urging labor, civil rights, and women's groups to protest this racist assault. We must all campaign to ensure that the investigation goes after the criminals and stop the current efforts to smear you, the victim.

In Struggle,
Andrew Pulley

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June 7 protest against racist attacks

Wrightsville, Ga., Black leaders framed up

By August Nimitz

WRIGHTSVILLE, Ga.—An all-white Johnson County Grand Jury returned sixteen indictments against Black leaders and activists here May 29.

The indictments came in the wake of a May 19 attack on the Black community by Sheriff Roland Attaway. Attaway and his cops broke into a church and a number of homes, roughed up many Blacks, and arrested thirty-eight.

Attaway was trying to bust up a movement in the Black community that has been demanding an end to racist hiring practices in county government and businesses, an end to police mistreatment of Blacks and complicity with the Klan, and full voting rights for Blacks.

John Martin and Rev. E.J. Wilson, local civil rights leaders, were indicted on charges of inciting to riot and obstructing a police officer. Martin, local head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, was also charged with "defaming" Attaway.

Glenda Williams was charged with aggravated assault in connection with the recent stabbing of a Black ambulance driver.

Thirteen other Blacks were indicted on a variety of charges ranging from illegal possession of drugs to aggravated assault on the cops during the May 19 raid.

But the Grand Jury had nothing to say about the fifteen to twenty whites who brutally beat Rev. Fred Taylor on May 20, in the presence of the sheriff, his deputies, and two state patrol cops. Taylor, a field worker for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, had



Earlier protest against racist attacks in Wrightsville April 12. At center (in raincoat) is Joseph Lowery, national SCLC president. At left of Lowery is John Martin, head of Wrightsville SCLC.

come here in response to the May 19 events.

After the beating, a sheriff's deputy forcibly whisked Taylor out of town into a neighboring county.

The only Black to witness the beating, Escar Pierce, was arrested and jailed in the neighboring county. He was released from jail on May 31, two days after the grand jury returned its indictments.

In response to these events, SCLC has called for a national demonstration June 7 in Wrightsville. As Taylor explained, "What's happened in Wrightsville is a national issue. If Attaway gets away with it, every police chief or district attorney in New York State could do the same."

The mobilization will include a five-mile march and rally. Rev. Joseph Lowery, president of SCLC, is scheduled to take part.

Voicing support for the upcoming march, Janice Prescott denounced the indictments. Prescott, a railroad worker who is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from Georgia, said the charges were a "blat-

ant attempt to persecute supporters of a movement for basic legal and human rights.

"These indictments," she went on, "are an example of the double standard of justice for rich and poor, white and Black, that still exists in the state of Georgia and in the whole United States."

The demonstration will also focus on the voter registration campaign that SCLC is now conducting here. County officials say that while Blacks make up about 35 percent of the county's 7,200 residents, they constitute only 14 percent of the registered voters.

One of the aims of the drive to sign up voters, Taylor said, is to vote Attaway, who exercises enormous power in city and county governments and comes up for election this fall, out of office. "We regard Attaway as a symbol of what is wrong here," Taylor added.

The voting-rights campaign has run into obstacles from the county government, which in effect means Attaway. Subtle forms of intimidation had been employed by county cops, according to

SCLC workers, to discourage Black registration.

The registration office hours—9 to 5 on weekdays only—present an obstacle for working Blacks. Employers have refused to allow their workers to take off to register and have threatened to fire those who do.

The voting rights drive won a victory when the county agreed to open the office on Saturday morning, May 31.

Taylor had threatened to hold an all-night vigil in front of the office Friday night after the registrar reneged on a promise to have it open the next morning. Fearing that such a vigil would further mobilize the Black community, Gov. George Busbee and the U.S. Justice Department put pressure on Attaway to have the office opened.

According to the SCLC, fifty-three Blacks were able to register that morning, but the registrar is claiming that only thirty-two did.

One of the demands raised by SCLC is that there be deputy registrars who can register people at designated locations at any time.

SCLC leader at Atlanta forum

John Martin, head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in Wrightsville, Georgia, and one of the leaders of the struggle to end racist conditions in the town, will speak at the Atlanta Militant Forum on Sunday, June 8.

August Nimitz, former staff writer for the *Militant* and member of the Socialist Workers Party, will also address the meeting.

The forum will be held at 7:30 p.m. at 509 Peachtree Street NE.

For more information, call (404) 872-7229.

Inadequate St. Louis desegregation plan hit

By Martin Anderson and David Cahalane

ST. LOUIS—U.S. District Judge James H. Meredith gave final approval May 21 to a court-ordered school desegregation plan submitted May 2 by the St. Louis Board of Education.

The board of education's plan was developed only after a federal appeals court overruled an earlier decision by Judge Meredith that had denied claims of the NAACP and St. Louis Black parents.

The court-approved school desegregation plan has met strong criticism by the NAACP and Concerned Parents of North St. Louis, the plaintiffs who filed suit eight years ago.

Both groups charge that the plan achieves no meaningful school desegregation for this city's nearly 50,000 Black school children. They point out that it will leave 70 percent of Black students in the North Side of St. Louis in segregated schools.

The board of education's plan requires that all desegregated schools be majority white. They justify this by

echoing the warnings of desegregation foes about possible "white flight."

Since only 24 percent of the city's students are white, this rule severely limits the number of schools affected and guarantees that real desegregation will not happen.

The Concerned Parents of North St. Louis also object to the use of predominantly one-way busing. Sixty-five percent of the 7,500 students bused for desegregation will be Black.

In response to the St. Louis NAACP and the Concerned Parents of North St. Louis, Judge Meredith also ordered the board of education to work with St. Louis County school districts in developing a voluntary plan of pupil exchanges by July 1.

He also directed the board of education to submit a plan by November 1 for "interdistrict school desegregation necessary to eradicate the remaining vestiges of government-imposed school segregation in the city of St. Louis and St. Louis County."

The issue of whether to include St. Louis County schools in a desegregation plan is hotly debated.

A federal appeals court has ruled

that some county districts before 1954 had "collaborated with the city of St. Louis to ensure the maintenance of segregated schools."

The U.S. Justice Department in 1978 filed an exhibit showing that ten county school districts had sent Black children into St. Louis schools before the 1954 U.S. Supreme Court ruling barring segregated schools.

Judge Meredith's May 21 decision triggered a round of protests from school officials in the predominantly white St. Louis County districts.

Gary Orfield, court-appointed expert in the case, responded to such opposition by pointing out that in the 1977-78 school year, 57 percent of St. Louis County students were bused to school. "It is the norm for a county child to arrive at school on a bus," he wrote in his report to Judge Meredith.

Opponents of school desegregation, organized into the Concerned Parents for Neighborhood Schools, have filed an appeal with the Supreme Court. They also seek to reverse parts of Judge Meredith's ruling in a separate petition to the federal court of appeals.

The St. Louis NAACP and the Concerned Parents of North St. Louis have announced their intention to go to court soon to press for full school desegregation, involving all Black students in a plan that would include the surrounding county districts.

Minnie Liddell, one of the original plaintiffs in the suit, condemned the current plan as "totally unacceptable. It insures that the Black child will be once again forgotten by the plan in years to come."

She is also highly skeptical of whether a voluntary plan involving St. Louis County would work. "We have no reason to believe by their past actions that the St. Louis County schools will open up their doors to volunteer desegregation."

Joseph McDuffie, attorney for the Concerned Parents of North St. Louis, shares this view. "The effect of this 'desegregation plan' is to have desegregation on the South Side and segregation on the North Side. Our contention is that this represents an unconstitutional assignment of students. If separate was not equal before 1954, separate is not equal now."

Student strike shakes South African regime

By Ernest Harsch

Once again, the sound of automatic weapons' fire echoed through the streets of South Africa. As four white policemen sped away, two Black youths, one of them just eleven years old, lay dead in Elsies River, a poor Black residential area ten miles east of central Cape Town.

"They just began shooting," one witness said, describing how the four policemen opened fire on a crowd of protesting students May 28.

The killings in Cape Town came as the apartheid regime of Prime Minister Pieter W. Botha began a major crack-down on Black opposition in an effort to contain what has become the most widespread and sustained Black student protest movement since the massive urban rebellions of 1976 and 1977. Especially ominous for the white authorities has been the fact that the student boycotts have coincided with the outbreak of several major Black labor strikes.

Altogether, more than 1,200 persons have been arrested since the large-



Club-swinging cops attack young demonstrators in Cape Town

Soweto uprising of June 1976 is the subject of 'Our Revolutionary Heritage' on page 26.

scale student protests began in mid-April.

Just as the 1976 rebellions were sparked by struggles by Black students in Soweto against the racist education system, so this new upsurge grew out of local disputes at two high schools in Cape Town.

No to discrimination!

In early February, students at Mountview and Crystal high schools in the Hanover Park section of Cape Town began voicing their dissatisfaction over school fees, the unavailability of textbooks, and the poor quality of education in general. Initially, the student protesters were predominantly Coloured (of mixed ancestry), who together with Africans and Indians make up the oppressed majority.

It was not long before the students were holding mass meetings to discuss

their grievances and appealing to African students, workers, and parents for support. The student demands became broader, as they attacked the entire basis of South Africa's system of apartheid education: While annual per capita expenditure for white students is nearly \$900, it is only \$280 for Coloureds and less than \$70 for Africans.

The students were also encouraged to press forward with their demands by events beyond South Africa's borders. In late February, Robert Mugabe's Zimbabwe African National Union won a sweeping victory at the polls in Zimbabwe, routing the candidates backed by the South African regime. "The election victory of former guerrilla chief Robert Mugabe in neighboring Zimbabwe," *Washington Post* correspondent Caryle Murphy reported from Cape Town May 25, "profoundly affected the consciousness of blacks and contributed to the mood behind the current unrest."

By March, sporadic protests by Coloured students had spread to schools in Uitenhage and Port Elizabeth. On April 7, representatives from nineteen

Coloured high schools in Cape Town met to coordinate their efforts. They established the Pupils' Representative Committee, a student coordinating body patterned after the now-banned Soweto Students Representative Council, which spearheaded the 1976 rebellions in Soweto.

On April 19, representatives from more than sixty schools in the Cape Town and Johannesburg areas issued a formal call for a nationwide student strike. By that day, some 25,000 students were already boycotting classes.

Within a week, the number had risen to more than 130,000.

A number of key Black organizations came out in support of the student strike, including Azapo, the Azanian Students Organisation, and the Congress of South African Students. On May 2, about 1,000 teachers in the Cape Town area decided to "down tools" in support of the students.

As the protest movement continued to gain momentum—and to win greater support from parents, teachers, and community leaders—the police started to crack down more severely.

An April 29 rally of 2,000 Coloured students near Johannesburg, for instance, was attacked by police wielding clubs, and more than 600 of the students were arrested.

Boycott spreads

For a brief period in mid-May, the student strike appeared to be wavering; with some exceptions, the strike had not yet won much active participation from the more socially powerful African population.

By May 19, however, African students began to join in in greater numbers. On that day, the University of Fort Hare was closed down by the authorities in response to a student strike. Two days later African students near Bloemfontein took to the streets, set up barricades, and attacked symbols of white authority. Student boycotts spread to three other Black universities.

This encouraged Coloured students to resume their boycotts. On May 24, some 4,000 Coloured students converged on a "white" shopping district in Cape Town, chanting slogans against racist education and the "exploitative" economic system.

On May 26, fifty-three Black and white religious figures, including Bishop Desmond Tutu, staged an illegal rally in Johannesburg to protest the arrest of Rev. John Thorne, a Coloured minister who had come out in support of the student protesters. All fifty-three were arrested, charged, and released.

Black workers also went into action. In Durban, which has a history of turbulent labor struggles, Black textile workers walked off their jobs in late May to press for higher wages. Several Black strikes also broke out in Cape Town.

Pointing to this convergence of Black student and worker struggles, correspondent Murphy reported from Cape Town, "Many observers fear that the troubles during the past two weeks may foreshadow what the 1980s will bring to this racially divided country—growing militancy among black workers that disrupts the economy and recurrent protests by students and other youth who cannot find jobs."

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

How Ford workers dealt blow to apartheid

The current rise in the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa was signaled in late 1979 and early 1980 when several hundred Black workers employed by the Ford Motor Company in Port Elizabeth waged a struggle for their rights.

Strikes by Black workers in South Africa are frequent, but this one was distinguished by the strikers' open anti-apartheid stand. They turned for leadership to a Black anti-apartheid group, the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organization (PEBCO), headed by Ford workers Thozamile Botha.

In propaganda aimed at justifying its lucrative investments in South Africa, Ford passes off its South African subsidiary as a "progressive" employer devoted to advancing South Africa's Blacks.

But between 80 and 90 percent of the company's Black workers were earning below the minimum poverty level, and the real incomes of workers in the lower grades had declined over eight years. Promotions of Blacks into higher job categories were still limited, and racism in the factory was still pervasive.

The struggle at Ford began when 700 workers walked off the job October 31. They were protesting Ford's dismissal of Botha for his anti-apartheid activity. After workers staged a rally outside the plant, management caved in

and reinstated Botha.

On November 13 Black workers briefly stopped work to protest the racist behavior of some of the white workers. Two days later hundreds held meetings in the engine and assembly plants to air grievances. On November 21, workers at the Struandale assembly plant struck.

Management fired all the strikers. About 600 workers struck the General Tire and Rubber Company, linked to the American firm, and were also fired. Reinstatement of the workers became the main issue in the struggle.

Some 1,000 Black workers boycotted Ford's canteens. And strikes spread to local paper and tire plants.

The workers turned to PEBCO for leadership because they felt the Black union at Ford was too subservient. It favored accepting a management offer to rehire the dismissed workers as new hires without seniority or accumulated benefits. The strikers formed a committee that affiliated with PEBCO.

PEBCO's support to the Ford workers led to rapid expansion of its influence. By mid-November, the organization was holding meetings of more than 10,000 in Port Elizabeth and its influence spread to other cities.

In an effort to stem the unrest, the apartheid regime arrested several dozen Ford workers and PEBCO members. Two PEBCO leaders were

"banned," a restriction that limits movement and bars political or trade-union activity.

But attempts to hire scabs to replace the striking workers failed. The strike won support from anti-apartheid forces throughout the country. Bishop Desmond Tutu, of the anti-apartheid South African Council of Churches, and the Azanian People's Organization pledged solidarity.

On January 9, Ford management accepted the workers' demand for reinstatement with full pay, pension, and

seniority rights.

The Ford workers' determination had paid off.

This victory inspired PEBCO to continue rallies and protests against apartheid, sometimes mobilizing thousands of people.

And the regime is still trying to crush the organization. Top leaders were arrested on January 10. They were released February 27 in the wake of big protests in Port Elizabeth, but Botha and two other PEBCO leaders were banned.

Bombings at oil installations

Bombs went off at two synthetic petroleum plants and an oil refinery in South Africa June 2, causing \$8 million in damage.

South African police are attributing the bombing to the African National Congress, an anti-apartheid organization.

The ANC was banned in 1960 after attempting for more than a decade to lead nonviolent protests against the racist regime. Nelson Mandela, the most prominent leader of the ANC, was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1964. He is still a prisoner.

The *New York Times* reported June 3 that an ANC spokesperson

in London had claimed responsibility for the bombings.

The South African regime is trying to whip up a witch-hunt around the bombings, targeting all expressions of hatred for apartheid.

"The possibility of a new round of detentions and bannings of those deemed responsible for widening unrest in the country" was under consideration, John Burns reported in the June 3 *New York Times*.

The South African regime also stepped up threats against Mozambique, which has granted political asylum to members of the ANC.

Tighten rule over South Korea

Generals crack down on Kwangju insurgents

By Janice Lynn

South Korean paratroopers and infantry reoccupied the city of Kwangju on May 27. With tanks, helicopters, machine guns, and assault rifles, they recaptured the city's government building that had been occupied by Kwangju's workers and students.

The fierce three-hour gun battle left at least nineteen dead—almost all Kwangju citizens—and scores wounded. The unofficial death count in Kwangju since the mass demonstrations began on May 18 reached 280, with at least 2,000 injured. Kwangju hospitals are full of youths wounded by gunfire.

For more than a week, tens of thousands of demonstrators had poured into the streets to make known their opposition to martial law and to the brutality of the South Korean military. Some 200,000 out of Kwangju's population of 800,000 participated in these demonstrations.

On May 21, the student-led protesters—demanding an immediate lifting of martial law, an end to the hated U.S.-backed dictatorship, and the holding of free elections—succeeded in taking control of the city. They seized stocks of arms, drove out the army and police, and took over the government building.

'Fighting for democracy'

For five days they were in control of the city. "We are fighting for restoration of democracy," they declared.

One American in Kwangju described the brutality of the paratroopers in dealing with the student demonstrations. "What struck me most was the random beating. They were hitting anyone, splitting skulls. I'm not surprised the people just rose up," the American said.

The paratroopers also stomped on the faces of those left dead to prevent identification.

The military's move into Kwangju set the stage for fierce repression and a calculated witch-hunt against the youth of the city.

At least 1,740 Kwangju residents were detained at the beginning of the rebellion, and according to authorities some 730 are still in military custody. An additional 295 persons were arrested and jailed as suspected leaders and participants in the insurrection.

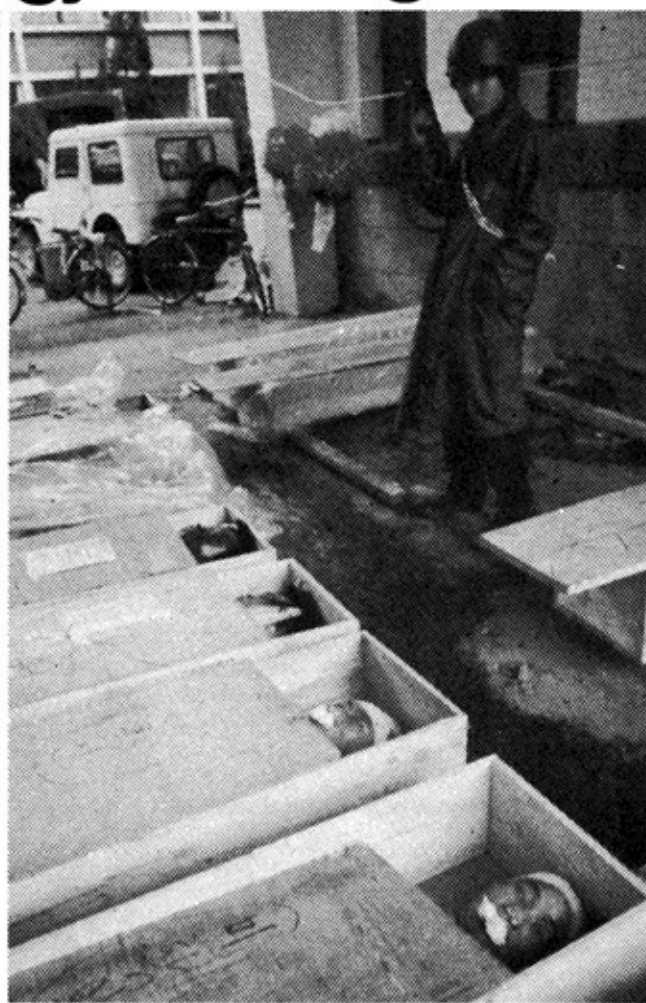
Witch-hunt

The country's top martial-law commander, General Lee Hi Song, ordered his troops to ferret out the "radical elements."

The South Korean government launched a campaign to place the blame for the rebellion on North Korean agents, although U.S. officials



Above, young insurgents captured by military. Right, bodies of youths killed by government troops. Students are being systematically rounded up from colleges, universities, and subway stops.



have reluctantly admitted there is no evidence of any North Korean involvement.

Dissident leaders are convinced that some of the hundreds of students being rounded up and jailed will be forced to "confess" to North Korean connections and will be court-martialed.

One of the most prominent figures arrested was Kim Dae Jung, a leader of the bourgeois opposition New Democratic Party. It was his arrest on May 18 that especially angered Kwangju's residents.

The South Korean Martial Law Command announced that Kim was under investigation for instigating the student demonstrations that erupted in Seoul and Taejon May 1, culminating in the Kwangju insurrection (after his arrest). They claim there is evidence that Kim had planned to overthrow the government, a charge that carries the death penalty.

Protest U.S. role

The U.S. backing for this repression has already drawn some public protest. In Washington, a coalition of human rights groups accused President Carter of supporting the "most vicious and

fanatic elements" of the South Korean military.

And, at a May 29 memorial service in New York for the South Koreans killed under martial law, a dissident Korean leader criticized Washington's silence on the repression in Kwangju.

The U.S. government maintains 39,000 troops in South Korea. They collaborate with 600,000 South Korean troops, more than half of which are under the combined command headed by U.S. General John Wickham. It was Wickham who released about 7,800 South Korean troops to put down the rebellion in Kwangju.

The troops remain in Kwangju. They have set up roadblocks to check the identities of all travelers leaving or entering the city. Buses are being halted and passengers and their belongings are examined in a search for anyone the military thinks may be linked to the uprising.

Youth rounded up

The armed forces have begun a nationwide hunt for those it claims were behind the rebellion. This includes:

- House-to-house searches in Kwangju for anyone involved in organizing the demonstrations, and detention of any youths with long hair or soiled clothing.

- Rounding up students from Chonnam and Chosun universities in Kwangju and from the city's colleges. Anyone who participated in the demonstrations is to be questioned. Police are also guarding the subway entrances in Seoul, looking for students.

- The complete subjugation of Kwangju by South Korean troops to prevent further demonstrations or public meetings.

On May 31 the South Korean military formalized its rule over the country. The government announced the formation of a Special Committee for National Security Measures that officially put the military commanders on the same level as civilian authorities. Fifteen of the committee's twenty-five members are military officers. In fact, the military was already in full control of the government, with Prime Minister Park Choong Hoon and his cabinet simply providing a thin civilian veneer. The real rulers are Generals Chon Too Hwan and Lee Hi Song. The entire country is now under

martial law with soldiers guarding newspaper offices and radio stations and patrolling the streets. The press is censored and the universities are all closed.

Opposition continues

Meanwhile, opposition to the military dictatorship continues. Anti-government demonstrations were reported in the cities of Mokpo and Chonju, both near Kwangju. On May 28 and 29 20,000 people demonstrated in Mokpo despite the presence of armed troops.

Although the Carter administration has been mouthing phrases about favoring democracy in South Korea, this is nothing but a cover for its continued support for the Korean military dictatorship.

What Washington is really afraid of is that the Korean masses will not stop at liberal reforms, but will demand the kind of social advances that would endanger capitalist rule and hence Washington's economic and political interests in the area.

Wages \$50 a month

The volatile situation in South Korea was underlined by correspondent Henry Scott Stokes in the May 25 *New York Times*. "... new unrest is likely in the sweatshops of the Seoul textile industry where six-day weeks and monthly salaries of \$50 are common," he wrote. "Discontent among workers may develop into new activism if students return to the streets."

This is what Washington is really worried about. U.S. officials have indicated that there is no question of Washington pulling out its troops. They are needed to intervene in case the dictatorship's army is unable to suppress the unrest.

In fact, the day after the military moved against Kwangju, Washington added three new warships to its battle task force around the aircraft carrier *Coral Sea* located off the Korean coast.

But working people around the world have no stake in battling the Korean workers and students. Washington should bring all its troops home now and cease its support to the South Korean tyrants. All those arrested in connection with the Kwangju demonstrations should be immediately released.

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Blasts Carter role in embassy crisis

Union official gives eyewitness report on Iran

The following are excerpts from an article by Linda Brickman that appeared in the April-May 1980 issue of 'Local 715 News' published by Local 715 of the Service Employees International Union in San Jose, California.

"The hostage situation could have been settled months ago," says Paul Johnston. Johnston is a field representative for SEIU Local 400 in San Francisco and a recent visitor to Iran.

Part of a 49-member American Delegation which spent ten days in Iran in February as guests of the student militants, Johnston feels strongly that "the plight of the hostages is being used by the Carter administration to manipulate the political climate in the United States."

The delegation was put together by the Committee for American-Iranian Crisis Resolution—initiated by several college professors from Lawrence, Kansas, who had known some of the Iranian student leaders through their work for human rights.

Clergymen, academics, union officials and representatives of minority organizations joined together to open a dialogue with the Iranians—to achieve an understanding of the circumstances which brought the U.S. and Iran to this stalemate.

Why did [Johnston] go and why did the members of Local 400 see the situation in Iran as a link to the anticipated reduction of funding for human services? "There's a new militaristic and racist climate in the U.S. today—created primarily because of the hostage situation," Johnston said. "We're losing money from the federal government which should be going into areas like transportation, health, housing and education—it's all going into the defense budget instead." Public workers lose jobs, public services suffer.

Jimmy Carter recently addressed the AFL-CIO Building Trades convention. He told them "no one in the government of the United States has apologized to anyone in the government of Iran because we have nothing for which to apologize."

Paul Johnston reacts: "The most important thing I brought back from Iran is how deep and fresh are the wounds, the feelings, the bloodshed of the Iranian people. Almost every Iranian family has someone who was either killed or tortured by the Shah's government."

As one example of the Shah's heavy-handedness, he cited a situation that developed on September 8, 1978. At 6:00 a.m. on that day, the Shah de-

clared martial law. At 7:00 a.m., while hundreds of thousands of people were demonstrating in the streets, knowing nothing of the martial law order, soldiers began firing into the crowds.

Some 3,000 were killed in one square. That day is known in Iran as "Black Friday." One the very next day, September 9, President Carter called the Shah and publicly announced his continued support for him.

The American delegation visited the cemetery of the martyrs, toured South Tehran, attended a noon prayer at the University of Tehran where over one million people gathered to greet them, met with reconstruction committees, students, former government agents who are now in prison, and some of the American hostages.

Paul's delegation visited factories where workers and managers established policies through councils. They talked freely and openly with the workers about their concerns and grievances. The Americans learned of the struggles to break the distinctions between managers and managed—using the worker councils to help identify roles. They also learned that government bureaucracy is a mess in Iran—a situation inherited from the Shah who, no doubt, learned from us.

Some members of the American delegation met with Paul Lewis and William Gallegos, two of the hostages. They seemed relaxed and comfortable—showed no signs of "brain washing or psychological pressure"—but definitely wanted to be out of there, reported the interviewers.

No one was sick and relations with the students are fairly good (some hostages often helped students with their homework). Gallegos and Lewis both "expressed amazement that they



Cartoon by Ivan was reprinted from 'Militant' by 'Local 715 News'

were still there," said Johnston. They felt the Shah should be where they are and that if the American people learned more of what went on in the past, they would understand that.

The American delegation believes that the ability to settle the situation came about on December 17, when the U.S. was told to do three things which would free the hostages. Their demands were: 1) acknowledgement of past U.S. interference; 2) a promise not

to interfere again; and 3) an agreement not to block any legal extradition of the Shah (who was then in Panama).

"These were significant concessions by the Iranians," Johnston said.

"I think Carter didn't do it so we could get more money for defense and go back into the draft. It's politically good for Carter," Johnston reflected. "We've been hoodwinked—the hostages are being held by us—not by the students."

Rightists rebuffed at San Diego campus

By Mark Friedman

SAN DIEGO—Two supporters of Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann, the Socialist Workers Party presidential ticket, recently set up a literature table in front of the cafeteria at United States International University here.

After a half hour, the campaigners came under harassment by five right-wing students who objected to the headline on the *Militant*: "U.S. hands off Iran!"

They interfered with the sale of the paper, shouting about "shooting" and "hanging" socialists.

As they became more threatening, Iranian students gathered in a circle to protect the table, which carried books in both Farsi (Iran's official language) and English.

The socialists then joined the Iranian students as they went to another building where a film on the Iranian revolution was being shown. The campaigners set up their literature table again. The right-wingers followed, con-

tinuing their attempts at disruption.

The socialists decided to pack up the literature and attend the film. A university administrator tried to bar the socialists from entering the auditorium but was stopped by Iranian students. The administrator also asked that the film showing, which had attracted about 200 Iranian students, be cancelled. Finally, a reported bomb threat led to a decision not to show the film.

In the meantime, right-wingers had stolen the SWP campaign literature.

Before students left the area, one of the socialists told them, "The actions of these right-wingers against this film showing and against our literature table is an attack on the rights of every student on this campus."

He asked for the students' help in the future in protecting the right to sell newspapers and distribute campaign material. The appeal was greeted by applause.

A security guard recovered the stolen literature.

The socialists explained to a group of campus administrators who had come to the scene that restricting the rights of socialists to campaign on campus was illegal.

The administrators conceded that campaign supporters had the right to set up the literature table again, which they did.

The table was crowded with Iranian students, reading and buying socialist literature and discussing their ideas with the campaign supporters. About \$20 worth of books and pamphlets, and 55 papers were sold.

A campus administrator and about fifty Iranians escorted the socialists to their car to make sure that the right-wingers could not act on their threats of violence.

As the car was leaving, the Iranians shouted, "Long live Iran!"

And the socialist campaigners shouted back, "Long live the Iranian people! Send back the shah!"

Court OKs racist policy

On May 19 the U.S. Supreme Court denied a hearing to Iranian students who had challenged President Carter's crackdown of last November. Carter had ordered all Iranian students in this country to report immediately to the Immigration and Naturalization Service for questioning and possible deportation.

The lawsuit on behalf of Iranian students was filed by the Socialist Workers Party and the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. It was later merged with a suit by the American Civil Liberties Union.

The students won a district court decision in December declaring Carter's order unconstitutional, but the appeals court reversed the favorable ruling. The Supreme Court action leaves the appeals court decision standing.

LSU backs off on expelling Iranians

By Max Petty

BATON ROUGE, La.—A victory over racist discrimination was scored here June 1 when the executive committee of Louisiana State University system's board of supervisors voted 9-0 to rescind a measure barring Iranians from the state's schools. The full board of supervisors must still approve the executive committee's decision.

The LSU Board of Supervisors had voted 12-5 May 23 to bar Iranian students from attending any school in the system beginning

with the summer session in June. The ruling would have affected 170 Iranian students at LSU schools.

The board also called for withdrawing funding for students in all Louisiana schools who are citizens of Iran or other countries with which the United States has severed diplomatic relations and where American citizens have been held hostage.

Supervisor Ruth Miller initiated this attempt to whip up anti-Iranian hysteria. "When they [the Iranians] stomp on our flag, they stomp

on us," she proclaimed.

Shelby McKensie, the board's legal counsel, urged the board to postpone action until he could research the decision's legality.

"I do know we're getting into a very dangerous area," he said. "The Constitution provides against any restriction based on an individual's place of birth."

McKensie was ignored by the full board, but his belief that the ban would not stand up in court evidently influenced the executive committee's reversal.

'You can form labor party here and now'

Pulley addresses Iron Range steel local

By Margaret Scott
and Rich Stuart

VIRGINIA, Minn.—In mid-May, Socialist Workers presidential candidate Andrew Pulley campaigned here on the Mesabi Iron Range.

Pulley is a member of United Steelworkers Local 1066 and is laid off from U.S. Steel's Gary Works in Gary, Indiana.

He campaigned at the gate of the U.S. Steel mine here and spoke at the union meeting of Steelworkers Local 1938, which represents the miners. Some of the ore from the large U.S. Steel Minntac mine is shipped down to

Gary and turned into steel at Gary Works.

Andrew Pulley is Black. The population on the Iron Range is almost all white because of the racist labor recruitment policies of the mine companies. The range is viewed as a conservative area by liberals in Minneapolis and St. Paul, 200 miles south of here.

What kind of response would Andrew Pulley get on the Iron Range?

"The response was warm," Pulley said. "People listened seriously to what I had to say."

Local 1938 meets at Carpenters Hall in Virginia. In the early 1900s the building was called the Socialist Opera House. It was one of the headquarters during the 1916 miners strike. Famous revolutionaries like Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and Carlo Tresca of the Industrial Workers of the World, who helped lead the strike, spoke to large crowds there.



Pulley spoke with miners, antidraft and women's liberation activists at new socialist campaign headquarters on Iron Range.

Stop right-wing harassment

VIRGINIA, Minn.—The thug who was arrested May 17 for breaking a window and painting racist slurs on the new Socialist Workers Party headquarters on the Iron Range is continuing his harassment.

On May 31 and June 1 Rodney "Rowdy" Ericson paced in front of the SWP campaign office and Solidarity Bookstore trying to intimidate people. The first day he wore a cardboard sign reading "Christianity is the greatest, socialism stinks."

This "Christian" has served time in jail for rape and other crimes. He broke into the home of an Indian family and beat people.

Socialist Workers congressional candidate Ilona Gersh held news conferences in Virginia and Duluth June 2. She protested the latest threats to her campaign, which include taping a newspaper article about Ericson to her apartment door with a black cross painted on it.

A growing number of prominent individuals in northern Minnesota have protested the threats and vandalism.

Speaks to local union

The May 14 meeting of Local 1938 was attended by about 135 people. The local meets twice a month. There is a tradition of inviting outside speakers to address the local at the beginning of the meeting.

Local 1938 is the first union meeting Pulley has formally addressed since he began campaigning.

Local president Joe Samargia introduced Pulley as a fellow steelworker who is running for president. Pulley spoke for five or ten minutes.

"There is a broadside assault against workers. The oil companies get everything they want from the Democrats and Republicans. The decontrol of oil they just got is one of the main causes of inflation. The Democrats and Republicans are consciously trying to deepen the recession. They are cutting social services, increasing the war budget.

"Working people need our own party."

Pulley talked about the labor party discussion and meetings that have been organized by AFL-CIO officials in California.

He also quoted from the March 31 issue of the *Union Advocate*, the paper of the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly: "Has organized labor's place within the Democratic Farmer Labor Party [the name of the Democrats in Minnesota] deteriorated to the extent that union members should withdraw from the DFL and form their own party?"

Pulley said, "Yes, organized labor should form its own party and the initiative can come directly from you."

'Take the lead'

"Leave the Democrats and Republicans. The time is now. Your union should take the lead," Pulley urged. "You have resources, a union headquarters, active members.

"Only the unions have a vested interest in fighting for public ownership of the oil industry. Only the unions can take the lead in building a party to fight for the needs of working people. You can especially take the lead in a place like this. There's no contest here. The unions are the strongest group on the Iron Range."

Pulley explained that the SWP will be on the ballot in some thirty states.

"We are promoting the labor party idea everywhere we speak."

There were a few questions to him at the union meeting. One miner asked about John Anderson's "independent" campaign.

Pulley responded: "Anderson is virtually the same as Carter and Reagan. He wants to add a fifty cent tax on gasoline. He is for a big military budget and wants to send troops to protect the billions in profits of the oil companies."

Someone else asked why Pulley is running for president when, at twenty-nine years old, he is too young to serve according to the U.S. Constitution.

Pulley pointed out that the law is discriminatory against young people. "The majority in the country is under thirty-five. If we win the election, the Constitution can be amended. It's been done before. Otherwise there would still be slavery and women would not be allowed to vote."

Gun Control

The last question concerned Pulley's position on gun control.

"Liberals are for gun control," Pulley

Continued on page 12

Mesabi Daily News

Presidential candidate

Socialist wants labor-run party

Criticizes Shah of Iran

Candidate opposes draft

By GINNY WENNEN
MDN Staff Writer

Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, is in



ANDREW PULLEY

favor of a new political party controlled by labor and thinks a massive reform in the current system, "nothing short of a revolution," is needed.

Pulley, 29, campaigning in Virginia today and Wednesday, said this morning, "There is a need for a fundamental change in the system — a change that would be no less drastic than the change from slavery to freedom, from colonization to a free country."

Pulley maintains the oil industry should be publicly owned and controlled by working people. "We chose to represent the victims of Exxon, not the owners of Exxon.

"There is an abundance of gasoline in this country. The whole objective behind the energy shortage is to make citizens more willing to pay the exorbitant prices asked by the oil companies.

"We do not have free enterprise in this country. We have a monopoly at work. There is no supply and demand."

Continued on page 2

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

Pulley thinks the government's \$1.5 million aid to the Chrysler Corporation was an "injustice to the majority of the people."

"The measure does not guarantee that Chrysler will survive or if workers will be able to keep their jobs. It does guarantee that whether Chrysler survives or not, the owners will get their \$1.5 million. Chrysler should be publicly owned and controlled so it can produce products which are needed, like smaller cars.

"The Democratic and Republican politicians all agree on the need for sacrifices from workers and farmers, while they plan more subsidies and tax breaks for the corporation and the rich," Pulley said.

Along this line, Pulley opposes the draft — the draft of both men and women. "It is not a question of whether women can fight or not. It has already been proven that they can. The real issue is that women and men will be sent to a foreign country to fight and perhaps die to secure the future for billionaires like the Shah and protect future profits. We're not protecting our own boundaries here."

Pulley believes the Shah of Iran should be returned and face his punishment. "The Shah is guilty of the most simple of crimes — murder. You or I would be punished, but he is exempt. This is not right."

He said the recent aborted effort to free the hostages in Iran was also an effort by the U.S. government to overthrow the present unstable government. "Hundreds of people would have been killed, including the hostages. As it was, eight soldiers have been sacrificed to save the neck of a modern day Hitler — the Shah."

"It is time the American people demand a change in this

country's foreign policy. Our foreign policy has been the main reason for soaring inflation because of enormous military budgets and the constant preparing for war. The question is whether indigenous people have the right to choose their own destiny or not."

He doesn't believe the Soviet Union is taking over Afghanistan, but rather the situation is a civil war supported on one side by the United States and the other by Russia. "Our government supports the right wing rebels who took control to insure future business profits. I believe the Soviet Union intervened when it looked like the rebels were succeeding. I don't think the Soviet Union plans to take over the world now or ever."

The Socialist Workers Party will be on the ballots in 31 states including Minnesota in the upcoming presidential election. Pulley won't be getting any of the federal money allowed political parties for campaign purposes, but neither will independent candidate John Anderson.

"Anderson will attempt to keep the policies we now have the same or worse. He is just a block to prevent the 30 percent of voters who want a change from voting for a truly independent party. His platform is much the same as Carter's or Reagan's."

"Reagan is a demagogue who criticizes big government. He is only opposed to big government spending in the social services area, but he loves big government spending on the military and the CIA."

Pulley, his wife and daughter, live in Chicago. He is on leave of absence from United States Steel in Gary, Ind., and is a member of United Steelworkers Local 1066 in Gary.

Tonight at 7:30 he will be speaking at the grand opening of his campaign headquarters at 1012 2nd Ave. S. and will continue campaigning throughout the area Wednesday.

Virtually every newspaper, radio and television station in northern Minnesota covered Pulley's tour there last month. In article above, Chrysler aid amount should read \$1.5 billion.

Strong new force joins discussion

USWA District 38 calls for labor party

By Walter Lippmann

A resolution urging United Steelworkers officials to take the lead in forming an independent labor party was adopted by the USWA District 38 conference.

More than 400 delegates and guests attended the meeting, held May 22-24 in Phoenix, Arizona.

District 38 includes more than 70,000 steelworkers in ten western states, including California, where union discussion on the need for a labor party has been growing in the past year.

The labor party resolution was submitted by Local 6986 at National Can in Fontana, California.

Four of the five top international officers of the USWA spoke at the conference. All

stressed that the union movement is under attack from conservative forces, including in the Democratic Party.

Union International Treasurer Frank McKee stated that this country is run by half of one percent of the population. He called for nationalization of the oil industry.

The Steelworkers' representative to the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education (COPE) reported: "All these politicians will take our money. But many of them don't want us to appear at their election rallies because they feel we would jeopardize their election possibilities. Then they vote against us after they get elected."

Local 1440 from U.S. Steel's Pittsburg, California, plant introduced a resolution favoring membership ratification of steel contracts. At present, only local union presidents ratify the contract.

Rudy Quintero, Local 1440 president, pointed out that in recent negotiations local presidents voted by secret ballot so they could not be held accountable to their membership for their vote.

I spoke with conference delegate Jack Shepherd from Local 2058 at U.S. Steel's recently closed American Bridge plant in Los Angeles. Shepherd worked there thirty-six years.

Shepherd said he had spoken on the right to ratify, explaining, "the members don't feel they participate in the affairs of the union. Their contracts are arrived at while they sit helplessly and hopelessly by and don't know really what's happening. Thus, feeling powerless, they talk about the union as being something beyond their control."

The delegates voted to override the negative recommendation from the resolutions committee on the right to ratify. Then they voted to adopt the resolution in favor of membership ratification of contracts

and refer it for implementation to the union's industry-wide conferences such as basic steel and nonferrous metals.

The resolution for a labor party also received a negative recommendation from the resolutions committee.

Three delegates spoke from the conference floor on this issue, all in favor of the labor party. Shepherd spoke, tracing the history of Democratic Party actions against labor from the Roosevelt era to the present.

He concluded, "I feel just as I did in 1938 when I decided we needed an independent union, not a company union, that we now need an independent labor party."

The delegates again overturned the resolutions committee recommendation and voted to adopt the labor party resolution by an overwhelming majority.

After all the resolutions had been acted on, District 38 Director Robert Petris, who had not participated in the discussion, rose to point out that the labor party resolution differed from the policy of the international union. But he did not state his opinion on its adoption.

Jack Shepherd explained to the *Militant* that the delegates thought passing this resolution was "just a logical thing to do," that it was "seeing the situation as it is. Adoption of this labor party resolution was the only logical step people could take to begin to do something about the situation our unions find themselves in."

Shepherd noted the absence of red-baiting at this conference, in sharp contrast to meetings he attended in the 1950s. "In the old days most conferences were manipulated by the union leadership and many delegates left demoralized and dissatisfied. By contrast, this conference was a real morale booster."

Pulley hails action



Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, was on his way to California when he learned of the labor party resolution adopted by Steelworkers District 38.

Pulley, a member of USWA Local 1066 at U.S. Steel Gary Works, immediately hailed the District 38 action. "This adds a powerful voice to the growing discussion in the labor movement on the need for our own political party," Pulley told the *Militant*.

Pulley will be in California to help launch the massive petitioning effort required to get the SWP's presidential ticket, along with senatorial candidate George Johnson, on the ballot in that state.

Already, he said, he had planned to make the need for a labor party the central theme of his campaigning in California. There the state AFL-CIO, state council of carpenters, several county labor councils, and numerous local union officials have voiced support for the labor party idea.

"Today," Pulley said, "we need a political party based on

the unions as urgently as we needed to build industrial unions in the early 1930s. We cannot defend ourselves by continuing to support either of the two parties of the bosses. That's becoming obvious to more and more unionists."

Noting that several official union gatherings are slated in California this summer to discuss labor's political alternatives, Pulley urged steelworker representatives to bring in the District 38 proposal.

"I also urge fellow unionists to use the example of the western states steelworkers conference to extend this discussion into locals and districts throughout the country," he added.

"The labor party idea should be taken up in local meetings and with special panel discussions on political action. Where possible, it would be good to pass more resolutions backing the labor party proposal," Pulley said.

At the District 38 conference, socialist campaigners had distributed copies of an open letter from Josefina Otero and Rob Roper, two Arizona steelworkers who are SWP candidates for U.S. Senate and U.S. Congress from that state.

Otero and Roper had listed the antilabor record of the Democrats and Republicans and quoted from the statement last Labor Day by California AFL-CIO head John Henning that "labor must consider the advantages of a separate political party."

The socialist campaigners were reportedly well-received by delegates who stopped to talk.

Resolution:

The following resolution was adopted by United Steelworkers District 38, meeting in Phoenix on May 24.

Whereas: Many of our political enemies deceitfully wear the Democratic cloak while aspiring for political office, and

Whereas: As soon as they are elected to office they show their true colors by trying to crush organized labor, therefore be it

Resolved: That this Fourteenth Biennial Conference of District 38 go on record to request that the International Officers of the United Steelworkers of America use whatever means that are at their disposal for establishing a labor party or its like to represent organized labor in the political arena of the United States of America.

Copper negotiations begin

By Rob Roper

PHOENIX—Negotiations have begun between unions representing some 180,000 workers in the nonferrous metals industry and the major copper and other metals companies.

The United Steelworkers of America organizes the majority of workers in the industry and leads the joint union negotiations, which include twenty-six unions.

Six large corporations dominate the industry: Kennecott, Anaconda (ARCO), ASARCO, Phelps-Dodge, Newmont (Magma), and Amex. These companies are enjoying record profits.

But in May "sound-off" sessions with the unions, the May issue of *Steelabor* reports, "the

union bargainers listened to a litany of woes the copper companies presented about their economic concerns."

The basic copper contract, covering 39,000 workers, expires June 30 and July 1. It will set the pattern for the other nonferrous contracts expiring later this year.

At the end of March, 650 union delegates met here for the nonferrous industry conference to formulate the union negotiating program.

The union demands include a substantial pay raise, improved cost-of-living escalator formula to keep up with inflation, and improved pensions.

Steelworker union officials I spoke with said that working conditions are of more concern than wages for many of the workers.

"We want to liberalize the grievance system in order to have dignity in the workplace," staff representative Roy Santa

Cruz said. "The union wants to negotiate work rules. They should not just be handed down by the companies. An investigation should take place before a worker is fired, instead of the present procedure of 'guilty unless later proven innocent.'"

Frank Mattox, president of Local 938 at the Magma Mine in Superior, Arizona, added, "We want the right to walk off an unsafe job. That is especially important for underground miners. We are asking for the right to strike over grievances."

The miners covered under the nonferrous contracts have a long and militant tradition going back before the turn of the century.

If these miners are given a chance to exercise their militancy, they can win gains in this contract that could set an example for the entire labor movement.

UAW strike attacked

By John Powers and Glenn Arnodo

CLEVELAND—On Wednesday, May 28, police escorted a convoy of ten tractor-trailer rigs through the United Auto Workers Local 451 picket line around Baker Material Handling Corporation.

This was the first serious strikebreaking attack since we shut down the plant, a manufacturer of lift trucks, on April 21.

The union sent out an emergency call for pickets. Within a few hours more than 100 pickets gathered outside the gate, preventing the scab trucks from leaving.

Several white-collar workers tried to run their cars through the picket line. They were met with a volley of rocks and clubs. Cops arrested two strikers.

The next morning, with the truckers still locked in the plant, our union leadership was hauled into court.

Common Pleas Judge Roland Riggs II issued an injunction ordering us to allow the scab trucks to leave unmolested.

The trucks had been loaded with the lift trucks we produced before the strike began.

Tension mounted as we waited for the sheriff to come read us the injunction. Suddenly police cars blocked off both ends of the street.

Carload after carload of po-

lice in full riot gear appeared.

Strikers yelled, "scabs, nazis, stormtroopers," at the hundred cops who squared off against us.

The chief of police, speaking through a bullhorn, ordered us all to disperse, not even allowing the four pickets we were entitled to under the injunction.

When the cops had pushed us about 200 feet away from the gate the scab trucks came roaring out with their license plates and markings covered with tape.

The cops continued to push us down the street until we were about a quarter mile away from the gate.

The cops never did read us the injunction.

It is clear to every striker which side the courts and cops are on.

The injunction limits the number of pickets to four, prohibits any other strikers within 150 feet of the gate, and orders us to allow free access in and out of the plant.

Our union has suffered a setback, but we intend to continue the fight.


Strikers were proud it took a hundred cops to get the scabs out.

As our local president said, "We lost the battle today, but we whipped them yesterday. And the war isn't over."

Rob Roper, a member of United Steelworkers Local 4102, is Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress from Arizona's First Congressional District.

Big push needed to meet campaign fund goal!

VOTE SOCIALIST WORKERS

Andrew Pulley
for President

Matilde Zimmermann
for Vice President

Today, the tiny minority of bosses and bankers rule the country and dominate politics through their two parties, the Democrats and Republicans. The Socialist Workers campaign is a campaign for the interests of working people and all the oppressed. In 1980, the Socialist Workers candidates are petitioning to get on the ballot in 30 states.

The Socialist Workers Party believes the two big business parties have nothing to offer working people. The time has come for labor to organize its own political party, based on the unions, to fight for the interests of the vast majority. This party would be a big step toward bringing to power a government of the majority—a workers government—and a new system based on human needs instead of profits.

"Working people keep the country running—working people should run the country."

Hands Off Cuba and Nicaragua!

No draft! No war! U.S. working people have no interest in fighting workers and farmers in other countries struggling for justice. Why die for Exxon, or any other corporation, in another Vietnam-style war?

Stop nuclear power! Nuclear energy is a deadly threat. Shut down all nuclear plants and switch to coal as an immediate alternative energy source.

Equal Rights for Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans. Protect and extend affirmative action programs in employment and education. For equality in education. Stop racist attacks.

For a labor party. We need our own party, based on the unions, a party for peace and equal rights that would be a powerful weapon to fight for the needs of the majority.

In the 1980 elections the SWP is campaigning for:

Jobs for all! Stop the layoffs! Cut the workweek with no cut in take-home pay, to spread the work. Launch a government-funded program to create jobs through meeting our needs for housing, schools, mass transit, and childcare.

End inflation. Dump the inflationary military budget. Guarantee cost-of-living raises for all workers and people on fixed incomes so income rises fully with each rise in prices.

Nationalize the energy industry. Take the energy industry out of the hands of the profiteers and place it under the management of a publicly elected board that functions openly—with no secrets. Workers in the industry should have control over conditions of work.

Ratify the Equal Rights Amendment.

EAST BAY
2851 Telegraph Ave.
Oakland, CA 94609
(415) 763-2200

SAN FRANCISCO
584 102 2 Street
San Francisco, CA 94110
(415) 398-4000

SAN JOSE
201 N. 9th Street
San Jose, CA 95111
(408) 998-4000

LOS ANGELES
2211 N. Hollywood
Los Angeles, CA 90031
(213) 271-0100

SAN DIEGO
1013 10th Street
San Diego, CA 92101
(714) 234-4630

For more information, clip and mail to:

Socialist Workers California
Campaign Committee
2851 Telegraph Avenue
Oakland, CA 94609

Name _____ State _____

Address _____

City _____ Phone _____

Zip _____

Union/School/Org _____

Enclosed is my contribution of \$ _____

For a list of the Socialist Workers California Campaign Committee
2851 Telegraph Avenue, Oakland, CA 94609

FUNDS AND VOLUNTEERS URGENTLY NEEDED

VOTA SOCIALIST WORKERS




Andrew Pulley
para Presidente

Matilde Zimmermann
para Vice-Presidente

Hoy en día, una pequeña mayoría de patronos y banqueros rige el país y domina la política a través de sus dos partidos, los Demócratas y los Republicanos.

La campaña de los Socialist Workers es una campaña por los intereses de la clase trabajadora y de todos los oprimidos. En 1980, los candidatos de los Socialist Workers están solicitando firmas para aparecer en la balota en 30 estados.

El Socialist Workers Party (SWP) cree que los grandes partidos de los empresarios no tienen nada que ofrecer a la clase trabajadora. Ha llegado el momento de que los trabajadores organicen su propio partido político, un partido laboral con base en los sindicatos, para pelear por los intereses de la vasta mayoría. Este partido sería un gran paso para llevar al poder a un gobierno de la mayoría — un gobierno de trabajadores — y a un nuevo sistema basado no en ganancias sino en necesidades humanas.

"Los trabajadores mantienen el país en marcha — los trabajadores deben dirigir el país."

E.U.: Manos fuera de Cuba, Nicaragua y El Salvador.

No al servicio militar. No a la guerra. La clase trabajadora estadounidense no tiene ningún interés en pelear contra los trabajadores y campesinos de otros países que están luchando por justicia. ¿Por qué morir por Exxon, o cualquier otra corporación en una guerra similar a la de Vietnam?

Que pare la energía nuclear.

Derechos iguales para Negros, Chicanos y Puerto-riquenses. Proteger y extender los programas de acción afirmativa en empleos y educación. Por una igualdad en la educación. Que pare los ataques racistas.

Por un Partido Laboral. Necesitamos nuestro propio partido con base en los sindicatos, un partido que busque la paz e igualdad de derechos que será un arma poderosa para luchar por las necesidades de la mayoría.

En las elecciones de 1980 el SWP está haciendo campaña por:

Trabajos para todos. Que pare los despidos. Que se acorte la semana de trabajo sin acortar la paga. Pagar por el gobierno para crear un programa de viviendas, escuela, transporte masivo y guarderías para niños.

Fin a la inflación. Abajo con el presupuesto militar. Nivel de vida para todos los trabajadores a través de un aumento en los ingresos por cada aumento en los precios.

Nacionalización de la industria energética. Arquear la industria energética de manos de los que están haciendo ganancias con ella, y ponerla bajo el manejo de un consejo elegido públicamente que funcione abiertamente — sin secretos. Los trabajadores industriales deben tener control sobre las condiciones de trabajo.

Ratificación de la Enmienda por la Igualdad de Derechos.

EAST BAY
2851 Telegraph Ave.
Oakland, CA 94609
(415) 763-2200

SAN FRANCISCO
584 102 2 Street
San Francisco, CA 94110
(415) 398-4000

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LOS ANGELES
2211 N. Hollywood
Los Angeles, CA 90031
(213) 271-0100

SAN DIEGO
1013 10th Street
San Diego, CA 92101
(714) 234-4630

Para más información, corte y envíe este cupón a:

Socialist Workers California Campaign Committee
2851 Telegraph Avenue
Oakland, California 94609 (415) 834-1462

Nombre _____

Dirección _____

Ciudad _____ Estado _____

Código Postal _____ Teléfono _____

Sindicato/Escuela/Organización _____

Adjunto mando mi contribución de \$ _____

Pagado por el Socialist Workers California Campaign Committee
2851 Telegraph Avenue, Oakland, California 94609

SE NECESITAN URGENTEMENTE CONTRIBUCIONES Y VOLUNTARIOS.

Half million of these leaflets are being distributed during petition drives to put Pulley and Zimmermann on the ballot in thirty states.

By Duncan Williams

So far, \$31,913 has been sent in to the Socialist Workers \$50,000 campaign fund, with less than ten days to go in the drive. It is still possible for the drive to be completed in full and on time, but this will require an all-out effort by campaign committees and individual supporters.

One of the reasons these contributions are urgently needed is to produce attractive material, like the leaflet shown on this page, for the ballot drives the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party are conducting this summer to put Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann on the ballot in thirty states.

California socialists will distribute 250,000 of these leaflets—printed in Spanish on one side and English on the other—in the course of their petitioning, which runs from June 9 to July 3. The leaflets will also be used by petitioners in Illinois, New York, and the District of Columbia.

Political gains

Distribution of these leaflets is part of an overall effort to make the greatest political gains through the ballot drive. Petitioning is imposed on the Socialist Workers Party by undemocratic election laws fashioned by the Democrats and Republicans. But the SWP campaigners plan to use it as an opportunity to recruit new members to the YSA and get wider publicity for the SWP program and its candidates.

Petitioners in Pennsylvania and Indiana have used a similar leaflet in their drives during May. Linda Mohrbacher, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from Pennsylvania, reports: "We give them to everyone. The minute we hand people the leaflet, they begin to read it." So far she and her supporters in Pittsburgh have handed out more than 15,000 leaflets.

The first point on the leaflet, calling for a shorter workweek with no cut in pay to provide jobs, gets "a tremendous reception."

That's not surprising, since the Pittsburgh socialists have been campaigning at unemployment offices and at U.S. Steel's Edgar Thompson Works, where Mohrbacher worked until she was laid off May 23. The following Tuesday, she and two supporters petitioned at the Edgar Thompson gates and at an adjacent unemployment office.

They gathered 250 signatures and distributed as many leaflets in about three and one-half hours. While they were there, the remaining workers at Edgar Thompson learned that the mill would close down Friday, May 30.

"The most common response to the idea of a shorter workweek was 'Yes!'" Mohrbacher says. Many young workers are also interested in discussing prospects for a labor party. The Pittsburgh campaigners plan to take their petitions and leaflets to "all the mills in the valley."

Jay Johnson, Pennsylvania state ballot drive director, reports that in Harrisburg many people had never seen anyone petitioning before. "But even people who refused at first were willing to sign once they read the leaflet," he says.

Johnson found it best to "show people the leaflet right away—that way they know what you're doing and what they're signing for."

Socialists in Indiana, like those in Pennsylvania, have had good success in petitioning at unemployment lines and at mill and factory gates (see facing page).

Distribution of the leaflet is already beginning to pay off in new support for the Socialist Workers campaign. "Please send more information about your party. It sounds very interesting" is what a student at the University of Pittsburgh wrote on a coupon he clipped from a leaflet. Another coupon, with a \$10 contribution, has come

in from an AFSCME member in Philadelphia.

Our tasks

What must be done to complete the fund drive and to enable the socialist campaign to continue to make the best of its expanding opportunities in the ballot drive?

First, money pledged to the fund drive—primarily at rallies for the candidates this spring—should be sent in right away. (In addition to the \$31,913 sent in so far, another \$25,044 in pledges is still outstanding.)

Second, if you have not made a pledge, contribute as generously as possible now.

A third way to help make the drive was shown by campaign supporters in Seattle. Because several were unable to participate directly in the California drive, they agreed to make additional pledges above those already paid earlier this spring. So far, sixteen supporters—eleven of them aerospace workers and two rail workers—have pledged an additional \$480.

Socialist Workers \$50,000 Campaign Fund

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.

Indiana unionists help SWP petition drive

By Dave Ellis

INDIANAPOLIS—Socialist campaigners here have found the streets full of people angry and disgusted with Carter, appalled by Reagan, and eager to help put a working-class alternative on the ballot.

"It's about time a worker ran for president," said one older man when he learned that Socialist Workers presidential candidate Andrew Pulley is a steelworker.

"A Worker for President" is the heading of the leaflet we are handing out to introduce people to the SWP program as we petition to get Pulley and running-mate Matilde Zimmermann on the ballot.

Indianapolis campaign director Mike Hert explained, "For many people, a look at the leaflet is all it takes to convince them that Pulley and Zimmermann should be on the ballot. For others, it's the idea of a Black brother running for president which is appealing."

"Some people will take the leaflet, stand aside, and read it through carefully. Then they'll come over and explain that they're signing because Pulley is for jobs for all and for nationalizing the energy industry."

To the thousands of unemployed here, many of them victims of the auto layoffs which have hit Indianapolis hard, the idea of a labor party makes sense. Hundreds at unemployment centers have signed to get the socialist candidates on the ballot.

After two weeks of petitioning socialists in Gary and Indianapolis have gathered 11,400 signatures in the statewide drive. We plan to petition for another week to even further surpass the state requirement of 7,000 signa-



SWP vice-presidential candidate Matilde Zimmermann campaigning in Indianapolis at Stewart-Warner Corporation, top, and at Arsenal Technical High School.

tures.

When the Indiana ballot drive was launched, socialist steelworkers at the

Stewart-Warner Corporation in Indianapolis decided they could easily collect fifty signatures on the job and at

the plant gate in the first week.

Within four days, 100 steelworkers had signed the petition, including the union president, treasurer, and over a dozen shop stewards from United Steelworkers Local 2937. At the May union meeting, about half of the sixty members present signed the socialist petitions.

Danny Booher, Socialist Workers candidate for governor of Indiana, works at Stewart-Warner. "It's not surprising that so many of my co-workers have signed to put Pulley and Zimmermann on the ballot," he said. "Our contract deadline comes up in September, and we're already discussing how to defend ourselves against lay-offs, inflation, speed-up and unsafe working conditions. Nobody wants to be drafted, either. More and more workers are realizing that these problems are bigger than this one plant and need bigger solutions."

"The Democrats and Republicans don't have those solutions," said Booher. "The socialist campaign does. This petition drive has shown how popular our program is once we get it into people's hands."

Two Stewart-Warner workers, welder John Harrison and painter Carl Long, have enlisted in the effort to win ballot status for Pulley and Zimmermann.

Says Long, "Pulley is about change. And I know things can change because I've changed. Two years ago I never would be talking to socialists—but now, I'm off into it."

Harrison agrees: "When all you got is the eenies, meenies, minies, and moes—the Democrats and Republicans—you're in trouble. But socialism is for people, not the rich, and it's people working together."

Harrisburg: 'Finally an antinukes candidate!'

By Ned Measel and Julia Steinberg

HARRISBURG, Pa.—What's it like to petition for Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann in the shadow of Three Mile Island?

"I'm glad to see a real antinukes candidate," said one resident who signed to put the Socialist Workers Party presidential ticket on the Pennsylvania ballot.

"I can't vote for any of the other people running. They all support nukes," another young woman told us.

Candidates who stand for shutting all the nuclear plants down now get a good response around here. Many people realize that this area has become the moral center of the antinuclear struggle. They are fed up with the lies dished out by government and utility officials.

Petitioners run into a number of people who met Zimmermann earlier this year when she joined antinuclear protests commemorating the first anniversary of the near-meltdown.

In addition, many petition signers know John Sislo, a socialist petitioner who is a long-time antinuclear and union activist in Harrisburg.

Sislo alone has collected more than 550 signatures here by petitioning after work and on weekends. In all, the socialist petition team in Harrisburg has gathered more than 3,000 signatures in the first two weeks of the drive. Statewide that brings us to 38,400; we plan to go well over the 48,000 signatures Pennsylvania requires for a ballot spot.

At a recent SWP campaign rally in Philadelphia, Sislo told of a family he knows, one of thousands that evacuated the Harrisburg area two days after the Three Mile Island accident. The family drove without stopping for 500 miles—only to find themselves ten miles from another nuclear reactor.

"Many of us have learned that you can't run away from radiation," said Sislo. "If you are an antinuclear acti-

vist, you have to fight the nuclear industry where you live."

Quite a few people immediately sign our petitions when we tell them presidential candidate Andrew Pulley is a steelworker.

Many who sign, Blacks and whites, are excited to hear of a Black candidate for president. "It's about time we had a Black run for president. I'm ready for that," said one young white man upon seeing Pulley's picture.

Residents are curious about the socialist candidates' positions on many issues. Petitioners have gotten into conversations on a wide variety of political topics.

Of special interest here is the immigration of Cubans to the United States. Fort Indiantown Gap, about thirty miles from Harrisburg, is where 19,000 Cuban emigres are being held.

One petitioner wearing a T-shirt indicating support for the Cuban revolution was frequently asked if she was Cuban.

"No," she would answer, "but I like what they're doing down there."

Most often the response to this statement was, "Why?"

She would answer, "Every Cuban who wants a job has one. They don't have to worry about being laid off. Medical care and education are guar-

anteed and free to everyone. These are some of the same things Pulley and Zimmermann are campaigning for in the United States."

Some petition signers expressed concern that jobs would be lost to the Cubans settling in the U.S.

We told them, "immigrant workers don't 'steal' jobs from North Americans. That's a lie being pushed by the profit-hungry corporations to try to hide the fact that they are responsible for unemployment. The corporate bosses withhold jobs because their profits are more important to them than human needs."

New attacks on N.C. ballot rights

By Lisa Potash

WINSTON-SALEM, N.C.—Illegal attacks are being carried out against the SWP's right to be on the November ballot, charged Douglas Cooper and Rebecca Finch on May 30.

The North Carolina SWP candidates for governor and U.S. Senate spoke at simultaneous news conferences in Raleigh and Winston-Salem. The conferences took place as the SWP filed more than ten thousand validated signatures of North Carolina voters with the state board of elections.

Cooper and Finch cited several examples in which county election officials—who are responsible for validating the signatures—tampered with the SWP's petitions.

The Burke, Rockingham, and Wilson county election board personnel, or other persons given access to the SWP petitions, approached some of those who signed to encourage them to remove their names.

In Anson County, names of those who signed were published in the local newspaper.

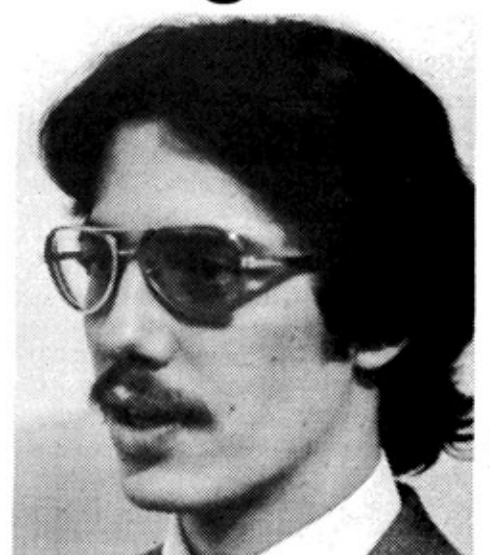
In Union County, one Democratic Party member suggested to a reporter from the *Monroe Enquirer-Journal* that the names of signers be published in the newspaper so that "We can break this thing up now."

Several other county election boards never returned the petitions sent to them for validation.

Cooper explained, "These actions are part of the Democratic and Republican parties' efforts to keep us off the ballot. After we fully met the state's undemocratic signature requirement and validation fees, these county politicians stooped to violating their own election laws."

The North Carolina board of elections is expected to rule June 17 on whether the SWP will appear on the ballot.

Finch pointed out, "Our party will remain vigilant against any further attempts to tamper with our rights. If enough public pressure can be mounted to stop the state's efforts, this will be the first time since 1932 that socialists will appear on the ballot in



DOUGLAS COOPER

Militant

North Carolina."

Letters and telegrams in support of the SWP's ballot rights can be sent to the North Carolina state board of elections, 5 West Hargett Street, Raleigh, North Carolina, phone: (919) 733-7218.

Hundreds protest at internment camps

Carter steps up attacks on Cuban immigrants

By Suzanne Haig

In the harshest action yet taken against Cubans arriving here, immigration officials on June 3 arrested Peter Phillip, owner of a freighter carrying 731 Cubans and their relatives.

Sixty-six crew members and an undisclosed number of relatives were arrested. The ship was confiscated.

All were charged with "transporting illegal aliens." In addition, Phillip was also charged with "trading with the enemy," even though he is a citizen of the West Indies.

The 731 Cubans were searched and then sent to join the thousands held in camps while waiting to be processed.

This violation of civil liberties was the latest attempt to close the door to further Cuban immigration. On May 14 Carter had ordered that no more private boats be allowed to bring Cubans into the country, but many ignored him.

"We must make it clear that we will not tolerate this kind of private boat flotilla," Carter's special assistant Eugene Eidenberg said to defend the crackdown. The government fears that unless this "open door" policy is stopped it will be unable to justify preventing Haitians, Mexicans, and others from entering this country.

The racist attack against Cuban immigration was highlighted by a weekend of violence at Fort Chaffee, Arkansas, one of the four processing centers where Cubans are being held.

State troopers opened fire on 300 Cubans attempting to flee the camp on Sunday night, June 1. Three were wounded, sixty-seven injured. Federal police and soldiers, brought in from Fort Sill, Oklahoma, tear-gassed and clubbed the Cubans once they had been forced back inside the base.

Earlier that afternoon, several



'Free world' welcome: hand-cuffed Cubans arrested after trying to leave Fort Chaffee, Arkansas, where thousands have waited weeks to be processed.

hundred Cubans shouting "Libertad" had attempted to leave the base. They were beaten back with blows to the head, back, and legs by armed soldiers and military police in riot gear.

The Cubans were accused of rock throwing and setting fire to barracks. More than eighty were arrested and thrown into the stockade.

These attempts to escape from concentration-camp conditions in which many Cubans have been held for

weeks came after several days of demonstrations by hundreds demanding their freedom. Outside the base, relatives and other Cuban-Americans have protested against the confinement of the immigrants.

The government's response to their justifiable outrage has been to bring 2,000 troops armed with M-16 rifles and riot sticks into Fort Chaffee to ensure that the 19,000 Cubans remain penned up.

A similar attempt to free themselves was made by Cubans at Elgin Air Force Base in Florida on May 24.

For weeks, tens of thousands of Cubans have been held in such camps, isolated from the rest of the Cuban community.

They have been processed at a snail's pace—about 100 daily at Fort Chaffee. They are forced to go through long security checks and find a sponsor or relative before they can leave. Those who have neither are threatened with deportation or expulsion.

The government refuses to allocate the necessary funds to help any of the immigrants get jobs.

Added to this "free world" welcome has been a barrage of racist attacks by the media. Cubans have been called everything from mental patients to spies.

But while such claims fill the air waves and newspapers, immigration officials have not been able to show any significant number of criminals among the refugees. And their physical and mental health was reported to be excellent when they arrived in Florida.

The image of the Cuban immigrants that the government wants to broadcast was provided by Senate majority leader Robert Byrd—a former member of the Ku Klux Klan. He warned that the United States shouldn't become a "dumping ground" for Cuban criminals.

White House press secretary Jody Powell has called those who tried to leave Fort Chaffee "ringleaders and troublemakers," and the *New York Times* suggested editorially that these "chronic criminals" should be deported back to Cuba.

So much for the "open arms" Carter promised only a few weeks ago to the Cubans who wanted to come to this country.

...Jordan

Continued from page 3

organized smear efforts directed at Martin Luther King, Jr. These Cointelpro operations dispensed crude scandals about King's private life, which then FBI director J. Edgar Hoover hoped would discredit the civil rights leader or even drive him to suicide.

Jesse Jackson and Richard Hatcher made the point avoided by police and local officials. They termed the shooting a "very political statement."

"There is a tremendous burden on the nation, the president, and Congress," Jackson stated, "because apparently the issues that Vernon continues to raise represent a real threat."

In his speech to the Urban League

banquet in Fort Wayne on the fateful evening, Jordan had blasted Carter and Congress. "The balanced budget," Jordan stated, "is just a figleaf to cover an all-out attack on poor people and working people."

Fort Wayne officials have rushed to deny that the shooting is the result of racism. "This was not a racially motivated incident," city comptroller Frank Heyman stated in the wake of the sniper attack. "In fact," he boasted, "there really is no racial tension in Fort Wayne."

But the fifty Black youths who picketed President Carter when he came to visit the hospitalized Jordan thought otherwise. Demonstration organizer Gary Hatch said the protest was called after "a man with that great leadership was shot in the back with a

hunting rifle you would shoot a deer with."

"There is a whole lot of racial tension," Hatch said, disputing Fort Wayne's politicians. "Racism is everywhere."

Only last fall, in fact, the Ku Klux Klan held a public rally in a white area that has since been annexed by the city.

Socialist Workers Party candidates in Indiana conveyed their solidarity to the Urban League, demanding an "immediate, full-scale investigation by both state and local authorities and the Justice Department" and "full prosecution of those responsible" for the shooting.

The statement, signed by U.S. Senate candidate Etta Ettlinger, gubernatorial candidate Danny Booher, and

lieutenant governor candidate Elizabeth Somers linked the Jordan assassination attempt to the "travesty of justice in Miami," where four police killers of Arthur McDuffie were acquitted by an all-white jury.

The three candidates pledged to "press for a broad campaign against all such racist and political violence."

"Protests demanding that the truth be told should flood Fort Wayne," Booher told the *Militant*. Labor, civil rights, and women's groups, he said, "should protest this unfolding cover-up and smear campaign to ensure that the investigation goes after the criminal, would-be assassins, not their intended target, Vernon Jordan."

...Iron Range

Continued from page 8

responded. "They claim crime is caused by the existence of guns. This is not true. Crime is caused by poverty. We have the right to bear arms and we need to protect that right. Sometime we will need to exercise that right to protect our unions."

Pulley was impressed by the Local 1938 meeting. "That whole union meeting pointed to the kind of solidarity the labor movement needs. Before I spoke, they had someone from the Retail Clerks reporting on a strike and organizing effort they are involved in."

"After I spoke, there was a slide show about the 'right-to-work' laws and how they are tied in to the right-wing forces fighting against civil rights and women's rights. The local voted to buy 135 'Repeal Taft Hartley' buttons." (Taft-Hartley is the federal law that permits states to establish

anti-union "right-to-work" laws.)

"My tour on the Iron Range brought home to me the fact that racism is not growing in the U.S. The ruling rich are trying to use it more against workers, but racism is less among white workers now than even a few years ago. These miners were interested in what I had to say and all the prejudices they were taught against Blacks and against socialism do not stand in the way of considering the ideas I put forward."

Pulley's tour in northern Minnesota won extensive news coverage. His news conference in Duluth was covered by all the local media and reported around the state.

Tens of thousands of people saw and heard him on television and radio and read about him in the local newspapers.

The night before speaking at the union meeting, Pulley helped open the new Socialist Workers Party campaign office and Solidarity Bookstore in Vir-

ginia. He spoke along with Ilona Gersh, an electrician apprentice at the U.S. Steel mine and SWP candidate for Congress in the 8th Congressional District of northeast Minnesota.

The socialist campaign office is the first opened by any political party on the range this year.

Miners from at least five different mines and activists in the women's liberation and antidraft movements attended the campaign rally.

Pulley also spoke to a student audience of about seventy at the University of Minnesota in Duluth.

After mine closings and a virtual economic depression on the Iron Range in the 1950s and early 1960s, the steel companies forced through a law called the Taconite Agreement. It gave them enormous tax breaks to build new mines.

Since the mid-1960s there has been steady work and increasing employment for miners here, boosting the entire economy. But the big cutbacks

in steel production this spring have led to production cuts in the mines.

The Minntac mine has workers on a four-day week now and the Inland mine just announced a closing for five months.

Any illusions in economic security are being overcome by the pain of the new economic crisis.

The combativity of the Iron Range miners was shown in their 138-day strike in 1977. They set an impressive example by organizing solidarity from the rest of the labor movement in the state.

As Pulley said at the union meeting, the Iron Range miners are in a good position to help initiate the discussions and set the example for the next giant step by labor to defend its interests—building a labor party.

The response to the Pulley tour and to the local SWP campaign of Ilona Gersh shows that the labor party idea and the need to fight back against the economic crisis are gaining an increasingly receptive hearing.

'Against every aggression, more revolution'

Nicaraguans protest murder of young teacher

By J. Milan

MANAGUA—Thousands of people turned out in Nicaragua's main cities May 23 to protest the cold-blooded murder of a young teacher in the literacy campaign, Gregorio Andrade. "Against every aggression, more revolution!" was their chant.

Former National Guardsmen of ex-dictator Anastasio Somoza slipped across the Honduran border to carry out the assassination. The Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) called for mass mobilizations to answer the outrage, and in less than forty-eight hours there were close to 100,000 marchers here in Managua.

FSLN leader Tomás Borge, in his speech at the Plaza of the Revolution, laid out the tasks of the people and their mass organizations in the face of the plans and activities of the counter-revolution. The FSLN called for:

- Stepping up the ideological and political struggle against anticommunist demagoguery. Such demagoguery is utilized in particular by Alfonso Robelo, who recently resigned from the Junta of National Reconstruction, and by the capitalist entrepreneurs organized in the Superior Council of Private Enterprise (COSEP).

- A qualitative leap in the political work and vigilance of the Sandinista Defense Committees (CDSs) organized in each neighborhood.

- A major push to organize militias in the cities and the countryside.

In response to Borge's call, the CDSs are organizing meetings to discuss how they can "play a strategic role" in the tasks of the revolution.

There has been an appreciable strengthening of the militias in recent days. In Managua, the CDSs have promised that there will be more than 50,000 militia members organized by the anniversary of the revolution on July 19.

The close relationship between the mass organizations of the Nicaraguan workers and peasants and the Sandinista army was expressed by the demonstrators with the slogan "one single army." This was the massive reply when the possibility was raised of intervention by Washington, aided by the dictatorships in Honduras, El Sal-



Literacy volunteer teaches peasants after day in fields

Barricada

vador, and Guatemala.

The literacy workers, despite the counterrevolutionary terrorism aimed at them, have a higher morale than ever. Six *brigadistas* from the People's Literacy Army (EPA) who were with

Gregorio Andrade when he was kidnapped and murdered were in the grandstand at the Managua demonstration. They vowed to continue with their work in the literacy campaign—known here as the second people's

insurrection.

Andrade was savagely tortured and stabbed more than fifteen times by the counterrevolutionaries. But the *brigadistas*—youths of thirteen and fourteen years old—reflect the inexhaustible will to struggle of the Nicaraguan people.

Popular anger at Andrade's brutal murder was indicated in the demonstration with shouts of "To the wall! To the wall!"

A law introduced by the July 19 Sandinista Youth, and approved by the Council of State, has fixed penalties at double the normal ones for anyone attacking *brigadistas*. The application of the law will be in the hands of people's juries, advised by a judge.

Borge, listing thirty-two Somozaist encampments in Honduras, said that defense along the Honduran border had been reinforced. He also warned those who would dare invade Nicaragua—whether they be Somozaists or "mercenaries coming from over there"—a clear allusion to U.S. imperialism.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

Revolution offers hope to disabled

By Karen Newton

NEW ORLEANS—The plight of the disabled is a special problem for Nicaragua because of the many casualties of last year's civil war. In Managua alone there are more than 15,000 newly disabled persons.

Theresa Camalo and four other members of the Center for Independent Living, headquartered in California, traveled to Managua recently to donate \$15,000 worth of medical equipment and to learn more about this challenge.

At a news conference here after their return, Camalo reported there is only one rehabilitation center and one rehabilitation specialist in the whole country. Many doctors were shot by the forces of ousted dictator Somoza and others fled during the civil war. The

widespread destruction and lack of resources make the situation even more difficult.

But Camalo said she was inspired by the tremendous solidarity generated by the revolution. "We were considered *compañeros* by everyone," she said.

In Nicaragua, "the revolution is everything to them. They do everything for the revolution," Camalo said.

The five disabled Americans worked for two weeks at the Aldo Chavarria Rehabilitation Center.

They also visited the Carlos Fonseca Center for the Unseen. Under Somoza there was little help for the unseen. To make matters worse, during the civil war Somoza's forces destroyed material printed in braille and other vital equipment.

The new center is named after the

founder of the Sandinista National Liberation Front. Without his glasses he was legally blind.

Somoza's former private country club has been turned into a psychiatric hospital. There the Americans talked with many patients who had been victims of torture under Somoza.

At the big May Day demonstration in Managua, two of the disabled Americans led a procession of residents of the Carlos Fonseca Center to the rally. "What a picture," Camalo laughed, "a line of people unable to see being led by two people in wheelchairs."

Camalo hopes to organize disabled individuals here to help build international support for Somoza's victims. Those interested in helping can contact her at 4430 Bundy Road, New Orleans, Louisiana 70127.

Celia Guevara appeals for imprisoned brother

By Pedro Camejo

NEW YORK—Celia Guevara's younger brother Juan Martin Guevara has been imprisoned in Argentina since 1975.

Celia is the sister of Che Guevara, the Argentine-born revolutionist who helped lead the Cuban revolution to victory and died fighting the military dictatorship in Bolivia in 1967.

Since Juan Martin's arrest, Celia has been trying to win his release. Forced by the Videla dictatorship to go into exile in Spain, she has traveled widely seeking support for her brother.

Her efforts brought her to this country on March 28. She visited California, New York, Washington, D.C., Massachusetts, and Illinois. Both the *Washington Post* and *New York Times* ran stories on her brother's case.

Juan Martin Guevara was arrested February 28, 1975, under Isabel Peron's government. He spent four and a half years in prison before being "tried" and sentenced to ten years by the military regime of Jorge Rafael Videla.

He is charged with "illegal association."

Under the present regime in Argentina all political opposition parties are illegal.

In most cases, however, the Videla regime does not even bother with legal pretexts. People simply "disappear."

"The total number is unknown," Celia explained to me, "but we have 20,000 documented cases. Amnesty International has confirmed over 15,000 cases and Videla's government admits to 5,900."

Kidnappings and disappearances have not been limited to Argentinians. Some 300 Uruguayans have disappeared in Argentina along with many other Latin Americans. The repression extended in some cases to Europeans.

Celia recalls two French nuns, a young Swedish woman, two Germans, a French couple, and some Italians and Spaniards among the "disappeared." Because of these cases the French and Swedish governments lodged formal protests.

The government has decreed that persons who are missing for six months are legally presumed dead. This means their personal belongings are passed on through inheritance laws, marriages are annulled, and so forth.

Lawyers who defend political prisoners can themselves face repression. Some 400 lawyers have also disappeared, including the one who had at one time helped Juan Martin Guevara.

Juan Martin is alive but his conditions of imprisonment have been unusually cruel. For a month he was placed in a cell without any bedding, without light, and almost without clothing or

food.

Transferred from one prison to another, he has had to face various forms of harassment and torture. For three years he was held at Sierra Chica, where he could leave his cell for only one hour each day. There prisoners were beaten with rubber hoses and had freezing water thrown on them.

At one point Juan Martin became ill with hepatitis and was refused medical care. He has developed rheumatism in his feet. Part of the mistreatment is undoubtedly due to Martin's last name—all surviving members of the Guevara family have been forced into exile—and to his having held a hunger strike to protest the treatment of other prisoners.

As a political prisoner however, Juan Martin is typical of thousands.

Juan Martin was a truck driver for a cheese factory prior to his arrest. He was active in his union, where he had been elected as a rank-and-file delegate.

Although Celia Guevara's efforts have been as an individual, she is active in helping the Committee of Solidarity with Political Prisoners and Disappeared Families. Groups associated with this committee have been active in such European cities as Paris, Barcelona, Madrid, Stockholm, Brussels, Rome, Amsterdam, and Geneva. But no committee exists in the United

States.

The Socialist International, and individual leaders like Felipe Gonzales of the Socialist Party of Spain, have been especially helpful, Celia says. The Austrian government has granted Juan Martin Guevara the status of a political exile in Austria. Celia has gained support of other organizations in Europe such as the Italian Communist Party.

By Argentine law, Juan Martin has completed a sufficient part of his ten-year sentence to be released. (The later addition of two years to his sentence for the same offense is illegal even under present Argentine statutes.)

The fact that he has already been granted asylum in Austria adds to the reasons for his immediate release.

When asked what Americans can do to help, Celia Guevara urged people to send telegrams to President Jorge Videla in Buenos Aires, Argentina, and to Secretary of State Edmund Muskie in Washington, D.C.. Telegrams should demand that the Argentine government immediately free Juan Martin Guevara, and that the State Department demand his release and that of other political prisoners.

Donations to make it possible for Celia Guevara to continue her efforts would be highly appreciated, even small sums. Please send them to Celia Guevara de la Serna, Apartado 4010, Madrid 4, Spain.

The coming showdown

The following statement was adopted May 24 by the Socialist Workers Party National Committee.

An historic confrontation is shaping up in the Caribbean and Central America.

On one side are millions of workers and peasants, who have said "enough!" to the poverty and tyranny imposed on them for decades by Washington and Wall Street.

On the other side is the U.S. government, speaking for the business interests whose profits are bloated by the superexploitation of the peoples of Latin America. Washington is urgently seeking to free its hands to use massive military force against the advancing revolutionary fighters.

The socialist revolution that dawned in the Americas with the Cuban victory in 1959 is now being extended in Nicaragua. A revolutionary-minded government has come to power on the island of Grenada. The Salvadoran workers and peasants are rising, arms in hand, determined to take the same road.

These freedom struggles challenge the right of U.S. big business to grow fat off the labor and natural resources of the peoples south of the U.S. border. As a result, Washington is determined to prevent Nicaragua from becoming another Cuba, and El Salvador from becoming another Nicaragua.

Danger of war

Washington's stubborn refusal to allow the peoples of the Caribbean and Central America to run their own governments, control their own resources, and chart their own destinies carries a grave threat of war. Because the imperialists know that in the final analysis they *must* throw U.S. military might into the battlefield—or face the "loss" of El Salvador and other countries to the people who live and work there. Arming subservient local dictators is not enough, as shown last year when the shah of Iran and Washington's puppet Somoza in Nicaragua fell before massive popular insurrections.

Three big obstacles stand in the way of Washington's war plans:

- the unwillingness of American workers to fight and die in another Vietnam,
- the overwhelming opposition of working people throughout Latin America to bullying by Yankee gunboats, and
- the solidarity pledged by Cuba's revolutionary government and people to all those under fire from imperialism.

So, while escalating the U.S. military presence in the Caribbean and Central America, President James Carter has launched a propaganda offensive to slander Cuba, to convince working people that the extension of the Cuban revolution is a threat to freedom.

For its part, revolutionary Cuba has responded with the biggest mobilizations ever held in Latin America. The latest—the May 17 March of the Fighting People—brought out some five million people, half the island's population. "Like Cuba, Vietnam, and Nicaragua—El Salvador will win," they declared. "We will never surrender." And, "Fidel pitch, because Carter can't hit."

Interests of U.S. workers

For sure, Carter cannot get five million Americans—or even a fraction of that number—to demonstrate for his policy toward Latin America. And it's no wonder.

Why should U.S. workers fight our brothers and sisters in Latin America? We own no sugar refineries, no plantations, no copper mines, no factories there. The profits coined from the sweat and blood of Latin American workers and peasants never find their way to our pockets. The plunder of imperialist exploitation serves only to strengthen the same giant U.S. corporations that attack our wages, jobs, and union rights here at home.

Why should U.S. Blacks go to war against Cuba—the only society in the Americas that has uprooted racism—against Grenada—the first free Black land of the Caribbean—or against Nicaragua—which is treating its national minorities with equality and dignity for the first time?

Why should U.S. youth serve as cannon-fodder against these revolutionary societies, where literacy and education are given top priority and where youth are shaping a future free from exploitation and injustice?

To see where working people in the United States should stand, we must dispel Washington's smoke-screen of lies and look at what has really been

happening in the Caribbean and Central America.

Twenty-one years ago, Cuba broke the chains of imperialist domination. The socialist revolution has made possible sweeping economic and social advances—jobs for all, free medical care, free education for all, low rents, the outlawing of racist discrimination, and big strides toward equality for women. These despite Washington's blockade and the horrible poverty that Cuba, like all countries in Latin America, had been reduced to by U.S. imperialism.

Cuba became a beacon for workers and peasants throughout the hemisphere, proving what could be accomplished by throwing off foreign domination and eliminating capitalism. It has won further prestige among the oppressed by sending brigades of teachers, doctors, and technicians to help other countries combat the bitter fruits of imperialist oppression, and sending internationalist fighters to help countries such as Angola combat the troops of imperialism.

Military invasion, sabotage, assassination plots, and attempts at economic strangulation have proved unable to roll back this revolution. Nor has Washington been able to crush the revolutionary spirit of the Cuban workers and peasants and their leadership.

Extension of the revolution

For two decades the Cuban government has carried out an internationalist foreign policy. It has sought to *defend* Cuba by *extending* the socialist revolution.

Today, Cuba no longer stands alone in the Americas. As Fidel Castro recently put it, "Grenada, Nicaragua, and Cuba are three giants rising up to defend their right to independence, sovereignty and justice, on the very doorstep of imperialism."

The government brought to power by the Nicaraguan workers and peasants last summer, under the leadership of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), is pressing forward social and economic measures to improve the lives of the vast majority of people. The biggest effort throughout the country right now is a literacy crusade that aims to teach more than half the population to read and write.

The FSLN-led government has consistently put the interests of the workers and peasants first, despite resistance from the capitalists. The Sandinistas have relied above all on the mobilization, organization, and class-conscious education of the toilers.

The FSLN leaders, standing on the shoulders of their Cuban forerunners, are consciously charting a course toward consolidating the second workers state in the Western hemisphere.

In Grenada, the government led by the New Jewel Movement has defended its right to take Cuba as a model. It has adopted the same internationalist positions as the Cubans on the big questions of world politics. The deepening revolution in Grenada is having a special impact among the millions of Blacks in the Caribbean as well as among Blacks in the United States.

These revolutionary victories have raised political consciousness, self-confidence, and combativity throughout the region—from Honduras and Guatemala to St. Lucia and Dominica, from Guadeloupe and Martinique to Puerto Rico and Belize. The strongest movement has developed in El Salvador, where today the working class and rural poor are fighting to overthrow the murderous U.S.-backed dictatorship.

Events are educating and bringing forward new class-struggle leaders. Thousands of revolutionists are trying to learn the lessons of Nicaragua and apply them to making the socialist revolution in their own countries.

As Fidel has explained, the extension of the socialist revolution in this hemisphere is also profoundly felt inside Cuba. No longer alone and isolated, the vast majority of Cubans are inspired with new hope, confidence, and revolutionary commitment.

Washington threatens war

These same events inspire only alarm, fear, and hatred among the U.S. rulers. Throughout this century, big business in the United States has considered the Caribbean its private lake. U.S. corporations claim the right to strip the natural resources of these countries and to appropriate the wealth produced by the labor of the Central American and Caribbean masses. The profits of the

Why U.S. should stand Nicaragua, a



vn in the Caribbean

workers with Cuba, and Grenada



Militant/José G. Pérez



Militant/Fred Murphy



Militant/Jerry Hunnicutt



From top: March of the Fighting People in Cuba May 17, in which millions participated to show support for Cuban revolution (sign reads, 'Down with the blockade'); young Nicaraguan literacy brigadistas depart from León to teach people in the countryside to read; celebration of first anniversary of Grenadan revolution; coffins of Salvadorans slain last January 22 when troops fired on 200,000 antigovernment demonstrators.

corporate overlords are swelled at the expense of the health, welfare, and democratic rights of the millions of people who live there.

The drive to protect capitalist profits at all costs is behind the escalated U.S. military threats and the media barrage of lies and slanders against Cuba.

Last fall the Carter administration raised a demagogic hue and cry over an alleged Soviet "combat brigade" in Cuba. The capitalist politicians and big-business press never mentioned, of course, the outrageous violation of Cuban sovereignty by the U.S. Navy's occupation of Guantánamo against the explicit demand of the Cuban people and the Cuban government that these forces get off Cuban soil.

Next came U.S. military maneuvers in the Caribbean, including the landing of U.S. Marines on the beaches of Guantánamo, clearly a practice invasion of the island. Spy flights by Washington's SR-71 reconnaissance planes, violating Cuban airspace, were stepped up. And a special Pentagon command center was set up in Key West, Florida, to centralize U.S. military operations for the purpose of intervening in Central America and the Caribbean.

Then, in April of this year, Washington began winding up its Big Lie machine around the events at the Peruvian embassy in Havana and the subsequent emigration of thousands of Cubans. The U.S. rulers sought to convince the oppressed around the world that the Cuban economy is in shambles, that social conditions are unbearable and getting worse, and that a brutal dictatorship tyrannizes the Cuban people. The imperialists hoped to tarnish the moral appeal of the Cuban revolution and undermine solidarity with it.

Naturally the big-business press covered up the fact that millions of impoverished victims of imperialism throughout Latin America seek entry into the United States every year because of the higher living standards here. In Cuba, thousands have left while millions voluntarily choose to stay. If Washington opened the doors to immigration from any other country in Latin America, as Fidel has pointed out, it would "empty out overnight."

Cuba turns the tables

The Cuban government turned the tables on Carter. It exposed, before the whole world, that the obstacle to Cubans who want to leave the island is Washington's refusal to grant visas. Cuba reaffirmed its position that any Cuban is free to emigrate. As Fidel declared on May Day in Havana, "the building of socialism is a task for absolutely free men and women and is absolutely voluntary."

By opening the port of Mariel, the Cuban government put Washington on the spot. Would it accept the thousands of Cubans arriving by boat? Carter's abrupt reversal from offering "open arms" to cracking down on those who bring Cubans here, and his announced intention to deport thousands of the Cubans who have arrived, are sure to contribute to the radicalization of Cubans in this country and their disillusionment with capitalism's "land of the free."

Washington's hypocrisy was further underlined by its treatment of thousands of Haitians who have been refused visas and political asylum by the Carter administration. The racist double standard toward these Black immigrants has been put under a national spotlight.

The attempt to tar the Cuban revolution got another jolt when Blacks in Miami rose up in rebellion against police brutality and racism. In the very city where tens of thousands of Cubans are arriving, they have been starkly confronted with the reality of life in capitalist society.

Along with its propaganda blitz, Washington also launched the "Solid Shield 80" military exercises in the Caribbean. This operation was even more extensive and provocative than the U.S. maneuvers last fall. This time, however, after the April 19 demonstration of more than one million in Cuba, Carter backed down from the planned practice invasion of Cuba at Guantánamo.

Uprising in El Salvador

Right now, Washington is stepping up its military intervention in El Salvador to shore up the dictatorship there against a developing armed uprising of the workers and peasants. Washington has poured in millions of dollars in military aid, along with hundreds of U.S. "advisers." With the assistance of the dictatorships in Honduras and Guatemala, preparations are being laid for a military invasion if necessary.

To prevent El Salvador from following the Nicaraguan road, the U.S. government is prepared to slaughter tens of thousands, just as it backed Somoza's bloodbath during his last year in power.

Washington is also deploying economic weapons in the Caribbean. Next to the vindictive blockade of Cuba, the harshest measures have targeted the people of Jamaica. Washington has sought to "destabilize" the Manley regime there because it has had friendly relations with Cuba.

Under pressure of the world economic crisis, Jamaica has had to borrow tens of millions of dollars at high interest from the imperialist banks. Now the bankers are withholding further loans because the Manley government has refused to accept austerity conditions dictated in Washington.

The bankers have seized the toiling masses of Jamaica by the throat, and hope to bring the government down and replace it with one more directly serving imperialist interests. But the draconian measures may backfire, bringing about a revolutionary explosion of the Jamaican masses.

Defend revolution

The people of Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada are preparing to defend themselves and their gains. Fidel has said that if imperialism invades, it will face "another Vietnam." And every Cuban knows, as they pledged so often during that war, "For Vietnam, we will give even our own blood."

The Sandinistas and the New Jewel Movement have likewise declared that they view an attack on each other, on El Salvador, or on Cuba as an attack against themselves.

Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada are all strengthening popular militias and organizing their entire populations to repel invading forces.

The series of three mass mobilizations in Cuba in a single month has shown the entire world the overwhelming support for the revolutionary government. By these class-struggle methods, the Cuban leadership has maximized the possibilities for sympathy and solidarity from working people in other countries.

Stakes for U.S. labor

Washington's aggressive moves in the Caribbean and Central America pose a deadly threat to working people in the United States and throughout the world. Workers here are the ones who would be fighting and dying for corporate profits in any new Vietnam.

We have no interest in maintaining a military base on Cuban soil. We gain nothing from the U.S. Navy's use of the Puerto Rican island of Vieques for bombing and shelling practice. Our needs are not served by sending American soldiers to try to crush fellow workers and farmers in El Salvador and Nicaragua.

Rather, the social gains won by working people in Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada offer an inspiring example to workers here. Our interests lie in fighting here—as they have done—to bring to power a government that represents *our* class and meets *our* needs, not those of big business.

When the Cuban and Nicaraguan fighters strike a blow against Yankee imperialism, they strike a blow against the same monopolies that we are up against in this country. Their gains are our gains. Their conquests are our conquests. And their struggles *strengthen* our struggles against our common enemy.

This is the challenge before the labor movement, the Black and Latino organizations, antidraft and anti-nuclear organizations, students, and all those in this country who support the right of the peoples of Latin America to determine their own destiny:

We have a responsibility to expose and refute the lies churned out by Washington and the media.

We have a responsibility to organize the broadest possible solidarity campaign of material aid to help our Nicaraguan brothers and sisters reconstruct their war-torn country.

We have a responsibility to mobilize united emergency protest actions whenever Washington escalates its threats or begins to deploy its interventionist forces.

The unions and organizations of the oppressed should be in the forefront of this effort.

We should join with the revolutionary peoples throughout Latin America in demanding:

U.S. out of Guantánamo!

Stop the spy flights!

End the blockade against Cuba!

U.S. hands off Central America and the Caribbean!

A Louisiana town vs. oil company polluters

By Mark Taylor

GOOD HOPE, La.—"Is there any hope for Good Hope?" is the question asked on bumper stickers around here.

Good Hope, a community of about 120 homes, is thirty miles upriver from New Orleans. It is located within a mammoth industrial complex that includes the Good Hope Refinery, a Shell oil refinery and chemical plant, and the General American tanks storage terminal.

As a result of pollution caused by these corporations, the entire county, which is called St. Charles Parish, is one of the three areas of the state designated as environmental "high risk" areas.

In addition to housing the polluting oil companies, the parish is also home for the notorious Hooker Chemical Company, which is responsible for the Love Canal disaster in New York. Hooker is currently under investigation by the Environmental Protection Agency for dumping chemical wastes here.

A nuclear power plant, Waterford III, is also under construction in the parish at Taft, not far from Good Hope.

All of this is why residents of Good Hope wonder if there is any hope for a safe, clean environment in which to live.

Barbara and Charles Robicheaux believe there is hope if people in the community speak out and fight for their rights against the polluting corporations. They are leading a struggle by Good Hope residents against noise, air, and water pollution; and against fires and explosions that constantly threaten the community.

Charles Robicheaux himself suffered severe burns in 1970 in a fire at the Bunge Grain Elevator a few miles down the road, where he was a union shop steward.

Good Hope refineries

The focus of their struggle has been on the Good Hope refineries.

In January they organized a demonstration of 100 angry residents in front of the Good Hope Refinery to protest a fire on Christmas day that sprayed oil all over the community.

"The people of Good Hope are tired and are now very impatient," says Barbara Robicheaux. "We've been taking this treatment of odors, catalyst spills, and oil spills for about six years. It doesn't seem like anybody wants to help us."

"They tap Good Hope Refinery and [owner Jack] Stanley with a velvet hammer, saying in a good-natured way, 'Hey, clean up your act a little.' But they don't do anything to enforce



Good Hope Refinery, left, spews pollution over adjoining community. Company is trying to buy school, top right. Barbara Robicheaux, bottom right, shows bumper stickers—"Is there any hope for Good Hope?"—that residents display in protest.



justice for the community and to eliminate the danger posed to us."

Because of fires, spills, and noise people are forced to move, and the value of homes and property depreciates rapidly. Then the company buys the residential properties, bulldozes the homes, and expands its facilities. In this way the Good Hope Refinery is gobbling up and destroying the community.

With huge profits being made in oil, the refinery's appetite is becoming insatiable. The owners strive to maintain a level of production beyond that at which the refinery was designed to operate safely. This creates dangers, severe noise levels, rumbling catalysts, and upsets. The refinery is notorious for being the most dangerous in the New Orleans area. It has an average of one fire or explosion per week, according to workers who were interviewed during the recent national oil strike.

School affected

In January students at the nearby New Sarpy Middle School had to be evacuated because of an unbearable odor emitted by a "sloppy oil" used in a fire-training exercise at the plant. Nineteen suffered nausea and vomiting.

The company is moving to purchase the school property—on condition that the area be rezoned to permit heavy manufacturing. The Robicheauxs and other area residents vigorously oppose the rezoning. They feel that the local

and state governments are lined up with the company, letting it take over the school rather than forcing it to improve conditions.

The sale, which was approved March 26 by the St. Charles Parish School Board, is contingent on rezoning.

The refinery also wants permission to construct a huge \$10 million mooring facility to dock barges. Residents, however, fear that a barge collision (a relatively frequent occurrence on the river) could destroy the parish's water intake system. If a fire then broke out at one of the plants, the consequences would be disastrous.

No decision by the parish on this proposed wharf has yet been reached.

Barbara and Charles Robicheaux have contacted various government agencies, but none has shown any inclination to stop the refinery's destruction of the community.

Barbara Robicheaux expressed her frustration with the government this way: "We would like our elected representative to think of the people first . . . they have laws to protect squirrels, rabbits, and deer. Well, we are human beings."

Relocation

The long term goal of the Robicheauxs is to force the company to pay for relocating the community—not piecemeal, but as a group. They have been a community of friends, close neighbors, and relatives for a long time, and oppose being dispersed.

This would mean a long, hard fight. Potential sources of support are the two locals of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union in the immediate area.

The two locals, one at Shell oil refinery in Norco and one at the Good Hope Refinery, were on strike when we interviewed the Robicheauxs.

Since then, both have returned to work, the Good Hope workers being forced back without a contract.

The strikers at Good Hope expressed deep sympathy with the residents, pointing to safety as one of the reasons they went out on strike.

The Robicheauxs said that although the community was not directly involved in OCAW's struggle, they support the improvement of work conditions. "Safer job conditions means a safer community," Charles Robicheaux explained.

The big problem for Good Hope residents is collusion between government and the big companies. "The government runs on too many favors from campaign contributions," he says. "The biggest donors get the biggest favors. That's why we keep ramming our head against the wall."

Clearly, Good Hope illustrates the need for new directions on the political arena. The struggles by labor unions and environmental activists are interconnected. They would both be advanced by the organization of a labor party that could really battle the companies and the Democratic and Republican parties beholden to them.

Amoco stopped from firing Texas strikers

By David Marsh

HOUSTON—"We all go back or nobody goes back," the slogan of oil workers at the Amoco refinery in Texas City, Texas, was put into practice as Amoco finally dropped its attempt to fire a group of union members, although it will carry out some disciplinary actions.

On May 10, after eighteen weeks on strike, Amoco workers voted to accept the company's offer and return to work under contract terms basically the same as elsewhere in the country.

Texas City, population 39,000, lies about forty miles south of Houston. It is an oil and chemical town, dominated by the huge Amoco refinery and chemicals complex, along with Union Carbide, Marathon Oil, Texas City Refining, and others.

Texas City is also a union town, one of the most unionized cities in the country. "We are the city" is the way one striking oil worker put it. A union

city in a "right to work" state!

As a result, striking members of the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers Union expected the city government, police, and local newspaper to support them in their battle with the local oil giants. But when the picket lines went up last January, they saw the politicians and police standing with the oil barons.

In the first few weeks of the strike, for example, Texas City police harassed picketers at Amoco. They wrote tickets for picketers parked near the gates. And on three successive days, more than 20 picketers were hauled into jail.

A thousand union members, believing the city council should take action, came to a council meeting to demand an end to this harassment.

How did the city council respond? "They're politicians. They just smiled," is the answer that strikers give.

The most bitter complaints were

reserved for the local newspaper, *Texas City Sun*. "They haven't given us any coverage, except when they can say there was violence. They never tell the union's side of the story."

In answer to why the politicians, police and city paper didn't support them, the oil workers pointed to Amoco. "Amoco is trying to weaken the union. We've never had to fight this hard."

Amoco insisted it had the right to discipline seventeen union members. Until the last weekend in April, the company had refused to even explain what kind of disciplinary action it intended to take. The membership of OCAW refused to go back to work under those conditions.

A picketer in his mid-thirties explained "Amoco has no right to discipline these people. Under the legal system, you're innocent until proven guilty, but according to Amoco it's the other way around."

"If we go back without settling this, they might fire all seventeen. How would we ever get their jobs back?"

By their determination, the oil workers in Texas City were able to stop the company's plan to fire strikers. But at plants elsewhere in the area—at Texaco in Port Arthur and at Charter Oil in Houston—the companies were able to get away with firing strikers, after four months of battle. At Crown Central Petroleum in Houston the workers are still out on strike over this issue, after twenty weeks.

After the experience of the combined assault of the oil companies, government, police, and press, some oil workers at Texas City are beginning to think that a broader political struggle is needed in order to wage an effective fight back.

As one striker said, "I would like to see some people in office who represent us, people who have to work for a living."

Gov't guilty in Love Canal crime, cover-up

By Suzanne Haig

The U.S. military dumped deadly chemicals, corrosive acids from TNT production, and radioactive wastes into Love Canal and other sites in the Niagara Falls area. Without proper warning the government later transferred parts of this contaminated land to new owners.

These findings, released May 29, were uncovered in a special investigation of Love Canal by the New York State Assembly Task Force on Toxic Substances.

This evidence of government complicity in the crime against Love Canal home owners and renters adds weight to their demand that the government immediately pay for their permanent evacuation.

In a related development, residents announced that they will not participate in further medical tests, conducted by the Environmental Protection Agency, until they are permanently relocated.

The army has denied any activities in the area. And a Hooker spokesperson claimed the company was unaware the military was dumping in Love Canal.

The state legislature report, however, shows widespread government involvement in the area ever since 1939.

During World War II and the Korean War, the army contracted with local manufacturers to produce a wide variety of war materials, including incendiary and napalm bombs.

The "Manhattan Engineering District"—better known as the Manhattan Project, which developed the first atomic bomb—and the Atomic Energy Commission used facilities there for processing radioactive materials.

Until 1956, uranium ore processing was continued by a number of corporations under contract to the AEC for the production of nuclear reactor fuel rods.

The government created the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC) to finance and convert plants for munitions production, war materials, and chemical warfare.

Metals Reserve Company, a subsidiary of the RFC, procured and disposed of materials. According to the report, this company put up a number of buildings on the property of Hooker Chemical Company that were later destroyed.

"Plancor" was a code name for the thousands of plants constructed by another RFC subsidiary, the Defense Plant Corporation. The plancors were leased to private companies, like Hooker and Dow Chemical, and received orders from the Army-Navy Munitions Board.

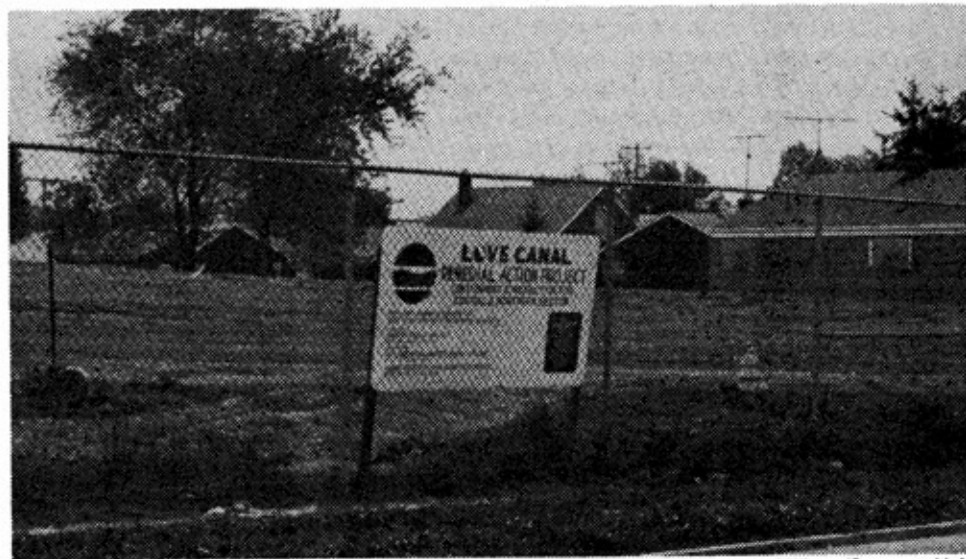
After the war, these tax-subsidized operations were sold to the companies at bargain prices. One plancor worth over \$1 million was sold to Hooker for \$171,000.

Various deadly wastes from all this production were improperly dumped, including in Love Canal.

Arthur Tracy, a sixty-four-year-old laborer who lives near the canal, told the *New York Times* that in the mid-1940s he saw brown military trucks pull up to the canal in the late evening and drop steel drums into it. The trucks came from "the chemical warfare," a military plant built by DuPont for the army in 1941.

"They dumped a few barrels in one place, and then moved up the canal and dumped part of a load someplace else," he said. Sometimes, he added, the drums would break open when they were dropped, and they exploded when they hit the water.

Like Hooker Chemical, the government got rid of this heavily contaminated property without properly warning the new owners and residents. For example:



Militant/Suzanne Haig

Both Hooker Chemical and U.S. Army dumped deadly wastes into Love Canal and kept knowledge of danger secret from residents.

- One area, called Griffin Manor, adjacent to Love Canal, is now the site of a low-income housing project.

- In 1949 the government deeded to the Niagara Falls Board of Education property on which was built the Ninety-third Street School. In 1979 the school was closed down because radioactive slag was discovered on school grounds and dioxin was found in a creek that borders on the property. But it was not known then that the army caused the contamination.

- In 1947 the U.S. Army leased part of its property in Lewiston, a town on the northern end of Love Canal, for thirty dollars annually to the Buffalo Academy of the Sacred Heart, known as Stella Niagara New York, which is a convent, school, and infirmary still in operation.

Residents in Lewiston and the adjacent town of Porter have continually protested the presence of wastes in their towns, including four above-

ground silos in Lewiston that contain leaking radioactive waste from the Manhattan Project.

"The government is as callous and insensitive to the health and safety of the American people as Hooker Chemical," said Pat Mayberry, Mayberry, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress from Albany, recently went to Love Canal on a fact-finding mission.

"The government has been covering up the truth because it, too, is guilty," she continued.

"The residents of Love Canal should immediately receive full compensation for all their moving and medical expenses.

"All the books and records of Hooker and other chemical companies, along with the government's secret files on such activities, should be opened for public inspection. The American people have a right to know where the other Love Canals are located."

Boarded windows, broken dreams

By Suzanne Haig

NIAGARA FALLS, N. Y.—Larry Matsulavage was boarding up his brother's home near Love Canal when Pat Mayberry and I walked by.

Mayberry is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress from Albany. We were on a fact-finding tour.

Black Creek, where dioxin has been found, runs through the Matsulavage backyard. Dioxin is one of the most deadly chemicals known, causing cancer, mutations, and birth defects.

The creek now has a high fence around it. But children go under it to get to the water.

This was to be Albert and Ilene Matsulavage's retirement home. Instead, poisoned by Hooker Chemical's toxic wastes, they have had to leave.

Albert was a chemical engineer for Hooker. "And now it turns out that the company ruined part of his life,"



Militant/Suzanne Haig

Larry Matsulavage talks with SWP candidate Pat Mayberry at Love Canal.

said Judy Matsulavage, who was helping her husband close down the house.

The Matsulavage family left because Albert had a rash all over his body and his daughter had developed leukemia. Both have improved since they left Love Canal. But tests show evidence of further illness.

"All medical tests and expenses

have come out of their own pocket," Larry told us. As they guided us through the house, we could smell a chemical odor in the musty air. It increased as we approached the basement. In the laundry room a black oily liquid seemed to be coming out of the walls above the wash tub, adjacent to the creek.

Larry told us this was the heart of the pollution in the house. He explained why this house, several blocks from Love Canal, could still be polluted.

Underground creeks or swales come directly under the house from Love Canal, bringing the poisons with them. These enter the house through seepage from the ground, the sump pump, and the water spigots.

"They had just remodeled the house, putting in most of the labor themselves," Larry explained. "They even had gold-colored fixtures installed in the bathrooms and put in a pool.

"They only used the pool once. They're still paying for it. They never even got to take a bath in the new tub.

"Now vandals have broken in and defaced the house. The tarpaulin over the pool was set on fire and thrown into the empty pool."

Many Love Canal residents have refused temporary relocation precisely because they fear that their homes will be broken into while they are gone.

"The state and the government tried to downplay the problem," said Judy, "but the whole government is full of corruption."

"I had little faith in the government before this," Larry added, "but I have even less now, I don't care who becomes president.

"We run into some people who don't want to admit anything is wrong. They say it's like smoking cigarettes. But they are playing with their lives. There is a danger here. It's in the air."

...MX

Continued from back page

death knell of wide open spaces, untouched valleys and mountains." Millions of acres of potential wilderness would be lost, and priceless archeological sites would be destroyed.

SANE, a peace group, has pointed out that the habitats of dozens of protected or endangered species would be severely disrupted.

The deserts of Utah and Nevada are extremely fragile and could not easily be reclaimed. In addition, great volumes of water—in short supply in

these desert regions—would be necessary for the MX project.

Failing to woo the people of Utah and Nevada into accepting the MX, the Pentagon has been trying to ram the project down the throats of the residents. Congressional hearings on the issue have been used by local Democratic and Republican party warhawks to denounce the Soviet Union. Even those capitalist politicians who have expressed reservations about the MX system are really only looking for a form tailored to try to overcome popular objections. Still, many people in the two states are far from convinced.

People recall how, during the 1950s, the government justified nuclear tests in the area as necessary to counter the alleged Soviet threat. But the only deaths came from fallout resulting from the U.S. nuclear weapons testing.

The government assured residents of the safety of the tests, and kept secret the reports that showed the opposite.

There was, for example, an Atomic Energy Commission report made in 1965, which showed that between 1950 and 1964 the death rate from leukemia in southern Utah was 50 percent higher than normal. This report was not made public until 1979.

Over 1,000 people from Utah, Nev-

ada, and Arizona have filed suit against the government because of cancer related to nuclear fallout.

Residents of Utah and Nevada—with this direct experience of government-caused death, and government lies, deception, and cover-ups—are in no mood to accept the new nuclear weapons system in their own backyards.

It is this mood that the Socialist Workers Party in Utah is speaking to. The SWP candidates have been the only ones to campaign against the MX in any form. The party is also recognized as the only campaign against all nuclear weapons.

By William Gottlieb

(fifth of a series)

As the economy drops into a sharp slump just five years after the 1974-75 depression, working people are asking why. Why must we suffer the misery of unemployment and poverty because "too much" has been produced? Why does inflation continue to soar even as the recession deepens? Why hasn't the government taken steps to avert the crisis? What can be done?

Previous articles in this series have shown that the official government and big-business explanations of the crisis are fraudulent. We've also seen what "Keynesian" fiscal and monetary policies are, and how they have failed to provide the economic stability promised by their backers.

To understand the real roots of the crisis and why government intervention has failed to stop it, we should step back and look at the most basic contradiction of the capitalist system. This is the contradiction between the *social* nature of production and *private* ownership of and control over the means of production.

Social production

Production under capitalism is thoroughly social. It takes hundreds of millions of people working together on a world scale to keep modern society operating. The various branches of industry and agriculture depend on one another to the highest degree.

For example, production of automobiles could not go on without the steel, rubber, electrical, and petroleum industries and many others.

Not only does one industry depend on another, but their production must be carried out in the right proportions. If, for example, the auto industry wants to produce ten million cars but the rubber industry produces only enough rubber for one million, then auto production would face collapse.



This principle is illustrated whenever a strike in a parts plant forces the shutdown of auto assembly lines. Or, as is happening today, when the lack of market for cars sends shock waves back through the economy, causing layoffs in parts plants, steel mills, iron ore mines, and countless other enterprises.

Under capitalism, a high degree of planning is achieved *within* each corporation. Indeed, with computers and modern high-speed communications, more precise planning and coordination—sometimes spanning many continents and involving hundreds of thousands of workers—are possible than ever before.

No social planning

But there is no *overall* social plan to coordinate the production of different factories and industries with each other or with society's needs. The ever-shifting balance of production is achieved only through the competitive drive of the capitalists to *individually* enrich themselves.

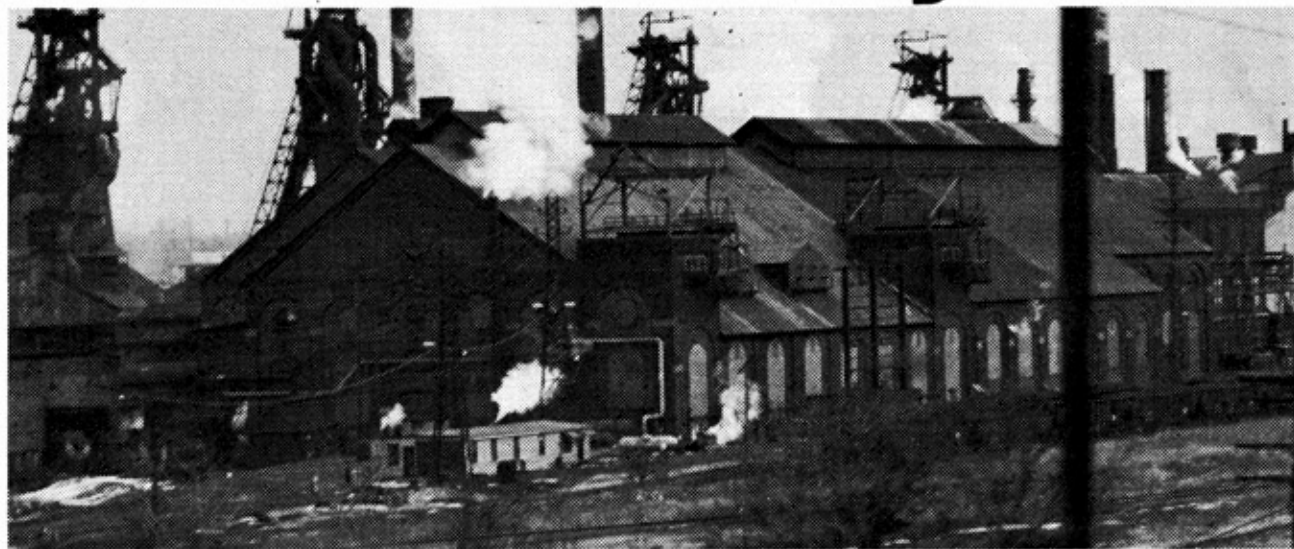
Each corporation, in ruthless competition against all the others, tries to maximize its own profit. (Monopoly control within various industries only modifies competition, it does not eliminate competition as the driving force of capitalism. General Motors is a powerful monopoly, but it is still locked in fierce competition with Ford, not to mention Toyota, Datsun, and Volkswagen!) The individual investors, that is, capitalists, try to maximize their own individual gains as they gamble in the stock, bond, money, and commodity markets.

Production is undertaken by capitalist corporations only if they believe it will be profitable. In turn, individual capitalists supply money only to those banks and corporations which they think will be profitable and assure them a constant flow of dividends.

Moreover, a capitalist *never really knows* in advance if his enterprise has produced too many or too few goods, if he has invested too much or too little in a particular line of production. That is only determined after the fact, when the goods are thrown onto the market. Either they sell or they don't. Here, even the most sophisticated, computerized market predictions cannot change the anarchic and unplanned character of capitalist production.

The overall well-being of society simply doesn't enter into the picture. What stock exchange shark

What's behind economy's 'boom & bust' cycle?



Steel mills are shut down as falling demand for autos, homes, consumer goods sends shock waves through economy.

ever asks himself whether a company whose stock he might purchase produces useful goods? No, he is interested only in the dividend prospects and the chances of the stock rising in price.

Imbalance and crisis

Out of this anarchic struggle for private profit a certain order does emerge, of course. Otherwise capitalism would be entirely impossible.

But history has conclusively shown that capitalism *cannot* maintain a steady, balanced growth of production. Imbalances between production and consumption, and between different branches of industry, continually recur. And only through the convulsion and destruction of the boom-and-bust business cycle can capitalism get itself (temporarily) back in balance and moving forward again.

A concise summary of the process that inevitably leads from wild expansion of production to crisis and depression was given by Frederick Engels, co-worker of Karl Marx. He pointed out how competition compels each capitalist corporation to modernize its machinery in an effort to lower costs and capture more of the market. But investment in more modern equipment pays off, as a general rule, only if the scale of production is expanded. Engels continues:

... the ever-increasing perfectibility of modern machinery is, by the anarchy of social production, turned into a compulsory law that forces the individual industrial capitalist always to improve his machinery, always to increase its productive force. The bare possibility of extending the field of production is transformed for him into a similar compulsory law.

The enormous expansion force of modern industry ... appears to us now as a *necessity* for expansion, both qualitative and quantitative, that laughs at all resistance.

Such resistance is offered by consumption, by sales, by the markets for the products of modern industry. But the capacity for extension ... of the markets is primarily governed by quite different laws that work much less energetically.

The extension of the markets cannot keep pace with the extension of production. The collision becomes inevitable, and as this cannot produce any real solution so long as it does not break in pieces the capitalist mode of production, the collisions become periodic. Capitalist production has begotten another 'vicious circle.' (*Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, Pathfinder Press, 1977)

From bust to boom ...

This "vicious circle" is the business cycle. It runs about as follows:

During the phase of depression there is an excess supply of commodities on the market. They cannot be sold. Business cuts back construction of new plants and introduction of new equipment. It cannot profitably utilize the plants it already has.

Demand for loans drops off as spending by both consumers and businesses declines. The unemployed don't apply for auto loans or mortgages. Interest rates fall sharply and surplus funds pile up in the banks.

Millions of workers are laid off or working short hours as production is curtailed. High unemployment pushes down the wages of those still working. Farmers and small businesses suffer because of the sluggish level of trade. Bankruptcy rates, both corporate and personal, are high. Misery and poverty among working people are at a high level even by capitalist standards.

Gradually, the inventories of goods are sold off or even destroyed—sold as scrap, for example. The low rate of wages and the elimination through bank-

ruptcy of weaker competitors improve the profit outlook for the strong companies that remain. The low rate of interest further encourages resumption of production.

Once this process begins, it leads to a chain reaction recovery throughout the economy. Workers begin to be rehired. *Employment lags behind the recovery of production*, however, because many older, more labor-intensive plants have been shut down for good during the depression. New, modern machinery is added instead, allowing more goods to be produced with fewer workers.

... and boom to bust

Eventually recovery leads to boom. As demand rises, the corporations have to use more of their existing capacity and eventually step up construction of new plants. These will be equipped with the most modern technology and will have sharply lower production costs than the older ones. This process is further stimulated by the abundance of cheap credit, which encourages the building of factories with borrowed funds.

The boom feeds on itself. As new plants are built, jobs are created in steel, construction, machine tools, mining, and many other industries. Unemployment finally goes down, although never to zero.

The boom is further fed by the availability of consumer credit and mortgages, as "easy money" reigns. Demand exceeds supply. Prices rise. It becomes relatively easier for workers to win wage increases. Bosses hate to lose production when trade is brisk, while workers are not so weighed down by fear of unemployment.

Just as everybody is beginning to feel secure, signs of trouble appear on the horizon. Interest rates begin to climb and credit becomes harder to obtain. Certain industries that depend heavily on credit for their sales, such as housing and auto, begin to slump.

As supply begins to exceed demand, the rush of investment aimed at increasing production suddenly looms as a peril to profits. Nevertheless, as competition for sales sharpens, many capitalists are forced by competition to bull ahead with expansion plans anyway, hoping more efficient production will help them beat out their rivals. Maybe the sales slump will not catch up with them.

But it always does.

From borrowing to expand, businesses are now forced to borrow just to cover fixed costs of their inventories of unsold goods. Interest rates rise even faster, and credit becomes almost impossible to obtain.

The crisis has come again. Soon layoffs spread from credit-sensitive industries to virtually all sectors of the economy.

* * *

Experience in the past decade shows that Keynesian measures, as described in an earlier article, are powerless to stop this cycle. The underlying reason for this is quite simple: The Keynesian policies leave the capitalist system and its basic contradiction—the *contradiction between social production and private ownership*—totally intact.

How this has worked out in practice, and why the Keynesian attempt to bridge over the contradictions of capitalism has led to today's combination of recession and virulent inflation, will be the subject of the next article.

World Outlook

News, analysis, and discussion of international political events

Tito, the Yugoslav revolution, and Stalinism

By David Frankel

The death of Josip Broz Tito—born Josip Broz eighty-seven years ago—on May 4 set off an avalanche of eulogies from politicians and media in the capitalist world.

Carter declared Yugoslavia's late "president for life" to have been "a towering figure on the world stage."

Newspaper editorialists praised him as a doughty fighter against Moscow, and expressed fears for Yugoslavia's "stability" without him.

His style of living came in for gushing admiration. "Tito lived like a monarch, with many palaces, a personal island, his own train, and an awed retinue," wrote Raymond Anderson in the May 5 *New York Times*. He was no "ascetic ideologue like Lenin."

Moscow joined in the torrent of praise, and rulers from around the world gathered in Belgrade for his funeral.

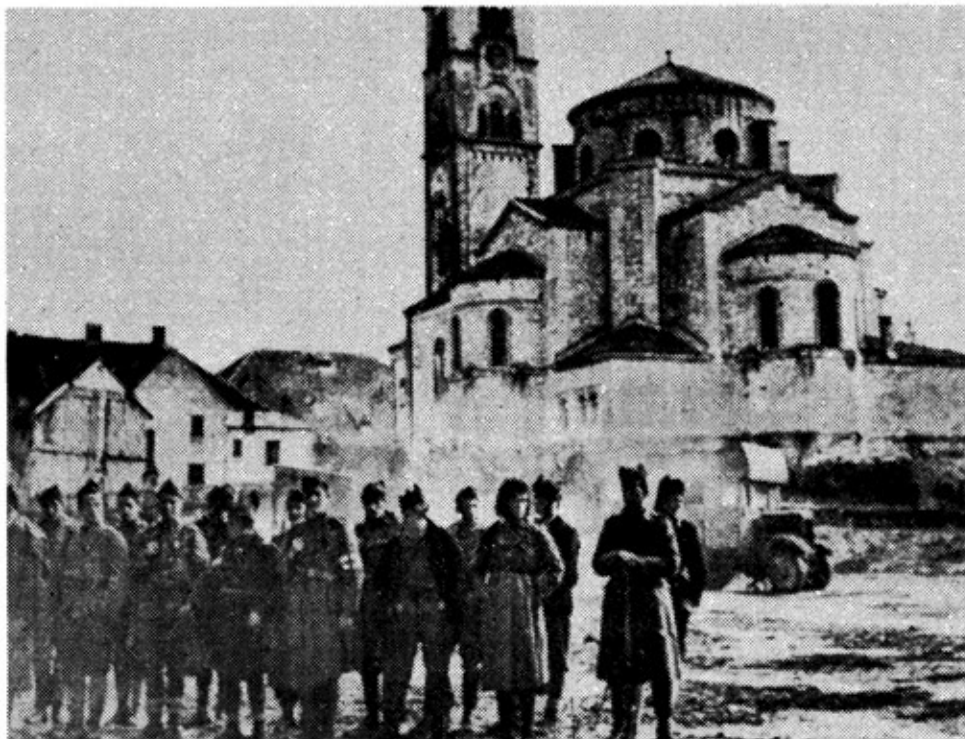
What earned Tito such high regard?

During the conference of the Non-aligned movement in Havana last September President Tito emerged as a leading figure in the bloc opposing the firm anti-imperialist line advocated by Cuban President Fidel Castro. Along with Tito's diplomatic support to U.S. imperialism against the Afghan, Iranian, and Indochinese revolutions, his role at the Nonaligned conference was his final political legacy.

The contrast between Tito's course and that followed by Castro could hardly be clearer. No Yugoslav troops have been sent to aid the Black liberation struggle in southern Africa, or to help the people of Ethiopia or South Yemen defend themselves against imperialist-inspired attacks. No Yugoslav doctors and teachers are working in revolutionary Nicaragua or Grenada.

The imperialists have taken note of this. Cuba is an island under siege because of its revolutionary internationalism. But there are no complaints from Washington about Tito and Titoism, and no imperialist blockade against the Yugoslav economy.

Yet at one time it appeared that Tito might play a very different role. During World War II, Tito led the Yugoslav resistance to Nazi occupation. Without any outside aid whatsoever, the Yugoslav partisans built up an army of 300,000 fighters and liberated half the territory of their country by 1943. By the end of the war, the partisan forces had grown to an army of 800,000 that was able to complete the



Yugoslav antifascist partisans in 1942. 'They were also fighting for a new kind of government; for a republic and not a monarchy; for equality among all the nationalities; for complete independence from foreign capital; for ending exploitation; for equal protection of women; for the right of young people to have a say.'

liberation of Yugoslavia with only secondary help from the allied powers.

The truly heroic struggle of the Yugoslav masses against fascism—and the collaboration of procapitalist and monarchist forces with the Nazi invaders—set the stage for the postwar social transformation of Yugoslavia and the abolition of capitalism there.

But at the Yalta Conference in February 1945, Stalin and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill had agreed to share influence in Yugoslavia on a fifty-fifty basis after the war. The unfolding of the Yugoslav revolution led to a deepening rift between Stalin and Tito, which finally broke into the open in June 1948.

As a Yugoslav patriot—and as a politician who wanted to remain in power and alive—Tito refused to knuckle under to Stalin's demands. The Tito-Stalin split was the first step in the shattering of the Stalinist monolith.

Tito, however, proved incapable of charting a revolutionary course following his break with Stalin. The man who began in 1948 by fighting Stalin's attempts to hold back the progress of the Yugoslav revolution was soon to



collaborate with British and American imperialism in strangling the Greek revolution, and supporting Washington's bloody intervention in Korea.

What exactly did Tito and Titoism represent? This question, which was posed with great urgency in 1948, is no less important for revolutionists today.

Born into a poor peasant family in Croatia in 1892, Tito became a metalworker and joined the pre-World War I socialist movement. Drafted into the Austro-Hungarian army in 1913, Tito was sent to the Russian front at the outbreak of World War I. There, he was wounded and taken prisoner, and was able to see the Russian revolution first hand.

Returning to his native land in 1920, Tito became an active trade unionist and Communist.

As a result of World War I, the old Austro-Hungarian Empire had disintegrated. But Yugoslavia was now ruled by another monarchy, the Serbian-based Karageorgevich dynasty. King Alexander I, true to the hallowed customs of royalty, was first of all a grasping huckster. He quickly became one of the chief shareholders of the National Bank. As royal property, all his business enterprises were free from

taxes.

National oppression was enshrined in the monarchy's legal code. Macedonians, for example, were forbidden by law from publishing books or newspapers in their native language.

When workers sought to defend their rights by organizing trade unions, and when the Communist Party placed third in the election for delegates to write a new constitution, King Alexander simply outlawed trade unions and the Communist Party. Nor did the king neglect to confiscate their property for the royal coffers.

But even these conditions were too liberal for Alexander I. On January 6, 1929, the king scrapped the 1921 constitution, banned all political parties, dissolved the parliament, and introduced rigid censorship of the press. Also banned once more were all trade unions.

These measures were taken at a time when Yugoslavia had already entered the Great Depression. The workers were left defenseless in the face of wage cuts, rising unemployment, and speedup. At the same time, the market for agricultural goods had collapsed and the mass of poor peasants were facing ruin.

Tito, meanwhile, had been sentenced to a five-year jail term in November 1928 because of his political activity. Shortly after his release from prison in 1934, Tito was sent to Vienna to work with the central committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party, which was in exile there.

By this time the Communist International had been thoroughly Stalinized. The year before, Hitler had come to power in Germany without the massive Communist Party there offering any struggle whatsoever. Yet there was not the slightest protest or discussion in the Comintern of the disastrous policies that led to this defeat.

Tito himself—after his break with Stalin—gave a telling account of the bureaucratic functioning of the Comintern. Tito's view is paraphrased in Vladimir Dedijer's semi-official biography.

According to Dedijer, Tito complained that members of the Yugoslav CP

... were simply compelled to await instructions from abroad instead of thinking for themselves. The people at home who were directly involved in the struggle were al-

Continued on next page



Yugoslav masses protest Stalin's threats in 1949. 'The Yugoslav workers won some big concessions, including a voice in some decisions on the factory level. Because of the strength that Yugoslav workers gained, the Tito regime was never able in subsequent years to completely roll back these gains.'

... Tito

Continued from preceding page

lowed to take no political action not approved by the Central Committee. But this Committee was in Vienna. On the other hand, the Central Committee itself had no freedom of action, but had to send its every resolution to the Comintern in Moscow before it could act. . . . Whenever a line of action proved unsuitable, the Comintern would nominate someone new [to lead the party]. As a rule the Comintern made its choice among persons who lived in Moscow, and were part of its machinery; it never trusted comrades who had steeled themselves in the struggle at home. Clearly, no remarkable results could be expected in the Party's work in Yugoslavia. (Vladimir Dedijer, *Tito* [New York: Simon and Schuster, 1953], p. 90.)

Accurate as such observations are, Tito never suggested that there was anything wrong with the basic political line of the Comintern in the 1930s—the decade in which the Stalinist policy of class collaboration with world imperialism destroyed the Comintern as an instrument of revolutionary change.

The road to the top

In Vienna, Tito was appointed to a position in the leadership of the Yugoslav CP, and he was sent to Moscow in the winter of 1934-35. Three years of work in the Comintern apparatus, both in Moscow and in various European countries, followed.

These were the days when Stalin was strangling the Spanish Revolution and staging the Moscow trials. In those trials an entire generation of Bolshevik leaders from the days of Lenin were framed up and executed.

Then, at the end of 1937, Tito was recalled to Moscow. Milan Gorkic, the general secretary of the Yugoslav CP, had fallen victim to Stalin's purge.

Although Tito admits elsewhere that during this period "All those who refused to bow their heads to Stalin were murdered under the names of spies, Fascists and Hitlerite agents," he has nothing bad to say about the fate of Gorkic. On the contrary, he gives full credence to the frame-up, saying:

Gorkic, who had been living fourteen years in Moscow, who had earned the full confidence of the Comintern . . . had actually always and systematically been working against the Party. As a factionalist he hampered the development of new cadres, especially among the workers. (Dedijer, *Tito*, p. 114.)

It was over Gorkic's dead body that Tito climbed to the top of the Yugoslav CP. Like his predecessor, he had

earned the trust of the Comintern leadership and become "part of its machinery."

Unlike Gorkic, however, Tito had the good sense to get out of Moscow, and the ability and drive to return to Yugoslavia and begin the organization of an underground leadership.

The central question facing the world working class in this period was the rising threat of fascism and the approaching world war. In Yugoslavia, the Karageorgevich regent, Prince Paul, was openly pro-Nazi.

Hitler, of course, had to be fought. This was a question of life and death for the Yugoslav workers and peasants. But what forces could be relied on to do the fighting? How could the interests of the oppressed and exploited best be defended against the Nazi threat?

Stalin and the Comintern answered these questions by telling the toiling masses to rely on and support the capitalist governments of France, Great Britain, the United States, and their less powerful partners. Instead of placing the struggle against the Nazi menace on a class basis, pointing toward socialist revolution as the way to rid the world of fascism, the Stalinists counterposed "good" countries to "bad."

The struggles of the colonial masses in Indochina, India, and the Middle East against their British and French masters were either ignored or attacked as playing into the hands of Hitler. The workers in these imperialist centers were told to subordinate the struggle to advance their own interests to an alliance with their exploiters.

By opposing the independent mobilization and organization of the workers, Stalin dealt a heavy blow to the antifascist struggle. When the test actually came, one capitalist regime after the other collapsed rapidly in the face of the Nazi assault. The reason was mainly political, not military.

Just compare the tenacious and heroic resistance of the Vietnamese people against U.S. imperialism to the collapse of France at the beginning of World War II. The French soldiers certainly did not lack bravery. And they had a far more powerful military machine than the Vietnamese, one backed by a modern industrial economy. But the French workers and peasants were not mobilized to fight for their class interests. They were told to put their faith in an imperialist ruling class that feared its own workers far more than it feared Hitler, or any other capitalist ruler. The French bourgeoisie hoped that no matter how the war turned out, it would still have

its economic position—as long as there was no workers revolution.

Tito and the Yugoslav Stalinists were later to face this same attitude on the part of their own ruling class. But in the period leading up to the war, they followed the Comintern line faithfully. For example, Dedijer complains:

"Instead of delaying the danger to Yugoslavia by consolidating allied relationships from the past war, Prince Paul's regime betrayed all Yugoslavia's allies, and by leaning toward the Rome-Berlin Axis altered the whole foreign policy of Yugoslavia." (Dedijer, *Tito*, p. 120.)

And had the Karageorgevich dynasty followed its World War I course, the Yugoslav Stalinists would have given it their support.

The partisan movement

Within Yugoslavia, there was massive opposition to Prince Paul's accommodation with Hitler. The prospect of German domination was especially resented because Yugoslavia, a semicolonial country, had previously been ruled by Austria.

On March 25, 1941, Prince Paul's regime joined in a pact with Hungary, Romania, and Bulgaria, which were allied to the Axis. Widespread protests were followed two days later by a coup carried out by young air force officers.

Prince Paul was exiled, but his policy had not been merely an expression of his individual leanings. The capitalist regime that replaced him refused to mobilize the country for war, and ten days later the German army rolled into

upon the fascists as an ally against the threat of social revolution. By the end of 1943, even the British government was forced to admit that the Chetniks were actively collaborating with the Nazis.

Tito's political perspective was for an alliance with the antifascist sectors of the capitalist class, including the monarchist regime in London. He did his best to reach an agreement with Mihailovich and when the Comintern complained that he wasn't doing enough to reach agreement with the capitalist forces, Tito radioed back in March 1942:

"The British mission agrees with the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party that a new Yugoslav government of democratic elements inside and outside the country [that is, the Royal Government in London] should be formed."

Tito's only demand was that Mihailovich be dropped. He told Moscow: "After Atherton [the chief of the British military mission] had studied material proof of Cetnik treachery, he stated that the [Royal Yugoslav] London government were in error, and he could not understand their support of Draza Mihailović." (F.W.D. Deakin, *The Embattled Mountain* [New York and London: Oxford University Press, 1971], p. 165.)

Masses fight for change

But Tito was never able to find any capitalist forces willing to work with the partisans in the anti-Nazi struggle. And in the meantime, the need to



Tito and Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat in 1973. Tito's desire to get along with U.S. imperialism made him an ally of some of the most reactionary rulers in the semicolonial world. His backing of Pol Pot regime in Kampuchea was another example.

Yugoslavia. All organized resistance was ended by April 17—eleven days after the Nazi invasion. Hitler bragged that 335,000 Yugoslav troops had been captured.

In the following months, two resistance organizations grew up. The partisan movement was led by the Yugoslav CP. A second movement, the Chetniks, was led by Draza Mihailovich, formerly a colonel in the Yugoslav army. Mihailovich's movement was recognized by the Royal Yugoslav government in London, which was now led by the young King Peter.

Mihailovich was a Serbian chauvinist, and his movement was based in Serbia. He refused to carry out operations against the Axis occupiers, arguing that such actions would leave Serbian civilians open to reprisals and that the resistance forces should wait for the approach of the allied armies before going into action. When the partisan forces refused to go along with this stance and refused to put themselves under his command, Mihailovich sought to destroy them.

Like other sectors of the European bourgeoisie, Mihailovich came to look

mobilize the masses in the fight against the Axis forces had a logic of its own. As Dedijer was to later say:

How could anyone have appealed to the peoples of Yugoslavia to rise up against the German, Italian, Bulgarian, and Hungarian occupiers without telling them clearly that they were also fighting for a new kind of government; for a republic and not a monarchy; for equality among all the nationalities of Yugoslavia; for complete independence of the country from foreign capital; for the industrialization of the economically backward areas; for ending the exploitation of man by man; for equal protection of women in society; for the right of young people to have a say on key problems? (Vladimir Dedijer, *The Battle Stalin Lost* [New York: Viking Press, 1971], p. 48.)

F.W.D. Deakin, the head of a British military mission who parachuted into Yugoslavia in May 1943, said of the partisan fighters:

They were fighting to return to their homes, which would be reconstructed in a new and better world than they had known. In the mass, they represented the underprivileged and the neglected of a former society, the age groups and social categories untouched

by the local organizations of the traditional political parties of the past. This was the basic strength of the movement: the mobilization of the youth, the women, and the aged, and the creation of a new kinship and a special indefinable morale. (Deakin, *The Embattled Mountain*, p. 107.)

In other words, a revolution was beginning to unfold.

Comintern directives constantly complained that the Yugoslav CP was going too far in responding to the pressure of the masses. A typical directive, from November 1942, said:

At this stage, do not pose the question of abolishing the monarchy. Do not raise the slogan of the republic. The question of the regime in Yugoslavia, as you conceive of it, will be solved after the disruption of the Italo-German coalition and the country's liberation from the occupiers. (Dedijer, *The Battle Stalin Lost*, p. 50.)

But it was simply impossible for Tito or any other politician to carry out an effective struggle against the Axis forces—which with Nazi troops inside the Soviet borders also remained Moscow's main concern—without taking into account the aspirations of the workers and peasants for social progress.

Tito was to later say of Stalin's directives:

What would have happened had we accepted these instructions? It would virtually have meant suicide. We should have been unable even to launch the uprising, we should have been unable to mobilize the majority of the people unless we offered them a clear prospect of a new, happier, and more equitable Yugoslavia rising out of that terrible war. (Dedijer, *Tito*, p. 257.)

The revolution moves forward

Winston Churchill estimated in June 1943 that the Yugoslav resistance was tying down some thirty-three Axis divisions—an army of more than 500,000 men. In the areas they liberated the partisans set up their own schools, hospitals, newspapers, and postal service.

As Tito pointed out to the Comintern in November 1942:

Although we do not consider the Executive Committee of the Anti-Fascist Council as any kind of government, it will nevertheless have to look after affairs of state and the front, in which it will be assisted by the people's liberation committees set up in virtually all areas, liberated and unliberated. There is no other government here except those committees and the military government which looks after the fighting. (Dedijer, *The Battle Stalin Lost*, p. 50.)

While continuing to subscribe to the Comintern's Stalinist ideology, Tito had his own apparatus, which more and more took on the character of an independent government. (A similar process was going on in China during this period, where the CP was leading the struggle against Japanese imperialist occupation.)

Tito pursued Stalinist policies and followed Moscow's lead within the framework of trying to preserve the partisan apparatus. In October 1943 he assured Deakin:

The Partisan leadership has no plan or intention of immediate social revolution. The prime object is the reconstruction of the country after the war, and it is realized that a revolutionary programme would cause an internal struggle which would fatally weaken the country. (Deakin, *The Embattled Mountain*, p. 246.)

With the liberation of Yugoslavia in May 1945, Tito was left in sole control of the country. He had an army of 800,000 and enormous political authority because of his wartime role.

According to Dedijer, when Tito had visited Moscow in September 1944, Stalin urged him to bring back King Peter. Dedijer says Tito told Stalin "it was impossible, people would rebel, that in Yugoslavia the king personifies



Above, Tito, lying down, and other soldiers during World War I. This experience contributed to Tito's becoming a supporter of the Russian revolution and a Communist.

At right, Tito, seated, as head of the partisan movement in Yugoslavia during World War II. In the intervening years he had become a supporter of Stalin's class-collaborationist policies.



treason, that he had fled and left his people in the midst of their struggle, that the Karageorgevich dynasty was hated among the people for corruption and terror." (Dedijer, *Tito*, p. 233.)

Tito agreed in February 1945 to incorporate monarchist representatives in the Yugoslav government, and to allow the establishment of a regency council.

With a foothold in the government, the capitalists hoped to slow down the revolution, find bases of support within the country, and maneuver for a situation in which they could call on imperialist forces for aid.

But the revolution was moving too fast. In November 1944 the Partisan government had already confiscated all property belonging "to Germans, Yugoslav war criminals and their accomplices." This amounted to 82 percent of the country's industry.

An agrarian reform law promulgated in August 1945 confiscated the property of the great landowners without compensation and put 95 percent of the cultivated land into the hands of the working peasants.

Foreign capital was also nationalized, and in the autumn of 1945 the monarchy was formally abolished. The imperialists—faced with revolutions in Greece, China, Vietnam, and elsewhere—were unable to take advantage of the opportunity offered by Tito's acceptance of a coalition regime. By October 1945 the last two capitalist ministers had withdrawn from the Yugoslav government.

The break with Stalin

U.S. and British imperialism reacted to the Yugoslav revolution with economic pressure, hostile propaganda,

and overt military threats. During 1946, for example, Yugoslav airspace was constantly violated by U.S. and British bombers and fighters. Between July 16 and August 8, 1946, for example, 172 planes violated Yugoslavia's airspace.

Since Stalin's entire political perspective was based on the extension of the wartime alliance with the imperialist powers, he viewed the Yugoslav revolution as a threat. While Stalin hoped to throttle the extension of the socialist revolution after the war in order to placate the imperialists, Tito was being forced—at least temporarily—in the opposite direction.

Thus, Stalin complained to the Yugoslav leaders in February 1948 about their aid to the revolution in Greece. He said,

... we do not agree with Yugoslav comrades that they should help further the Greek Partisans. In this matter, we think that we are right and not the Yugoslavs. It is true, we have also made mistakes. For instance, after the war we invited the Chinese comrades to come to Moscow and we discussed the situation in China. We told them bluntly that we considered the development of the uprising in China had no prospect, and that the Chinese comrades should seek a *modus vivendi* with Chiang Kai-shek, that they should join the Chiang Kai-shek government and dissolve their army. The Chinese comrades agreed here with the views of the Soviet comrades, but went back to China and acted quite otherwise. They mustered their forces, organized their armies and now, as we see, they are beating the Chiang Kai-shek army. Now, in the case of China, we admit we were wrong. ... But that is not the case with you in the Balkans. It is not the case with the Greek Partisans, and Yugoslav comrades should stop helping them. That strug-

gle has no prospect whatsoever." (Dedijer, *Tito*, pp. 321-322. A similar account is given by Milovan Djilas in *Conversations With Stalin*.)

It was at Stalin's urging that the Greek Communists, who controlled the whole country, allowed British forces to land in Athens at the end of 1944. Stalin had agreed that Greece should be a British sphere of influence after the war and he did his best to keep the bargain, for which Churchill stated his appreciation in the House of Commons. Hence Stalin's insistence that the Greek revolution had "no prospect whatsoever."

Friction between the Yugoslav leadership and Moscow was not limited to foreign policy issues. The Yugoslavs bitterly resented the unequal economic relations demanded by the Soviet bureaucracy, and unlike those regimes installed by Stalin, the Yugoslav government was in a position to protest. Stalin responded in March 1948 by withdrawing all Soviet economic advisers and experts from Yugoslavia.

Stalin feared that the example of Yugoslav independence from Kremlin dictates would give others in Eastern Europe similar ideas. The deterioration in relations finally broke into the open in June 1948 with the publication of a resolution by the Cominform (the Comintern's short-lived successor) denouncing the Yugoslav leadership for its "nationalism" and urging Yugoslav CP members "to replace them and to form a new internationalist leadership."

Caught between the Kremlin bureaucracy on one side and the pressure of imperialism on the other, Tito had no choice but to seek support from the Yugoslav masses. For example, the entire text of the Cominform attack, along with the reply of the Yugoslav CP leadership, was published. Some of the bureaucratic abuses and privileges that had been instituted over the previous few years were curtailed.

And the Yugoslav workers won some major concessions, including a voice in some decisions on the factory level. Because of the strength that Yugoslav workers gained in the course of the revolutionary struggle, the Tito regime was never able in subsequent years to completely roll back these gains.

In self-defense, Tito and his followers also began to tell some of the truth about the history of their relations with Stalin and to condemn Stalin's terrorist methods. This was especially true after Stalin began a new round of show trials in 1949. In these frame-ups Communist leaders in Hungary, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and other East European countries were accused of being "spies and agents of imperialism" linked to Tito. In the infamous Slansky trial, for instance, the defendants were accused of being "Trotskyite-Titoist-Zionist bourgeois nationalist traitors and enemies of the Czechoslovak people."

Tito and other leaders of the Yugoslav resistance movement were even accused of being agents of Hitler's Gestapo!

Response of the Trotskyists

Revolutionists in the Fourth International lost no time in responding to the break between Tito and Stalin. As the Political Committee of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party explained in an August 1948 statement:

The open break between the Cominform and the Communist Party of Yugoslavia is the clearest expression to date of the deep crisis convulsing Stalinism. ...

Revolutionists can only hail this development—this first rift in the ranks of world Stalinism which must unfold in open view of the world working class. ...

It brings out of the shadows and into the light of day the terrible internal contradictions of the Kremlin regime which are

Continued on next page



As head of a bureaucracy whose living standards raised him far above Yugoslav masses, Tito feared any shake-ups in the international status quo. That's why he opposed the anti-imperialist line proposed by Cuba's Fidel Castro at the Non-Aligned conference last September. Here Castro greets Tito on his arrival in Havana for conference.

... Tito

Continued from preceding page

bound to lead to its downfall.

What is more, it confronts the rank and file of the Yugoslav CP and of Stalinist parties elsewhere with the need of reexamining the ideas and the methods of Stalinism.

The course of events will work in favor of revolutionists. The incumbent Yugoslav regime is caught in a vise. To be sure, Tito and his friends possess a certain amount of room to maneuver not only against the masses at home but also with respect to both the Kremlin and Washington. But the moment of decision for Yugoslavia cannot be postponed indefinitely.

The alternatives facing Yugoslavia, let alone the Tito regime, are to capitulate either to Washington or to the Kremlin—or to strike out on an independent road. . . . [This] can be achieved only by Yugoslavia's rallying to the banner of the European Socialist Revolution, and calling upon the international working class to aid her in the struggle against both the Kremlin oligarchy and American imperialism.

The logic of the Stalin-Tito struggle is such that it is bound to impel the militants in Yugoslavia and elsewhere—not to the right but to the left. This will happen independently of whether Tito himself moves to the right, or whether he seeks to straddle the fence somewhere between the Kremlin and imperialism.

A campaign to defend the Yugoslav revolution against Stalin was carried out by the Fourth International. (The attack from Moscow was not merely by means of propaganda. Between July 1, 1948, and September 1, 1949, there were 219 armed incidents on Yugoslavia's eastern borders.)

As it turned out, Tito and the Yugoslav CP leadership hesitated for only a brief period before seeking the support of imperialism. Beginning in the middle of 1950 they initiated an openly proimperialist foreign policy.

Titoism and Stalinism

Although Tito had broken definitively with Stalin, he had not broken with Stalinism at all. Tito and the rest of the Yugoslav Communist Party leadership had thoroughly assimilated the Stalinist outlook of class concilia-

tion, and they acted on that basis.

Since 1924 Stalin had insisted that socialism could be successfully built within the national boundaries of the Soviet Union if only the USSR would be left alone by the imperialists. This was a complete reversal of the revolutionary policy of the Communist International under Lenin and Trotsky, which saw the extension of the socialist revolution as the way forward for the workers and peasants both in the USSR and throughout the world.

Stalin sought for decades to defend the Soviet Union by making deals with imperialism at the expense of revolu-

tions abroad. This was the policy of "collective security," of "peaceful coexistence," of "détente." It was a counter-revolutionary policy based on preserving the material privileges of the bureaucratic caste that usurped political power from the Soviet workers.

Having come to power in Yugoslavia, Tito tried to follow the Soviet model. But Stalin refused to cooperate. The Yugoslav revolution stood in the way of good relations with imperialism. Stalin wanted to build up the Soviet economy at the expense of Yugoslavia.

Tito therefore broke with Stalin and at the same time followed Stalin's policy of building socialism in one country, seeking his own deal with imperialism. Lacking the clout of the Soviet Union, the Yugoslav Stalinists had to be even more servile than Moscow in their attempts to win favor with imperialism.

Thus, during the Korean war Tito branded the North Koreans as "aggressors." He demanded that Chinese forces withdraw from Korea, while supporting the presence of the U.S. fleet off the coast of China.

Tito also joined Stalin in stabbing the Greek revolution in the back, closing Yugoslavia's borders and halting all aid to the Greek fighters because the Greek Communist Party supported Stalin.

Taking a stance that is today followed by the Chinese Stalinists, the Titoists began to characterize the Soviet Union as a capitalist and imperialist country, and as the main enemy of the peoples of the world. (Tito was to reestablish better relations with Moscow after Stalin's death and drop some of the more extreme anti-Soviet positions of the early 1950s.)

Defender of privilege

At the root of the class collaborationist course of the Yugoslav CP leaders was the establishment in Yugoslavia of the same kind of privileged bureaucracy as the one existing in the Soviet Union. The Yugoslav regime seeks to advance the interests of this bureaucracy, not those of working people, either in Yugoslavia or anywhere else.

No one is more aware of this than the young people of Yugoslavia itself.

In 1968 some 40,000 students at Belgrade University conducted an eight-day sit-in under the slogan of "socialism, freedom, democracy." Among their demands—which won the support of more than 200,000 additional students throughout the country—was the suppression of economic inequalities and a program to cut down privileges.

Economic policies associated with Tito, such as decentralization and the limited use of market mechanisms, have often served to perpetuate or increase inequality. They have been an attempt to find a substitute for genuine workers democracy, and have been conceived within the framework of the regime's claims to be building a socialist economy within the borders of Yugoslavia as opposed to extending the socialist revolution to the rest of the world.

In short, Titoism is Stalinism—its Yugoslav variant.

What future does it have?

Since his capitulation to imperialism during the Korean War, Tito has consistently followed a conciliatory policy toward Washington and other capitalist powers. His model of "independent communism" has won him no prestige or moral standing among the oppressed and exploited of the world.

This fact was registered by the victory of the anti-imperialist positions of the Cuban leadership over those backed by Tito at the 1979 conference of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries, in which the Yugoslav regime had previously exercised significant influence.

Hope for the future of the workers and peasants of the world—including those of Yugoslavia—can only be found in the defeat of imperialism and the extension of the world socialist revolution. Tito's setback in the Non-aligned movement reflected this fact, and the impact of revolutionary victories in Indochina, Iran, Africa, and Latin America.

Washington, Moscow, and Tito's heirs in Belgrade all fear that with his death the revolutionary spirit of the Yugoslav peoples will assert itself once again. And they know that the opportunities for success have never been greater.

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Youth call for unity with workers movement

France: 15,000 students protest cop murder

By Lisa Hickler

PARIS—On Wednesday, May 14, 15,000 students marched through the streets here demanding a halt to police attacks on students and to racist legislation against foreign students.

This action, the largest student demonstration in France since 1976, was held the day after police entered the Jussieu campus of the University of Paris and attacked students conducting a strike there.

One protester fell off a ledge to his death while fleeing the police.

The Jussieu protest was the latest in a series of student actions responding to the government's expulsion of foreign students from French universities. There are 30,000-40,000 immigrant students in France, mostly from North and West Africa.

Last year the Bonnet law sought to weed out foreign students by initiating entrance exams in French for all entering students.

This year the Imbert decree established a national study to determine a quota of foreign students for each of the universities. This was coupled with the government's attacks on foreign workers in general and on the public university system and social services.

The strike at Jussieu protested the expulsion of a Moroccan student.

As word of the May 13 police murder at Jussieu spread, emergency meetings were held to discuss a response. Meetings of approximately 300 students each were held at Nanterre, Tolbiac, and Villanetuse. Strikes and protests occurred at Grenoble, Ponthéon, Sorbonne, Vincennes, and elsewhere. In high schools, meetings mobilized students for the May 14 action.

The May 14 demonstration demanded that foreign students be able to enroll wherever they want and that all racist laws and decrees be repealed.

Some contingents at the demonstration also called for a general strike of students and demanded the Giscard government be thrown out.

The action was organized by the strike committee at the Jussieu campus and supported by the National Union



PARIS—Thousands protest fatal cop attack on students striking at Jussieu campus. Strike had been called in response to government's expulsion of foreign students from French universities.

of French Students (UNEF).

March organizers were concerned that police violence would be unleashed on protesters as it had been at the Jussieu campus the day before. But the government had clearly decided by that time that it could not risk an all-out attack on the march. It proceeded to its conclusion without being broken up.

However, several students were injured in confrontations with the police. In one such incident, a small group of protesters broke away from the demonstration and overturned a police van outside a Parisian police station. Approximately forty cops quickly assembled in the street in riot gear and charged the students.

Students, reporters, and passersby

scrambled to avoid being caught under a police club.

In an interview with the *Militant*, Pierre Raiman, a student at the Tolbiac campus and member of the Revolutionary Communist Youth (JCR), explained that the JCR had taken major responsibilities for organizing the march and mobilizing students against the racist attacks against education. The JCR is the Trotskyist youth group in solidarity with the Young Socialist Alliance in the United States.

JCR members attended meetings leading up to the demonstration. Raiman said they "explained that students should not remain separate from the rest of the working class, and that the students should call for a meeting

and a demonstration of the workers organizations together with the students against the government."

This proposal, he said, "was rather popular in the universities because most of the students understand that they cannot win their fight against the government just by their own strength alone. They need the workers movement to change this government and repeal the racist laws."

The May 14 demonstration occurred the day after the General Confederation of Workers (CGT), one of the large union confederations in France, organized a one-day strike that closed down many enterprises in Paris and brought 50,000 workers into the streets to protest government cutbacks in health care.

French rail workers grapple with job cuts

By Norton Sandler

PARIS—I did most of my traveling by train during a recent visit to Europe. The European railroads do a brisk passenger business and seem efficient when compared to the American railroad system.

In Paris I spent a couple of hours talking to Morian, a rail worker and a member of the Revolutionary Communist League of France (LCR), a sister organization of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party.

Morian works for the social services division of SCNF, the government-owned railroad. He's an officer of his union local, which includes operating crews, yard crews, ticket takers, and an administrative division in one of the large yards near here.

The largest union federation in France and on the railroads is the General Confederation of Workers (CGT), which is led by the French Communist Party. Other rail workers are organized by the French Democratic Confederation of Labor

(CFDT), also a large union federation, which follows the political lead of the Socialist Party.

The two federations compete for workers' allegiances at the same job site. Sometimes workers switch their trade-union affiliation depending on what political programs are presented by the two political parties. Morian's yard, however, is overwhelmingly dominated by the CGT.

In France, as in the United States, the rulers are trying to make workers pay for the economic crisis. Working conditions are deteriorating while the French government is trying to hold down railroad wages. Morian said the rail managers' "special plan" includes reduced crew sizes, higher ticket prices, and the closing of less profitable depots.

The railroads are also rapidly introducing new technology such as elaborate computer systems and such devices as closed circuit television cameras to monitor passenger cars.

Morian estimated that 10,000 operating rail jobs have been eliminated in recent years. Not long ago all trains had two engineers and a safety controller on them. The SCNF first eliminated an engineer and more recently moved to get rid of the controller. Unfortunately, the struggle to retain the controller job was weakened in Morian's opinion by the engineers agreeing to the job elimination as a trade-off for a hefty

increase in their pay category.

Morian explained that the rank-and-file worker has little say in decision-making on the railroads. Top CGT officials are "always negotiating, they waste hours in discussion, but the rail workers never vote on anything," he said.

Morian has joined with many of his co-workers in demanding that the top union officials organize the workers in protest and strike activity before going to the negotiating table. Often CGT bureaucrats, frustrated by the repeated hard-lining of the rail bosses, will call one-day protest strikes. But Morian said that this type of strike, which "is over before it begins," doesn't accomplish anything and is expensive for the workers, who lose a day's pay.

Instead, some union activists are demanding a full general strike of all rail workers organized jointly by both union federations. The workers are demanding that they be allowed to decide through daily democratic meetings how long the strike will last.

The French railroads today have many young workers. Morian said many of the engineers who move trains around the yards are young but the long hauls, especially passenger runs, are left to the old-timers.

Only a few women work on the French railroads, mostly in administrative positions. Many of them are

part-time workers, and Morian believes that a weakness of the union is its inability to deal adequately with the problems of part-time workers.

I asked if there were protests by rail workers over the transportation of dangerous materials. Morian said that nuclear waste in France is hauled by trucks and that there have been no protests over hazardous wastes, but that health and safety is a big issue.

In his yard, seven workers have been killed during the past two years. He said the winter is especially dangerous because the railroads don't take adequate precautions to protect the yard crews, who aren't able to hear the movement of the trains well because of the snow.

The most important political campaign that Morian has been involved in is the effort by railroad activists to circulate a petition demanding that the CGT and the CFDT join in unity in action against the rail bosses.

When the two federations fail to respond in a united manner the rail bosses play them off against each other, weakening the struggle of rail workers. Morian said the demand for unity in action is tied to the general strike demand mentioned earlier.

Morian concluded by saying that he anticipates big struggles by French workers in response to their worsening economic conditions.

Norton Sandler, a member of United Steelworkers Local 2609 at Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point mill, was Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Baltimore in 1979. He recently visited several countries in Europe to meet with union and political activists.

By Any Means Necessary

'Intent to discriminate'?

About this time of the year, the U.S. Supreme Court hands down rulings on the cases that nine men—one of whom is Black—chose to deliberate over during the past months.

Most times I take little interest in their proceedings. With the exception of the 1976 death penalty ruling, the *Bakke* decision in '78, and last year's *Weber* ruling, the court's actions went by me largely unnoticed.

Well, I have taken notice of one of the court decisions this spring. One that will seriously undermine the rights of Blacks and other oppressed nationalities to have a say in choosing public officials.

A majority of the justices ruled April 22 that the city of Mobile, Alabama, can continue to elect representatives—school board members, commissioners, and others—through at-large (citywide and countywide) balloting as opposed to district voting.

So, what does this ruling mean for Blacks in Mobile and elsewhere?

Two districts are predominately Black. Mobile is

more than 35 percent Black. Yet, no Black had ever been elected to the school board or as a commissioner.

A couple of suits were filed on behalf of Blacks charging the city with violating the Fourteenth Amendment, guaranteeing equal protection under the laws for all, and the 1965 Voting Rights Act. After the lower courts ruled in favor of Blacks, Mobile was forced to allow the mostly Black districts to appoint two Black members to the school board.

Almost immediately after the Supreme Court action, the Black board members were dismissed.

"The Supreme Court," as the *Wall Street Journal* succinctly explained, "ruled that local election systems that appear biased against Blacks aren't unconstitutional unless the discrimination is intentional."

Sounds familiar.

The "intent to discriminate" argument has been used—effectively—in recent desegregation, affirmative action, and civil rights cases to gut Black

Osborne Hart



rights. However, this was the first time "intent" was applied to violations of the "equal protection" clause of the U.S. Constitution and the Voting Rights Act.

According to this criterion, Alabama politicians, who until 1965 would stop at nothing, including murder, to keep Blacks from voting, are assumed to have only the purest intentions as far as discrimination is concerned. It is up to Blacks to prove otherwise.

The court's decision was one of its most blatantly racist rulings in recent years. It upheld an election system established in 1911 in the Jim Crow South.

The ruling shows that the Supreme Court is ready and eager to contribute to the erosion of the hard-fought gains of the Black movement.

The Supreme Court has never done anything for Blacks out of a sense of what was just. On the contrary it has responded only to the pressure of masses of Blacks and other working people fighting for their rights.

Union Talk

Steelworker looks at new contract

This week's column is by Carl Finamore, a member of United Steelworkers Local 1440 at U.S. Steel in Pittsburg, California.

He notes that USWA officials called the new basic steel contract the 'richest in history.' They have since changed their minds, or at least their tune, according to the May 28 *'Wall Street Journal.'* Testifying before the Federal Trade Commission in support of U.S. Steel's anti-import suit, a USWA official said he was 'withdrawing' that description of the contract, attributing it to an 'ebullient union member.'

OAKLAND, Calif.—Behind the company-sponsored Buy American campaign, which is endorsed by union officials, is a new effort to make the steel barons supreme. They want to use our tax money to upgrade their plants, "streamline production" by laying off thousands of workers, and make those of us who remain work harder.

The drastic layoffs in auto and in the Midwest steel centers, along with company and government propaganda blaming wages and imports for economic problems, succeeded in lowering the expectations of steelworkers as basic steel negotiations began early this year.

Not having the right to strike or the right of membership ratification of the contract gave the companies an added edge in negotiations.

Then we read that our international union officials proclaimed the contract the richest pay package ever negotiated. We eagerly awaited a report from our local president returning from Pittsburgh.

What we learned, among other things, is that each job classification will get a one cent an hour raise. With the majority of younger workers in job class ten or below, this raise will widen the pay gap to their disadvantage.

There was no movement to shortening the work-week with no cut in pay as protection against the layoffs. The steel barons even refused us sick leave. This is a sore point because absenteeism is used to discharge and discipline workers.

To give retirees some of the money they so desperately need, working members gave up thirty-two cents an hour of the cost-of-living increase that was due May 1. This is a whopping \$576 million over three years—\$640 a year from each steelworker.

The contract meeting I attended received the president's report with mixed feelings. Like the pacts in other large unions such as auto, our new contract means steelworkers will continue to experience slippage in our standard of living. But this is

not enough to galvanize protest actions yet. Most workers, seeing no alternative, seemed to favor the contract.

It is getting harder for the union to win decent health and pension benefits and decent wage increases also. The needs of our members have been geared to the profitability of these greedy, mismanaged corporations.

But must the lives and standard of living of steelworkers be bound to the profitability of the steel industry? Of course not.

Around 42 percent of all our income goes to some form of taxes. The union movement has to return to its old ways when it championed the needs of all working people. We need decent health and pension guarantees from the government.

This task requires the unions to look for allies among the millions of working people who are being gouged by the medical and insurance industries. It means a political campaign demanding the government use our tax money to provide these needed services. Our union legislative and education committees should take up these issues.

A leadership must be built in the unions that recognizes workers' interests for a decent life are separate from and opposed to the bosses' greed for profits.

Reading From Left to Right

CP's Gus Hall squeamish on Iran

"The United States hostages in Iran must be freed, and the sooner the better. They should be freed not only for humanitarian reasons and not only because we cannot condone the violation of traditional diplomatic norms. There is an even more urgent reason—to avoid war."

Most readers of the May 28 *New York Times* could have seen nothing out of the ordinary in reading a column that opened with the above lines. But a few eyebrows must certainly have been raised when it was discovered that the author was none other than Gus Hall, head of the Communist Party, USA, who had been granted essay space in the "Op-Ed" page that day.

Hall's opening was, of course, a come-on. Most of his column argues against "those in the Pentagon and the White House for whom the hostages have become a standing pretext for armed intervention." Nevertheless, such egregious pandering to anti-Iran hysteria as in Hall's opening sentences merits some comment.

Hall was not merely trying to hook a few *Times* readers by catering to their prejudices on Iran. He really does believe that "we cannot condone the violation of traditional diplomatic norms." He

speaks from the heart.

All those—from Washington to Moscow—who prefer order to justice would no doubt agree with Hall and commend him for a mature and responsible political attitude concerning the primacy of diplomatic norms.

Those, on the other hand, who fight for social change, and who know from experience that to fight means to break the norms of established order, would do well to think hard about the politics of a man and party who "cannot condone the violation of traditional diplomatic norms." What other traditional norms, rules, and laws do they hold sacrosanct?

Hall outlines a series of steps that Washington should take to end the embassy crisis. Most are unobjectionable, such as withdrawal of U.S. military forces from the area and unfreezing of Iranian assets in the U.S. But he omits from his list the main demand raised by the Iranian people, the issue that specifically led to the hostage crisis: the return of the deposed shah to face justice for his crimes.

Does the Communist Party also accept asylum for the shah as a diplomatic norm? Is there some other explanation for why Hall shrinks from confronting

Gus Horowitz



the issue of the shah's extradition?

A final remark of Hall's also bears notice. He calls for "a decisive break with the Rockefeller-Kissinger-Brzezinski, pro-shah, pro-oil monopoly policy pursued by our government."

As if Carter had no responsibility in the matter! The omission of Carter's name was not inadvertent. It is typical of the CP to absolve top Democratic Party leaders of responsibility for their actions by shifting blame onto their subordinates.

Regular readers of the CP's *Daily World* may recall that the CP initially talked of Defense Secretary "McNamara's War" in Vietnam, rather than "President Johnson's war."

The purpose of this fakery is transparent. The CP wants to leave the door open to support the reelection bid of President Carter, should the administration's present coldness toward the Soviet government show signs of thawing.

In that event, Hall would have no hesitation to campaign for Carter, the man who admitted the shah to this country and sent helicopters into the Iranian desert.

But, then, Carter also "cannot condone the violation of traditional diplomatic norms."

The Great Society

Harry Ring



Medical miracle—Those who were touched by the plight of the ex-shah when he was admitted to this country last year "dying" of cancer, will be pleased to know that he's recovered to the point where he now jogs occasionally in the garden of his palace retreat in Cairo.

He didn't help any—One newscaster noted that, caught between the Mt. St. Helens eruption and the Black eruption in Miami, Carter chose to check out the volcano. Apparently, the newscaster commented, Carter felt he couldn't be blamed for that one. Maybe. But shortly after his visit it did erupt again.

Not to worry—A researcher assured a Senate committee that while

acid rain did kill fish and damage crops, it was not presently a hazard to human health.

But we're all equal—One family, the Hunts, was able to get a corner on the world silver market. Then the bottom dropped out. To pay the resulting debts, the Hunts could borrow one billion dollars. As part of the security, they put up 63 million ounces of silver. Ponder that on your way to the unemployment office.

Grocery bill due?—It was also disclosed that the Hunt brothers borrowed an additional \$410 million to pay unrelated, lesser debts.

Chancy business—A criminal informer sued the government for breach

of contract. He had been promised a new identity, relocation and a business. Instead, he wound up on welfare. But his "contract" is apparently as good as the government's word. In a similar case, the U.S. Court of Claims ruled that a stoolie "is not entitled to anything more than the attorney general wants to give him."

No hypothetical morality—"Hype is not a dirty word," says the president of the company that markets Gloria Vanderbilt jeans. "Hype is a way of running a business."

Cream of the crop—Special Forces killers of the type that made the aborted raid on Iran are trained to a "razor's edge." Commenting on this, an ex-commando officer said, "When you don't have a war, it's awfully hard



'Listen, I have this '69 Chrysler. Can I get some government assistance?'

to keep these men gainfully employed." And, he adds with a certain candor, "If it weren't for the Special Forces, most of us would be in jail."

Their Government

The budget ballet

Millions are jobless.

Paychecks disintegrate in our hands under the impact of inflation.

Public school systems collapse. Hospitals shut down.

The streets of Philadelphia, Cleveland, and other cities become impassable because of pot holes.

Housing deteriorates, and rents are out of sight.

At times like this, we could all use a little diversion. So let's take a look at Congress debating the budget.

It's front page news almost every day. The president, the senators, and the representatives are at each others' throats, we are told. They are battling over a really big issue: will the Pentagon get only \$11 billion more than last year, or \$15 to \$20 billion? And just how much will funds for the cities, the jobless, and education be cut to pay for the new weapons?

It's really suspenseful. One day, Carter is asking for \$150 billion for the Pentagon. The House votes \$147 billion. The Senate proposes \$155 billion. A House-Senate conference settles on \$153 billion. Then Carter says that's too much and asks \$500 million more for the cities.

On May 29, the House defeated a proposal to set the budget ceiling at \$613 billion. Some said the military appropriations were too high. Others said they were too low.

I can't wait to see how it all comes out, and I'm sure you can't either.

And I refuse to be put off by the fact that all this clashing of swords and shields, all this sound and fury, is about exactly nothing. The resolutions being voted on have *nothing to do with* setting an actual budget ceiling. That is scheduled to be done (probably more quietly) in September.

And even then, each individual appropriation will be debated and voted on separately.

Why this elaborately choreographed "debate," which sometimes leaves me suspecting that some legislators are plotting to defect to the Bolshoi ballet?

The billionaires who run this country have decided to slash public services and massively increase military spending.

But, since this is supposed to be a democracy, their decision has to be presented to us as though it were the will of the people.

That's why, some months ago, the newspapers, TV, and radio solemnly informed us that we were all clamoring for a big increase in arms spending and for a balanced budget.

The Democrats and Republicans in congress began to proclaim that, in deference to our demand, they were ready and willing to wield the hatchet against our living standards.

But it turned out that many of us were surprised and even angry to hear about "our" decision.

Carter and the Republican and Democratic legislators, while determined to carry out the bidding of

Fred Feldman



the rich, began to sweat about keeping their jobs.

So the dance began. The politicians divided into three groups. One, the "liberals," pushed for *slightly fewer cuts* in social spending and *slightly smaller increases* in defense spending. Through such stands, they hope to sucker unions and other organizations of working people into keeping those campaign contributions coming.

The "conservatives" pressed for *more increases* in the defense budget and *more cuts* in spending for our needs.

And the "moderates" tried to strike a balance between the two "extremes."

In one form or another, the show will stretch out at least until election day.

Meanwhile, of course, the cuts in spending for hospitals and schools to pay for nuclear weapons and bombers *are happening* every day—just as though no "great debate" was going on at all.

And just in case we are inclined to question the need for compromise—the government threatens to cut off food stamps and unemployment benefits because money is supposedly running out. Many have noticed that such threats are never leveled against military contractors or banks.

And in all the fierce exchanges, which are supposed to convince us that the people are speaking, the voice of working people is never heard. The purpose of the whole charade, in fact, is to keep it from being heard.

What's Going On

COLORADO DENVER

WHAT'S HAPPENING IN CUBA: A FIRSTHAND ACCOUNT. Speaker: Harry Nier, Denver attorney, visited Cuba May 17. Slide presentation. Sun., June 8, 7 p.m. 126 W. 12th Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (303) 534-8954.

GEORGIA ATLANTA

WRIGHTSVILLE AND MIAMI: AN EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT. Speakers: John Martin, leader of Wrightsville Southern Christian Leadership Conference; August Nimtz, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., June 8, 7:30 p.m. 509 Peachtree St. NE. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 872-7229.

ILLINOIS CHICAGO

EQUAL RIGHTS UNDER ATTACK: BEHIND THE ERA BRIBE HOAX. Speakers: Andrea Morell, national committee, Socialist Workers Party; Pat Grogan, United Steelworkers Local 65, member of Labor Union Women Executive Board. Sat., June 14, 7:30 p.m. 434 S. Wabash, Room 700, Chicago. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (312) 939-0737.

INDIANA GARY

EQUAL RIGHTS UNDER ATTACK: BEHIND THE ERA BRIBE HOAX. Speakers: Andrea Morell, National Committee, Socialist Workers Party; Pat Grogan, United Steelworkers Local 65, member of Labor Union Women Executive Board. Sat., June 14, 7:30 p.m. 434 S. Wabash, Room 700, Chicago. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (312) 939-0737.

KENTUCKY LOUISVILLE

SOCIALISM AND THE FIGHT FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS. Speaker: Val Libby, member Socialist Workers Party and National Organization for

Women. Sat., June 14, 7 p.m., reception 6 p.m. 131 W. Main St. #102. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

MINNESOTA IRON RANGE

RECESSION: HOW WORKING PEOPLE CAN FIGHT BACK. Lessons from Minnesota labor history. Speaker: Harry DeBoer, leader of Minneapolis Teamsters in the 1930s which fought to make Minneapolis a union town, led union battles throughout Midwest. Fri., June 20, 7:30 p.m. 1012 2nd Ave. South, Virginia. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Solidarity Bookstore. For more information call (218) 749-6327.

MISSOURI KANSAS CITY

THE TRUTH ABOUT CUBA. Speaker: representative of Socialist Workers Party. Sun., June 15, 7:30 p.m. 4715 Troost. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

NORTH CAROLINA WINSTON-SALEM

UNION VICTORY AT NEWPORT NEWS. Speaker: Eli Green, member, United Steelworkers Local 8888 in Newport News, Virginia, and member Socialist Workers Party. Sun., June 8, 7 p.m. 216 E. 6th St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (919) 723-3419.

OREGON PORTLAND

GOVERNMENT ATTACKS AGAINST THE AMERICAN INDIAN MOVEMENT. Defend Dennis Banks, Kamook Banks, Kenneth Loudhawk, and Russell Redner. Speakers: Russell Redner, American Indian Movement, defendant in government frame-up attempt; Fred Auger, Socialist Workers Party. Sun. June 8, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW. Everett St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

Our Revolutionary Heritage

Soweto rebellion

On June 16, 1976, 10,000 student demonstrators gathered at a junior high school in Soweto, a Black township in South Africa. They were protesting the attempt by the regime to impose Afrikaans as the language of instruction in Soweto schools. To Blacks in South Africa, Afrikaans is the language of the oppressor, of the dominant Boers who control the government and the police.

As Tony Thomas described the Soweto Black rebellion in the July 2, 1976, *Militant*: "The march was peaceful. Banners were carried that read 'Down with Afrikaans,' 'We are not Boers,' and 'Viva Azania [an African name for South Africa].'"

Then police arrived. One of the cops threw a tear gas shell. The angered crowd responded by throwing stones, waving placards, and taunting the police. Then, without warning or any order to disperse, policemen began firing on the crowd.

Two young students (one about seven years old) fell dead.

Students in Johannesburg, hearing of the rebellion in Soweto, marched from Witwatersrand University down a main avenue of the city chanting, "We are standing by you, Soweto."

On June 17, 200 white students from the same university marched through the city's streets protesting police violence against Blacks.

"White and Black bystanders joined the march," reported Tony Thomas, "as it moved toward Johannesburg's downtown area, swelling it to 1,000. With the marchers shouting, 'Power to Soweto!' and raising their fists in the Black power salute, the demonstration was attacked by 150 club-swinging cops and groups of white thugs."

By the third day of the revolt, it had spread to Alexandra, Vosloorus, Natalspuit, Katlehong, Tokosa, Daveyton, Tembisa, Kagiso, and other Black townships surrounding Johannesburg.

But the racist apartheid regime met the uprising with bloody repression. They crushed the revolt in three days, leaving at least 174 Blacks dead and thousands more injured.

The attempt to impose Afrikaans was the spark of the rebellion. But this provocative measure only added to anger that had built up for centuries. The Black masses who poured into the streets of Soweto and other townships were expressing their hatred for the entire apartheid system.

South African society is based on the domination and exploitation of the more than 20 million Blacks by a white population numbering 4 million. Every aspect of the lives of Blacks is controlled by a vast

array of apartheid laws.

The African youths in the townships raising the Black power salute and shouting "Amandhla!" (Power) and their supporters in Johannesburg shouting, "Power to Soweto" were talking about more than overturning the language policy. They were talking about taking power out of the hands of the white-settler minority and putting it in the hands of the Black majority.

Pedro Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers Party candidates in the 1976 presidential election, gave their full solidarity to the South African freedom fighters.

Camejo, campaigning in Los Angeles June 19, said: "The Black youths who are being shot down in Soweto and other Johannesburg suburbs are the victims of a government that is supported, armed, and financed by the Republican and Democratic parties."

"Jimmy Carter has said not one word about South Africa. Carter's silence shows where this former Georgia governor really stands when it comes to repressing Blacks."

"There have been three days of killings," Camejo added. "Do you think it takes three days to say, 'I oppose this?'"

"The reality is already clear. Not one single capitalist candidate opened their mouth while the rulers of South Africa actually drowned the rebels in blood. . . ."

"They want to turn back the gains that the Black struggle made in this country and they have no intentions whatsoever of breaking with the white supremacists of South Africa."

"In that bastion of imperialist investment," Willie Mae Reid explained while campaigning June 21 in Richmond, Virginia, "there are thousands of Black political prisoners, including many of the leaders of the Black movement. South Africa's armed forces are bolstered by the U.S. and NATO."

"They thought the white racists in Pretoria could hold out forever, and that's what the racist rulers of the United States want. The courageous rebellion of these tens of thousands of young Blacks in the past few days took them completely by surprise, I am sure. . . ."

"The Democrats and Republicans have failed to deal with any of the pressing problems facing Blacks. This election campaign is a conspiracy of silence on the part of the capitalist candidates to pretend that we do not have problems."

"We need to organize national actions in support of busing and in the struggle for equal rights," Reid said.

"Blacks must also stand up and condemn the government in Washington for its support to South African apartheid."

Labor party discussion

In the article "More unions join labor party discussion," the May 30 *Militant* incorrectly states that Social Services Union Local 535 adopted its resolution favoring a labor party in the fall of 1979. In fact, it was adopted in the fall of 1978.

Thus, rather than being a consequence of or a response to California AFL-CIO head John Henning's call for discussion of the labor party, Local 535's action, including correspondence with Henning about it, helped lay the foundation for Henning issuing his statement.

Walter Lippman
Los Angeles, California

Veterans 'gearing up'

Over the years from 1966 until the Vietnam War ended many *Militant* readers marched with various Veterans for Peace groups around the country in local actions against the war, went to Washington and other national actions with us, and worked with us at vital planning meetings of the peace movement to maximize veteran and GI participation in antiwar activities.

Our nation's leaders, having unlearned the lessons taught them in that period, are trying to take the country into a period of war economy and war crisis that will make the war in Indochina and the economic disasters that flowed from it look like a panic. So Vets for Peace is gearing up again. This time we realize that our work must be organized on a permanent basis.

The program we must work on is to fight against a new draft, against military spending, against new

criminal foreign interventions, against the nuclear threat (especially nuclear weapons), and for GI and veterans' rights.

If you want to work with Veterans for Peace, write us at P.O. Box 4598, Chicago, Illinois, 60680, or call (312) 922-0065.

LeRoy Wolins
Veterans for Peace
Chicago, Illinois

More selective breeding

A response to Caryl Sholin's criticism of my letter in the April 4 *Militant*:

I agree that "intelligence" is a subjective and ill-defined aspect of humanity and at this time probably cannot be significantly improved by selective breeding. However, what is wrong with experimenting as long as all subjects are agreeable? With the knowledge gained from such experimentation it can be determined for the future how selective breeding could improve the human condition and in which areas selective breeding should be used if at all.

As for Sholin's point that genetic diseases can be avoided through genetic counseling, amniocentesis, and ultrasound fetal monitoring, it should be noted that these methods are selective breeding. With these methods, genetic defectives are detected and the mother decides whether to abort the fetus or allow an unhappy and/or crippled human being to be born. Perhaps this is the best kind of selective breeding of all.

In any case though, after we have freed ourselves from the capitalists we will still be saddled with many assaults from nature and it would be a very bad mistake to reject any

Social Democrats & marines

In early April a crowd of about 150 students here at the University of California Berkeley surrounded a marine corps recruitment table, forcing the marines to leave campus.

Despite the fact that the demonstration was peaceful and never physically threatened the marines, the campus police dispersed the crowd, clubbing a few, and arrested two.

The Social Democrats USA and its youth group, the Young Social Democrats, along with the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, are the official representatives of the Social Democracy and the Second International in America. The SD USA and YSD issued a recent statement pleading the marines' case.

Titled "The case for the marines: A view from the left," the statement said in part:

"As an organization committed to democracy, justice and social change, we think that the 'Marines off campus' mentality is wrong on two counts.

"On the count of free speech. Everybody deserves the right to express his or her opinion on campus. This includes those you don't like—especially them, since you're not likely to violate

the rights of those with whom you agree.

"On the count of national security. As people who have often been radical critics of American foreign policy, we're glad the US has a Marine Corps. For the United States to dismantle its armed forces while other countries do not would be suicidal and a disaster for democracy."

The first is an abstract version of free speech in which all people are guaranteed the right to speak freely. Yet, this twists the facts in that it was the anti-marine demonstrators who were deprived of freedom of assembly by the cops.

Not content to let their argument rest on an appeal to free speech that might have convinced some students to support them, the statement continues its second point.

The statement does not list those countries in which the marines have acted as "democracy's" last line of defense. That's understandable because for SD USA/YSD such a list would include Vietnam, the invasions of Lebanon and the Dominican Republic, Somoza's Nicaragua. . . .

William Baker
Berkeley, California

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Roger Bailey
Charleston, West Virginia

Exposing injustice

Monday morning and the meek, tired of waiting to inherit the earth, again realize that in order to get a piece of the action we call justice they must take it. The fires are burning. Scribes and apologists of the establishment are reiterating, "It will not work!" "Justice is not acquired by violence!" Oh yeah!

The current opponents of direct action are bending every effort to make us recall the immortal words of the enemies of our framers of the Declaration of Independence: "You can't fight the king!"

Also the cry of the railroad magnates, the steel mill operators, the automobile manufacturers and mine owners assuring their employees that direct action would not help them out of their slums. "Confrontation of the establishment will not help!" Oh yeah!

Regardless of how much homage the establishment scribes pay their paymasters, investigation discloses that after each uprising by the oppressed, a slight improvement in their living standards has been developed.

The hard lesson we learn from the current burnings is that such action makes the resentment against injustice more visible. "By their deeds we shall know them!"

The muleskinners of Missouri had a story of a lead mule that was admittedly smart and well trained for the job and performed beautifully, after his attention was obtained by a rap between the ears with a two-by-four. Hopefully the community leaders can get the message as well as the mule did.

Frank Rood
Miami, Florida

Thanks!

Keep up the good work in getting the news, education, and theory out to the public. Thanks for good Middle East and labor coverage. Also thanks for Canada labor coverage.

Please keep up your support of the farmer labor party movement in some of the unions and Midwest farmers and landless farmers.

And thanks for much more: Guatemala, Cuba, Indian land reform.

Liberty and victory for the world struggle of the oppressed masses.

D. W.
Newberg, Oregon

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.

'The Two Americas'

Following are excerpts from a speech given by James P. Cannon to the Thirteenth National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party on July 1, 1948. Cannon was national chairman of the SWP. The speech was broadcast simultaneously over the American Broadcasting System radio network.

Cannon's theme was the common interest that working people in this country have with those in Europe, Asia, Africa, and Latin America who are battling the rule of the rich.

Many things have changed since 1948. U.S. imperialism has been thrown onto the defensive in contrast to the offensive posture it adopted at the start of the 'cold war' in the late 1940s. But Cannon's basic approach remains as valid today as it was then.

The speech is reprinted from Cannon's 'Notebook of an Agitator,' which is available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014 and the offices listed below.

We meet in National Convention at a time of the gravest world crisis—a crisis which contains the threat of a third and more terrible world war. The basic causes of this world crisis are no mystery.

The first cause is the breakdown of capitalism throughout Europe and Asia and the colonial lands. The working people want peace, which capitalism cannot give. The colonial slaves don't want to be slaves any more—and capitalism cannot live without colonial slaves. The working people, the poor peasants, and the colonial slaves are in revolt against the continued rule of bankers and landlords.

On the other hand, American capitalism—the last stronghold of an outlived and doomed world system—is trying to prop up the hated regimes of capitalists and kings and landlords by economic pressure and military force.

These are the two main elements of the present world crisis.

The Wall Street money-sharks are riding high in Washington these days. The masters of America are threatening and terrifying the people of the world—striving to transform the other countries of the world into colonies of the American empire.

Their program is a program of madness, and it is doomed to failure. The great majority of the people of the world do not want to be slaves of America. That is to their credit and we applaud them for it. The attempt to enslave them would be profitable only for the small group of monopolists—and the military caste, who dreams of careers as colonial administrators of conquered people.

But the criminal adventure would encounter such ferocious resistance that the American people would have to pay an enormous cost in living standards ruined by inflation, in the stamping out of democracy by military rule. And America's young sons would have to pay in misery, blood, and death.

To avoid this calamity it is necessary to show the people of the world the other America. For there are two Americas.

One is the America of the imperialists—of the little clique of capitalists, landlords, and militarists who are threatening and terrifying the world. This is the America the people of the world hate and fear.

There is the other America—the America of the workers and farmers and the "little people." They constitute the great majority. They do the work of the country. They revere its old democratic traditions—its old record of friendship for the people of other lands in their struggles against kings and despots, its generous asylum once freely granted to the oppressed.

This is the America which must and will solve the world crisis—by taking power out of the hands of the little clique of exploiters and parasites and establishing a government of workers and farmers. The workers and farmers government will immediately proceed to change things *fundamentally*—

Throw out the profit and rent hogs, and increase the living standards of the people who do the useful work.

Assure freedom and democratic rights to all, not forgetting those who are denied any semblance of them now.

Call back the truculent admirals from the seven seas—and ground the airplanes with their dangling bombs.

Hold out the hand of friendship and comradeship to the oppressed and hungry people in the world.

These people don't want to fight anybody. They only want to live. There are two billion people in the world—and more than half of them don't get enough to eat. These people should be helped—not threatened, not driven back into slavery, under the social system that has kept half of them hungry all their lives.

It is well to recall now that America was born of revolution in 1776 and secured its unity as a nation through another revolution—the Civil War—which smashed the abomination of chattel slavery in the process.

These Wall Street money sharks are just as foreign to the real America as were the despots who ruled the land before the revolution of 1776. They are just as foreign as were the traffickers in human flesh and blood—the slave owners—whose power was broken by the Civil War. These imperialist rulers of America are the worst enemies of the American people.

American democracy, under their rule, is slipping away.

Only three years have passed since the imperialists finished the last slaughter. And now they are drafting the youth for another. Militarism is becoming entrenched in America.

All this is part and parcel of the development of capitalism—the system that puts profits above all other considerations. The capitalist system has long outlived its usefulness. Capitalism offers no future to the people but depressions, imperialist wars, fascism, universal violence and a final plunge into barbarism.

To avoid such a fate, the workers of the United States must go into politics on their own account, independent of all capitalist politics. They must take power, establish a workers' and farmers' government, and reorganize the economy of the country on a socialist basis.

We firmly believe that they will do so. We firmly believe the real America—the America of the workers, the people—will help save the world by saving herself.

We, the National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party summon our America to her great destiny—not as conqueror but as liberator of the world.

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.

IOWA: Cedar Falls: YSA, c/o Stephen Bloodworth, 2715 Hiawatha. Zip: 50613.

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, YSA, 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. 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

Outcry against MX sweeps Utah, Nevada

By Ed Berger

SALT LAKE CITY—The Pentagon's plan to spend up to \$100 billion to deploy the new MX nuclear missile system has run into strong opposition from residents of Utah and Nevada, where the missiles are to be located.

Town meetings held all over Utah have turned into denunciations of the military. Congressional hearings in the two states have often drawn 700-1,000 people, most of them opposed to the MX.

Protest actions have been sizable, including a rally of 500 people in Salt Lake City on April 24, held just prior to a nationally televised debate on the issue over the Public Broadcasting System.

At the debate, Cecil Garland, a Utah rancher, drew a standing ovation from many of the 1,000 people in the television audience when he said:

"All we hear about at these meetings is experts justifying being experts. . . . The discussion is on what mode [of MX deployment] is best; the land mode, the sea mode, or the air mode. I'd like to suggest a fourth mode, the commode . . . where the idea of using wars to solve our problems can be flushed down the drain."

Garland, who hails from Callao, Utah, population "about nineteen," was one of four "typical citizens" invited to share the stage at the debate.

By comparison, statements by pro-MX advocates such as Undersecretary of the Air Force Antonia Cheyes were met with boos and hisses.

The public hostility to the MX missile system represents a turnabout for the residents of southern Utah and Nevada.

For years most people here had believed that their government could do no wrong. But the experience of death and illness resulting from the



Salt Lake Tribune

nuclear tests of the 1950s—despite assurances of their safety by the Atomic Energy Commission—has caused people here to develop a deep distrust of the government.

Reasons for opposition to the MX range widely: concern over the environment, over grazing land being taken out of circulation, over disruption of rural lifestyles. Most of all, people do not want to become potential targets in a nuclear war.

According to MX proponents, the missile system is defensive. Advocates call it a "second strike" weapon, capable of weathering a Soviet attack and emerging with sufficient strength left to strike Soviet targets.

But the very nature of MX indicates

that its purpose is offense, not defense. The MX is designed for extreme accuracy, able to drop its nuclear warheads with pinpoint precision on targets half-way around the globe.

Such accuracy is not needed if the aim is retaliation against Soviet cities and industry after a supposed Soviet attack. The only possible reason is to be able to destroy Soviet missiles on the ground—that is, to enable the Pentagon to launch a preemptive "first strike" nuclear war.

Thus deployment of the MX would represent a major escalation of the arms race and heighten the danger of the nuclear annihilation of humanity.

Each MX missile would carry ten hydrogen bombs, each bomb at least twenty-five times more powerful than the atomic bomb that was dropped on Hiroshima. By contrast, the Minuteman, the most advanced U.S. missile to date, carries three hydrogen bombs.

The dimensions of the MX are staggering: seventy-one feet tall, eight feet in diameter, weighing 192,000 pounds.

The Pentagon's original proposal for,

MX deployment was that each missile would travel around its own closed "racetrack" loop consisting of twenty-three shelters 7,000 feet apart.

The missiles would be continually moved to a different shelter in the loop. In this way the exact location of the missiles would be unknown.

To target 200 missiles in 4,600 potential locations would be too difficult, military spokespeople say.

Gen. Lew Allen, air force chief of staff, said that the MX system, deployed over 24,000 square miles, an area the size of Pennsylvania, would function as a "giant sponge" for Soviet missiles, so that the Minuteman system elsewhere would be safe.

But residents of Utah and Nevada don't feel like being nuclear sponges.

On May 7, the Defense Department announced that it was scrapping the idea of a "racetrack" MX system in favor of a "straight-line grid."

In reality, nothing essential was changed. The amount of land to be used was reduced by about 20 percent, and the projected cost was lowered a little, but there was no reduction in the number or use of the shelters.

Later in May, the Defense Department said it would agree to reducing the number of missiles to 100. But this move was merely designed to placate opposition to the program; the plan for the full complement of 200 missiles would be reintroduced at a later date.

MX backers call the venture the largest public works program in U.S. history, claiming that 20,000 to 120,000 jobs would be created.

But people around here don't believe that the MX will improve their lives one bit. The outrageous expense of the system would make inflation a lot worse than it already is.

The estimated cost is now \$56 billion, up from the initial projection of \$33 billion. Before the system is operational it could end up costing more than \$100 billion.

The governmental claims that there will be little environmental damage. But people don't believe this either.

According to the Nevada Sierra Club, the MX system would mean "the

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Utah socialists denounce MX, urge funds for human needs

Bill Hoyle, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Utah, has called the proposed MX missile system "another grisly step down the road to a war in which there can be no winners."

In a statement issued April 24, the day of the nationally televised debate on the MX missile, Hoyle denounced the new weapons system as "a perfect example of the government's priorities. While working people are being asked to sacrifice our standard of living and social programs are being slashed, \$56 billion is being set aside to construct one of the most dangerous weapons devised."

Hoyle charged that the missile program is part of a campaign to beef up U.S. armed forces to guard the interests of big business.

"The truth is that American workers have no stake in defending the interests of Exxon, Texaco, IBM or the other multinational corporations," he said.

Hoyle, a member of the International Association of Machinists, pointed out that his union "is on record opposing the development

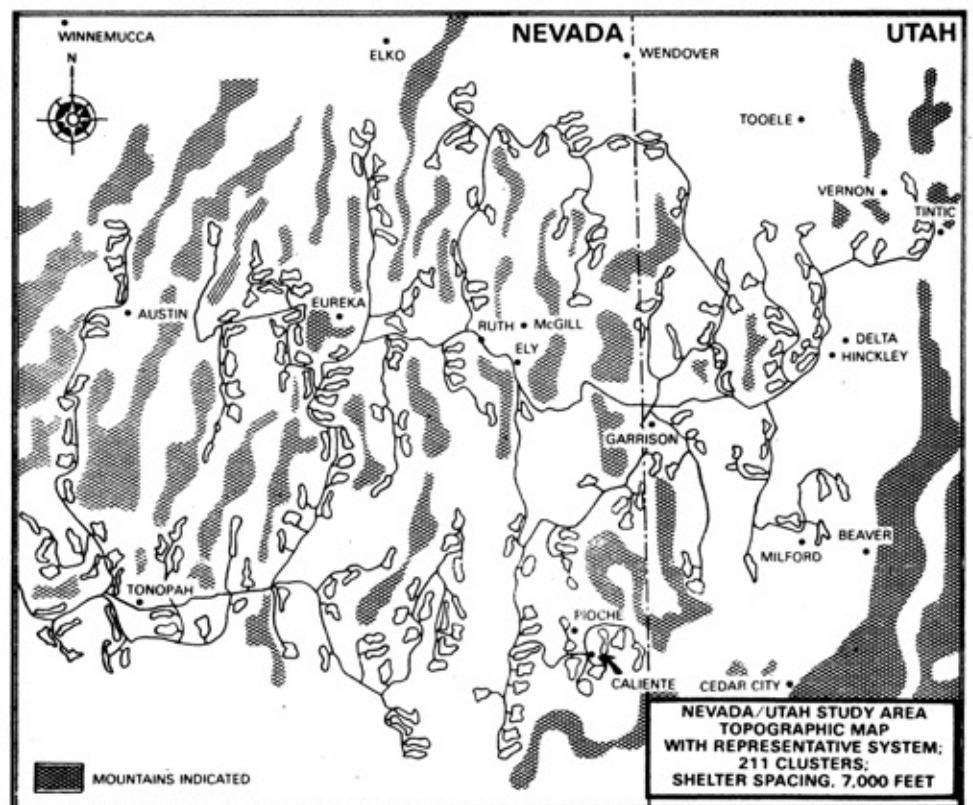


Bill Hoyle, SWP candidate for governor of Utah, calls MX 'another grisly step down road to war.'

and deployment of the MX."

Hoyle rejected the government rationale that the MX will create jobs. "I believe," he said, that "the billions squandered on war spending should be used to put America's 10 million unemployed back to work at socially useful projects."

"Spend the billions to improve the quality of life, not destroy it!"



This artist's sketch is based on U.S. Air Force map of MX missile 'racetrack' system.