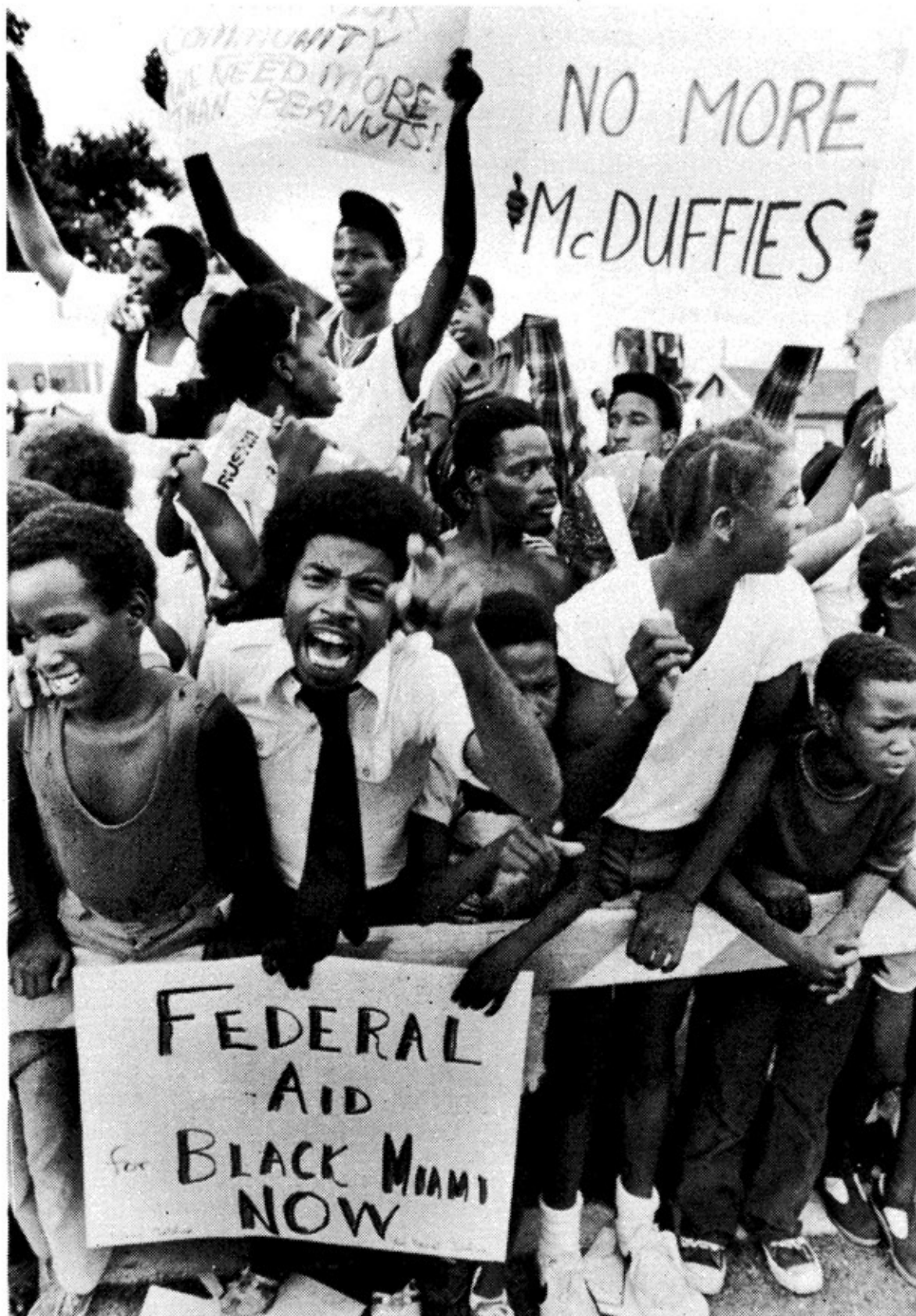


THE MILITANT

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



MIAMI, June 9—More than 700 demonstrated against Carter outside his closed meeting in Black community. UPI

Miami Blacks tell Carter: 'We want justice!'

—PAGE 4

**The Haitian
'Boat People'
Why Carter
Won't Let
Them In**

The New Rise



Class Struggle

**in the
World**

MAGAZINE SUPPLEMENT
International
socialist
INSIDE REVIEW

U.S. whitewashes El Salvador terror

Ever since a U.S.-backed junta took power in a coup in El Salvador last October, Washington has been trying to convince people that there has been a change for the better.

William G. Bowdler, assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs, wrote in a letter to the *New York Times* April 29 that "the current military/civilian junta in El Salvador is attempting to carry out fundamental socio-economic reforms in the face of violent opposition from the extreme left and the extreme right."

The talk of "fundamental socio-economic reforms" would sound like a cruel joke to the peasants of Chalatenango, a zone about 50 miles from the capital city of San Salvador. About 200 of them were murdered May 13 and 14 by the National Guard and army because they had taken over a large plantation.

A survivor described the massacre:

"The soldiers and some guards threw many children and some adults into the river, where they drowned.

"Helicopters were all around, shooting into the ditches where people were hiding. When people climbed out of the ditches, they threw hand grenades at them.

"As we crossed the river, the Salvadoran soldiers behind us were shooting and ahead of us, on the other side, people were being grabbed by the Honduran soldiers."

Unarmed peasants, workers, and fighters for democratic freedoms are killed with alarming regularity. More than 2,000 civilians have been murdered since the beginning of the year, according to acting Archbishop Arturo Rivera y Damas (who replaced the assassinated Archbishop Romero).

The tortured bodies testify that the only reform being attempted in El Salvador is of the government's image. Behind the facade of military/civilian rule, paramilitary right-wing gangs go about their murderous work with impunity, while official armed forces carry out the big jobs of repression.

The "extreme right" in El Salvador is in fact the bulk of the Salvadoran officer corps. It is so powerful that it forced the release of officers who had been imprisoned early in May for a coup attempt.

The extreme right got less than a slap on the wrist. But Washington supports harsher measures against the left. It is pouring in arms designed for counterinsurgency warfare (and encouraging arms shipments from Israel). U.S. military advisors have also been helping put down the rebellious working people and peasants.

All that the people of El Salvador want is a chance for a better life, free of tyrannical bosses and landlords. They want an end to dictatorship, whether it is cloaked in the pretended mantle of reform or not.

American working people should see to it that the Salvadorans get that chance.

Rallies, demonstrations, and meetings getting out the truth about El Salvador are among the ways we can help. On Saturday, June 28, in New York City, a wide range of organizations are supporting a march that will begin at noon from the armed forces recruitment center at 43rd and Broadway.

Their slogan: "No draft! No war! No U.S. Intervention in El Salvador!"

Demand that Washington end all aid to the junta and all military intervention in El Salvador—now!

Cover-up in Jordan case

Civil rights leader Vernon Jordan is recovering slowly from his wounds, but the police investigation of the assassination attempt is officially "dead," said the county prosecutor in Fort Wayne, Indiana, June 4.

"That means," he said, explaining police parlance, that "you are without a viable lead."

What it means in plain English, though, is that the authorities are unwilling to actively pursue leads that point to a racist assassination attempt.

At first they suggested that the shooting was linked to a personal relationship between Jordan and Fort Wayne Urban League activist Martha Coleman. Now—after trying to damage both Jordan and Coleman with innuendos—the FBI and local police have had to admit that there is no basis whatsoever to link Coleman to the crime.

All the evidence so far points to an assassination attempt.

The would-be murderer lay in wait for Jor-

dan for a long time, crouching in a spot that offered a clear shot at his motel room. It is probable that a dum-dum bullet was used.

Despite this, the police saw nothing suspicious in a recent step-up of activity by the Ku Klux Klan in Fort Wayne.

They dismissed a possible connection between the Jordan shooting on May 29 and the arson attack on Miami Urban League headquarters the following day.

They have kept hidden the files of their agents in the racist organizations and those of their spies who keep Jordan under surveillance.

This cover-up must stop. All supporters of Black rights should speak up now and demand that the would-be killers be found and prosecuted to fullest extent of the law.

Right to travel

President Carter has threatened to prosecute former Attorney General Ramsey Clark for going to Iran to participate in the conference on United States intervention in that country.

The freedom to travel is a basic right of American citizens, and the courts have ruled it to be such.

Carter's travel ban has nothing to do with preventing harm to the hostages, as he pretends.

In fact, visits to the hostages have exploded administration claims that they are being tortured, brainwashed, or otherwise mistreated by the students holding the embassy.

Carter bars travel to Iran because he doesn't want us to find out the truth.

He doesn't want Americans to learn about the crimes of the shah, the role of the U.S. government in keeping this mass murderer in power, the gains of the revolution, and the feelings of the Iranian people about the embassy crisis.

The more the American people find out about Iran, the less they will support economic sanctions or military intervention against the Iranian revolution. And the less they will put up with Carter's refusal to end the crisis by returning the shah and apologizing for wrongs done to Iran by the U.S. government.

Those who defied Carter's travel ban did a service to the American people.

The threats to prosecute Ramsey Clark and others endanger the rights of all.

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Socialists launch ballot drive

After two days of petitioning, California socialists have won new members to the Young Socialist Alliance and talked to thousands about SWP campaign. **Page 28.**



Johnstown rally for jobs

Tired of promises, Pennsylvania miners and steelworkers gather to demand action against unemployment. **Page 7.**

'Death & Life of Malcolm X'

Review of the second edition of book on Malcolm X explains how author continues to excuse government role in assassination. **Page 24.**



The Militant

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

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

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscriptions: U.S. \$24.00 a year, outside U.S. \$30.00. By first-class mail: U.S., Canada, and Mexico: \$60.00. Write for airmail rates to all other countries.

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

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

Conference exposes crimes against Iran

By Janice Lynn

The United States government was condemned for its past and present role in Iran at the June 2-5 international conference on U.S. intervention in Iran.

The conference, held in Tehran, was attended by 350 delegates representing political parties, trade unions, and liberation organizations from some fifty-four different countries.

This was a direct blow to Washington's attempts to isolate Iran internationally.

Among those attending the conference was a group of ten Americans, headed by former Attorney General Ramsey Clark. The ten Americans—ministers, attorneys, and human rights activists—traveled to Iran in direct defiance of Carter's unconstitutional travel ban.

Clark denounced Carter's April 24 military invasion of Iran calling it "a lawless military expedition, an assault on the sovereign territory of Iran."

Clark and the others faced possible sentences of up to ten years in prison and fines of up to \$50,000 upon their return. A resolution has already been introduced in the U.S. Senate urging their prosecution.

The first three Americans to return from Iran were detained at the airport and their conference-related material (including a copy of the Koran) was confiscated and photocopied.

Right to travel

Black civil rights attorney Lennox Hinds asked, "Why is it that Mr. Carter and his advisers are trying so hard to stop Americans from going to Iran?"

In a June 4 speech broadcast throughout Iran, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini also asked, "Why is Mr. Carter afraid of these delegations coming to Iran? Why does he impose fines on people who are from his country and are especially high-ranking people?"

Opposition to prosecuting the delega-

Socialist defies travel ban

Susan Lyons, who attempted to travel to Iran in defiance of the Carter administration's travel ban several weeks ago, successfully arrived in Iran on May 23 to visit with her Iranian husband.

Lyons, a member of the Socialist Workers Party and a defender of the Iranian revolution, had attempted to board a Scandinavian Airlines flight on May 12. She was prevented from boarding after airline officials checked with the U.S. State Department. She was subsequently able to arrange alternate transportation via Europe.

Lyons's attorney, Margaret Winter, has vowed to fight any government attempt to prosecute Lyons upon her return. "The travel ban on Iran is unconstitutional," Winter declared. "We will fight them in the courts and we will win."



tion is mounting. On June 8 the *New York Times* editorialized against such a move. That same day Secretary of State Edmund Muskie claimed that the purpose of the ban "is not to punish people who violate it, but to prevent people from going to Iran."

On June 10, however, President Carter declared that it was his "inclination" to seek penalties against Clark.

Clark has declared that he will form a commission in the United States to expose the U.S. government's involvement in Iran during the shah's regime. He said he would sue the government under the Freedom of Information Act, if necessary.

Upon his return Clark called for the U.S. government to apologize to Iran for its role in imposing and propping up the shah's regime.

At the conference, delegates were shown some of the classified documents found in the U.S. embassy. For example, there was one document, dated January 22, 1979, exposing how Washington had indeed been planning a military takeover in Iran immediately after the shah fled in early 1979.

The document, a message from U.S. General Robert Huyser to U.S. General Alexander Haig stated, "The actions I am pressing are to break the strike by the use of military in customs, oil and banking. . . . If that fails my guidance to them is that we must go to a straight military takeover."

Referring to the possibility of civil war, it stated, "One good way to trigger it is to have Khomeini return and be assassinated."

These documents directly contradict the White House claims that the purpose of the Huyser mission in Iran was to forestall a coup by the shah's forces.

Some of the documents found in the U.S. helicopters left in Iran after Washington's abortive military raid were also presented at the conference. Other documents dealt with the connections between the CIA and SAVAK, the shah's secret police.

The international conference adopted a twelve-point resolution. Washington was condemned for the CIA-sponsored coup in 1953 that reinstalled the shah on the Peacock Throne and for the April 24 military raid on Iran. The conference also severely criticized the U.S. government for freezing Iranian assets; mistreating Iranians, especially students, in the United States; and pressuring other nations to impose economic sanctions against Iran.

The conference also "recognized Iran's right to seek compensation for its enormous material and human losses as a result of U.S. practices during the past 27 years" and its "right to seek the extradition of the shah and the return of his wealth plundered by the Pahlavi dynasty."

Some members of Iran's parliament were suspicious of Clark's presence at the international conference.

Last November, immediately after the embassy occupation, Carter sent Clark to Iran as his emissary. At that time Khomeini refused to receive Clark and he was not allowed into the country.

Gain for Iran

Moreover, many Iranians objected to some of Clark's statements. Although his remarks were in the context of support for the Iranian revolution and opposition to Washington's policies in Iran, Clark urged the release of the hostages, saying he thought the stu-

dents were holding the wrong people.

Clark said he thought it would be different if Allen Dulles, Kermit Roosevelt, Richard Helms, Henry Kissinger, or Richard Nixon were the hostages, referring to past top U.S. leaders and officials of the State Department and CIA. Clark also offered to take the place of one of the hostages.

But Clark ignores the fact that the U.S. embassy personnel in Iran included a number of high ranking State Department employees.

Members of the American delegation in Iran observed a massive rally in Isfahan June 5, where they also met with Iranians who had been maimed and crippled in the shah's infamous torture chambers.

Despite the controversy in Iran over Clark's call for release of the hostages, he and four other delegation members met on June 7 with some of the students holding the U.S. embassy.

The conference, and the U.S. delegation's participation in it, will further educate the American people about the real role of the U.S. government in Iran.

The delegation also stood up for the right of U.S. citizens to travel where they please.

The formation of a commission to investigate U.S. intervention in Iran, which Clark has proposed, could further expose the Carter administration's refusal to resolve the hostage crisis. Carter refuses to even acknowledge the existence of U.S. crimes against Iran, let alone apologize for them. Such a commission could also help Americans further understand why the Iranian masses continue to demand the extradition of the shah and the return of his plundered wealth.

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President offers nothing

Miami Blacks tell Carter: 'We want justice!'

By Andrea Baron
and Mark Dressler

MIAMI—President Carter finally made his way to Miami on June 9, three weeks after the Black rebellion rocked this city.

Carter only stayed in Miami for four hours, but everywhere he went he was confronted by angry demonstrators. His departure was hastened by a barrage of bottles thrown at his motorcade as he left a meeting in Liberty City, the heart of the Black community.

Carter offered Miami Blacks absolutely nothing. "With his empty speech, the president may have actually inflamed the already desperate situation," said Marvin Dunn, a prominent local Black figure.

Carter's first appearance was about as far away from the Black community as he could get. He addressed a convention of the Opportunities Industrialization Centers in America at the Fontainebleau Hilton, the poshest hotel in Miami Beach.

The streets in front of the hotel were lined with demonstrators. Several hundred were Cubans demanding that Key West be opened up to receive Cuban immigrants. There were Haitians demanding asylum for Haitian refugees, and Black and white protesters demanding federal aid for the Black community.

From Miami Beach Carter went to Liberty City for what was announced to be a meeting with the Black community. Liberty City is where the rebellion erupted May 17 after an all-white jury exonerated cops who had murdered Black insurance executive Arthur McDuffie.

When Carter arrived at the meeting site, he was met by more than 700 protesters chanting, "We want justice! We can't get justice here!"

They carried signs reading, "Jail killer cops," "Racism is big business—Make big business pay," and "Mr Carter, time is running out—Remember May 17th."

Scores of motorcycle police hovered around the crowd decked out in full riot gear and bullet-proof vests.

Police dogs were held nearby. Police



Miami cops scurry as Black protesters hurl peanuts and bottles at a departing Carter

marksmen paced the roofs of nearby buildings, and a helicopter circled overhead.

Despite the "community meeting" billing, the only ones invited were some Dade County officials and a sprinkling of businessmen and leaders of Black organizations. News media and the public were barred from the meeting. Reporters were forcibly removed from the room by White House aides.

Most of those allowed to attend the meeting were angered by it. Carter had no proposals for aid or any federal programs or money to offer.

Charles Smith, an official of the NAACP, said, "Carter didn't say anything. Just clichés."

Even Mayor Maurice Ferre admitted that Carter's proposals were "bland, pabulum, a Gerber's delight."

As Carter left the community center after the meeting, demonstrators shouted, "Down with Carter!"

Bottles, cans, and peanuts sailed through the air as Carter was hustled into his limousine. Bottles hit the

president's car and the press bus as the motorcade pulled away.

One demonstrator yelled, "Why didn't Carter talk to the real people?"

Another asked, "What's the purpose of coming to talk to the high-level officials? They've got jobs."

The demonstrations against Carter followed a meeting May 30 when 300 people, mostly young Blacks in their twenties, jammed into the Dade County Commission chambers to protest continuing racist injustices.

For three and a half hours, nearly fifty speakers blasted the commissioners for promoting the racist dual justice system that acquitted the police killers of McDuffie.

Demands raised by speakers included amnesty for the nearly 1,300 persons, overwhelmingly Black, arrested and charged during the rebellion; firing of Florida State's Attorney Janet Reno for her role in the McDuffie case; and an end to police violence against Blacks.

The *Miami Herald*, the city's main big-business newspaper, described the meeting this way: "Commissioners faced a crowd unlike any they had ever

confronted before: bitter blacks, many in their twenties, without the traditional elder statesmen of their community, largely ignorant of nuts and bolts politics, venting frustrations and demanding solutions to decades-old problems."

When the commissioners began to discuss Florida Gov. Bob Graham's proposed one-cent sales tax increase to supposedly finance the rebuilding of Miami's Black community, the crowd erupted with chants of "No sales tax! No sales tax!"

Dade County Mayor Stephen Clark was forced to adjourn the meeting.

The confrontation with the commissioners came only a day after the Miami offices of the Urban League were deliberately set afire. Employees in the Urban League office told police they saw an unknown white man in the area where the fire broke out. But police officials said that the man was not the focus of the investigation.

Of the ten employees in the offices at the time of the fire, six had to be treated for smoke inhalation.

On June 3, four Black youth charged with first-degree murder of three whites during the May 17 rebellion were denied freedom under bond. Justifying this move after hearing only two hours of testimony, Circuit Judge Mario Goderich remarked that "the proof is evident and the presumption great" that the four were guilty.

Meanwhile police announced "no leads" in finding white snipers who rode through Black neighborhoods in a van, killing several Blacks, despite description of the vehicle by several witnesses.

The highly touted relief plan from the Florida state legislature is an insult to the Black community. The original proposal for \$11.5 million in aid broke down to a measly \$1.5 million to train youth for minimum wage jobs. The balance of \$10 million was to go for low interest loans and tax breaks for businesses located in the Black community.

The job training funds were dropped completely from the bill in the final days of wheeling and dealing in the legislature.

Pulley demands federal aid for Black community

By Nancy Cole

Few things have better highlighted the difference between Carter's big-business campaign for the presidency and that of Andrew Pulley than the Black rebellion in Miami.

Socialist Workers Party candidate Pulley, a steelworker, flew to Miami immediately to learn the facts and demonstrate his solidarity with the Black community there.

Carter, a millionaire peanut producer, arrived on the scene three weeks later, when he mistakenly hoped the anger had subsided.

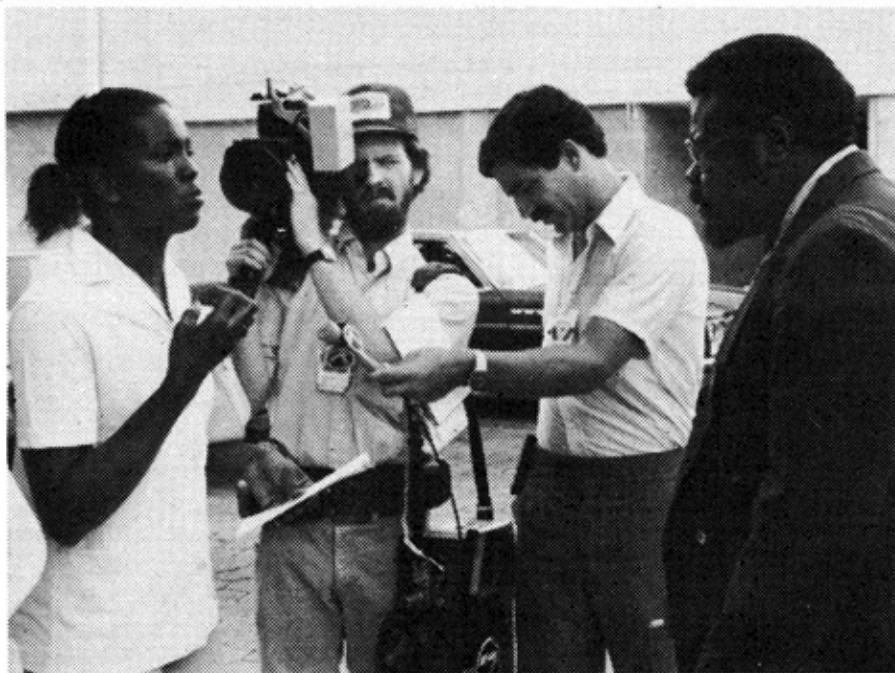
Pulley blasted the "Jim Crow justice" that acquitted the killer cops. He called for federal indictments to bring them to trial again.

Carter has never condemned the racist jury verdict that sparked the three-day rebellion last month.

Pulley walked the streets of Liberty City, talking to Black residents about their problems and their ideas on how to solve them.

Carter conferred with a select group of officials and Black figures. His meetings were closed to the public.

Pulley hailed the fighting spirit of Miami Blacks, urging that it be organized politically to win the Black community's demands.



Pulley, far right, talked with Black residents during tour of Miami. Carter hid from community by holding a closed meeting.

Carter "deplored the violence," pinning the blame for Black unemployment on Blacks themselves with the statement, "Burning down a business cannot create any jobs."

Carter claimed the federal government could promise *nothing* to spur employment and rebuild the Black

community.

In fact, the only steady work Carter holds out for the Black youth of Miami is reinstatement of the military draft.

Pulley, while in Miami and in his campaign stops across the nation, has spread the truth about what

happened in Miami and why.

He joins with the Miami Black community in demanding that the twelve cops who murdered Arthur McDuffie be prosecuted under federal civil rights statutes; that all Blacks rounded up during the rebellion be amnestied; that white snipers who gunned down Blacks be apprehended and prosecuted; and that the cop terror against Miami Blacks be halted.

"Carter is siding with the racist 'justice' that acquitted McDuffie's murderers when he refuses to devote federal funds to aid the Miami Black community," says Pulley.

"I say the federal government has the responsibility to immediately grant emergency aid to the Miami Black community in whatever sum is necessary."

"Washington has plenty of money to do it. Take it from the \$155 billion military budget. This money is now squandered on weapons of war and nuclear destruction. I say it should be put to use building schools, housing, libraries, and hospitals in Liberty City."

"Such a public works program would provide jobs to put Miami's unemployed back to work. It would help give Black youth there a future."

Protest police frame-ups, brutality

500 marchers defy Wrightsville, Ga., racists

By August Nimitz

WRIGHTSVILLE, Ga.—The largest demonstration so far to protest racist conditions here took place on Saturday, June 7, as 500 people marched and rallied.

The demonstration was called by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in response to a series of racist attacks and frame-ups carried out May 19 by Sheriff Roland Attaway. Attaway and his cops broke into homes, roughed up Blacks, and arrested thirty-eight.

Sixteen Blacks were then indicted May 29 by the all-white Johnson County Grand Jury.

Attaway was responding to the growing antiracist movement here. Blacks have been protesting against racist hiring policies of businesses and local government, police brutality, and more recently, government attempts to prevent Black voter registration.

A number of prominent civil rights leaders participated in the June 7 action. These included Rev. Joseph Lowery, SCLC president; U.S. Rep. Walter Fauntroy; and Rev. Ben Chavis, leader of the Wilmington 10 civil rights defendants.

Busloads of marchers came from Atlanta and other cities, including a contingent of strikers from Laurel, Mississippi. Members of Local 882 of the International Chemical Workers there are on a strike for dignity against Sanderson Farms poultry processing plant. On May 17, a busload went from Wrightsville to Laurel to join a demonstration in support of that struggle.



Militant/Nelson Blackstock
Joseph Lowery, president of SCLC, was one of leaders of June 7 demonstration in Wrightsville, Georgia.

The majority of the mostly Black demonstrators June 7 came from here, an indication of growing involvement in the antiracist fight by Wrightsville's Black community. Thirty-five percent of the town's 2,500 residents are Black.

A cheering, foot-stomping rally in Neeler Chapel A.M.E. Church preceded the march. Fred Taylor, an SCLC field

organizer, lead the crowd in chants and hymns. John Martin, head of the local SCLC, and Rev. E.J. Wilson, pastor of the church, greeted the crowd and explained the nonviolent character of the demonstration.

The march proved to be as spirited as the rally, with marchers chanting, "Fired up, can't take no more," and "Johnson County don't you know, Attaway has got to go!"

The marchers wound their way through the town for five miles, mainly in the Black neighborhoods. Many Black residents who came out of their homes to watch the marchers joined the procession.

Protesters carried signs that said, "Right what's wrong in Wrightsville," and "Stop Roland's outlaw deputies now."

Many of the marchers who came from other cities saw for the first time the deplorable living conditions of Blacks—as well as some whites—in Wrightsville.

Even the media, which came out in large numbers, began pointing their cameras at the many dilapidated houses that people are forced to live in here.

The marchers eventually reached the courthouse, site of Attaway's office, where they heard a series of rousing speeches.

Drawing attention to the fact that Georgia is Carter's home state, Rev. Ben Chavis declared, "There are no human rights for Black people in Georgia."

Chavis said, "We must be vigilant and organize our communities. We

must return to the streets."

Fauntroy told the crowd that he spoke on behalf of the Congressional Black Caucus. "You are an inspiration to our brothers and sisters in New York, Miami, and throughout the United States," he said. "There is nothing as powerful as the tramp, tramp of marching feet."

SCLC President Lowery said of the recent events surrounding the struggle here, "We see a little twinkling light." He was referring to the Justice Department's June 5 announcement that it would convene a special federal grand jury to investigate the racist policies of Attaway's office.

Lowery also announced that a Black deputy sheriff would be hired in the "next few days" and that four deputy registrars—two whites and two Blacks—would be appointed to help Black voter registration.

Lowery made a strong appeal to poor and working whites here to support the civil rights struggle, saying that they could also benefit from what Blacks are fighting for.

"Blacks are not the only folks living in chicken coop houses in Wrightsville," he said. "A handful of white folks got everything and gone."

Frank Martino, International Chemical Workers president, told the demonstrators, "You can count on the ICWU to support you in your struggle."

The demonstration took place without incident. Ku Klux Klanners, who had appeared in full dress at previous actions, were not to be seen. Attaway and his deputies were also conspicuously absent.

Socialists set education & activists conference

By Barry Sheppard

The Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance are hosting a week-long Socialist Educational and Worker Activists Conference this summer.

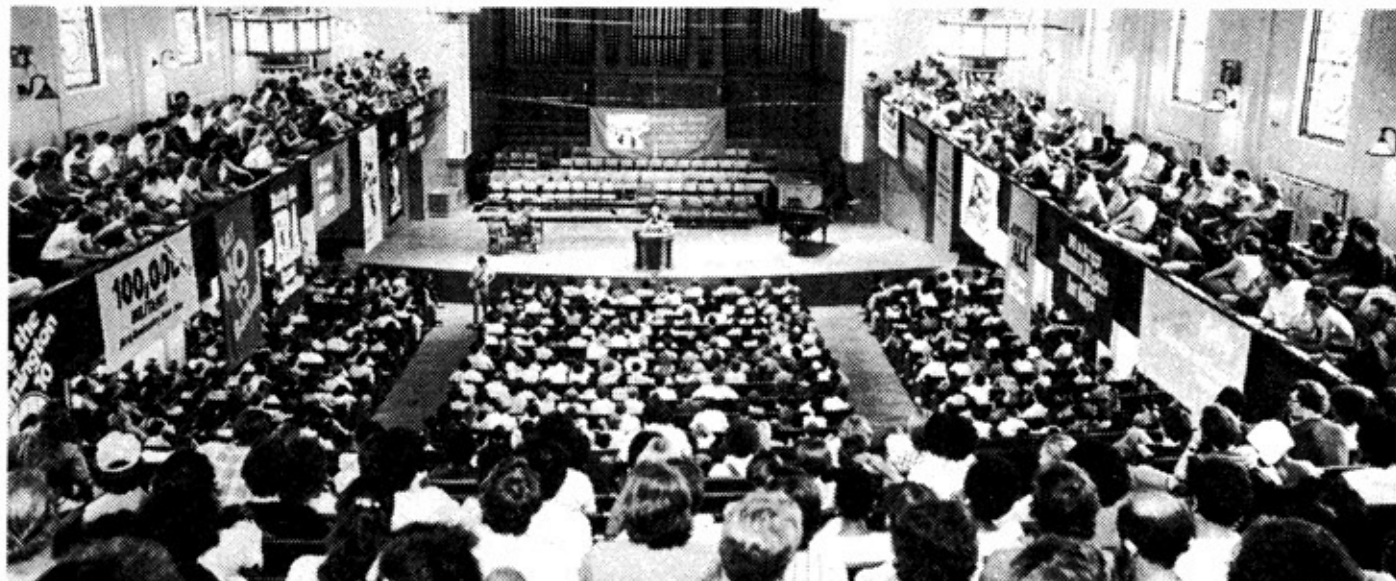
The conference will be held at the Oberlin College campus in Oberlin, Ohio, the week of August 2 through the week of August 9.

Readers of the *Militant* who would like to attend all or part of the conference should get in touch with the nearest Socialist Workers Party branch or Young Socialist Alliance chapter for information concerning transportation, registration, costs for room and board, etc. (See page 27 for SWP and YSA addresses in your area.)

There will be four major aspects of the conference. One will be socialist education, classes on Marxism and various aspects of the class struggle in the United States and on a world scale. While many classes will run simultaneously, each participant will be able to pick a series of classes of special interest to him or her from a wide range to be offered.

This aspect of the gathering will be kicked off with a talk by Jack Barnes, national secretary of the SWP, on Marxism. Barnes will be reporting from the SWP Leadership School, which has been intensively studying the basic works of Marx and Engels.

The second aspect of the conference will be meetings of workers active in particular branches of industry and trade unions. Each of these meetings will discuss the problems confronting the workers in the particular industries and unions, and the orientation and tasks of socialists involved in them. These meetings are an important opportunity for people in the same industry or union from across the country to get



Scene from socialist conference in 1978

Militant/Lou Howart

together to exchange experiences and hammer out their perspectives.

SWP National Committee member Tom Leonard will also speak to the whole conference on "Trade Union Strategy and Tactics."

The third aspect of the gathering will be discussions on the major issues in world and national politics. Addresses to the whole conference by other SWP leaders will take up these developments.

Malik Miah will speak on the world political situation; Mary-Alice Waters on "The Coming Confrontation in Central America and the Caribbean," which will discuss Cuba, Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Grenada; and Wendy Lyons on the American political situation.

Some of the educational classes will go into these themes in more detail. Other classes will develop themes concerning revolutionary strategy and tactics in the trade unions.

Lyons's talk will also discuss the

opportunities immediately ahead for building the socialist movement in the fall, the fourth aspect of the conference. A key element in doing this will be organizing for intensified activity in support of the SWP presidential ticket of Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann.

Pulley and Zimmermann will be featured speakers at a campaign rally that will wind up the week's activities and launch the drive to get out the socialist perspective in the final months of the election campaign.

Along the same lines, there will be a series of workshops on various aspects of building the socialist movement and other movements for social change, from working to win the Equal Rights Amendment and other aspects of the struggle for women, to building solidarity with Nicaragua, to a campaign for increased distribution of the socialist press as part of the fall election campaign drive, to building the

YSA.

In addition to all these activities there will be plenty of opportunity for recreation. We will be able to utilize the college's swimming pool and gymnasium. Movies will be shown each night. Dancing (with a wide variety of types of music) will also be organized each night, as well as social gatherings for those who would prefer just to talk. A game room will be available, and various musical events will be organized.

Room and board is organized through the college dormitories and cafeterias. Professional child care is available for conference participants with children. Simultaneous translation into Spanish and French will be done for the major talks.

In the next few weeks we will be discussing the various aspects of the conference in more detail in the *Militant*. All those wishing to attend, however, should start making the necessary arrangements right away.

Women miners from 10 states meet in W.Va.

By Nancy Cole

BECKLEY, W.Va.—Women from ten states met here May 31-June 1 for the Second National Conference of Women Coal Miners.

The conference was sponsored by the Coal Employment Project, a group that has been fighting for several years to get women jobs in the coal industry.

In her speech to the opening session, CEP director Betty Jean Hall reported that recent federal figures show 3,061 women have gotten jobs as underground coal miners since the government first recorded women miners in 1973. This is an increase of 487 since the first conference one year ago.

Even this modest number secured jobs only because they fought for them, as Hall's summary of the year's legal challenges showed. One 1980 victory was the January settlement that Blue Diamond Coal Company was forced to sign setting hiring goals for women in Kentucky.

Hall included among the year's accomplishments a November conference of women coal miners called by the United Mine Workers, the nine women elected as delegates to the December UMWA convention, and the participation of a women miners' contingent in the January 13 march on Richmond, Virginia, for the Equal Rights Amendment.

Two hundred men and women attended the conference here.

Among those attending was Tom Moriarty, a miner and UMWA member who is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of West Virginia.

UMWA participation

The majority were members of the United Mine Workers, although there were also a few non-union women miners, as well as a handful of members of company unions—the Southern Labor Union and the Progressive Miners Union.

In contrast to the first CEP conference last June where there had been no official UMWA participation, this year's gathering heard greetings from Steve Galati, assistant to the UMWA vice-president, UMWA District 29 President Dennis Saunders, and District 29 International Executive Board member Joe Davidson.

It was another confirmation of the progress women have made in being accepted and recognized as valuable unionists, as well as good people to work beside in the mines.

Arleen Crum had attended the



UMWA women's meeting in November. This time she brought her husband, Tommy Crum, also a southern Illinois miner.

Since the November women's meeting, Arleen Crum was elected recording secretary of her UMWA local even though she's the only woman at her mine. Her concern is getting more women in the mines, in particular hers. But she's also trying to get more men involved in her local union. "I think it's real important to build up the locals now with the national contract coming up," she told the *Militant*.

Sexual harassment

The pride of being a miner, especially a UMWA miner, was in ample evidence here. Women wore "Women miners can dig it too!" T-shirts, UMWA pins, and "Coal is the answer" buttons.

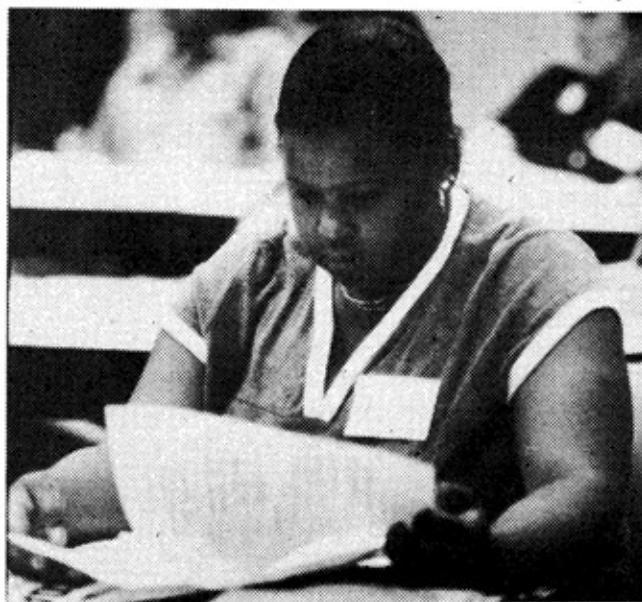
They talked of the importance of the union for safety and grievances. But nowhere was the meaning of the union more pronounced than in the sexual discrimination and harassment workshops, the best attended sessions at the conference.

Women detailed how they are denied training, given the worst jobs, forced to lift more than they are capable of, and harassed and abused by foremen.

"If you're union, you're in luck," said workshop coordinator Jeanne Smith, a southern Illinois miner. "My union really helped me."

Smith urged women to "go to your union, talk to your union brothers, try to recruit them to your side."

"Go back and build up your locals,"



Women miners shared experiences at series of workshops

Militant photos by Nancy Cole

she said, suggesting that efforts be made to "set up some kind of system within the union for new hires. Let them know their rights."

The dilemma for women with no unions or only company unions was highlighted by women from Harlan, Kentucky.

"I came with my friend and we're not really sure we're going to have a job on Monday," began Patty Estrada, who works at an Eastover Mining Company mine organized by the Southern Labor Union.

'Are we the only women?'

"Sometimes we say, are we the only women in the world digging coal and putting up with this?"

"This" is sexual harassment instigated by the company. Brenda Brock, who works at the same mine, also attended the conference. "Brenda was the first woman at our mine that ever got pregnant, and the harassment is terrible. They're trying to make an

example of her," Estrada explained.

"They told me I wasn't pregnant when I got the job, and I got no business being pregnant now," said Brock. With no union to back them up, the women have had no recourse.

Although they have plenty of complaints about harassment from the male miners they work with, Estrada declared, "I'll tell you, our problem comes right from the office, from the company."

Getting together with other women miners from around the country was worth risking their jobs. And they were so encouraged that they plan to go back and form a support group of women miners in the Harlan area.

Black women miners

In the closing session, one woman asked to hear from the Black women miners about any special kind of harassment they face. About ten Black miners participated in the conference.

Dameta Long, a twenty-three-year-old divorced mother from a U.S. Steel mine in Gary, West Virginia, responded, "There are six Black women at my mine. Four of us, including myself, were laid off as of today."

"I was scared when I started," she continued. "But we have a great crew of men. There are twenty-three on one section, and sometimes I'm the only Black. Speaking for my union brothers, they are a great bunch."

"I hope next year I can say I am a working coal miner," she finished to an enthusiastic round of applause.

In the organizing support groups, Mary Ann Fisher, president of the Women's Auxiliary of UMWA District 31 in northern West Virginia, explained how wives of miners had started the auxiliary during the recent strike against Consolidation Coal Company led by the Four States miners.

Asked what ideas she had about preparing for the upcoming contract fight, Fisher responded, "We plan to have a warehouse full of food and a lot of money."

Patty Church, wife of UMWA president Sam Church, attended the workshop and said she would be willing to help other districts organize women's auxiliaries.

The workshop also discussed setting up support groups such as exist in Illinois and several other states that would help women get jobs in the mines and provide women miners a chance to get together.

First battle is to get the job

By Nancy Cole

BECKLEY, W. Va.—The layoffs hitting the coalfields have made women's fight for coal jobs even more difficult.

Joan Montgomery attended the women miners conference here representing the New Employment for Women in Logan County, West Virginia. Funded through federal grants, the agency tries to find non-traditional jobs for women.

"In Logan County, that means jobs in the mines," Montgomery says.

New Employment for Women has been in existence for a year, "and I just got my first woman hired three months ago," she told the *Militant*. "The companies' excuse is that so many men have been laid off, how can they hire women?"

Shirley Hariston is a Logan County woman who succeeded in getting a coal job, but only after she filed a complaint with the state human rights commission. A single Black parent with children aged fourteen, eleven, eight, and five, Hariston worked as a nurses aide for years and then at Burger Chef while she was taking the eight-week train-

ing course required to work in West Virginia mines.

"Twenty-one women were in the training program, and afterwards none of us got hired. W-P [Coal Company] told me blunt out they wouldn't even give me an application."

Three months after filing the complaint, she got the job.

Jean Steffey has not been so fortunate. Three years ago she started looking for a job in the mines nearest her home. They are owned by Peabody Coal Company, the nation's largest coal producer.

"I would go to talk to the mine superintendent, and he would ask me what my husband thought of me working in the mines? Who was going to take care of my children? He said women didn't belong in the mines."

She watched for a year as inexperienced men were hired at Peabody mines. She read an article about the Coal Employment Project and wrote the group. That led to filing a complaint with the Kentucky Human Rights Commission.

It was filed as a class-action complaint on behalf of all women discriminated against by Peabody, but

Peabody challenged the class-action category and won. So Steffey and four other women took the case to federal court where it could be a class action suit.

The fight for a job has transformed Steffey, a soft-spoken mother of two, into a full-time activist. From her home, she works every day—writing letters, making phone calls, putting women in touch with the CEP or with the human rights commission.

Her father, a miner, supports women in the mines. Her husband, also a miner, has begun to adjust to it. "At first he couldn't understand why I was doing this. But the more he works with women in the mines and hears about the discrimination we face, he's behind us."

She believes the way she has changed may be "scary" to her husband. The process has amazed even herself. "I found strength I didn't know I had," she says.

Jean Steffey's battle for a decent-paying job may become even more critical in a few months. Come August the mine where her husband works is closing down. Unless he's one of the few who will be kept on, he'll be without a job.

'We've heard enough promises'

'Miners for Jobs' hold rally in Johnstown, Pa.

By Mary Zins

JOHNSTOWN, Pa.—The writing on the Cone-maugh River wall reads, "This town will not die."

Put there after the 1977 Johnstown flood, the slogan took on new meaning as more than 400 workers and their families rallied here June 5 to demand jobs.

This is a highly industrialized area dominated by Bethlehem Steel, which operates a large mill in town and owns many coal mines in the region.

But the Johnstown area now has one of the highest unemployment rates in the country. Three thousand miners are laid off in United Mine Workers District 2. The large Bethlehem steel mill has already laid off thousands and is threatening thousands more. Other businesses affected by the steel and coal layoffs have shut down or cut back.

The June 5 rally for jobs was organized by "Miners for Jobs," formed from six locals of the United Mine Workers of America. The group invited fellow miners, steelworkers, and the community to the rally here held at the Cambria War Memorial building.

Jerry Gilkey, a laid-off Bethlehem coal miner and chair of Miners for Jobs, opened the rally: "We know Carter never promised us a rose garden, but we were promised jobs."

Hundreds of years of coal

Gilkey said there was no excuse for the layoffs, pointing out that with all the talk about an energy crisis, there's hundreds of years of coal in the ground.

Children bobbed balloons with "Miners for Jobs" printed on them. In the lobby people milled around a giant postcard addressed to President Carter. Three feet by six feet, the postcard was filled with messages from unemployed Johnstown area residents.

One comment signed by Miners for Jobs said, "We have heard enough promises. Unemployment here is getting worse every day. Mines, mills, and local businesses are shutting down. We want action now."

John Markovich of Miners for Jobs told the rally, "We can't wait forever for them to pass bills and things. We have to remind them that our unemployment [benefits] only last thirty weeks."

"We're not just talking about mining coal," said Lou Antal, UMWA District 5 president. "We're talking about mining union coal." Antal declared that "politicians are trying to strip from you all the rights you have won."

He urged workers to stand together, citing the rally here as a good example of needed unity.

Joe Jurczak, representing the UMWA's political action committee (COMPAC), called on miners and



Miners give message to Carter on giant postcard in downtown Johnstown.

steelworkers to take political action, "not just of the ballot-box kind, but also marches on Harrisburg and Washington to let the legislators know what you think."

Jurczak continued, "It is a political act that put you out of work. It will take political action to put you back to work."

Nuclear power

He also described the hazards of nuclear power, urging the audience to "get active, stay active" in the fight to replace nuclear power with coal-fired plants.

Other labor speakers included Val Scarton, UMWA District 2 president; Paul Bitchko, UMWA International Executive Board member from District 2; and Ernie Wadsworth, United Steelworkers sub-district director. Also speaking were Wolfe Huber, president of the Pennsylvania Black Lung Association, and John Bennett of the Johnstown NAACP.

The rally had opened with speeches by more than a dozen local politicians, from the mayor to a representative of the governor's office to Democratic and Republican hopefuls.

"We want you to listen to them," Miners for Jobs head Gilkey told the rally. "We know some of them are more interested in getting reelected than in fighting for our jobs. We're not here to help them. We invited them here to help us."

Then Gilkey urged the miners and steelworkers to rely on themselves, on their own organized strength.

The politicians tried to take the heat off themselves and the pro-company policies of the

Democratic and Republican parties by talking about the "evils" of everything foreign from steel, coal, and oil to Iranians, Arabs, and Cubans. They promised jobs and asked for votes.

A few even had the audacity to blame workers themselves for their plight. County Commissioner W. Donald Templeton asked, "Who here owns a foreign car?"

The crowd reserved its biggest applause and cheers of the evening for the one honest politician on the platform—a miner dressed up in a ten-gallon hat, smoking a big cigar. The rally chair introduced him saying he demanded a "piece of the action."

J.P. Oilslick

"Hell, I own the action," the cigar smoker declared to the delight of the crowd. "I'm J.P. Oilslick. You think OPEC is blackmailing us? I taught them everything they know. You see, I owned their oil wells before a single Arab did."

"We don't really care about jobs," J.P. Oilslick continued. "We don't have to care. We're doing fine. We do care about your union though. It's a real nuisance to me."

After the rally, Nick Mocnar, a miner for six years and a member of UMWA Local 1257, told the *Militant*, "The politicians say in five years it's going to get better. But already people are leaving the area. What choice do they have?"

Chuck Wyatt works for a Penelec (Pennsylvania Electric) power plant. He respects the miners' fight for jobs but is frustrated. "Carter and Reagan make a lot of promises, but in office, they're all the same. There's nothing you can do."

The June 5 rally, however, had given new encouragement to many here. Wyatt's friend Gene Peoples interrupted, "Things change. That's what you have to realize." Peoples is a ten-year veteran of the mines, now on total disability from a back injury.

Peoples expressed the determination of many leaving the war memorial. "We've got to keep on trying. We need more meetings and rallies and things will change. We'll change them."

Program for jobs

The following is the text of the 'Program for Jobs' being circulated by campaign supporters of Linda Mohrbacher, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. senator from Pennsylvania.

1. **Shorter workweek.** Ban forced overtime and reduce the legal workweek to thirty hours, with no reduction in current weekly take-home pay (including normal overtime premiums) to spread the available work.

2. **Funds for jobs, not war.** Eliminate the inflationary \$150 billion military budget and use the money to expand social services and launch a public works program to construct schools, bridges, hospitals, housing, public transit, and child-care centers.

3. **Open the books of the monopolies.** Make public all the secret documents and financial records of the oil, steel, auto, coal, and other corporations that jack up prices or lay off workers. Let us see the truth about their profits and tax swindles as well as their resources and production statistics.

4. **Public ownership of industry.** Nationalize the energy industry, whose hoarding and price gouging are the biggest inflationary problems. Nationalize the steel, auto, rubber, and other companies that are closing plants, dumping workers into the streets, and devastating communities. The nationalized industries should be managed by elected public boards whose meetings and records are open to all. Control over working conditions, hiring, and firing should be controlled by the workers themselves through their unions.

5. **Cost-of-living escalators.** Raise wages, pensions, Social Security and other benefits automatically to fully compensate for all increases in the cost of living. No wage controls.

6. **Emergency relief.** The government should pay all jobless workers unemployment benefits at full union-scale wages for the entire time they are out of work.

For more information and to help get out the word on Mohrbacher's campaign, contact the Western Pennsylvania Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 1210 East Carson Street, Pittsburgh, Pa. 15203. (412) 488-7000.

Socialist: 'Cut hours, keep pay same'

JOHNSTOWN, Pa.—On June 4, Linda Mohrbacher, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate from Pennsylvania, petitioned outside the Johnstown Bureau of Employment Services.

Most people she stopped agreed to sign to put her on the ballot as Mohrbacher explained who she is and why she is running.

Mohrbacher has found many of her strongest supporters in unemployment lines. She herself is a steelworker who was laid off recently when U.S. Steel closed its Edgar Thompson plant in Braddock, outside Pittsburgh.

People stopped to talk, inviting the socialist candidate to come back the following day for the jobs rally. Person after person repeated the invitation.

More than 350 people at the unemployment office here signed to put Mohrbacher on the ballot, along with SWP candidates Tory Dunn for state treasurer, Andrew Pulley for president, and Matilde Zimmermann for vice-president. The law requires the socialists collect 48,000 signatures statewide.

Mohrbacher returned for the June 5 rally along with a group of campaign supporters. "This is just the kind of action steelworkers, auto workers, and other unemployed workers should be

initiating across the country," she told workers here who wanted to know what she thought of the rally.

Many people here had seen the article on Mohrbacher in that morning's Johnstown *Tribune-Democrat*. The story was titled, "Third party Senate hopeful: Cut week, keep pay the same."

The article began, "A thirty hour workweek for forty hours pay would help solve the growing unemployment problem, according to a thirty-one-year-old jobless woman steelworker, who wants to represent Pennsylvania in the U.S. Senate."

It went on, "In circulating nomination papers, she said she had not met 'a single person who was against the shorter workweek. People agree that shorter hours with no loss in pay could provide many jobs. And that is the solution we need.'"

"She also said she had been campaigning hard on the idea that 'the union movement should run its own candidates, that we need a labor party to defend the interests of working people.'"

Socialists returned to Johnstown the next day to continue collecting signatures. During petitioning over three days here, more than 1,000 workers from the Johnstown area signed to put the socialist candidates on the ballot.

Antinuclear unionists to meet in Ohio June 29

The Labor Task Force of the Coalition for a Non-Nuclear World will meet in Toledo, Ohio, on Sunday, June 29.

The meeting was set at the last task force gathering following the April 26 antinuclear march of 25,000 in Washington, D.C.

The Toledo meeting will offer educational panels, including one on presently available energy alternatives such as coal.

It will also consider calling a national labor conference on safe energy and full employment for the fall.

Speakers at the June 29 meeting will include Charlie Grimm, international representative of United Mine Workers District 6.

Labor's growing participation in the antinuclear fight was shown on June 7 when more than 700 people from throughout the Midwest protested nuclear power in Chicago. The action was supported by two large locals of the United Steelworkers in District 31—65 and 1010.

Mary Jo Wuetrich, cochairperson of Local 65's health and safety committee, told the Chicago rally, "Although

I'm not here on behalf of my international union, I can say that my local and the 120,000 members of District 31 are with you in saying we should shut these nukes down."

Wuetrich announced the Toledo labor meeting on June 29.

The Chicago rally was cut short by a driving hailstorm, but present and scheduled to speak was Michael Holland, UMW legal counsel who was there representing Gerald Hawkins, legislative director of UMW Districts 11 and 12.

In Marianna, Pennsylvania, UMW Local 2874 is organizing a "Community Meeting on Nuclear Power" for June 21. The meeting, at 7 p.m. at the UMW hall in Marianna, will hear from Labor Task Force director Jerry Gordon and Joe Jurczak, director of the Pennsylvania Coal Miners Political Action Committee.

For more information on the June 29 Toledo meeting, contact the Labor Task Force, c/o Environmentalists for Full Employment, 1536 Sixteenth Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20036 (202) 347-5590.



April 26 antinuclear march on Washington

Militant/Lou Howort

W.Va. coal miner takes ballot fight to high court

By Nancy Cole

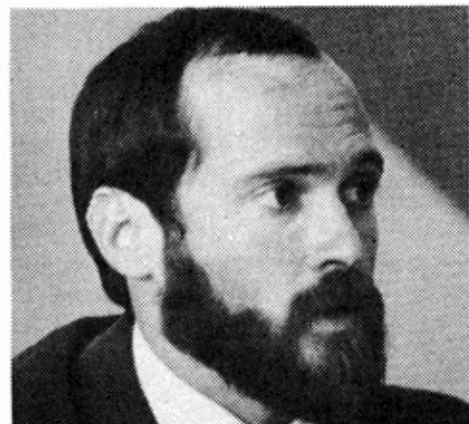
CHARLESTON, W. Va.—Demanding the "fair opportunity to match our program with that of the Democrats and Republicans," Tom Moriarty announced plans here June 4 to take his fight for a place on the West Virginia ballot to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Moriarty, a northern West Virginia coal miner and member of United Mine Workers Local 1949, is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor. His opponents in the race are oil-rich Democratic incumbent John D. Rockefeller IV and former Republican governor Arch Moore.

"For decades the Democratic and Republican parties have conspired to maintain a monopoly on the ballot in West Virginia," Moriarty told the news conference here. "That is why there have been no socialist candidates on the ballot in West Virginia for forty-four years."

On May 22, the state supreme court eliminated some of the most restrictive provisions of the West Virginia election law. The ruling struck down a requirement that individuals circulating nominating petitions collect signatures only in the magisterial districts where they live. (There are 288 magisterial districts in the state.)

The state justices also ruled that the filing fee of \$2,000 for presidential candidates and \$500 for gubernatorial



TOM MORIARTY Militant/Nancy Cole

candidates be waived if candidates do not have the money.

The court left standing a provision requiring that voters who sign nominating petitions forfeit their right to vote in the Democratic and Republican primaries.

Nevertheless, the ruling left the required 7,500 signatures a realizable goal for the socialists. But with a June 2 deadline, there was no time in which to collect them.

Under the election law, before it was amended by the state supreme court, supporters of Moriarty and SWP presidential candidate Andrew Pulley and vice-presidential candidate Matilde Zimmermann could not even obtain

petitions because they were unable to afford the filing fee.

An appeal for a one-month extension was rejected May 27 by the state high court. The socialists are taking this issue, plus a challenge to the remaining undemocratic provisions of the law, to the U.S. Supreme Court. The Citizens Party is a co-plaintiff in the suit.

The lawsuit against West Virginia's election law was originally filed on May 6 by the SWP and the Libertarian Party. The Citizens Party later joined the action.

At that time Republican John Anderson, who is running for president as an "independent," was aiming to meet the petitioning requirements. With the deadline closing in and restrictions proving insurmountable, Anderson joined the legal challenge just days before the state supreme court ruled.

The May 22 victory enabled Anderson to exceed the 7,500 signatures, an effort aided in great part by a benefit concert here for the petitioning drive performed by songwriter and singer James Taylor.

At the news conference here Moriarty explained that in the early 1900s the Socialist Party—"my party among an earlier generation of workers"—had a big following in West Virginia because of its working-class program in opposition to the capitalist parties.

It was the growing socialist, working-class movement that prompted the Democratic and Republican politicians to rewrite the state's election law in 1915, placing severe restrictions on all candidates but those from the Democratic and Republican parties.

"Between 1910 and 1915 the Socialist Party elected more than eighty candidates to office," said Moriarty. "Yet after 1915, not a single socialist was elected to state office."

Moriarty told reporters that West Virginia's undemocratic ballot law "is used in conjunction with a hysterical anti-communist campaign aimed at prejudicing working people against any alternative to the Democrats and Republicans."

"We aim to counter this by stating clearly our program."

"We oppose nuclear power and propose replacing it with coal."

"We say shorten the workweek with no cut in pay to combat unemployment."

"We're for nationalizing the energy industry and all other industries where plants, mines, and mills are being closed down to protect profits."

"We're campaigning against Carter's draft and for the Equal Rights Amendment."

"A central point of our campaigning is the need for working people to form our own massive political party—a labor party based on the strength and organization of our unions."

"These are the ideas we are fighting to bring before the people of West Virginia."

Petition drives

Socialist Workers Party ballot petitions have recently been certified in Massachusetts, Colorado, and Michigan. Petitions in New Mexico and Kentucky were certified earlier.

In every case except Michigan, this means that the Socialist Workers presidential ticket of Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann will appear on the November ballot.

In Michigan, this certification means that the party's name will appear on the August primary ballot. State law requires that the SWP win between 4,000 and 5,000 votes in that primary in order to appear on the November general election ballot.

Court action is still pending in the SWP's suit challenging this undemocratic and restrictive requirement that kept all parties except the Democrats and Republicans off the last statewide election ballot.

In the most successful single week yet in the massive drive continuing in Pennsylvania, socialist petitioners fanned across the state, talking to residents of Scranton, Allentown, Harrisburg, York, Erie, Reading, Lancaster, Johnstown, Philadelphia, and Pittsburgh.

When the week ended June 7, petitioners had brought the total signatures collected in the drive to 60,275. Socialist campaign supporters planned to continue the drive for one more week in order to even further surpass the state requirement of 48,000 signatures.

Indiana campaign supporters ended their petition drive June 7 after having collected 14,400 signatures in the three-week drive. This means the SWP will be able to turn in more than double the 7,000 signatures required to put the party on the Indiana ballot.

Rockefeller: The sky's the limit

John D. Rockefeller IV would prefer not to have any contenders around, socialist or otherwise, who insist on discussing issues during his personality contest with Republican Arch Moore. The last time Rockefeller challenged then incumbent Moore in 1972, Moore easily defeated him in a state where Democrats outnumber Republicans two to one.

West Virginians' desire for some choice, however, was shown in the June 3 primary when 23 percent of those voting Democratic opted for H. John Rogers for governor. Rogers, an unknown lawyer, spent only \$360 on campaigning versus the \$1.8 million shelled out by Rockefeller.

Moore, who was unopposed in the Republican primary, spent a mere \$13,000.

Moore estimates that Rockefeller

will spend \$12 million before the November election, making it the most expensive gubernatorial race in the history of the state and probably the nation.

Rockefeller himself "has set no limit on the amount of money he will spend to get elected," reported the Charleston Daily Mail June 4.

Of the \$1.8 million already spent, all but \$23,000 of it was Rockefeller's own money. He's trying his darndest though to get outside contributions, but admits, says the Daily Mail, that "it isn't easy getting people to contribute money to a Rockefeller."

The governor doesn't believe his massive spending will hurt his chances with the electorate because, he says, "I don't think the people of West Virginia can be bought."

Yet no one could say he isn't trying.

International **Socialist** review

The New Rise in the World Class Struggle

By Steve Clark



The Haitian 'Boat People'

Why Carter Won't Let Them In

By Gus Horowitz



THE MONTH IN REVIEW

Are Rightists in the Saddle in Iran?

An article in the May 21-27 issue of the social democratic weekly *In These Times* advances the idea that the gains of the Iranian revolution have been seriously set back and are in danger of being completely overturned, largely because of the policies of Ayatollah Khomeini.

This thesis has been gaining currency in left-wing circles in Europe and North America. In fact, the author of the *In These Times* article is Fred Halliday, a respected radical journalist, a member of the editorial board of *New Left Review*, and the author of a useful book on pre-revolutionary Iran, *Iran: Dictatorship and Development*.

Halliday's main point is that "the charged atmosphere over the hostages has given the clerical right their chance to attack the left using spurious anti-imperialist rhetoric. In this sense the whole hostages issue has been profoundly negative for the Iranian people, whatever its international ramifications may be."

Even more negative, according to Halliday, is that "Khomeini's reckless tussle with Carter over the hostages, which has brought not a jot of benefit to the people of Iran, combined with his destruction of the political process within Iran itself, may create conditions in which all that was achieved in the long agony of the Iranian revolution is undone."

Halliday argues that the hostage crisis has created "an atmosphere where 'foreign agents' are seen as standing behind all dissenting activity." Clerical rightists, as a result, have found it easier to attack the left. He offers no evidence to prove this, simply implying that this result is obvious.

A moment's reflection shows that there is no cause-and-effect relationship at all. Rightists everywhere use the bogey of "foreign agents" to attack the left. But such propaganda can be successful only if the political and economic context is one in which setbacks are being dealt to the working class.

Why should the anti-imperialist atmosphere in Iran necessarily aid reaction? Common sense would suggest the opposite, as has been the usual experience in other countries. To maintain his view, Halliday is logically forced in a fatal direction. He ends up saying that the clash with imperialism over the hostages does not reflect an issue of real importance in Iran:

"Yet the main enemy in Iran is not the liberal camp, nor, given its present weakness, U.S. imperialism. Rather, it is the clerical right with its policies of intolerance and its mania for bogus anti-imperialism. Indeed the liberals are, if anything, potential allies of the left against the Beheshti forces."

The liberals include figures in Iran's capitalist government like President Abolhassan



Iranians march on U.S. embassy in November

Bani-Sadr and former Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan. The "Beheshti forces" refer to the Islamic Revolutionary Council and the Islamic Republican Party, in which Ayatollah Mohammed Beheshti plays a leading role.

Like most Western commentators, Halliday lumps all the religious leaders under the term "Islamic right." He means more than the fact that they try to contain the Iranian revolution within capitalist bounds. He holds that Khomeini—and, by implication, the masses who follow him—stand politically to the right of the Bani-Sadrs and Bazargans.

Most Iranian workers, peasants, and urban poor see the issue differently.

In the city of Isfahan, for example, 2,500 steelworkers held a march and rally on May 11 to hail the reported transfer of some of the American hostages there. What connection did they see between the anti-imperialist issue and their class interests as steelworkers?

A statement by the Islamic Shora of the Isfahan Steel Mill (the factory committee representing the steelworkers) provides an answer. It charges that pro-imperialist forces are trying to reimpose discipline in the factories, block land reform on the countryside, revitalize the military machine built up by the shah, and strengthen the Bani-Sadr government. They are the same ones, argue the steelworkers, who seek to subvert the purge of elements tied to the shah and preserve imperialist footholds in the country.

The forces that want to turn the revolution around include, according to the steelworkers, the capitalist liberals—the very ones whom Halliday sees as potential allies.

In addition to supporting the students holding the hostages, the steelworkers call for:

- nationalization of all foreign and domestic capital;
- land to be divided among the peasants—"an Islamic land reform in the sense of 'to those who till the land belongs the fruit of their labor'";
- a government housing construction program;
- a people's army (militia) of 20 million;
- the tasks of wage workers to be decided "in consultation with their own elected representatives."

How can any serious person believe that such demands aid the right—clerical or otherwise.

In this case, it is clear, the hostage crisis has been used by the oppressed and exploited to strengthen their position. What is more, the example of the Isfahan steelworkers is not unique.

Workers committees like the Isfahan steel-

workers shoras exist in factories all over Iran.

Islamic societies have grown up in the ranks of the armed forces, resulting in an open debate with the officer corps over issues ranging from wages, corruption, and the system of rank to fighting in Kurdistan.

Hundreds of thousands of young people have mobilized in construction corps, going to the countryside to aid peasants who have seized land.

These developments, although couched in the language of religion, clearly bolster the position of the working class and its allies.

In Kurdistan and in other areas inhabited by oppressed nationalities, Halliday sees only attacks by the Islamic clergy—ignoring the capitalist government's role. More importantly, he fails to note that the oppressed peoples, and in particular the Kurds, have fought back pretty effectively.

The Kurdish fighters have inspired sympathy in Iran by supporting the occupation of the U.S. embassy and declaring readiness to fight imperialist moves against Iran.

Halliday stresses violations of civil liberties that have occurred, particularly recent attacks on the campuses by right-wing thugs, which were spurred on by Bani-Sadr and others in the government and Islamic apparatus.

But these attacks have fallen far short of putting an end to the student movement and to campus-based left-wing organizations.

On June 4 Bani-Sadr warned rightist units against any further actions. "Those who use sticks can see they haven't done anything but increase the number of opposition groups," he stated.

Halliday fails to note victories that have been won, such as the freeing of fourteen socialists who had been facing long imprisonment in the oil center at Ahwaz.

And he fails to prove his basic point that the occupation of the U.S. embassy has resulted in a reduction of civil liberties for the Iranian masses. Most evidence points in the opposite direction.

Halliday reserves his sharpest vitriol for Khomeini. "Rarely has a country been led by a man so incompetent in government, so ignorant of the world around him, and so insensitive to the demands of his people." This description is not only a terrible misjudgment of Khomeini's capacities as a mass leader but betrays unwarranted respect for rulers ranging from Carter in the United States to King Khalid in Saudi Arabia.

It is, worst of all, a politically foolish way to describe a man who, because he has defied U.S. imperialism, is still looked to by the masses as a symbol of their revolution.

It is not surprising that Halliday's prognosis for Iran is despairing.

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Cover: Top center, participants in
the May 17 March of the Fighting
People in Havana; at right, scene from
Black rebellion in Miami; at left,
British miners fight for a living wage.

International
socialist
review

Editor: Fred Feldman
Contributing Editor: George Novack



Above, soldiers of Grenada's new revolutionary army; at right, Swedish workers protest threatened layoffs.



The New Rise in the World Class Struggle

By Steve Clark

During the last four months the working class and its allies have struck further blows against world capitalism.

At its World Congress last fall, the Fourth International, the world party of socialist revolution, took note of the shift in the world relationship of class forces against imperialism—above all U.S. imperialism—and in favor of the oppressed and exploited. The Socialist Workers Party noted the same development at our convention last summer. The short period since these meetings has been marked by an acceleration of that process, tipping the scales further in our direction.

In the past two months alone, there have been four anti-imperialist demonstrations of more than a million people—one in Iran, in response to Washington's threats, and three in Cuba. The latest of them—the May 17 March of the Fighting People—mobilized nearly half Cuba's population. And in Nicaragua—which only has a population of around 2.5 million—250,000 workers and peasants turned out for May Day in Managua.

Going back a bit further in time, there have been two massive urban revolutionary insurrections in one year: in Tehran in the winter of 1979; and in Managua and other Nicaraguan cities that summer.

And just this week, hundreds of thousands of workers and students in South Korea took over the city of Kwangju and a score of nearby towns for several days in opposition to a tyrannical military dictatorship. This comes at the crest of a wave of strikes and protests throughout the country over the past month. And as the events in Kwangju show, the crisis of the South Korean military regime is deepening.

Taking events back still further to the 1975 Vietnamese triumph over the U.S.-backed Saigon dictatorship, we can point to other victories in Africa, Spain, Kampuchea, Afghanistan, the Mideast, and Grenada.

Steve Clark is the managing editor of 'Intercontinental Press/Inprecor.' 'The New Rise in the World Class Struggle' is based on a report he gave to the May 25-28 plenum of the Socialist Workers Party National Committee.

But for the purposes of this report, we want to push our time frame even further back. Back to two guideposts that can help us gauge how far our class has come in the past two decades; and to get ready for the period of sharpening battles at home and abroad that we are heading into—in particular, the showdown and very real prospect of war in the Caribbean and Central America.

These two guideposts are:

1) The victory of the Cuban Revolution in 1959-60; and

2) The opening of a new stage of the world revolution in 1968-69 with the beginning of a process of radicalization of the working class of the imperialist countries. This process deepened as a result of the 1974-75 worldwide recession and capitalist austerity offensive, and it continues to unfold today.

At the last meeting of the SWP National Committee in January (see "The Crisis of Imperialist Domination" in the *ISR* section of the February 15 *Militant*), we took a close look at what we called the crisis of the world imperialist system—the struggle of the oppressed nations against the oppressor nations, and the growing weight and centrality of the working class in these battles. Now we need to tie in the conclusions of that report with the crisis of the world capitalist system—with the class struggle and relationship of forces inside the major capitalist countries. Because the period we have now entered is being shaped by the reciprocal effects of these crises.

What factors have made possible the big strides by the toilers of Nicaragua, Iran, Afghanistan, Indochina? It is not only the courage and tenacity of these anti-imperialist fighters, but the accelerating political and economic changes inside the imperialist countries, especially the United States. What the bourgeois pundits call the Vietnam Syndrome—the unwillingness to fight capitalism's wars to put down colonial rebellions; the skepticism of U.S. foreign policy; the resistance to an indefinite future of sacrificing for something called the "national interest"; the growing suspicion that the "interests" at stake are not ours.

The Cuban revolution

Let's start with the Cuban Revolution.

Due to the post-WW II Stalinist betrayals of

revolutionary possibilities in Western Europe, and the subsequent twenty-year period of overall capitalist expansion, center stage in the world revolution in the 1950s and much of the 1960s was almost entirely occupied by the colonial revolution. Petty bourgeois nationalist and Stalinist leaderships predominated, as did peasant forces and struggles more often based in the countryside than in cities.

The Cuban revolution marked a historic turning point.

For the first time since the Bolsheviks, the Stalinist and Social Democratic misleaders and bourgeois nationalists were bypassed by a revolutionary current—and by one that took power and established the first workers state in the Americas.

The Socialist Workers Party recognized the significance of this event at the time. In the document our party submitted in 1963 "For An Early Reunification of the World Trotskyist Movement," we noted that "The Cuban Revolution dealt a blow to the class-collaborationist policy of Stalinism in Latin America and other colonial countries. New currents, developing under the influence of the victory in Cuba, are groping their way to revolutionary socialism and seeking to apply the main lessons of the colonial revolution to their own situation."

And we drew attention to two important results of this development:

- first, that it would increase the "effectiveness of our defense of the colonial revolutions within the imperialist countries"; and

- second, that it would give "added weight" to the "program of Trotskyism" among "serious revolutionists who seek the fundamental . . . transformation of their countries."

For us and for the world working class, the most important thing was that in the course of the battle against Batista and U.S. imperialism, a new Marxist leadership began to be forged.

We hammered away at the significance of Cuba over and over again. Pathfinder publishers has just reprinted *Che Guevara Speaks* with the two-page preface that Joseph Hansen wrote for it in 1967. After pointing to the inspiration that Che had provided to the new generation of radical youth, Hansen noted that:

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The Haitian 'Boat People'

Why Carter Won't Let Them In



By Gus Horowitz

They have been coming by the hundreds every week, penniless refugees seeking asylum in the United States.

They leave their native land secretly, often by night, lest they be found out by the political police.

They set sail in flimsy craft on an 800-mile journey in shark-infested Caribbean waters. Fifty people may crowd together in a boat built for fifteen.

The journey, usually by sailboat, takes two to three weeks. Many do not survive.

Almost every week there is news of a capsized boat that couldn't weather the sea.

People die of thirst or of complications caused by drinking salt water.

Some are thrown overboard by unscrupulous captains who traffic in human suffering.

At journey's end they find no welcoming committees, no job offers, no public services at their disposal.

The news media do not tell the drama of their voyage.

The TV newscasters don't ask them about the wretchedness of life in their country—the poorest in the Western Hemisphere—or about the dictator who rules over them so ruthlessly.

The president doesn't suggest an airlift.

They are ignored by everyone, it seems, except the Immigration and Naturalization Service. Rather than overlooking the irregularity of their arrival, the INS hastens to deport them.

Who are they?

They are Haitians, America's "Black boat people," as they have been dubbed by leaders of the Black community here.

Appeal for Asylum

There are 25-30,000 Haitians in south Florida who have come to the U.S. seeking asylum. An even larger Haitian community exists in Brooklyn. The Haitians have been arriving steadily since 1972, with a large influx in recent months, as the dictatorship in Haiti has stepped up its repression.

Until May 17 Carter had the authority, as president, to grant the Haitians asylum as a group. But he refused to do so. Now, according to the Refugee Act of 1980, requests for asylum will be decided on a case-by-case basis, a procedure in which it is usually difficult to win.

But the Haitians' hopes really lie in the fight for public support. This is now centered around a legal suit that has been filed in a federal court in Miami.

Lawyers for the Haitian Refugee Center there are demanding a halt to deportation proceedings that were ordered against 5,000 Haitian refugees between July 1978 and June 1979.

U.S. immigration authorities flouted the U.S. Constitution in their drive to deport the Haitians, attorneys Ira Kurzban and Peter Schey charged in the court hearing earlier this month.

"These cases should have received the care and

consideration of a death penalty case," said Schey, alluding to the risks faced by those who are sent back to Haiti. "Instead, the Immigration and Naturalization Service gave asylum applicants less time than a judge in traffic court would have provided for a minor traffic ticket." (*Miami Herald*, May 8, 1980)

The Haitians insist that they are being victimized because they are Black, and because Washington doesn't want to embarrass Haiti's "president for life," Jean-Claude Duvalier, with whom the U.S. government maintains good relations.

On both counts the Haitians are fighting the built-in racism and political bias of U.S. immigration law, which continues along the lines of the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952, despite a few cosmetic changes in recent years.

In 1975-76, for example, the last year in which such statistics were made available, the U.S. denied asylum to 96 percent of all applicants from right-wing dictatorships such as those in Chile, Iran, the Philippines, and Haiti. But it granted refuge to 95 percent of applicants from countries it deemed communist.

Since 1972, only fifty-eight people from Haiti have been granted sanctuary here.

The U.S. government contends that the Haitians are economic, not political, refugees and as such are subject to deportation.

Poverty and Repression

There is no denying their poverty, Haitians answer. But the Haitian people are kept in poverty by a tyrannical regime that jails, tortures, and murders those who dissent and fight for change. Facing persecution at home, thousands have fled.

Per capita income in Haiti is barely \$200 per year. Unemployment and underemployment run over 50 percent. Minimum wages for those who work are only \$2.20 per day, and even that is not attainable by many.

The 1979 Economic Trends Report drawn up by the U.S. embassy in Haiti presents the following portrait:

"Haiti is the poorest country in the hemisphere and one of the poorest on earth. It has an area of 10,741 square miles . . . of which less than one-fifth is arable although one-third is cultivated.

"There are only about 2,300 miles of road, of which less than 600 are paved . . . Port-au-Prince [the capital] and some provincial cities have electricity but most of the country is not electrified.

"The telecommunications network is limited and unreliable. Most of the approximately 20,000 telephone lines are in the Port-au-Prince area.

"Sanitation and health are major problems, particularly in rural areas. The infant mortality is among the highest in the world. The over-all death rate is high, but still the population growth rate is about 2 per cent.

"Hospitals are rudimentary, and, with few exceptions, found only in urban areas. Unemployment and underemployment are major problems. Less than 20 per cent of the population is literate. Technical, mechanical and middle-management skills are scarce." (*Miami Herald*, February 8, 1980)

"Yet it is not economic privation that causes the continuing exodus of Haitians from their homeland," comments James Nelson Goodsell of the *Christian Science Monitor*; it is "rather a

harsh political and social system that, despite outward appearance of change, remains much as it has been for the past 20 years.

"Haiti is ruled by Jean-Claude Duvalier, who, in his 20s, is Haiti's President for Life. He acquired this title eight years ago upon the passing of his father, François, universally called "Papa Doc," who had ruled the island nation with an iron grip for more than 13 years." (October 30, 1979)

Duvalier & Big Business

The unbridled corruption and wanton brutality of the elder Duvalier had become so scandalous by the 1960s that the island's value for capitalist investment was being undermined. To gain credibility for its "Alliance for Progress" policies at the time, Washington even terminated official U.S. aid to Haiti in 1963. (Off-the-record funds were still channeled to the staunchly anti-Cuban regime, however.)

But with the accession of Jean-Claude to the presidency in 1971, the U.S. saw an opportunity to change the regime's reputation. Talk of liberalization and greater internal stability created a climate that encouraged aid and investment.

So too did Jean-Claude Duvalier's offer of cheap land to foreign investors, and his granting them exemption from taxes and duties.

Almost 200 American and other imperialist-owned companies set up plants in Haiti in the 1970s, mostly in textiles and the assembly of light goods such as electronics, toys, and furniture. Ninety percent of all baseballs, for example, are now stitched by Haitian women who earn \$1.80 per day.

Ninety-five percent of Haitian goods "assembled for export" are sent to the United States for consumption or further finishing.

As an adjunct to that type of imperialist exploitation there has been a big step-up in loans and grants to develop the economic infrastructure needed to support light manufacture. Aid to the regime increased as much as 800 percent between 1974 and 1978, and is still growing.

Just as before, however, much of the money ends up in the pockets of the Duvalier family's coterie, either directly or by bookkeeping transfers. The *Washington Post* reported that "nearly half the government's internal revenues are unbudgeted and deposited into what one foreign aid official called an unaudited 'presidential slush fund.'" (September 10, 1978).

"Despite the publicity claims," the *Post* reporter concluded, "there has been little visible change" for the people of Haiti since the Jean-Claude regime took over.

U.S. Military Involvement

With imperialist investment increasing, and with no real change in the nature of official corruption or mass poverty, it should not be surprising to find also that there has been no real change in U.S. military intervention or internal repression.

Ever since the turn of the century U.S. imperialism has looked upon the Caribbean and Central America as a private reserve for exploitation and military domination.

The U.S. interventions in Puerto Rico and Cuba during and after the Spanish-American War were soon followed by the military occupation of the Dominican Republic (1916-1924), Nica-

Gus Horowitz, a member of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party, is on the editorial staff of the *'Militant.'*

ragua (1926-1933) and Haiti (1915-1934).

When the marines finally withdrew from the four latter countries, they left behind powerful indigenous army and police forces that eventually became the foundations for the Batista, Trujillo, Somoza, and Duvalier dictatorships—four of the most brutal and corrupt regimes ever to reign in Latin America, and all four totally subservient to Washington.

The stepped-up imperialist investment in Haiti in the 1970s was accompanied by the resumption of open military aid to the Haitian dictatorship. By 1978, "Baby Doc's" regime was officially receiving 40 percent of Washington's military aid in the Caribbean.

"This U.S. military aid," says the U.S.-based *Haiti Report*, published by the Friends of Haiti, "is directly responsible for the suppression of the rights of the Haitian people; U.S. arms perpetuate in power the Duvaliers who have no popular support." (Summer 1976)

Repression Documented

Labor, civil libertarians, church groups, and others have testified that "Baby Doc's" regime is every bit as cruel as his father's.

Howard McGuigan, legislative representative of the AFL-CIO, gave his impressions to the Senate Appropriations Committee in 1974. "The AFL-CIO witness stressed that the dictatorship in Haiti has not become significantly less oppressive with Jean-Claude Duvalier. Midnight arrests, secret police and 'absolute suppression of all freedoms' still are the tools of Haiti's rulers." (*AFL-CIO News*, August 3, 1974)

Amnesty International, the internationally respected civil liberties organization, has exposed the continuing repression of the Duvalier regime through the years.

"Amnesty International remains seriously concerned with the continued repression of dissent in Haiti and the denial of human and legal rights. . . ." the organization wrote in 1973. "The variety of torture to which the detainee is subjected is incredible: clubbing to death, maiming of the genitals, food deprivation to the point of starvation, and the insertion of red-hot poker into the back passage. . . . In fact, these prisons are death traps. . . . [and] find a parallel with the Nazi concentration camps of the past but have no present-day equivalent." (Quoted in briefing paper of the National Council of Churches, April 9 1980)

In a 1976 report Amnesty International stated that "under the surface the repression is still as strong as it ever was. . . . It is common practice just before interrogation to attach prisoners by their ankles to the back of a jeep and then drag them at high speed over the ground. During interrogation prisoners are subjected to electric shocks and starved until they can no longer stand. Their torturers then beat them with the cry of 'Stand up for the dead!'"

The prisons in Haiti, reported Amnesty International in 1977, "have one of the world's highest mortality rates among detainees."

In 1978 the organization reaffirmed that "the apparatus of repression established under François Duvalier remains in place under Jean-Claude Duvalier."

And in 1979, it remained "convinced that political imprisonment and torture still take place and that the government has brought neither law nor practice into conformity with even minimal international standards."

The Tonton Macoutes

Chief instrument of the repression are the dreaded Tonton Macoutes, the secret police set up by François Duvalier and maintained by Jean-Claude with the only change being a stress on their official name, the Volunteers for National Security.

This secret police network, reported the October 7, 1979, Philadelphia *Inquirer*, "continues to strike terror over the length and breadth of this nation of 6 million. . . . They are not paid. They exist by practicing extortion on the people. They are a law unto themselves."

The Tonton Macoutes, says the *Christian Science Monitor's* Goodsell, "are reportedly again operating and terrorizing the population. These sunglasses-wearing thugs were fanatically loyal to 'Papa Doc' and in return were given virtual license to torture and kill." (October 30, 1979)

A *Miami Herald* reporter noted earlier this year that the regime had for a time tried to present an image of limited liberalization, but this was put "in the deep freeze" after Duvalier became frightened by the recent ousters of dictators such as

the shah in Iran, Eric Gairy in Grenada, Anastasio Somoza in Nicaragua, and three despots in Africa.

After that, reports the *Herald*, "a censorship law was enacted [in Haiti], a repressive press law approved, harassment of opposition figures stepped up and the Volunteers for National Security (VSN) became more visible and more active. . . ."

"The culmination of a return to more repressive measures came Nov. 9 when about 60 men armed with clubs broke up a meeting of the fledgling Haitian Human Rights League. Several foreign diplomats, in attendance as observers, were injured in the melee." (February 6, 1980)

Clearly, the Haitians who fled here did so with good reason to fear for their safety.

Returnees Victimized

In greatest danger, however, are those who are deported or return back to Haiti. During the hearing in federal court on this issue dramatic testimony was presented by several victims who had returned.

One of them, Solivece Romet, thirty-four, fled Haiti in 1967, and lived in Nassau for ten years. He returned in 1977 to visit his sick mother.

Despite the fact that he had received assurances about his safety from the Haitian consul, he was picked up by the police, forced to stand for days in a two-by-three foot cell, and beaten so badly that he suffered brain damage affecting his speech and memory.

Romet eventually escaped and came here. But U.S. authorities have three times denied his request for asylum.

Six hundred Haitians were deported from the U.S. since 1974, until a halt was called in the

Dimanche and pick up the bodies which were lying on the floor." (*The Press*, May 1980)

How U.S. Treats Haitians

As if the prospect of being sent back to such a dreaded fate were not enough to beset the Haitian refugees, they are treated here in inhuman fashion.

Many are jailed. Rev. Gérard Jean-Juste, head of the Haitian Refugee Center in Miami, testified last December that in the south Florida prisons "Haitian detainees suffer worse than the prisoners who committed crimes."

He cited an October 27, 1979, *Saturday Review* interview with James Lester, the warden at Immokalee jail. Lester, the magazine reported, "readily admitted that his men and the Immigration officers had beaten the Haitians. 'They did not want to move when we told them to move,' said Lester in an interview at the jail. 'We had lots of fun there for a few minutes. There was some bloodshed and we cracked some heads.'"

Richard Gullage, deputy district director of the INS admitted in court that "at one point we were incarcerating all Haitian males." He testified that orders from Washington in late 1978 called for the imprisonment of up to 1,000 Haitians for periods up to ninety days.

The government claimed that the detentions were for health examinations. But Gullage admitted that "to my knowledge that has never been done [before] with Haitians or any other [immigrant] group." (*Miami Herald*, April 19, 1980)

The INS, Gullage said, was ordered in 1978 to "expedite" deportation proceedings against the Haitians. The immigration judges were ordered to speed up their schedules threefold. This re-



This sailboat landed in Florida in March, packed with ninety-eight Haitians fleeing Duvalier tyranny. Many of the flimsy boats do not survive the 800-mile journey.

summer of 1979 by District Court Judge James King, pending the outcome of the lawsuit.

Seeking to bolster its argument for deportation, the U.S. State Department sent a study team to Haiti to find out what had happened to the 600. They found only 86.

Rather than investigating what had happened to the missing 500, the study group went after the 86. By arranging interviews over public radio, and by conducting them within earshot of potential informers, they easily got the 86 to say that they had originally left Haiti for economic reasons rather than fear of persecution.

The State Department team never even bothered to check Haiti's prisons!

More credible evidence about the fate of the returnees was presented on behalf of the Haitians at the court hearing in Miami.

A former member of the Tonton Macoutes and a former archivist in the general headquarters of the Haitian armed forces both testified that there are standing orders to arrest all refugees sent back to Haiti who had sought asylum abroad.

These returnees received "especially brutal treatment," said the ex-Tonton Macoutes. They were constantly beaten and often executed. (*Miami Herald*, November 24, 1979)

Many are sent to the terrible prison, Fort Dimanche. Daniel Voltaire, a former soldier at the presidential palace in Haiti, said that "almost every morning, ambulances from the general hospital would come to the dungeons of Fort

sulted in the deportation of up to fifty Haitians a day from south Florida.

Those Haitians not slapped in jail or facing deportation proceedings are not much better off. They are denied work permits, can't find jobs, and often have neither food nor shelter.

"There are people here with nowhere to stay," Jean-Juste told the *New York Times*. "They are sleeping in cars, garages and parks, or just walking the streets at night." (May 14, 1980)

'Starvation is the Issue'

Jean-Juste testified in court that "malnutrition and indeed starvation are the reality for many Haitian children living right here in Dade County. Many children wander daily, not being able to attend school. Their houses are overcrowded. In some cases there are five or more persons to a room. Some parents are frustrated to death not being able to care for themselves and their children; their children falling ill will be abandoned or die after being refused care in some hospitals for lack of legal status." (December 4, 1979)

Steve Forester, an attorney for the National Council of Churches, says that "these people are not getting work permits, and they're starving because of it." (*Miami Herald*, April 18, 1980)

"Starvation is the issue," says Athalie Range, a well-known figure in Miami's Black commun-

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...New Rise

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"Something bigger even than Che is involved—the Cuban revolution and its contribution toward solving the most crucial single problem facing humanity: the construction of a leadership capable of guiding the way out of an economic order reeking in every pore with corruption, filth and blood."

Che, Fidel, and "the team they built," Hansen continued, "appeared on the scene, evidently as forerunners of a great new development in world politics—the rise of a generation of revolutionary fighters disinclined to accept either Moscow or Peking or any similar center as a kind of Vatican that in practice serves to stultify both revolutionary theory and practice."

Che, he said, was "representative of a new type destined to become more and more numerous, a revolutionist of action. . . ."

The Castro team had developed from petty-bourgeois revolutionists into leaders "committed to the socialist goal, whose outlook converged more and more with the classical revolutionary Marxist tradition that stood behind the October 1917 Russian Revolution."

While recognizing the historic significance of this new development, we also understood the limitations imposed by the continuing lag both in the postwar political awakening of workers in the advanced capitalist countries and in the involvement of the urban proletariat in struggles in the semi-colonial countries.

The Cuban revolution represented a sharp break with the previous period of postwar history; but it also arose out of and was shaped by that period, and before all the elements of a new world political situation had begun to crystallize, as they soon would.

There was a gap. That generation of revolutionists had begun to obtain a scientific understanding of the class struggle by reading the Marxist classics, and from studying the experience of previous generations. But there was nothing in their own direct experience that demonstrated in life the strategic role of the industrial working class in leading the fight against capitalist rule and the conquest of political power.

This was not only before the first stirrings of class battles in the imperialist centers, but before the 1969 revolt of the masses in Cordoba, Argentina, that helped bring down an earlier military dictatorship in that country; before the Popular Assembly established by the Bolivian labor movement in 1971, before the *cordones industriales*—committees in factories and working class neighborhoods—took shape in Chile in 1972-73, and before huge urban mobilizations in 1974 brought down Haile Selassie in Ethiopia, before the Soweto uprising in South Africa—and, of course, before Iran and Nicaragua.

This gap, in turn, was largely responsible for some of the central political limitations of the new Castroist current: its tendency to underestimate, or even ignore, and write off for this historic period, developments in the working class of the imperialist countries; and its raising the tactic of rural guerrilla warfare to the level of a strategy for extending the revolution, to the detriment of the strategy of Leninist party building and participation in the broad working-class movement and organizations.

The transition out of this initial postwar situation—a transition opened by the Cuban revolution—was brought to a head by the Vietnam War, another development with a foot both in the past and future. It was a largely peasant-based, anti-imperialist struggle under a Stalinist leadership. But the impact of Vietnam's heroic resistance on the economic and political situation in the United States and other imperialist countries helped usher in a new stage of the class struggle in those countries. These direct results of Vietnam coincided with and were exacerbated by the exhaustion of the motor forces of the long capitalist expansion.

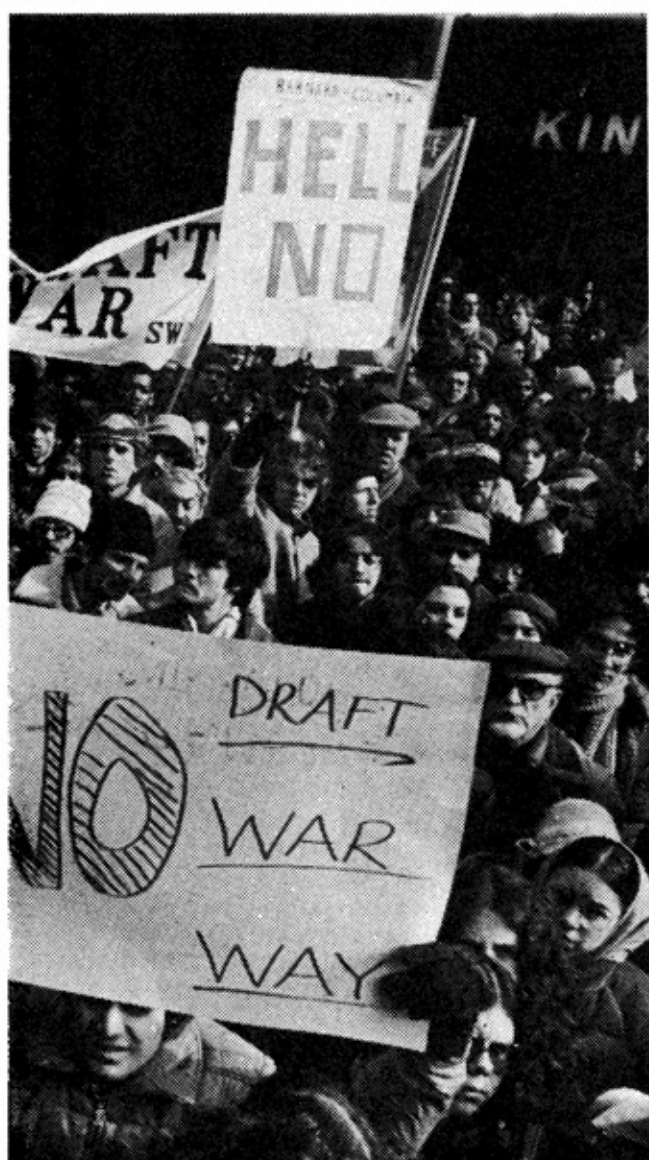
This brings us to our second guidepost.

Rise of Workers Struggles

By 1968-69, there were unmistakable signs of a percolation of the class struggle in Western Europe, North America, and other imperialist



Clockwise from top left: U.S. troops in Vietnam; Vietnamese liberation forces ride tank into Saigon (now Ho Chi Minh City) in 1975; anti-Vietnam war demonstration in New York City in 1968.



Chi Minh City) in May 1975; antidraft demonstrations in

countries. Workers struggles began to rise once again in Europe, following a youth radicalization spurred by identification with the colonial revolution. The May-June 1968 general strike in France—which began from a police attack on a student anti-Vietnam War protest and widened to decisive sections of industrial workers—and the wave of labor battles that kept Italy in prerevolutionary turmoil in 1969, were indicative of these changes.

In the United States, a break-up of the Cold War political stability preceded the shocks of the world economic crisis. The Black struggle—itsself inspired by the colonial revolution—and the growing opposition to the U.S. slaughter in Indochina sparked a broad political radicalization among young people that challenged many of the “sacred cows” of U.S. imperialism—anticommunism, “my country right or wrong,” racism, the inequality of women, and so on.

At the same time, the Vietnam-fueled inflation was rapidly undermining the strength of the dollar on which world trade had been based since the late 1940s. For the first time since the end of the war, workers began to feel a pinch, rather than a gradual rise, in their real wages.

And this was brought home with a vengeance in 1973 with the price explosions, especially in oil and gas—the beginning of the energy crisis. Following on the heels of this was a worldwide recession—in this country, the worst since the 1937 depression.

The bosses the world over were driving to solve the crisis of *their* system, *their* profits, by taking it out of *our* hides. This has led to a growing realization by workers that things are not going to get better, they're going to get steadily worse. And as this month's big strike and lock-out in Sweden illustrate, this reality is shaking up even world capitalism's showcase of class peace.

These important developments flowing from the economic crisis of world capitalism are increasingly converging with—affecting and being affected by, shaping and being shaped by—the political crisis of the world imperialist system.

Another important effect of the capitalist crisis is its disastrous impact on the imperialist-distorted economies of the semi-colonial countries. This, in turn, has profound political results. We've seen the effects of austerity plans imposed by the International Monetary Fund on Peru, Egypt, Zaïre, and Turkey. We've seen the results of the growing scissors between the world market prices of the commodities these nations export and the prices of those they must import, especially oil.

Today, the political impact of this squeeze is being felt in Jamaica—right in the midst of a revolutionary upsurge swirling all around it in the Caribbean. The imperialist bankers and their political front-men in Washington have told the Manley government that it won't get a cent of desperately needed loans unless it drives through yet another austerity campaign. Given the build-up of social tensions as a result of earlier imperialist-dictated austerity measures, Manley was forced to say no this time; and now the CIA is at work with its Chile-style “destabilization” tactics, including terrorism and sabotage, as the September elections there draw near.

Origins and Limits of Détente

From the standpoint of the imperialists, the beginning of the convergence of the political and economic crises of its world system took sharp form at the beginning of the seventies in the political, military, and economic quagmire Washington found itself in over the Vietnam War. With no prospects of a military victory, and with political and economic costs at home intensifying, the U.S. rulers turned to the Stalinist bureaucratic castes in Moscow and Peking for help to dig themselves out—and got it. That was the beginning of “détente.”

Détente was rooted in the *weakening* position of U.S. imperialism, its need to carry out a major tactical retreat to regroup its forces and to enlist the Stalinist bureaucracies to help buy the time to do that.

In a 1973 report to the SWP National Committee on “The Unfolding New World Situation,” SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes described the imperialists' attempts to develop a new strategy.

He noted an important factor “which the American rulers may not see clearly enough to

incorporate adequately into their strategy.” That factor was that détente “will not guarantee maintenance of the status quo.”

“The most elusive culprit remains the built-in contradictions of the capitalist system,” he said. “That is the one ‘subversive’ they can never put in jail.”

Three years later, in a report on “The Erosion of World Stalinism,” Barnes again stressed that “the very prize that both American rulers and the Soviet bureaucracy are after—stability, class peace, maintenance of the status quo—is exactly what détente cannot produce for them.”

By that time, this assessment had already been confirmed in the victories in Vietnam and Angola, the fall of the Portuguese dictatorship, and Watergate.

In the four years since that report was given, it has been borne out time and again. If ever there was a period that illustrates what we mean by saying that the two main actors on the world stage are the capitalist ruling classes and the exploited classes—not the ruling classes and the Stalinist and social democratic bureaucracies—this has been such a period. Détente has been rocked to its foundations, and its built-in limits exposed by the irrepressible conflict between the classes.

Intended by the imperialists to bail them out of Vietnam, détente worked for several years—but the struggle broke through again in 1975. The Indochinese revolution had been slowed down but not defeated. And the imperialists had to flee Saigon in helicopters.

The Indochinese revolution has continued to show its power, despite U.S. imperialism's economic blockade and military pressure. The workers state initially limited to North Vietnam was consolidated throughout the country in mid-1978; the Pol Pot dictatorship fell before Vietnamese troops and Kampuchean insurgents in early 1979; and there have been further advances in Laos; the Thai dictatorship has been shaken; and Washington's “China Card” was trumped last year when Peking's attempt to “punish” Vietnam for its role in Kampuchea ended in what is today acknowledged to have been a military and political disaster. The proposal in some capitalist quarters earlier this year that Peking could somehow be of direct military aid to the U.S.-backed rightists in Afghanistan was quickly put on the shelf.

Détente has also failed to produce the hoped-for results in Africa. The reverberations of its 1976 setback in Angola are still being felt today in the big mobilizations that have occurred in Zimbabwe; the retreat that the imperialists and white-settler regime there have been compelled to accept; the prospects for further steps toward dismantling the racist white-settler system in Zimbabwe; and the weakening of South African control over Namibia and the stability of the apartheid regime itself.

In the Mideast, the tenacity of the Palestinians, the intransigence of Zionism, and its ruthless policy of establishing and defending settlements on the West Bank, and above all the shockwaves of the Iranian revolution, have blown apart Washington's hopes of drawing other regional capitalist regimes into the Camp David framework. The Iranian revolution inspired the toilers throughout the region, intensified their hatred of U.S. imperialism, and created a situation where even the most reactionary regimes—such as those in Saudi Arabia, Jordan, and even Pakistan and Turkey—must take some distance from Washington out of fear of the consequences among the masses of their own countries.

The outbreak of the revolution in Afghanistan in April 1978 is another clear example of how the class struggle has undermined détente. This revolution was something that neither the U.S. rulers nor the Soviet bureaucracy wanted or expected; but the revolution began despite them. The efforts of Washington to halt the revolution and place a U.S.-backed regime in power there, posing a new imperialist military presence right on the borders of the Soviet Union, finally forced the Kremlin—for its own reasons and with its own bureaucratic methods—to intervene on the side of the new regime against the reactionary coalition of landlords, capitalists, tribal chieftains, and heroin smugglers.

The resulting sharpening of class conflict in the area, combined with the increasingly aggressive U.S. military pressures against Iran, forced the Kremlin to tone down its condemnations of

the occupation of the U.S. embassy in Tehran and begin to offer assistance to Iran in the event of imperialist economic sanctions. This, of course, ups the ante around any new U.S. military moves in Iran.

All this happened not because Washington and Moscow wanted it to happen; to the contrary, they wanted stability and class peace. But the revolutions in Iran and Afghanistan upset the apple cart.

No Alternative Strategy

In reality, the imperialists have no strategy to replace the Cold War policies of containment and rollback. They have been left to muddle through from crisis to crisis, hoping they could rely on the bureaucracies to hold back struggles, or on help from client regimes such as that of the shah and Somoza. They have tried to buy time in order to turn around the balance of forces at home and abroad that prevents them from using their own massive military might against the world revolution.

This is what they are looking for every opportunity to do today—around the recent Indochina wars, the hostages in Iran, the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, and now around Cuba and the Caribbean. They are constantly probing, and this back-and-forth struggle has become a central axis of U.S. politics today—a battleground between the rulers who need to militarize the country and the majority of U.S. working people who “don’t want to kill or be killed for Exxon.” The blows that the U.S. rulers have been dealt from Angola through Nicaragua have deepened the Vietnam Syndrome.

The syndrome is an international one, as well. The European and Japanese workers don’t want to go to war either. They aren’t happy about having Pershing II nuclear missiles scattered around their countries by NATO. They don’t want to go to war with the Soviet Union or Iran. They face inflation, layoffs, and cutbacks, and aren’t in any mood to sacrifice still more so that their governments can meet Carter’s demand to shoulder more of the burden for financing imperialism’s war machine.

The resistance by the U.S., European, and Japanese workers to the war plans of the world’s most powerful capitalist ruling classes is opening even more doors for the exploited colonial masses.

And the imperialists have learned from Iran and Nicaragua—and they see the handwriting on the wall in South Korea today, too—that these semi-colonial client regimes, even the strongest of them, are in no shape to use their armies as surrogates for imperialism against the colonial revolution. Only the imperialist outposts such as Zionist Israel and apartheid South Africa are of substantial help to Washington and its major allies. And that’s why—whatever secondary tactical dispute might arise—the U.S. and European rulers will back these reactionary regimes, arm them to the teeth, and do everything possible to ensure their survival.

The Cold War was not something that the imperialists turned off for awhile and can simply turn back on again. It reflected the relationship of class forces that came out of World War II, both inside the imperialist countries and worldwide.

And that balance of forces has been radically changed by world events. It was based on the long capitalist expansion, and U.S. imperialism’s preeminent position in it; on Washington’s initial big military advantage over the Soviet Union and China because of its nuclear arsenal; on the domestic situation in the United States, marked by witch-hunting, anti-communism, and a housecleaning and housebreaking of the American trade unions through the strengthening of the bureaucracy’s stranglehold. All these conditions cannot be put back together by the capitalists, short of a major defeat for the workers in the United States, other imperialist countries, and the semi-colonial world.

So, when we correctly say that détente has been seriously weakened, we must remember that the imperialists have no alternative to détente right now. As they prepare to restore their capacity to use their military power, they will still turn to the bureaucracies for help—just like the employers still try to use the class-collaborationist union officialdom as they gear up for an all-out antilabor drive.

And Moscow and Peking still base their perspective on deals to shore up the international status quo.



May 13, 1968, march in Paris. Banner reads “students, teachers, and workers all together.”

‘The May-June 1968 general strike in France . . . began from a police attack on a student anti-Vietnam War protest and widened to decisive sections of industrial workers.’

What has changed, and changed radically, are the estimates—all the way around—of what détente can produce and the recognition of its growing limits because of the strengthening of the workers and farmers on a world scale.

The Castro Leadership

This is the situation that Wall Street, Washington, and the Pentagon face as they desperately search for ways to untie their hands for counter-revolutionary action around the world.

Into this breach—marked by a rise of revolutionary struggles and a weakening of the mainstay of world counterrevolution—has stepped the Castro leadership. Unlike the Moscow and Peking Stalinists, they never bought their way into détente—despite their deep need to end the U.S. economic blockade and their standing offer to normalize diplomatic relations with Washington. The U.S. rulers refuse to even discuss these matters unless Cuba first pulls back from its internationalist activities in solidarity with anti-imperialist struggles.

Despite this, the Cubans have stood shoulder to shoulder with those in struggle against U.S. imperialism in Angola and Ethiopia, in Indochina, in Southern Yemen.

And the key confrontation has been in U.S. imperialism’s own backyard—Central America and the Caribbean.

The deaths over the past several years of Mao Tse-tung in China and, just recently, President Tito in Yugoslavia were more than simply the deaths of two individuals. They should have symbolized the death of any illusion that these two leaderships, by charting a course away from the Kremlin, had provided a revolutionary road forward for the workers of the world.

Tito and Mao broke from Moscow. But they never broke from Stalinism—from class collaboration, from the myth of socialism in one country, from deals with imperialism at the expense of the world revolution.

That explains the extremely sympathetic treatment of Tito in the big business press. The *New York Times* called him a “giant among Communists.” And Carter hailed him as “a towering figure on the world scene.”

Can anyone imagine that the death of Fidel Castro would evoke the same response? Tito began earning these rave obituaries back in 1950 by backing the imperialist intervention in Korea. And his last political act “on the world scene” was to cooperate with Pol Pot, with the capitalist dictatorship in Singapore, and with other neoco-

lonial regimes to oppose the anti-imperialist line of the Cubans at the Non-Aligned Conference in Havana last September.

Impact of Workers Struggles

In contrast to the Chinese and Yugoslav Stalinists, the Castro leadership has had a revolutionary internationalist perspective from the outset. And this internationalism has been deepened, and infused with a clearer class content, by the rise of the world revolution during the past half decade, by the growing weight of the proletariat in these battles, and by the new opportunities for the Cuban government to act and make a difference.

The Cubans themselves testify to the inspiration and invigoration they have drawn, especially from the extension of their revolution in the Western Hemisphere. Early in the events around the Peruvian embassy, I was struck by one particular paragraph in a front-page editorial in *Granma*:

The editorial warned that Washington would be badly misjudging the Cuban people if it believed they would fail to defend revolutionary Cuba or struggles elsewhere in Latin America:

“We have resisted heroically for 21 years,” *Granma* said, “and our enemies must resign themselves to the idea that we will resist until the final victory of the sister peoples of our hemisphere—”

And then—as if to show that more than bravado and wishful idealism was involved—the editorial added, “especially now that we are not alone!”

The socialist revolution in Nicaragua, the new Grenada, the reverberations in El Salvador and throughout the region—this is what the Cubans have been banking on and working for for twenty-one years: the extension of the socialist revolution in the Americas, a breakthrough, despite all the attempts of Washington to isolate and strangle the Cuban revolution.

The Castro leadership has also been affected by developments in the class struggle in the imperialist countries. The Cuban leaders talk more in class terms about the entire world than they did in the past. We’ve seen Castro’s recognition in his opening address to the Non-Aligned Conference of the “important role the people of the United States played” in ending the Vietnam War; his appeals during his United Nations address to workers in the advanced capitalist countries, pointing out how they too suffer from the inequities of the existing world economic order.

The failure of rural guerrilla warfare as a

strategy in Latin America; the rise in the weight of the working class and urban centers in the semi-colonial world; the centrality of mass urban insurrections in the Iranian and Nicaraguan victories; the big workers struggles in Brazil and their beginning revival in Pinochet's Chile; the role of the Bolivian workers last fall in blocking a military coup, arms in hand—all these factors have also had an impact on how the Cuban leaders understand and orient to various social forces in the battle against imperialism.

And it has affected the way they understand and explain the success of their own revolution, as well.

More and more often during the past several years, the Cuban leaders have found opportunities to tell the story of the urban underground in Cuba; the role of Frank Pais; Celia Sanchez's roots in this front of the revolution; the decisive role of the workers after January 1959 in mobilizing to defend the gains of the revolution and carry it through to its completion.

Right now, both the Cubans and our party have our eyes fixed firmly on the same thing: the gigantic class confrontation that is shaping up as the revolution picks up steam in the Caribbean and Central America and the imperialists seek ways to crush it, ways to reassert their military might and strike a blow at the oppressed and exploited throughout the world.

This is an enormous political question for us. The American workers are the biggest obstacle to Washington carrying out its counterrevolutionary plans in the Caribbean. Whether conscious of it or not—and most aren't yet conscious of it—the U.S. workers are the invaluable and irreplaceable ally of the Central American and Caribbean revolution. And if Carter succeeds in defeating anti-imperialist fighters anywhere in the hemisphere, it won't only be those fighters who will pay a heavy price; it will mean death and sacrifice for American workers too.

Let's take a look at what is happening in Central America and the Caribbean today.

Revolution Deepens in Nicaragua

First, Nicaragua. There has been a major deepening of the revolution and class polarization there. These events confirm the correctness of the assessment adopted at the January 1980 plenum of the SWP that:

- a workers and farmers government had come into existence in Nicaragua sometime in the month or so following the powerful July 19 insurrection that toppled Somoza; and
- the FSLN, by its actions, had shown itself to be a leadership of revolutionary caliber. (See "Revolution in Nicaragua," in the February 1 *Militant*.)

Just since the turn of the year:

- The ambitious literacy crusade has begun, involving—both as students and teachers—a big percentage of the Nicaraguan population. The result will be not only important strides toward

teaching more than half the adult population how to read and write for the first time, but giving them an education in class politics, preparing them as class conscious fighters.

- The government has expropriated substantial new tracts of land and put them under the direction of the agrarian reform ministry and the Sandinista-led Rural Workers Association (ATC).

- Workers at privately owned factories have taken over production and demanded government intervention against employers who are sabotaging production or draining capital from the country. And the government has backed these workers up. The Sandinistas have pointed to the key role of workers control in combatting sabotage, meeting the country's reactivation goals, and preparing for greater involvement of the workers in setting the course of the revolution.

- With the Sandinista Peoples Army formed, the volunteer militias have begun to be organized based in the workplaces, schools, and countryside.

- Solidarity with El Salvador has been organized throughout the country. FSLN leaders make clear that the Sandinista army, militia, and police will take up arms against any outside aggression against El Salvador.

- FSLN leaders have traveled to the USSR and Eastern Europe, where they obtained agreements for trade, technical assistance, and other aid.

Most recently, there has been the announcement of the decisive worker-peasant majority in the Council of State, which began its sessions at the beginning of May. Representatives of the mass organizations—unions, neighborhood committees, women and youth organizations, peasant and agricultural workers organizations—these are the majority in this governmental institution. According to the composition initially outlined in the July 1979 Program of Government, the council was to have had a decisive capitalist majority. The plans to establish that kind of bourgeois-dominated parliamentary body as a brake on the revolution were laid to rest by the powerful insurrection that brought the Sandinista-led masses to power July 19. The FSLN, basing itself on the mandate of that powerful revolutionary uprising, blocked the convocation of the council with its original composition. They announced that it would be restructured along more democratic lines to reflect the true balance of class forces in revolutionary Nicaragua.

The Sandinistas' firmness in carrying through this pledge—the fact that they *do* what they *say* they are going to do—was seen by all classes in Nicaragua as a clear signal of the revolution's political direction. This leadership bases its policies on defending and promoting the class interests of the workers and peasants.

The resignation from the junta by Alfonso Robelo reflected the assertion of the interests of

another class, the capitalist class. Robelo claimed "excessive" Cuban influence over the revolution. He charged that there were too many Soviet diplomats in the country. And he denounced the make-up of the Council of State as "totalitarian."

A council with a decisive majority of the landowners and capitalists—that's democracy to Robelo and his class. A council with a decisive majority of forces that speak for the interests of the toiling majority—that's "totalitarianism." What more classic statement of the perspective of liberalism?

Despite the presence of figures such as Robelo in the junta, the Nicaraguan capitalist class exercised no governmental power. Following July 19, the Sandinistas moved decisively to construct a new revolutionary army and police, prevent convocation of the bourgeois-dominated Council of State, and consolidate their own political power and that of the mass organizations.

The FSLN's consistent use of political power to promote mass mobilizations and implement measures giving top priority to the interests of the toilers confirmed the government's character as a workers and peasants government.

Robelo, Violeta Chamorro, and a few other non-FSLN figures had achieved a certain reputation among layers of the Nicaraguan masses because of their opposition to the Somoza dictatorship. The Sandinistas chose to let some of these figures demonstrate their actual class allegiances by how they responded to the deepening of the revolution's anticapitalist direction. In this way, those who openly began to oppose the policies of the government exposed themselves before the Nicaraguan people.

On the economic level, the Sandinistas have followed a similar policy. Not yet ready to directly administer the entire economy, the government has told many capitalists that so long as they cooperate in relaunching production and helping to rebuild the war-shattered economy, they will not be expropriated. Meanwhile, the Sandinistas have encouraged the expansion of workers control to prepare both the government and working class to operate the entire economy.

The result has been that the FSLN has consolidated its mass support to meet the inevitable bourgeois resistance to the course of the revolution—either in the form of economic sabotage or political maneuvers.

When the composition of the Council of State was announced, Robelo showed his true colors. He sought to use the false charge of "totalitarianism" to hide his real aims.

But the Sandinistas responded by explaining the conflicting class interests at stake. The day after Robelo's resignation, Commander Bayardo Arce, speaking for the FSLN's National Directorate, explained that "the essence of the problem lies in the fact that Robelo could not identify himself with a political platform that limits

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indiscriminate enrichment and benefits the dispossessed majority of the country."

The deepening of the revolution has led to growing disarray and tactical differences among the remaining bourgeois forces in Nicaragua, as well as a division of labor. For example, the bourgeois parties are boycotting the Council of State, while the Superior Council of Private Enterprise (COSEP) is participating.

When the FSLN last week appointed two new figures to the junta to replace Robelo and Chamorro—the previous head of the central bank and a supreme court judge—COSEP challenged the right of the Sandinistas to choose the replacements. At the same time, it demanded that the junta reaffirm "the concept of private property and provide protection against" the expropriation of land and factories, warned that the "government's deviations threaten to reproduce in Nicaragua a communist dictatorship similar to Cuba," and threatened that this worsens "the climate of confidence—already damaged—that the urgent reactivation of the country requires."

In other words, if you don't meet our demands, we won't produce.

The FSLN has already stated its position on such blackmail: The 1980 economic plan will be implemented with the private sector, without the private sector, or against the private sector. It's up to them.

So, the confrontation is mounting on this level, as well.

The resolution that we adopted at our last plenum pointed out that: "The decisive conflicts will grow out of the intensification of the class struggle, which will be reflected in the government. The bourgeois forces will make themselves known by their deeds," we said.

This was confirmed by the Robelo resignation, and again last week when José Francisco Cardenal—chosen by COSEP to fill one of the Council of State's three vice-presidencies—defected to the United States after holding that seat for only ten days. At a press conference in the U.S. capitol building, he said that the Sandinista revolution has an "irreversible tendency toward a Marxist-Leninist system" and is "taking control of the means of production by expropriating land and factories."

He denounced other capitalist sectors for "collaboration" with the Sandinistas. "Some of them are acting in good faith, romantically," he said. "Others are doing it thinking that they are gaining time, with the hope that unpredictable events can prevent a catastrophe; and still others with criminal premeditation, thinking that they will get rich in the process."

Well, the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party agrees with Cardenal on at least one question: given the events of the last months and the performance of the Sandinista leadership, we are convinced that the direction of the Nicaraguan revolution is irreversible, short of a defeat as the result of a civil war backed by imperialist military intervention.

The FSLN has shown by its deeds that it is a revolutionary leadership consciously preparing and mobilizing the working masses to become the rulers of society. The stage has been reached in this process that the workers and farmers government, resting on the deepening mobilization and class consciousness of the masses, cannot now be overthrown through a process of erosion, but only through an imperialist-backed military attack.

Nicaragua is now in the process of the establishment and consolidation of the second workers state in the Americas.

Extension of Revolutionary Leadership

What is so important for us is not merely the extension of the socialist revolution, but the extension of a revolutionary socialist leadership. Not merely the fact of the revolution, but how the revolution has unfolded, and the perspective of its leadership toward further extending the revolution. For the first time since the Bolsheviks, a leadership has come to power that not only bypassed the Stalinists and Social Democrats, but from the outset sought to organize and mobilize the working class to make a socialist revolution. This is different even from the Cuban experience twenty years ago, where the socialist direction of the revolution grew empirically out of the determination of the leadership to carry out a thoroughgoing anti-imperialist revolution, no matter what the capitalists or Washington had to say.

This is not because the Sandinistas are better

than the Castro leadership, but because they took power in a different historical period. They stood on the shoulders of the Cubans, having been trained and educated by the example of the Cuban workers state and its leadership. Their road is the Cuban road and it—in turn—is becoming a new model for all of Central America and the Caribbean.

At every step the Sandinistas have relied above all on the mobilization and organization of the workers and peasants, systematically educating them in class-consciousness and class struggle.

They have recognized that a revolution is not an administrative operation; it cannot be imposed. They have organized the most politically conscious layers of the toilers to bring along the less conscious—through things like the literacy campaign, the unionization drives, mass rallies, and so on. They have sought to integrate the Indian-speaking populations of the Atlantic coast into the revolution, conducting the literacy drive in the language they speak as well as

The FSLN's ability to handle such problems is hampered by the break in the historical continuity of Leninism. This break is due to the Stalinist distortions of the true history of the October 1917 Russian revolution and its lessons, as well as to the small size and influence of our world movement, which has preserved that continuity.

This historical break means that revolutionists of action such as the FSLN are sometimes destined to approach certain political problems as if these are entirely new problems without the class-struggle traditions that could help orient them in developing correct solutions.

Class-Struggle Explanations

The significance—from the standpoint of solving the worldwide crisis of proletarian leadership—of the emergence of the Sandinistas and their collaboration with the Castro leadership in Cuba is not only reflected in what they have done, and how they have conducted themselves, but also in how they explain what they did and what they intend to do.

This marks a big step toward Marxism, toward a revolutionary working class perspective and world movement for our class internationally.

An interview with FSLN commander Humberto Ortega appeared earlier this year in the English-language *Granma*, the organ of the Cuban Communist Party. This interview showed that the FSLN is grappling with the question of the role of the working class; of the urban mass movement; of the need for a party to make and lead a socialist revolution.

"... we always took the masses into account, but more in terms of their supporting the guerrillas, so that the guerrillas as such could defeat the National Guard," Ortega said. "This isn't what actually happened. What happened was that it was the guerrillas who provided support for the masses so that they could defeat the enemy by means of insurrection." He explained how the insurrection, general strike, and military struggle had been coordinated in the final months.

Ortega also noted, significantly, that "It would have been very difficult for us to win by depending only on internal developments."

"The international balance of forces," he said, "the international situation, the state of the various forces in the area, the contradictions of the Western developed countries, etc., must definitely be taken into account."

This process of thinking—dealing with many of the same questions of revolutionary strategy that are at the heart of our conception of the workers and farmers government—was also expressed in the FSLN's "Balance Sheet of the Revolution" published at the end of December in its *Poder Sandinista* weekly:

"In a revolution we must make a distinction between taking power and exercising that power," it said. "When we speak of power we must also distinguish between class instruments (the army and administration) and class power (what interests those instruments defend)."

"... yesterday the government defended the oppressing and exploiting classes," it said, "while now it defends the interests of the oppressed and exploited classes of Nicaragua. And defense of this government means increasing the workers' participation in all economic, social, political and ideological decisions of the revolution, both national and international."

The point here is not the correctness of every line, word, or formulation, but the tendency of this current to tackle the big problems of the revolution and counterrevolution from the standpoint of the line of march of the working class and its historic clash with the interests of the exploiters, both the domestic and the imperialist monopolists.

As the revolution has deepened, of course, it has more and more become a target of the bourgeois press.

One of the clearest examples was in the London financial weekly the *Economist*. Its special correspondent in Managua could barely restrain his class horror at what was happening.

"Trade unions, peasant groups, and Cuban-style Sandinista defence committees in each neighborhood have been springing up like mushrooms," the *Economist* reported.

It's all well and good to teach people how to read and write, the article said, "But some ask why literacy is getting a priority higher than those of rehousing the homeless victims of the civil war, fighting widespread malnutrition. . . ." It is touching to see the *Economist*

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Spanish, and guaranteeing their cultural integrity.

Of course, they have made mistakes in handling certain situations, especially in their relations with various ultraleft sectarian and Stalinist currents in the workers movement: the way they explained the shutdown of the newspaper *El Pueblo* and the moves against the Frente Obrero, Nicaraguan Communist Party (PCN), and the union federation led by the PCN, the CAUS.

Even on these questions, however, the Sandinistas have acted not from the bureaucratic, totalitarian mentality of Stalinists trying to hold back the revolution and keep a tight rein on power and privileges. They have attempted to grapple with problems thrown up by the revolution, by the unevenness of consciousness among the masses, by the enormous objective difficulties confronting the country.

And they have shown a remarkable capacity to learn from and correct past errors. For example, in the Council of State, five of the eight seats allotted to trade-union confederations were given to unions that are not FSLN-led; this includes one seat to the CAUS. This represents a significant, even if partial, recognition that these unions do have a base among certain sectors of the workers, and that achieving unity on the trade-union level is a political task, not one that can be imposed from above based on the Sandinistas' political authority.

suddenly so concerned about the food and shelter of Nicaraguans!

Then, the reporter offers an answer to his own question about why literacy is getting top priority. And he is clearly not happy about it:

"From the first sentence to be learnt 'Carlos (sic) Sandino guide of the revolution' to the last 'The Sandinista are the vanguard organization of the Nicaraguan people'—there is scarcely a phrase that does not ram the Sandinista message home. The reader is taken through eulogies to land reform, to nationalisation and to 'peoples power.' At the end of the campaign, many peasants may know no more than how to scribble and shout a handful of political slogans."

Or perhaps how to read, write, and think for themselves a bit better and about how to advance and defend the interests of their class.

As a positive alternative, the *Economist* quotes Robelo: "I want Nicaragua to be a social democracy like Costa Rica, maybe more to the left of Costa Rica." And then the clincher: "I don't want it to be another Cuba."

This concern with the entire unfolding of events in Central America was also conveyed in the headline of a recent *New York Times* editorial: "The Fire Next Door."

It's not only Fidel Castro who recognizes that "Grenada, Nicaragua and Cuba are three giants rising up . . . on the very threshold of imperialism."

It was no accident that Fidel singled out these three—and pointed to El Salvador as the possible fourth. Fidel has various lists for specific occasions: sometimes Jamaica gets prominent mention, or Panama, or Guyana, or Mexico, or—until recently—even the Andean Pact countries or Costa Rica. All these regimes have had run-ins with Washington that, at one time or another, have impelled them to open up a crack in the solid wall of boycott and nonrecognition imperialism has tried to throw up around Cuba.

But to the Cubans, Grenada, Nicaragua—and they hope soon El Salvador—fit into another category, a category of anti-imperialist and social revolutions, part of their political current.

Revolution in Caribbean

The *Militant* and *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor* have been giving substantial coverage to the revolution in Grenada. They've sent correspondents there to get a first-hand view of these important events and report them back to the readers of our press.

Like Nicaragua, the Grenadan revolution is a development that the U.S. rulers hate with every ounce of their class instinct for survival. A recent article on Grenada in *U.S. News & World Report* was headlined, "Serpent in Caribbean's Island Paradises."

The government that came to power there following the March 1979 revolution, led by the New Jewel Movement, has followed a radical course. It has acted to promote the interests of the workers and peasants, organize and mobilize them, and free the island from imperialist subjugation.

The New Jewel Movement explicitly points to Cuba as a model for the Grenadan revolution, and it has followed the anti-imperialist line of the Cuban leadership on major questions of international politics, defying the imperialist bully to the north. Grenada is receiving essential help from Cuba in setting up an army and militia, as well as badly needed economic, medical, and educational assistance.

At the huge May Day rally in Havana, Grenada's Prime Minister Maurice Bishop was among the featured speakers. "... we recognize in Grenada . . . that without the Cuban revolution of 1959 there could have been no Grenadan revolution, nor Nicaraguan revolution in 1979," he said.

Despite the small size of Grenada, it is destined to play an important role in the confrontation that is coming in the Caribbean. If the imperialists touch Cuba or Nicaragua, Bishop said, "they touch Grenada too."

The Grenadan revolution will have an especially big political impact on revolutionary-minded workers and youth in those Caribbean countries with large Black populations—Haiti, St. Lucia, Dominica, Jamaica, Martinique, Guadeloupe, and others.

And developments there are being followed closely by militant Blacks in this country, as well.

El Salvador

Over the past year, under the impact of Nicaragua, there has been a big rise in the class struggle in El Salvador. All the class forces there recognize that an urban insurrection is on the agenda, that the country is on the edge of a civil war. The revolutionary groups have growing popular support and exercise predominant influence over major unions, peasant committees, and other mass organizations.

Washington has made clear that it won't allow 'another Nicaragua.' Of course, it didn't 'allow' the first Nicaragua, either. It simply wasn't able to stop it.

Just as Washington ended up hanging onto Somoza and Somozaist forces to the bitter end in Nicaragua, it is backing to the hilt the military-civilian junta in El Salvador and the junta's policy of real repression with phony reform. Washington is providing arms, military advisers, money, helicopters, and other forms of direct assistance already.

Washington doesn't feel confident right now that it can directly intervene militarily against the revolution in Nicaragua. The Carter administration is even still steering the \$75 million loan package through Congress.

Instead, Washington is preparing to make its stand around El Salvador. And it is already spreading the rumor of "outside intervention" by Cuba and Nicaragua to provide a cover for its own intervention, as well as a cover to use the El Salvador events to strike out against Nicaragua and Cuba. We can bet that any moves Washington makes to "salvage moderation and demo-

cracy" in El Salvador will be coupled with moves to "combat subversion" from Nicaragua and Cuba.

The Colombian regime has taken an openly hostile attitude toward Nicaragua, and last fall withdrew its ambassador from Cuba for being too collaborative with the Cuban government. Venezuela, like Peru, has provoked tensions around the question of Cuban emigration, as well as funneling support to the repressive Salvadoran junta.

These are the governments—the Andean Pact governments—that Castro in his May Day speech called the "political Mafias in this hemisphere." Fidel said that instead of them, Cuba would welcome "a progressive Andean Pact, or better yet a revolutionary Pact . . . the real Pact of Bolívar and of Sandino."

He then listed the sins both of omission and commission by these regimes—on the Cuban blockade, Guantánamo, El Salvador, Puerto Rican independence, Iran.

For us in this country and in the Socialist Workers Party, that speech is one of the most important that Castro has ever given. Not primarily because it answered point by point the imperialist lies and slanders around the Peruvian embassy and the emigrants—although it did that devastatingly well and in a way that is the polar opposite of how Stalinist-led regimes have handled the question of emigration.

But what is most important for working-class revolutionists in this country is to absorb what Castro was saying about the stakes in this hemisphere today, about the battles that are on the agenda. The Cubans are preparing for a showdown with U.S. imperialism over the extension of the socialist revolution in this hemisphere.

Showdown in Caribbean

The May Day speech was a follow-up to Castro's International Women's Day address. At that time, he warned the U.S. rulers not to create "a new Vietnam" in the Caribbean, but that if they did, that's exactly what they would get—a new Vietnam.

The Cubans recognize the big obstacles that Washington faces in using its military might, just as we do. But they are convinced that the imperialists, despite their problems, are dead serious about stopping the spread of the revolution in the Caribbean. The Solid Shield 80 U.S. naval maneuvers in the Caribbean in May, and the planned marine landing at Guantánamo were "a practice invasion" of Cuba, Fidel said. He announced a major expansion of the militias in Cuba, as well as a training program to prepare all Cubans for the eventuality of a total blockade of food and fuel.

The Castro leadership is responsible in its attitude toward the Cuban workers and peasants. It does not raise false alarms. It clearly believes that Washington may well go to war to prevent the revolution in El Salvador. And the Cuban leaders—along with the Nicaraguans and Grenadans—are announcing to the world that they will fight. They will not stand by and allow Washington to crush a revolution.

The sustained mobilizations in Cuba over the past month and a half are intended to prepare the Cuban masses to meet any danger, to inspire and embolden them, to explain and re-explain Cuba's revolutionary internationalist policies—and to give Washington some pause for thought. Given the revolutionary fighting will of the Cuban people, Fidel said, it would be much easier for a foreign army to enter the island than to leave it!

"It's not good to make comparisons with anyone," Fidel said, "it is never pleasant," but "no other revolution has the strength of militant masses that the Cuban revolution has."

That's why, with revolutions on the rise in the Western Hemisphere, Cuba becomes a special target for the imperialists, the target of provocations and slander campaigns. Imperialism "wants the peoples to lose faith in Cuba; it wants peoples to get discouraged about the example of Cuba."

Never was there a clearer confirmation of the Castro leadership's perspective of extending the socialist revolution as the only way of defending the socialist revolution.

"Do you know what really makes us strong—us, and Nicaragua, and Grenada?" he asked the crowd. "The fact that these are people's revolutions, revolutions with deep roots, with great popular support."

"We have the duty to struggle to develop peace and collaboration between peoples," he said.



Iranians rally in Tehran in solidarity with Blacks protesting racist injustice in Miami

"But we will never do it by getting on our knees at imperialism's feet to beg for peace."

That is the stance of a revolutionary proletarian internationalist.

Solidarity with Iran

Castro also spoke about Iran, which he called "a real people's revolution" that has "extraordinary force."

"It is our duty to support Iran," Fidel said, "to solidarize ourselves with Iran, because everything that is taking place in Iran reminds us of what happened in our own country."

He also called on the OPEC governments not to sell oil to any country that follows Carter's economic sanctions against Iran.

"This is the time for OPEC to show what it is made of," he said, "to show that it wasn't created just to raise prices and amass huge fortunes. This is the trial of fire for OPEC, the nonaligned countries, and the countries of the Third World."

What was Fidel doing in making this point, just as he did in his remarks on the Andean Pact nations of Latin America? He was drawing a *class line* in the anti-imperialist struggle, in the nonaligned movement, in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. When Cuba and Nicaragua and Grenada say something they're ready to do something about it—that was Fidel's message.

He was demonstratively charting a way forward for the oppressed masses throughout the semi-colonial world. He was giving voice to their anti-imperialist sentiments and to their demands against the vacillating, hesitating, and capitulating bourgeois governments that are so afraid of their own peoples that they slink for shelter to the imperialists.

The Cuban leaders have correctly assessed the aborted Carter raid on Iran in the same world political context that we have used in our press. Of course, we don't know, and may never know, exactly what was planned, what went wrong, and exactly why it had to be called off. We may never unravel all the lies.

But clearly a broader military operation was planned. It could have ended in the deaths of many hostages and many Iranians, fighting in Tehran, air raids, and major destruction.

The target was the Iranian revolution. And an obvious objective was further destabilizing the current capitalist government in Iran, which has been unable to stop the advance of the revolution. A goal of Carter's policy is to lay the basis for an eventual coup to put in place a more reliable regime. The imperialists hope such a regime could—with U.S. help—drown the revolution in blood.

Whatever the exact scenario, however, it suffered a major setback that has further undermined any hopes by the capitalists of bringing the revolution to heel in the near future.

The revolution continues to deepen. As the large May Day demonstration in Tehran shows, the shoras (workers' committees) in the factories continue to function. They are raising radical anticapitalist and anti-imperialist demands, and fighting for greater workers control.

The oppressed nationalities have not been crushed. The leaders of the Kurds in particular have shown remarkable political clarity in placing their struggle in the framework of the Iranian revolution, the conflict with imperialism, and opposition to the reactionary military probes and demagoguery by the Iraqi regime. They have appealed for support to all the toilers of Iran.

Of course, what is missing so far—and here is a crucial difference with the Cuban revolution—is the development of a revolutionary socialist leadership to take the revolutionary process in Iran forward to a workers and farmers government. But it is a powerful, deep-going revolution, as have been earlier revolutions in Iran. The revolution in 1906 was not finally crushed until 1911; the one that erupted in 1945 was not ultimately defeated until the CIA-backed coup of 1953 that put the shah back on the throne.

So we can be confident from what we see happening in Iran and from the weakening of imperialism that it will take time to wear down this popular uprising, too. The question will be whether a proletarian party can be forged in time.

The aim of Carter, of course, is to make that period as brief as possible, to cut the revolution short and drive it back, to reassert imperialism's military power in that part of the world, just as it needs to do in the Caribbean.

This parallel has not been lost on the Cubans. The Cubans have offered both political and material support, if Iran requests it.

The main *Granma* article on the Iran events made the correct point that: "Iran is not an isolated case."

The analysis in the *Granma* article compared strikingly to our view of what has been happening in the world class struggle: "In the last few months the Carter administration has initiated a drive to make up for the large-scale defeats suffered by imperialism all over the world. Thus, it intervenes along with China in operations against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and People's Kampuchea, and it aids and encourages the counterrevolutionary bands in Afghanistan in order to prevent the consolidation of the popular government in that country. It campaigns against the people of Iran and maneuvers with Israel and Egypt to neutralize the Palestinians and other progressive Arab forces, supplies arms and money to Morocco for its colonial war against the people of the Sahara, intervenes against the patriots in El Salvador and promotes

vile campaigns against the Cuban revolution, and supports and protects racist and reactionary regimes everywhere."

Getting Ourselves Ready

This convergence between our view of what's coming in the class struggle today with that of the Cubans is important for two reasons:

First, as Fidel explained on May Day, there can no longer be any security for Cuba in the accord reached by Washington and Moscow following the 1962 Missile Crisis, where the U.S. government agreed not to invade Cuba in return for withdrawal of the Soviet missiles. That means that the stakes are very high.

And it places a big responsibility on us. We can be sure that from the outset of any military aggression by Washington, there will be active opposition in this country. This opposition will reach into the factories where we work. It will affect our co-workers, who are not ready to fight in "another Vietnam." It will have an impact on the trade-union movement, and will even be reflected in sections of the officialdom. Any act of aggression by the United States will be extraordinarily unpopular among Puerto Rican, Chicano, and other Latin workers.

It will be particularly unpopular to the growing number of Blacks who will draw inspiration from the revolution in Grenada—a revolution with a Black leadership that speaks in English about the class struggle.

Here, our work in solidarity with Nicaragua, in solidarity with El Salvador, getting out the truth about Cuba and the Central American revolution through the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* will have laid an important groundwork for us to mobilize opposition to whatever moves the rulers make against these revolutions.

Second, the events in Central America and the Caribbean today are crucial to us because of the revolutionary caliber of the leadership. A new, attractive revolutionary current is developing there under the impact of the Cuban example. In Cuba itself, these events have enormously strengthened the position of the revolutionary Castro wing against the Stalinists, against bureaucratic and conservative attitudes, against those Raúl Castro has called the "fainthearted."

We are watching the development of this leadership and they will be watching what we do and have to say. We will all be in the same trenches against imperialism in the battles that are on the agenda, and fighters always like to know who it is they are fighting next to because it becomes a survival question under the test of class combat.

This is what the Cubans, Nicaraguans, Grenadians, and Salvadorans are preparing for.

And this is what the Socialist Workers Party is getting ready for, too.

...Haitian

Continued from page ISR/5

ity. "The need is now." (*Miami Herald*, April 17, 1980)

In an April 2 letter to President Carter asking for asylum for the Haitians, twenty-seven national leaders of the Black community, members of the Congressional Black Caucus, trade-union leaders, public officials, and others cited reports by health officials "that the primary health problem facing the refugees is no longer malnutrition, but starvation."

"In our judgement," the signatories state, "the record of these [court] proceedings and [congressional] debates, numerous reports from Amnesty International and Dade County officials, and other public accounts of the suffering Haitian refugees in South Florida have endured over the last seven years, establishes that granting them asylum in the United States is the only humane and practical solution to their plight."

Signers included Shirley Chisholm, John Conyers, and Ronald Dellums of the U.S. Congress; Maurice Ferre, mayor of Miami; Vernon Jordan, president of the National Urban League; Bayard Rustin of the A. Philip Randolph Institute; Charles W. Cherry, president of the Florida NAACP; Sol Chaikin, president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union; Claire Randall, general secretary of the National Council of Churches; and Andrew Young, former ambassador to the United Nations.

Also supporting the Haitians' appeal for asylum is the U.S. Conference of Mayors.

Washington's discriminatory treatment of the Haitian refugees has met with mounting opposition.

In March, as the Haitians' cause became more and more urgent, representatives of the Hispanic community in south Florida joined with Black leaders, church figures, and city officials to press for political asylum for the Haitians.

Eduardo Padron, chairman of the Spanish-American League Against Discrimination, said at that time that "the greatest and most important human issue in Dade County today is that of the Haitians." (*Miami Herald*, March 4, 1980)

Lane Kirkland, president of the AFL-CIO, announced on May 7 the labor federation's support for the Haitians' right to asylum and called for granting them assistance and services comparable to that received by the Cubans.

He rejected the claim that the refugees would take jobs away from other workers. "The worst thing that could happen to trade unionism," he said, "is for groups of workers to be set against each other in a competition for scarce jobs." (*New York Times*, May 8, 1980)

Members of the Congressional Black Caucus accused the Carter administration of racism and deliberate deceit in its treatment of the Haitian refugees, voicing a feeling widely held among Black people.

The treatment of the Cubans, six Black Caucus members said in an April 14 letter to Carter, "stands in stark contrast to what we believe to be the systematic violation of due process, equal protection and inhumanity accorded the Haitian Refugees in Miami, Florida."

The point was put even more bluntly by Jesse

Jackson, who led a march of 1,000 in Miami on April 19 to demand asylum for the Haitians.

"The distinction is whether you're Black or whether you're white," he said in reference to U.S. immigration policy. He warned against getting "trapped in a Cuban-Haitian struggle," and called for admitting all who want to come here. (*Miami Herald*, April 20, 1980)

"The day of liberation is coming," he told the enthusiastic, cheering crowd of Haitians and their supporters.

That protest opened a three-week period in which there were five demonstrations on behalf of the Haitians.

But perhaps the most moving appeal for asylum was made by Gérard Jean-Juste, in the conclusion of his court testimony last year:

"These Black boat people left behind good jobs—left the land they had worked as their fathers had before them—because they could no longer endure the terror and political oppression of Duvalier."

"Seeking refuge here, they have encountered instead a harsh welcome. Some die needlessly before reaching our shores; those who survive the trip arrive only to face imprisonment."

"Only the federal government can provide a solution. We beseech you to grant these Black boat people political asylum—refugee status—as you have granted to the boat people from Southeast Asia before them. Only the federal government can grant these Black refugees the relief they seek to build their lives anew. Only the federal government can grant political asylum."

"This is the only solution."



Socialist Workers presidential candidate Andrew Pulley greets protesters at May 17 march for jobs in Washington, D.C.

Militant/Eric Simpson

Big push needed to meet campaign fund goal!

By Duncan Williams

June 11—As of today, \$33,400 has come in toward the \$50,000 goal of the Socialist Workers campaign fund. This includes \$1,500 received just in the last week.

For the fund drive to meet its June 15 deadline, an all-out effort by campaign committees and supporters of the Pulley-Zimmermann presidential ticket is required for the final phase.

This means first of all organizing the collection of \$21,000 in outstanding pledges made at rallies held across the country this spring for the SWP candidates. Sixty percent of the money raised at these rallies comes to the national campaign fund drive.

A number of local campaign committees have registered good success in collecting pledges in the last month. Detroit has sent in nearly \$1,000, and is close to collecting all the pledges owed; Phoenix has paid its \$626 of pledges in full, as has Kansas City with \$1,380, and Seattle with \$2,539. With other campaign committees following these examples, the drive will be successful.

All supporters of the campaign, whether they've made a previous pledge or not, are invited to help out with contributions in the last few days of the drive. This spring over \$12,000 has been sent directly to the national campaign office from campaign supporters and *Militant* readers from Alaska to Puerto Rico. In some areas, such as Seattle and Salt Lake City, supporters have recently made new pledges, in addition to those paid earlier this spring.

Response to campaign

The most tangible sign of the success of the Pulley-Zimmermann election campaign, and the use of your contributions, is the response that the campaign receives from working people all over the country. In addition to the interested reception given to the SWP candidates at plant gates, on campuses, and in the news media, the national campaign office regularly receives

support in the mail. Often these are coupons clipped from campaign literature, notes with contributions, or simply requests for information.

The ballot drives in different states this spring, like the one going on now in California, have aroused wide interest and support. One worker in Kansas City, Missouri, clipped an article on the ballot drive, which appeared in the *Kansas City Star*, and mailed it in, asking "Could you inform me as to where to go to see about signing my signature to get this party on the ballot in Missouri?"

A letter from Denver, with an \$85 donation, closes with "Best of luck to you in your efforts to get the socialist ticket its right to a place on the ballot."

'Sorry can't afford more'

And a steady supporter from Chicago wrote us last month:

"I'm glad to be able to contribute the enclosed check of \$500 at this time; I'm sorry that I can't afford more, but I'm expecting an imminent layoff from work, where we make GM auto springs.

"I'm rather looking forward to the break (that is if it only lasts July and August!) and may have more time than I planned to help the Illinois campaign gather petitions in July (which I'm looking forward to)." (The Illinois petitioning begins June 21—if you would like to help, contact the Chicago campaign office at the address listed in the *Socialist Directory* on page 27.)

Most inquiries and new support to the campaign come from young people, many of whom have signed up on Young Socialists for Pulley and Zimmermann (YSPZ) cards. Here are three examples:

"I have taken all I can stand from Washington and the stupid draft idea. If we had just sent the Shah back, we would have never gotten into the mess we are in now. That is why I am leading antidraft activities at Texas Lutheran College. . . . I am looking for an alternative to the crap we have in office now."

And, "I have supported the ERA as long as it has been around. I am sick of seeing it fail and I want to get some people in office who will work for the ERA and get it

passed. I have been told that you have a woman running for Vice-president. Great—it's about time somebody at least went that far. Please send me some information about your party."

SWP only alternative

And another YSPZ supporter writes, "I am presently an upperclassman at Appalachian State Univ. in Boone, N.C., an area well familiar with exploitation. . . . I do have an intense desire to aid the cause (Pulley-Zimmermann campaign) in what form I can. . . . I am open for suggestion on fund raising, forums, and presenting the only alternative on the '80 ballot to the omnipotent cartels."

Since the beginning of the year, more than 800 people have received packets of campaign literature, *Militants* and *Young Socialists* after writing in. Some have already become active in the socialist campaign, like a young antinuclear activist from Reading, Pa., who recently sent in \$5 to join the Young Socialist Alliance and volunteered to assist the petitioning effort in California. Many others will join the campaign in the next months.

Your contributions are absolutely necessary to keep this work going.

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.

'Glad to get an alternative'

Petition campaign has many new faces

By Peter Seidman

Regina Coste is petitioning in Salinas to put the Socialist Workers Party on the California ballot. She met the SWP when she heard presidential candidate Andrew Pulley speak at an April 22 antidraft rally in San Francisco.

Coste invited George Johnson, the SWP senatorial candidate in California, to visit Salinas after she heard him speak at another antidraft rally in San José.

Placards with freshly painted slogans were drying on the lawn and inside Coste's living room when Johnson and several campaign supporters arrived at her home for a visit on June 5. Coste's antidraft coalition had organized a picket line for that afternoon.

Twenty years old, Coste has been a socialist since she was thirteen. That was when she checked out the *Communist Manifesto* from the Salinas Public Library "to see for myself."

Now she's a member of a Marxist study group of some thirty people in Salinas. In addition to joining the antidraft movement, the group ran candidates "to overthrow the school board" at Hartnell College. They also show films on campus like "Salt of the Earth," "Malcolm X," and "Nicaragua: Free Homeland or Death."

"We're trying to learn what Marx was doing and how to apply it to current events," Coste explains.

She is excited about campaigning for a labor party.

Coste plans to organize a meeting in Salinas for the socialist campaign. "Since you guys are mainly labor workers, people here will be really interested," she said. "We'll be glad to get an alternative down here."

Evelyn De Castellon is another Californian who supports the SWP's right to be on the ballot. A member of the San José Nicaragua Solidarity Committee, she explains that for Nicaraguans "there has been no good president for the United States. Roosevelt, Kennedy, Carter . . . they have all oppressed us. For Nicaragua, there has been no lesser evil, just evil."

Other new campaign supporters are helping in the petition drive. Two of them, Bill Rowe, an antidraft activist from San Diego, and Ben Davidson of the Palo Alto High School Students Against the Draft, spoke at SWP campaign rallies launching the ballot drive. Davidson announced that several members of his group will help to petition.

Debby Kennedy is one of the newest members of the Young Socialist Alliance in California. She joined the East Bay chapter shortly after her union, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 1-1978, ended its strike against the Chevron Oil Company.

"I first met the YSA on January 28," Kennedy told some 150 campaign supporters at the June 7 Oakland campaign rally. "That was the day my unit was called out on strike. From the first day members of the YSA and SWP were on hand, helping us to picket, organize solidarity rallies, and make contact with the press."

The socialists made a big impression on Kennedy. "Management tried to run us down. The supposedly neutral police department arrested us for past-due parking tickets. But the YSA offered unconditional help."

"YSA members also helped me see that I was part of a larger struggle for economic justice for women," she said. "I went to the May 10 ERA march in Chicago as a representative of my union local."

"After the march I met YSAers from many different states at a campaign open house. I was beginning to learn that the battle for economic justice has even larger dimensions."

"The interests that opposed our un-

ion during the strike are the same interests that mobilized against the women's movement, against minorities, and against workers and farmers around the world. Those interests are the capitalists. And they are represented by the Democratic and Republican parties."

The June 8 rally in San Diego was Leroy Kemp's first socialist event. A twenty-seven-year-old member of the International Association of Machinists, Kemp works at the General Dynamics Convair plant in San Diego. He decided to join the YSA after hearing Pulley and the other speakers at the rally.

"To me, the labor party idea was probably the most significant one," Kemp said. Such a party would "give the labor movement something that really applies to their struggles. Everything else really defeats what they think they are voting for, like more jobs, a better living standard. Hopefully, we'll make a labor party more responsible to our needs. We don't have the influence to create that in the Democratic and Republican parties under the present system."

The next morning, Kemp was out petitioning at San Diego State College for the SWP candidates.

...Calif. ballot drive

Continued from back page

Since 1975 he has been a supporter of the SWP.

State campaign director Sara Gates made a fund appeal that raised \$7,300.

The Los Angeles rally on Sunday afternoon was preceded by a champagne brunch. At the rally, industrial workers led the way in responding to a fund appeal by Rebecca Finch. Twenty-four campaign supporters made pledges of \$300 or more, contributing to a total collection of over \$11,000.

In San Diego, seventy people heard Pulley, Johnson, SWP congressional candidates Mike McGraw and Kathy Crowder, AFT Local 1931 President Larry Schwartz, and others.

San Diego YSA members pledged \$800 of the \$2,700 raised at the rally.

The socialist campaign got substantial media coverage during the first week of the petition drive.

'Andrew or Anderson?'

Several articles on the campaign have been printed in the *San Francisco Sun Reporter*, the city's major Black weekly. One, by business editor Charles Belly, was headlined, "Andrew or Anderson, for president—An answer for the alienated?"

Both the *San Diego Tribune* and the *Los Angeles Times* featured articles on the socialist petition drive.

In two cases, socialists were able to use the media coverage to answer attacks on their campaign.

A plate-glass window at the San José campaign headquarters was smashed sometime in the early morning of June 4. George Johnson's statement on this vandalism was reported on a Bay Area television station.

In San Diego, Rohr Industries fired local campaign director Jay Fischer, a machinist, for "possession with intent to distribute" the campaign newspaper, the *Militant*. Fisher, along with his union, the International Association of Machinists, is challenging the illegal firing.

Rohr also warned employee Kathy Crowder that she would face the same action if she campaigned on personal time in non-work areas in the plant.

In a June 6 article headlined, "Rohr worker runs sidewalk campaign," the

San Diego Tribune exposed the company's illegal harassment.

The *Tribune* wrote, "'Rohr employee runs for Congress,' Crowder said as she handed out campaign literature to co-workers during the three o'clock shift change. . . . A few yards away . . . security guards used walkie-talkies to report Crowder's activities to superiors, but they maintained their distance. It's anybody's legal right to distribute campaign literature—as long as he remains on public property."

"Police who were called in to deal with Crowder and her companions had made that clear to Rohr officials," the *Tribune* commented.

Flying squads, soup kitchen

San Diego petitioning is organized, in Kathy Crowder's words, "like an effective strike. With flying squads, a soup kitchen, and all."

Volunteers met at the campaign office at 8:30 Monday morning. There was a thorough briefing on the day's goals. Clipboards, pens, and assignments were handed out along with cups of coffee. Pulley addressed his supporters briefly. Everyone was on their way by 9:30.

Petitioners were encouraged to return to the campaign office at lunchtime to compare notes. When they did, supporters discovered that only half-way through the day, they'd already collected 1,100 of their day's goal of 1,300 signatures.

Outside Rohr Industries, Crowder, Pulley, and Johnson campaigned during a shift change. Many of her co-workers recognized Crowder. Most who were able to take the time to stop signed the petitions. A *Tribune* reporter was on hand, following up on the paper's coverage of company harassment. But Rohr gumshoes were nowhere in sight.

Hundreds of students and teachers at San Diego State College signed up. Many took the pens out of circulators' hands as soon as they heard the word "socialist." Others who signed were outraged at a news story reporting that the Democratic National Committee would spend a quarter of a million dollars to keep Anderson and other candidates off the ballot. Some Iranians expressed their solidarity with the

socialist campaign.

Pulley and a team of petitioners visited the downtown employment office in Los Angeles Tuesday morning. The mood was angry and impatient as several hundred people stood in line in front of a single open window. Many were glad to meet Pulley and interested to read the bilingual SWP campaign leaflets. More than seventy people signed petitions in less than an hour.

The goal is to distribute 250,000 campaign leaflets statewide during the drive. But San Diego SWP organizer Mark Friedman is already worried this may not be enough.

The third objective of the drive is to

get the 101,000 signatures required on each of two petitions to put both the presidential slate and the senatorial candidate on the ballot.

The Democrats and Republicans set up the undemocratic petitioning requirements to protect their monopoly in the elections. Their aim is to keep socialist and independent candidates off the ballot.

But the gains from the first few days of the ballot drive have convinced socialists here that we can turn this massive task into a big opportunity to introduce the Socialist Workers campaign to tens of thousands of Californians.

5,000 march against cutbacks



NEW YORK—Five thousand people protested cuts in public education May 29 by holding a march and rally at City Hall. Most participants were Black and Hispanic parents and their children, together with a sizable contingent of teachers.

The action was called by the Ad Hoc Committee to Save Our Schools. The gathering was addressed by Victor Gotbaum, president of District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees; Albert Shanker, head of the United Federation of Teachers; and Harry Van Arsdale of the AFL-CIO New York City Central Labor Council. Members of these and other unions carried banners in the march and rally.

By William Gottlieb
(sixth of a series)

Keynesian economic measures—that is, government deficit spending and “easy money” credit policies to stave off depressions—have failed to stop the boom-and-bust capitalist business cycle. But these measures are not entirely without effect. They have added a new feature to the business cycle—increasingly virulent inflation, especially as the economy reaches the crisis phase of the cycle. This new phenomenon of combined inflation and stagnant production has been dubbed “stagflation” or “slumpflation.”

Why has this become such a problem in the past decade, when during the 1940s, '50s, and '60s Keynesian measures seemed to work relatively well?

To understand the answer to this question we have to go back once again to that watershed of modern history, the Great Depression of the 1930s. This depression was so severe, prolonged, and destructive that it paved the way for a long period of capitalist expansion afterwards.

Choking on wealth

Keep in mind that a capitalist crisis, a depression or recession, is a crisis of *overproduction*. From the standpoint of the capitalists, the problem is that *too much* has been produced. Too much steel. Too many cars. Too much oil. Too many miles of railroad track. Too much food.

Not more than society needs, as we have noted in earlier articles. All over the world human needs for such basic products are going unmet. But more has been produced than consumers can *pay for* so that the capitalist owners of industry get a return they consider adequate.

This also means they have accumulated more capital—that is, past profits—than they can profitably invest. The capitalists are, in effect, choking on their own wealth . . . while millions of working people don't have the cash to buy the “overproduced” commodities piling up in the warehouses.

The 1930s depression *destroyed* this glut of commodities and capital. Obsolete factories were shut down as never before. Bankruptcies were epidemic.



Only the strongest enterprises were able to survive that economic holocaust. Prices fell. Wages fell even more. Thus production costs were lowered across the board. The stage was set for an *unprecedented explosion in profits*.

World profit boom

The situation looked especially bright as American capitalism surveyed the world in which it had emerged victorious over its capitalist rivals in the Second World War. Fascist tyranny had smashed unions and slashed wages across continental Europe, while American bombs had reduced industry there to rubble. A glorious opportunity for profitable investments!

The colonial countries of Asia and Latin America were also opened up for highly profitable exploitation by American capitalism. The removal of tariffs that had inhibited world trade in the 1930s contributed to the profits boom as well.

Actually, the experience of a long period of capitalist expansion after an exceptionally severe depression has been a recurring pattern over the past 150 years. The horrible depression of the late 1830s and early 1840s was followed by the huge expansion of the 1850s and '60s. The series of deep, prolonged depressions in the last decades of the nineteenth century were followed by great prosperity in the beginning of the twentieth century.

During each expansion it was claimed that capitalism had fundamentally changed, that major depressions were things of the past. So the Keynesian experience of the post-World War II period is not as unique as it might seem.

Productivity & profits

Under capitalism, however, prosperity itself always contains the seeds of new crises.

Especially in a period of boom, many new factories are built with the most modern technology. Labor productivity advances with great strides. The same number of workers, using advanced machin-

Why profit drive breeds depressions



Assembly line robot at Ford plant. Capitalists automate to cut costs, but long-term effect is to undermine profit rates.

ery, can turn out more goods. But this very process, over time, tends to *undermine profit rates* throughout the capitalist system.

As an earlier article noted, the price of a commodity is based on the labor-time necessary to produce it. Only labor creates value (and although prices are subject to many short-term fluctuations, they are ultimately determined by value).

Part of the value of a commodity carries over value created by *past labor*, the labor necessary for securing the raw materials that go into the commodity and the labor embodied in that portion of machinery, fuel, and so on used up in producing it. The capitalist has to buy these raw materials, machines, and so on from other capitalists at their value; when he sells the final product he merely gets back what he laid out for this portion of the commodity's value.

But the other part of the commodity's value is *new value* added by the labor of the workers who produce it. The capitalist's profit arises from the fact that the wages paid to workers are far less than the value their labor creates for him.

The increase in labor productivity through advanced technology means each worker produces *more* commodities. But the labor-time necessary to produce each commodity is less, and so each commodity includes *less new value*. Looking at it another way, the capitalist is investing more in machinery, which does not create profits, and less in living labor, which does.

Competition

The fact that this is what's happening is disguised several times over. At first, the capitalist who introduces new technology reaps a superprofit. He can produce each commodity more cheaply, but he can sell it at the higher price still set mainly by older technology.

Eventually, however, other capitalists are forced by competition to adopt the newer techniques (or go out of business). Prices and profits fall.

A good recent example of this process is pocket calculators, digital watches, electronic games, and other consumer products based on silicon chip microprocessors. Prices have fallen drastically, and fierce competition is driving out weaker firms.

Once a new technology has become dominant, the fact that only living labor creates value makes itself felt with a vengeance. Each capitalist in the field must now try to sell more and more commodities to make up for the lower and lower profit on each one. Over the long run, as we saw last week, the market cannot expand to keep pace.

Moreover, the capitalists are also driven by competition to try to make at least the average rate of profit on their entire mass of capital. This drive is insatiable. *The more they make, the more they must make.*

When the Business Roundtable and other capitalist mouthpieces assert that profits are too low—even though the total amount of profits is the highest

ever—they are not just trying to hoodwink the public. They are expressing a real dilemma of the capitalist system.

On the one hand, the capitalists are searching for profitable investment outlets for their ever-growing mass of accumulated capital. On the other hand, they tend to have proportionately more and more of their capital tied up in expensive machinery and plants, which don't create profits, and proportionately less in labor power, which does.

Monopoly

Monopolies are one way the capitalists try to get out of this fix. They can try to halt the profit decline by restricting competition and limiting production. But this doesn't solve the problem. If they aren't going to invest in increasing production in one field, it only means they must find *somewhere else* to invest their accumulated profits.

In a period of prolonged expansion, such as the decades after World War II, these various tendencies to undermine profits gradually built up. Sooner or later they prepare the way for new crises and massive depressions. Because just as in the 1930s, only the destruction of large amounts of capital and commodities *and the drastic lowering of living standards of the workers and farmers* can restore “healthy” profit growth for the billionaires.

Keynesian measures were able to *appear* successful only so long as it was a matter of riding a rising trend in the economy after the Great Depression. It is quite a different matter today.

As the boom turns into crisis, as credit gets tight and spending declines, the Keynesians advocated maintaining a high level of spending. The government was to run budget deficits and the central bank maintain easy credit to increase the overall level of demand.

But this “solution” ignores the nature of the crisis as a crisis of overproduction. Within the framework of capitalist economy, the cure for overproduction can only be the *reduction of production*, that is, depression. The Keynesian measures aimed at maintaining the level of demand and thus production end up making the capitalist crisis worse, because they aggravate the disease of “too much” production.

Today, the overproduction crisis has become extremely acute. Stimulation of demand cannot resolve it. To the extent the capitalists are coaxed into investing in still higher production, profits will only be further undermined. This is why the organizations of bankers and other capitalists are urging the Carter administration to balance the budget and maintain tight money policies, even as the economy plunges into a steep recession. And this is why Carter is doing so despite the possible political cost.

In this situation of capitalist overproduction and weak profit rates, expansion of credit has led to double-digit inflation. Why this happens will be explored in the next article.

Malcolm's death: author still excuses gov't role

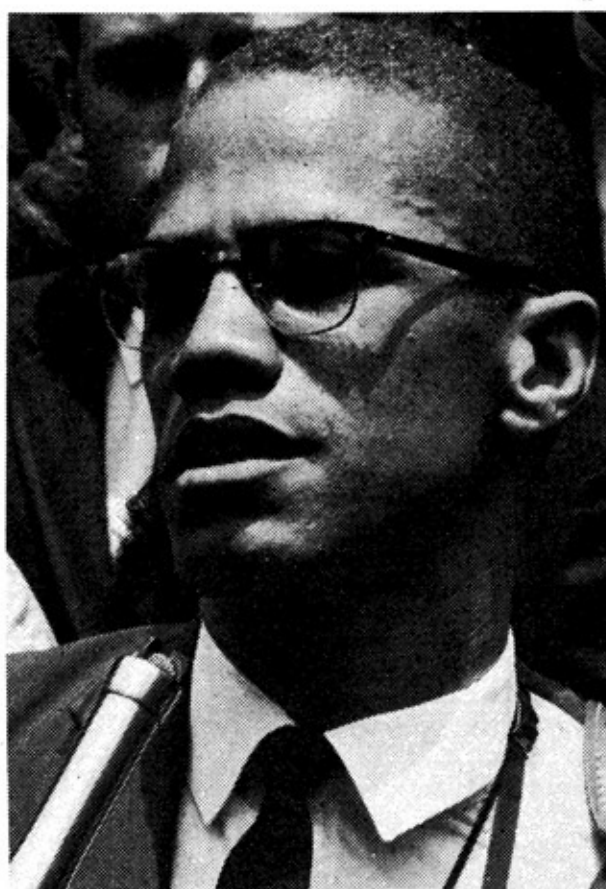
The Death and Life of Malcolm X. By Peter Goldman. Second Edition, University of Illinois Press, 1979. 470 pp., paper \$7.95.

In 1973 Harper & Row published Peter Goldman's book, *The Death and Life of Malcolm X*. Soon after, the *Militant* printed three articles by George Breitman that pointed out some of the book's defects and called it irresponsible because Goldman's endorsement of the government's version of Malcolm's assassination in 1965 tended "to lessen the chances of uncovering the whole truth" about that case. [These *Militant* articles and others by Herman Porter and Baxter Smith were reprinted in *The Assassination of Malcolm X* (Pathfinder Press, 1976).]

Now the University of Illinois Press has brought out a second edition of Goldman's book. It is the same book except that around 30 pages have been added in the form of updating material presented as "After-thoughts: 1979." It is still a harmful and misleading book.

At the trial in 1966, the government claimed that Malcolm had been murdered by three Black Muslims acting at the instigation of unnamed officials of the Nation of Islam. Three men were convicted: Talmadge Hayer, Norman Butler, and Thomas Johnson. Hayer admitted his guilt in court but denied that he belonged to the Nation; he testified that Butler and Johnson were innocent but refused to identify his fellow-killers, saying only that they were not Muslims either. Butler and Johnson, well known members of the Nation, pleaded not guilty, but it did them no good. Like Hayer, they were sentenced to life in prison.

Goldman's book supported this government version and belittled everyone who pointed out its inconsistencies and contradictions, especially those



MALCOLM X

because, he claims, they confirm the point that Goldman considers central: that Malcolm was killed by Muslims and that the government was not part of the murder conspiracy.

Along this line Goldman emphasizes that "If he [Hayer-Halim] was the tool of some police cabal, there was, he says, no sign of it then, and there remains no convincing evidence of it now." And again: "The detectives who worked on the case believed that Malcolm must have been betrayed by one or more of his security men; the conspiratorialists of the left were equally persuaded that the police had pulled their main-force detail away from the Audubon entrance to let the assassination happen. If either speculation is so, Hayer says, nobody told him." Furthermore, Hayer-Halim was the one who "lined up the guns [used in the killing]—bought them with his own money, he says, from a connection who had nothing to do with the assassination."

But just what does that show? Hayer-Halim thought he was doing the will of Allah. If, behind his back, a government agency had infiltrated the murder gang and was bending it to its own purposes, would they have told him that he was a tool of the New York police or the CIA or the FBI? So of course he wasn't told.

But the fact that he was unaware of undercover connections between these agencies and the murder conspiracy means only that he was unaware of the connections, not that they didn't exist. It does not prove that the government was as innocent as Goldman still wants us to think.

This very point was taken up by George Breitman in the *Militant* seven years ago when he presented a possible "scenario" of the murder. He pointed out that the government learned of an assassination plot against Malcolm a month before the killing. He asked how the government had learned about the plot: was it from one or more of its agents planted in the Nation of Islam or in Malcolm's group? No answer has been given to this but it was well known that both organizations had been infiltrated by police and FBI agents. Did one or more of these agents also belong to the conspiracy and encourage it to be carried out? They usually played the role of provocateur.

Role of police spies

Did the government do anything about this conspiracy except offer Malcolm police protection after deciding that he would have to reject the offer for political reasons? A New York police official later told Goldman that the rejection "took us off the hook." But aren't the police supposed to break up murder conspiracies even if their victim refuses special protection offers?

"Talmadge Hayer, it is safe to assume, was a member of the murder gang," Breitman continued in 1973. "Whether some or all of the other members

were Black Muslims, or ex-Black Muslims, we cannot say, but in this context that question is not decisive. . . .

"The CIA-BOSS [New York police] officials did not have to organize a murder gang from scratch and in their own name—they found one ready-made. This was an advantage because the participants (except for the agent or agents) wouldn't even know whose interests they were serving. (In this case, the full story may not be disclosed even if Talmadge Hayer decides to talk.) The CIA-BOSS officials did not have to give the order 'Kill Malcolm.' All they had to do was let their agents proceed as usual, and wait for the bloody outcome. They were 'off the hook' after the offer of police protection was rejected. But that particular assassination might have been stopped if they had tried to stop it, and therefore they were just as guilty of the assassination as the men who pulled the triggers." (*The Assassination of Malcolm X*, pp. 164-5.)

If Goldman is evasive on these points he is even worse on the roles of the New York police and prosecutors who railroaded two innocent men to prison for life. The police, in particular, were the heroes of Goldman's book. And now? Now he casts around for every possible alibi and rationalization he can think of.

Goldman's cover-up

For one thing, he complains, "Malcolm's own people" were partly to blame for what the police did because after the assassination one of Malcolm's aides advised his followers not to tell the police if they had seen anything or recognized anybody at the scene of the crime. This "active resistance" by Malcolm's followers combined with other circumstances to drive the police into "a rush to judgment conducted under intense heat, with minimal help, in a chaotic situation." Actually the trial did not take place until a year after the assassination, and the government spent most of that time threatening and coercing the witnesses who would not finger Butler and Johnson and coaching those who agreed to lie about their presence at the murder.

"The police," Goldman continues, "believed the case they made so painfully against Butler and Johnson; it is not necessary to accuse them of having constructed a conscious frame-up, only to suspect, in hindsight, that they got the wrong men." But if it wasn't a conscious frame-up, what was it—an unconscious frame-up? It certainly was not a case of mistaken identity; the police and prosecutors fabricated the whole case against Butler and Johnson from start to finish, deliberately hiding several witnesses and much evidence that could expose the trial as the frame-up it was.

Goldman's afterthoughts include his usual swipes at the "conspiracy theorists" (including the *Militant* and Breitman) who "still rely almost entirely on rumor and speculation" and whose "work remains skewed by a refusal to countenance the possibility that—as the real evidence compellingly suggests—Malcolm's murder was plotted and executed by Muslims for sectarian reasons."

Breitman, as we have shown, did countenance this possibility in 1973 but that didn't lead him, as it led Goldman, to giving the government a clean bill of health in the Malcolm case. Anyhow, Goldman apparently never stops to wonder why the *Militant*, with all of the many defects he accuses it of, was right about Butler and Johnson's innocence, while Goldman, free of such faults and armed with the latest insights of liberalism, was so utterly wrong about them.

—Osborne Hart

Books

who called attention to signs that the government itself, through the New York police and agencies like the CIA and FBI, was involved in the assassination.

Goldman retreats

But now it turns out, according to Goldman's afterthoughts, that the government's version was not all that accurate, because two of the three men convicted were innocent after all, as all three had contended at the trial. Goldman realized this only after Hayer, who now calls himself Mujahid Halim, began talking in prison three or four years ago about some of the things he had refused to discuss at the trial. This was after the Nation's leader, Elijah Muhammad, died in 1975 and his successor, Wallace Muhammad, brought many changes to the Nation, including a new name (World Community of Islam in the West) and a more tolerant attitude to the memory of Malcolm.

According to Hayer-Halim, he actually was a Black Muslim in 1965 but concealed this fact when arrested in order to shield the Nation of Islam. He says his fellow-killers were four Muslims from New Jersey: Ben, a low-echelon official of the Nation, and Leon, Willie, and Wilbur, rank-and-filers like himself. (He gave their full names in a special affidavit in 1977.) Hayer-Halim says the five of them thought the Nation's leaders wanted Malcolm liquidated because Malcolm had left the Nation and begun to create a new movement for Black liberation; he also says that the five never met with or received assignments or instructions from anyone else and acted entirely on their own.

This completely demolishes whatever little credibility the government version had in the first place and leaves Goldman looking pretty gullible at best. But he tries to rescue what he can with his afterthoughts.

As a liberal, he is sorry that two innocent men have been in prison for 15 years and that the government has refused to re-open the case despite Hayer-Halim's new testimony. It doesn't seem to occur to him that his own book is partly responsible for the government's ability to get away with that refusal so far.

No government role?

On the other hand, he finds satisfaction in Hayer-Halim's affidavits and interview with Goldman

Further reading

The Assassination of Malcolm X
Edited and with an introduction by Malik Miah, 190 pp., \$2.45.

Malcolm X on Afro-American History, 74 pp., \$2.25.

Two Speeches by Malcolm X, \$75.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include \$.75 for postage. Also available at offices listed on page 27.



Soap and dagger—A Texas millionaire and an ex-CIA agent are projecting a TV series on the CIA. The agency is interested, provided it has control. Writes *Chicago Tribune* columnist Gary Deeb: "In other words, don't look for any true-life tales of how the CIA has assassinated foreign leaders, propped up so-called 'friendly' dictators, spied on law-abiding citizens in this country or tried unsuccessfully to murder Cuban Premier Fidel Castro."

How big-hearted can you get?—The Kodak company, whose recent film price hikes have been in the 100 percent range, recognizes "the realities

of the current economic environment" and is granting all employees a three percent wage boost.

Suggestion—Norma Gabler, a self-appointed Texas book censor, recently went after the textbook *American Government*, for saying, "year after year, the Defense Department takes a very substantial slice of the federal budget." This, Gabler said, expressed "subtle bias" in favor of disarmament. How about, "Year after year, people insist on doing without housing, schools, and medical care to assure more bombs and battleships?"

Compensation—Cadillac sales have dropped 39 percent in the past year. The car gets but fourteen miles to the gallon. But, it should be remembered, the tank holds twenty-five gallons, so you don't have to stop any more often.

How did he get hired?—Jay Patterson, acting San Francisco registrar of voters, issued an explanation of the primary ballot and the complex procedure for voters in parties other than the two. The sheet says, "since you were politically astute enough not to be registered with the Republicans or

Democrats, we figure you are probably smart enough to ignore the pages applicable to other parties and vote only on the pages applicable to you."

Ideal candidate—J. Harold Herring, of North Carolina, may withdraw as candidate for president of the Junior Chamber of Commerce. It was disclosed that the North Carolina Jaycees had raised \$142,000 toward a burn center and then diverted it as dues for nonexistent Jaycee chapters. They agreed to repay the money—less \$50,000 for fund-raising overhead.

Women in Revolt

Milton Friedman's hoax

Conservative economist Milton Friedman has a TV series called "Free to choose." On last week's program, Friedman argued that the minimum wage and unions are not in the interests of workers, especially women, Blacks, and youth. But 'right-to-work' laws, however, are.

Friedman argued that a "high" minimum wage (such as the current astronomical \$3.20) discriminates against Blacks, women and youth. It keeps them from being hired, he claimed, because they can't compete with the more skilled worker.

Really what Friedman means to say is that the minimum wage discriminates against the employer by denying him the right to pay starvation wages.

The reason why so many Blacks, youth, and women are unemployed or low-paid is discrimination. But not by the minimum wage. It's discrimination in education, job training, hiring and firing, and pay scales.

Friedman is all for these kinds of discrimination. He thinks the bottom is right where women, Blacks, and young people belong.

He wants to dump the minimum wage not to end discrimination, but to increase exploitation. He wants women, Black, and young workers to accept the role of being a ready pool of super-exploitable labor for the employers.

Not only is Friedman out to kill the minimum wage, he'd like to take a crack at the unions.

Unions, he claims, only help their own members. Everyone else (employers and non-union members) is hurt by unions.

This is much less than a half truth. The employers are hurt by unions.

Workers in unions make \$262 dollars a week on

the average, \$41 dollars more than non-union workers.

For women, this gap is particularly important. Of the 42 million women in the U.S. work force, about one in every ten belongs to a trade union and accounts for only 27.6 percent of total union membership. Women make on the average 59 cents to every dollar earned by men. The fact that so few are organized is one of the reasons for this discrimination.

Friedman is right when he claims that unions benefit their members. Without unions, there would be hardly any gap in our wages—we would all be getting as little as the employer could get away with.

But unions help non-union members as well by pushing up the wages of all. They force non-union management to give their workers some benefits, just to keep unions out. I'd hate to imagine what our wages would be if there were no unions.

To get an inkling of this, look at the twenty southern states where 'right-to-work' laws exist. Friedman would like to see these laws extended to the entire country. Not because they benefit the worker, but because they benefit the employer.

'Right-to-work' laws, which outlaw the closed shop, sap the strength of the union, create divisions, and literally allow the employers and the government to terrorize workers. In Virginia a striker can get arrested for picketing under the 'right-to-work' law. Union activity is an excuse for employers to call the cops in to beat up workers, in the name of 'right-to-work.'

'Right-to-work' laws don't guarantee a right to a job or a living wage or better working conditions. They only grant the employer the right to ripoff the

Suzanne Haig



workers without fear, since a union that doesn't represent everyone has much less leverage.

On the average, workers in these 'right-to-work' states have the lowest standard of living.

For example. Look at Ohio, the eighth most unionized state. Average hourly earnings in manufacturing in Ohio are \$5.96, and the maximum weekly unemployment benefit is \$150.

On the other hand, North Carolina is the least unionized state in the nation (although it ranks seventh in per capita industrial production). The average wage is \$3.70; unemployment benefits are \$97; workers compensation, \$146.

It is no accident that J.P. Stevens, the second largest textile company and a large employer of women, has twenty-two of its eighty-five plants in North Carolina.

It is also no accident that of the fifteen states that have not ratified the Equal Rights Amendment, twelve are 'right-to-work' states.

Friedman claims that the reason why only a minority of workers are organized is that they don't want unions. Wrong again.

In a recent poll asking non-union workers if they would vote for a union, 40 percent of all women, 35 percent of all southern workers, and 67 percent of all minorities said they would vote for a union.

Friedman wants to pull all workers down to the level imposed on the non-unionized workers in 'right-to-work' states, if not lower. But the non-unionized workers more and more want to move in the other direction—up to at least the level of the unionized workers.

They don't buy the 'right-to-work' fraud. It's the right to a union they're fighting for!

What's Going On

NEW YORK

HOW TO FIGHT FBI HARASSMENT

Hear:
William Kunstler, civil liberties attorney
Walter Schneir, author of 'Invitation to an Inquest,' documenting Rosenberg frame-up
Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers Party
Sat., June 21, 7:30 p.m.
108 E. 16th St., 2nd floor
(off Union Square East)
(Habr  traducci n al espa ol)
Donation: \$2
Militant Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial
For more information call
(212) 533-2902

ILLINOIS CHICAGO

CHINESE BANQUET HONORING A.A. 'SAMMIE' RAYNER, JR., AND JOHN ROSSEN. Sun., June 22, 3 p.m. House of Eng—South, 53rd & Hyde Park. \$15 per person, \$25 couple. Ausp: Veterans for Peace. For more information call (312) 922-0065. For more

information on Veterans for Peace, write Box 4598, Chicago, Illinois 60680.

MARYLAND BALTIMORE

KICKOFF RALLY FOR 1980 MARYLAND SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY SENATORIAL CAMPAIGN. Hear Geoff Mirelowitz, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, member United Steelworkers Local 2609; Glenn White, SWP candidate for D.C. City Council. Sun., June 22, reception 6:30 p.m.; rally 7 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$3. Ausp: SWP Campaign. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

MICHIGAN DETROIT

HOW TO STOP THE DRAFT. Speakers: Steve Bernard, United Steelworkers Local 2659; Debbie Tarnapol, former coordinator, Student Mobilization Committee Against the Vietnam War. Sun., June 22, 7 p.m. 6404 Woodward. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

MINNESOTA IRON RANGE

RECESSION: HOW WORKING PEOPLE CAN FIGHT BACK. Lessons from Minnesota labor his-

tory. 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.

NEW JERSEY NEWARK

REVOLUTION IN THE CARIBBEAN. Speakers: Richard Ariza, staff writer for *Perspectiva Mundial*; Ernest Harsch, staff writer for *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*; Francis McMillan. Sat., June 21, 7:30 p.m. 11-A Central Ave. (near Broad St.). Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 624-3889.

**NEW YORK
LOWER MANHATTAN**
EXPLORE THE INDIGNITIES OF H-BLOCK PRISON IN NORTHERN IRELAND. A public forum.

Speakers: Daniel Berrigan, others. Sat., June 21, 1 p.m. Washington Square Church, 135 W. 4th St. For more information call (212) 381-8938 or 934-2117.

MANHATTAN

PUBLIC MEETING WITH MAYOR OF HALHOUL, MOHAMMED MILHELM, expelled from Israeli-Occupied West Bank. Sun., June 15, 7:30 p.m. Riverside Church, 490 Riverside Drive (at 122nd St.). Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: Jos  Alvarez, Dave Dellinger, Sheila Ryan, Ramsey Clark, others. For more information call (212) 662-0708.

OREGON PORTLAND

'WAR WITHOUT WINNERS.' A film on nuclear disarmament. Speaker: Terry Sorelle, American Friends Service Committee, disarmament program coordinator. Sun., June 22, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

TEXAS DALLAS

CAPITALISM IN CRISIS. Speakers: Lea Sherman, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress; Allan Epstein, member, International Association of Machinists. Sun., June 15, 7 p.m. 5442 East Grand Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Young Socialists for Pulley and Zimmermann. For more information call (214) 826-4711.

U.S. war crimes in Korea

The Korean war began in June 1950 with clashes between the troops of North Korea and those of the Syngman Rhee regime in South Korea. The Rhee regime was a creation of the U.S. government. It was imposed after U.S. troops in South Korea crushed the forces of the united Korean Republic established at the end of World War II.

The artificial division of Korea by Washington's order was the source of the Korean war.

When it became evident that Syngman Rhee's regime, which had no popular support, was being wiped out in the fighting, President Truman ordered U.S. bombers, ships, and troops into action to support him.

With rubber stamp approval from the United Nations, Washington took direct charge of the war.

U.S. propagandists claimed that the great mass of Koreans were fighting for their freedom against a "North Korean invasion" backed by Moscow.

But reporters and U.S. soldiers began to let slip the truth. The "United Nations" forces were fighting a brutal war against virtually the whole Korean people in order to keep Rhee in power, overthrow the North Korean government, and threaten the recently-victorious Chinese revolution.

In attempting to accomplish these goals, Washington devastated all of Korea. The methods used were later brought to bear on an even larger scale against Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea (Cambodia).

In the end the U.S. rulers had to settle for re-establishment of the line dividing Korea at the thirty-eighth parallel.

To this day, the U.S. government keeps 40,000 troops in South Korea to help keep Rhee's equally unpopular successors in power. This poses the constant danger that the American people will be dragged into a new war against the Korean masses.

The *Militant's* stance during the Korean War was to demand the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops and to support the Korean people's right to be free of Washington's domination.

Following are excerpts from an editorial, responding to revelations of atrocities against Korea, that appeared in the August 28, 1950 issue.

* * *

"Much of this war is alien to the American tradition and shocking to the American mind," says *Life* correspondent John Osborne in his graphic description of American atrocities [in Korea]. Certainly, decent Americans can feel only revulsion and shame for what Osborne calls the "utmost savagery" of the American armed forces against the populace of Korea.

And they must feel an equal loathing when they read the admissions by columnists like Walter Lippman and Hanson W. Baldwin about the systematic extermina-



U.S. missionaries protest support to S. Korean regime.

tion bombings of Korean civilian centers.

The American people, of course, have no responsibility for the abominations committed in their name in Korea. They were permitted no say whatsoever about going to war in Korea. Truman did not even ask leave of Congress when he ordered U.S. troops and bombers to the other side of the world to shoot down defenseless civilians and refugees, to blow up or burn alive thousands of men, women and children and leave to their survivors only a land of charred ruins.

Nor can responsibility be placed on the American boys sent against their will to Korea, where each "feels himself a stranger in a war he doesn't know much about," as AP correspondent Hal Boyle has put it. Surrounded by a hostile populace which regards them as foreign invaders, unable to "tell friend from foe," the American soldiers are reduced by fear, misery and bewilderment to acts which they would normally view with utter detestation.

Those responsible for these vile deeds are the handful of men in Washington and the top capitalist circles who have plunged this country into an undeclared war to dictate to the Korean people the kind of government and the way of life they must follow.

U.S. intervention in Korea, with its shooting and bombing of helpless civilians, is making the name of America a curse on the lips of hundreds of millions in Asia and Europe. That is a fact that the leading capitalist newspaper commentators themselves admit, but it is a fact that the American people dare not ignore.

The conscience of America must speak out against Washington's "utmost savagery" in Korea, demand an immediate end to these atrocities and brand the scoundrels in high places who are dragging the honor of the American people into the bloody mire.

Nationalist speaks

Lolita Lebrón, a Puerto Rican nationalist who was imprisoned for twenty-five years by the U.S. government, was in Denver May 31. She spoke at a rally for independence for Puerto Rico and for freeing the eleven Puerto Rican nationalists who are being tried for "terrorism."

The real terrorist is the U.S. government, Lebrón charged. It acquired Puerto Rico by violence and keeps it in colonial status through force. Puerto Ricans suffer poverty and repression as a result.

Lebrón also told the audience how impressed she was by Cuba on her recent visit there. "I am not communist," she said. "But why is it that communism and socialism have more to offer society [than capitalism]?"

A march through a barrio in northeast Denver preceded the rally, which was sponsored by the Colorado Comité Contra la Represión.

Sue Adley
Denver, Colorado

'I'm sick of lies'

Enclosed is a buck for a three-week trial sub. I am sick of the lies that the regular

newspapers throw at me.

Looking forward to your next issue.

R.L.
Providence, Rhode Island

Judge them by deeds

Perhaps someone could do a column contrasting the capabilities and social response of capitalist America to the eruption of Mt. St. Helens volcano to the Nicaraguans' work rebuilding their country, which includes the aftermath of an earthquake.

Surely many people would be interested in such an article. It would draw on immediate, practical experience to bring its lessons home. Just a thought.

Keep up the excellent work! We ordered twenty extra *Militants* with the headline "Why Miami exploded" to sell in Ogden, Utah, which has a concentrated Black community. Three of us sold twenty-seven *Militants* and eight *Perspectiva Mundials* door to door in about three hours.

The coverage was fantastic, detailed, varied, proletarian.
Sara Smith
Salt Lake City, Utah

III. prisoners on KKK & Nazis

In the May 30 'Letters' column David Tucker from Chicago wrote to the *Militant* describing the brutal conditions at Illinois Pontiac Prison. He accompanied Lee Artz, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate, on a visit to the prison.

Below are excerpts from two letters received by the Illinois SWP campaign after the visit by Artz and Tucker.

First of all I would like to express my appreciation to Mr. Lee Artz and Mr. Andrew Pulley for showing those of us incarcerated here at the Pontiac Correctional Center their care and concern by taking their time to come visit us.

It was a great inspiration to those of us confined in PCC to know that we are not forgotten by our brothers and sisters on the outside in the same struggle as ours.

Further, I would like to bring to light the open and blatant activity of the Ku Klux Klan within the Pontiac Correctional Center. These activities are getting more open every day, especially in the North Cell House Segregation Unit.

Three of the most recent activities of the KKK have been (again) the brutal beating of our Black brothers in the segregation unit. These incidents occurred on April 11, 15, and 23.

The wardens here have all been personally informed as well as have received many written complaints concerning these same illegal and racist activities but have in fact sanctioned these KKK activities by doing absolutely nothing about them.

I close this to all our brothers and sisters with all my warmest regards for them and our struggle.

We will overcome!
A prisoner

I have finally received the book that was left here on your visit to the institution. After a long verbal struggle with the warden here and the threat of a civil suit, he finally released it.

We finally got the heat cut off in this unit the day after your visit, which proved my point that it could have been cut off from the beginning. It may have been a small victory but each and every little thing that we get here must be struggled for.

We have Frank Collins here, the so-called Nazi leader that led the Skokie march. This fascist is in cell number 203 of the Protective Custody Unit. He is held for the crime of contributing to the delinquency of a minor.

Out of all the inmates in the Protective Custody Unit, the racist bastard receives special treatment. The other inmates in that unit must walk to the dining room. This pig gets his food brought to him. This pig gets a lieutenant to stand by his cell door half of the day to run errands at his disposal.

I and others realize that our complaints are futile because this system has a vested interest in this pig's welfare.

I hope you found your fact-finding visit here very informative. I will pass this copy of *The Nicaraguan Revolution* on to some more brothers who are also informed.

A prisoner

Our party is your party

THE MILITANT is the voice of the Socialist Workers Party

IF YOU AGREE with what you've read, you should join us in fighting for a world without war, racism, or exploitation—a socialist world.

JOIN THE SWP. Fill out this coupon and mail it today.

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Learning About Socialism

What causes Love Canals?

CP caves in

Raúl Castro has referred to those Cubans leaving for the land of milk 'n honey as the faint-hearted ones; those who have grown weak and tired of fighting.

We are seeing this displayed by the Communist Party USA with Gus Hall's contribution to the Op-Ed page of the *New York Times*. [See "Reading From Left to Right" in June 13 *Militant*.]

Aside from humanitarian reasons and that the CP cannot "condone the violation of traditional diplomatic norms [sic]," Hall claims the most urgent reason for Iran to release the hostages is to "avoid war."

This is a spurious argument used by many "leftists" that the oppressed are responsible for inciting the oppressor. That we should really back off, keep quiet, and the vulture will turn into a bluebird.

By this logic, if the shipyard workers here in Newport News had behaved themselves and accepted dirt-cheap wages instead of going out on strike then they would not have been viciously assaulted by Tenneco and the shock troopers of Virginia's Finest.

This is nothing but a caving in by the Communist Party under the heavy barrage of imperialist threats.

The recent so-called rescue attempt clearly shows that the hostages are not the *primary* target of Carter but rather the control of factories by workers' *shoras* (committees) and the Iranian revolution itself.

Does the CP actually believe that once the hostages are released the U.S. will quietly turn around and go back into the corner to lick its wounds? Really now!

This is not the time to cowardly cave in, nor for all sorts of sectarian babbling about tyrannical mullahs. The Iranian people need support in the face of the drive by our government to crush their revolution by cynically using the hostages as a convenient justification. There are no "ands" or "buts."

Craig McKissic

Newport News, Virginia

The 'Militant' special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help out, send your contribution to: Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

Why did the tragedy of Love Canal occur? More specifically, why did the Hooker Chemical Company dump 21,800 tons of deadly chemical wastes into that trench and then allow a school and homes to be built on it? What can put an end to such anti-social behavior on the part of giant corporations?

Questions like these were taken up over 100 years ago by the co-founder of scientific socialism, Frederick Engels. Like his collaborator Karl Marx, Engels pointed out the disastrous consequences of the capitalist system. A system in which the necessities of life are produced socially by working people, while the means of production (the plants, machinery, raw materials, railroads, and so forth) are owned privately by individuals. A system in which the goods produced by working people are the property of capitalists who invest in production solely for profit. In "The Part Played by Labor in the Transition from Ape to Man," an unfinished essay written in 1876, Engels explains how this system is responsible for Love Canal and similar disasters. "As individual capitalists are engaged in production and exchange for the sake of the immediate," he writes, "only the nearest, most immediate results can be taken into account in the first place."

The capitalist doesn't even care about whether the product is really useful, safe, long lasting, beneficial to those who use it, for "the sole incentive becomes the profit to be made on selling."

Thus the manufacturer doesn't care if his hairdryers have the cancer-causing substance asbestos in them, or if his pesticides are laced with the deadly chemical PCB, or if his multi-million-dollar nuclear plant could melt down and cause a disaster.

"As long as the individual manufacturer or merchant sells a manufactured or purchased commodity with the usual coveted profit, he is satisfied and does not concern himself with what afterwards becomes of the commodity and its purchasers."

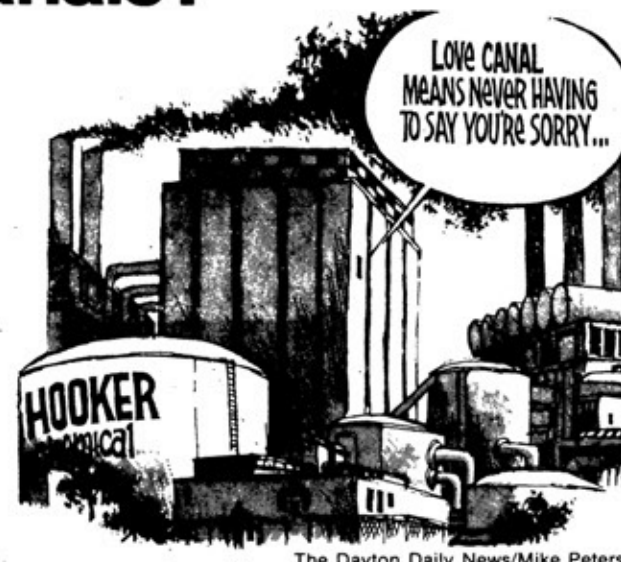
The capitalist also doesn't care about the environmental consequences.

You can't help but think of Hooker Chemical when Engels writes, "The same thing applies to the natural effects of the same actions. What cared the Spanish planters in Cuba, who burned down forests on the slopes of the mountains and obtained from the ashes sufficient fertilizer for one generation of very highly profitable coffee trees—what cared they that the heavy tropical rainfall afterwards washed away the now unprotected upper stratum of the soil, leaving behind only bare rock!"

"In relation to nature, as to society, the present mode of production is predominately concerned only about the first, the most tangible result; and then surprise is expressed that the more remote effects of actions directed to this end turn out to be of quite a different, mainly even of quite an opposite character."

Some of today's products have even more far-reaching and dire consequences than Engels's example. When Hooker was producing chemical wastes that were dumped into Love Canal, they never considered the social implications of their actions. They didn't plan ahead for what might eventually happen should people move there. They just wanted to get rid of these wastes as quickly and cheaply as possible.

This is shown by their subsequent actions. In 1953 Hooker



The Dayton Daily News/Mike Peters

sold this polluted land to the Niagara Falls Board of Education to build an elementary school on the top of the canal. In 1958 Hooker was informed that three children had been burned by exposed residues on the surface of the canal. But they did not issue a public warning of the dangers or explain to people that they should not build their homes there or have the school closed down. Why? Because they wanted to avoid the legal repercussions—the costs that would eat into their profits. So instead they engaged in lies and cover-up.

The problem is not caused by just one company. Hooker is but one of many corporations that dump chemical and radioactive wastes into canals, sewers, and other places where they can do harm to human beings.

According to the director of the National Institute of Environmental Health Sciences, of the 50,000 dump sites throughout the country, 30,000 "contain a large number and variety of chemicals which may produce cancer, disorders of the central nervous system, reproduction disorders and many other illnesses."

Nor is it just the chemical industry that causes such problems. All corporations function this way!

The problem, as Engels points out, is not lack of scientific knowledge that could prevent these catastrophes. "After the mighty advances of natural science in the present century, we are more and more placed in a position where we can learn to know, and hence to control, even the more remote natural consequences of at least our most ordinary productive activities," he wrote a century ago.

To plan and control production to prevent catastrophic effects "requires something more than mere knowledge. It requires a complete revolution in our hitherto existing mode of production, and with it of our whole contemporary social order."

Engels was talking about the need for working people to take control of the factories, mines, and railroads so that the wealth produced in society would meet our needs, not those of the profit-hungry capitalists.

We can be sure that if the government served the interests of the residents of Love Canal and all working people in this country rather than the profit needs of the owners of Hooker Chemical Company and other corporations, the safe disposal of chemical wastes, just like the safe production of these materials would be a top priority.

—Suzanne Haig

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.

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ILLINOIS: Champaign-Urbana: YSA, 284 Illini Union, Urbana. Zip: 61801. Chicago: SWP, YSA, 434 S. Wabash, Room 700. Zip: 60605. Tel: (312) 939-0737.

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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.

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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.

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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.

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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.

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WISCONSIN: Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 3901 N. 27th St. Zip: 53216. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

THE MILITANT

California socialists open huge ballot drive

By Peter Seidman

LOS ANGELES—"Help put a steel-worker on the ballot for president."

"Would you sign this petition to put Socialist Workers candidates on the ballot?"

"¿Firma para poner los candidatos socialistas en la balota electoral?"

With requests like these, supporters of the presidential slate of Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann fanned out across California June 9. Their petitioning kicked off the biggest Socialist Workers Party ballot drive in 1980.

At plant gates, unemployment offices, working-class neighborhoods, shopping centers, and campuses, the socialists get a friendly response:

"Are you the socialist petitioners? I live across the street. My wife sent me over here to sign your petition. How many are you getting?"

"Yeah, it's about time one of us ran for president."

"Socialists? The older I get, the more socialist I become."

"Sure, I'll sign that."

The first day of petitioning, at least two signers make donations on the spot—one \$5 in San Diego, another \$20 in Los Angeles. Others buy buttons and copies of the campaign newspapers, the *Militant* and *Young Socialist*. Many ask for more information and sign Young Socialists for Pulley and Zimmermann endorser cards.

The drive has gotten off to an excellent start. Socialists here are more confident than ever that they can make the ambitious goals they have set for this campaign.

Drive wins new members

The main objective of the drive is to sign up as many new members of the



Young Socialist Alliance as possible. Already five people have decided to join the YSA.

California socialists have organized classes that will outline the ideas of the Socialist Workers Party. Some of the classes planned are:

- "Anderson-Commoner, and labor political action in 1980," by SWP national campaign director Larry Siegle.

- "Labor's struggle to organize the South," by Rebecca Finch, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from North Carolina.

- "The socialist approach to taxation," by SWP national leader Fred Halstead.

- "The Carter-Reagan militarization drive," by SWP vice-presidential candidate Matilde Zimmermann.

Informal dinners have also been organized so that campaign supporters can meet and share their experiences during the petitioning.

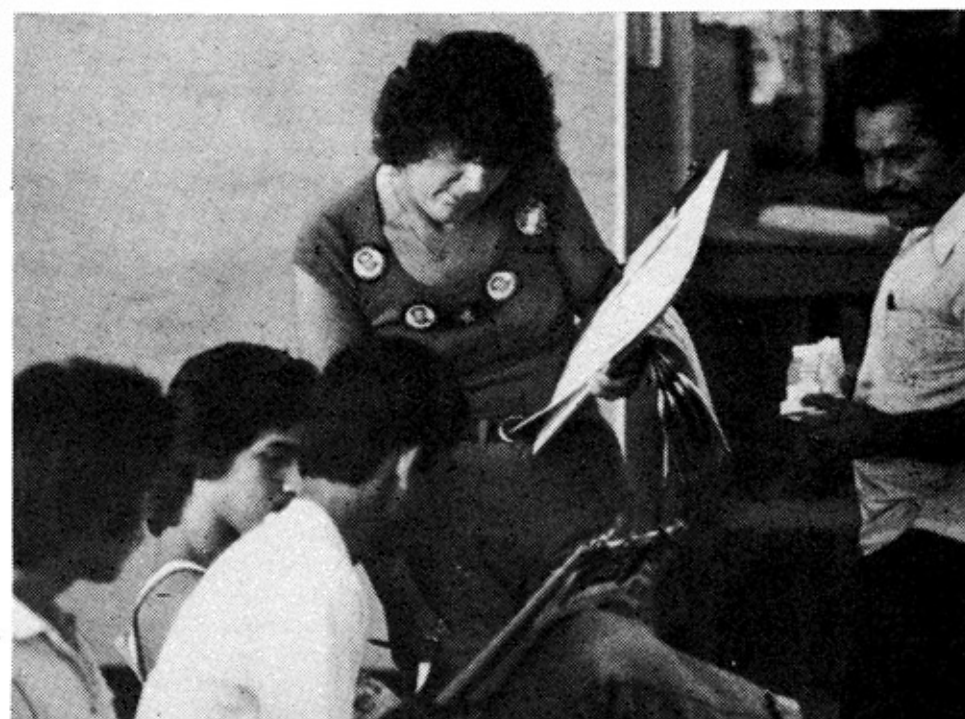
Visibility of the SWP

The second goal of the drive is to increase the visibility of the SWP in California.

Rallies in the San Francisco Bay Area, Los Angeles, and San Diego were held on June 7 and 8 to launch the drive. More than 300 people at these events heard both Andrew Pulley and California SWP senatorial candidate George Johnson. Workers from the aerospace, rail, auto, and other industries attended the rallies. Some of these campaign supporters have volunteered to help in the petition drive.

Many young people attended. Some of these youth participated in a "Stop the Draft" conference June 7 in San Francisco. There they'd met George Johnson, who was a speaker at one of the conference workshops.

At the Bay Area rally in Oakland, SWP national leader Mary-Alice Waters explained how the Socialist Workers campaign is helping to defend the



Militant photos by Peter Seidman

Top, Socialist Workers presidential candidate Andrew Pulley speaks to petitioners in San Diego, opening the first day of drive for 100,000 signatures; below, campaign supporter in Los Angeles gets good response in an unemployment center.

gains of revolutionary Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada.

Another speaker was Mel Mason. Mason was recently elected to the city council in Seaside, California. He was

an all-star college basketball player who became a member of the Black Panther party to fight against racist conditions at school and on the job.

Continued on page 22

Petitioning off to flying start

More than 14,600 people signed petitions to put Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann on the ballot during the first two days of the California petition drive.

The same number also signed for senatorial candidate George Johnson.

State law requires 101,000 signatures each on the presidential and senatorial petitions. Socialists are aiming to substantially surpass this goal.

California campaign director Sara Gates reports that these results are about 31 percent ahead of the 11,200 goal originally set for the first two days of petitioning.

Campaign committees tallied the following petition results for the presidential ticket:

Oakland/East Bay, 4,111
San Francisco, 2,803
San Diego, 2,860
Los Angeles, 2,676
San José, 1,719
Seaside, 458

Help petition!

California petitioning centers:

East Bay: 2864 Telegraph Ave., Oakland. Tel: (415) 763-3792.

Los Angeles: 2211 N. Broadway. Tel: (213) 225-3126.

San Diego: 1053 15th St., Tel: (714) 234-4630.

San Francisco: 3284 23rd St., Tel: (415) 824-1992.

San Jose: 201 N. 9th St., Tel: (408) 998-4007.

☐ Yes, I want to petition in California. Send me details.

☐ Send me more information on the Young Socialist Alliance.

☐ Yes, I can contribute \$_____ to help win a place on the ballot for the SWP.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Telephone _____

Clip and send to:
Socialist Workers Presidential Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014. Tel. (212) 675-3820.