

THE MILITANT

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

S. African troops attack Angola

Protest U.S. complicity with invasion

By Nan Bailey

South Africa has launched a major invasion of Angola.

Devastating attacks are being carried out against Angolan villages.

Hundreds of Angolans, as well as Namibian refugees and freedom fighters, have been massacred.

As the *Militant* goes to press, there are some reports the invading forces have been pushed out. Other sources indicate that South African troops still occupy portions of Angolan territory and are bombing Angolan towns.

Elisio De Figueiredo, Angolan ambassador to the United Nations, charged at a special session of the UN Security Council, "These are not merely war preparations . . . this is war."

Washington is backing the secret war against Angola, and the big business news media are helping keep it under wraps.

The Carter administration verbally criticized South Africa's attacks. But U.S. delegate William Vanden Heuvel joined French and British delegates in abstaining on a motion condemning South Africa in the Security Council June 27.

During the South African invasion of Angola in 1975, U.S. officials also formally dissociated themselves from the racist regime. But it was later admitted that every step in South Africa's attack had been coordinated with Washington.

The U.S. Senate showed where it

stood June 17—ten days after the South African invasion began. It voted for a measure that would allow the U.S. government to resume covert activities in Angola without making the actions public or requiring congressional approval.

This could include military aid to the imperialist-controlled National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), which collaborated with the 1975 South African invasion.

Such U.S. action against Angola had been banned by Congress in 1976, after the earlier South African invasion collapsed.

The U.S. government's complicity in the new invasion shows what kind of wars Carter has in mind as he moves toward reinstituting the draft.

Antidraft coalitions, unions, Black and Latino organizations, and women's rights groups should join in demanding an immediate end to U.S. support to the apartheid regime and to the war against Angola. This can be a theme of the antidraft protests at post offices July 21, the first day of draft registration.

The South African invasion began June 7. It was ostensibly directed at guerrillas of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), who are fighting for the independence of their country, Namibia, from South African rule.

In fact, as with earlier South African attacks, the racist forces carried out an

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South African forces inside Angola. Despite South African claims of withdrawal, Angola reports several battalions are still there. 'Can Africa expect no justice?' asked Angolan ambassador to United Nations.

Antidraft protests set for July 21

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'Give me your nineteen-, your twenty-year-olds. . . .'

ANDREW PULLEY:

'Fighters for Black rights need a labor party'

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OSHA under fire

On July 2, the U.S. Supreme Court authorized big business to sentence an unknown number of workers to death by leukemia. The immediate victims will come from 600,000 oil industry workers involved in the production and use of benzene.

Benzene has been known since 1928 to cause leukemia. The Supreme Court ruled against regulations to reduce benzene exposure by 90 percent. The regulations were set by the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) in 1977.

On July 8, President James Carter announced in Detroit that he was authorizing the automobile industry to increase the exposure of workers to poisonous lead and arsenic. This decision is part of the "aid plan" to save money for the companies.

The United Auto Workers union had originally fought for the standards against lead and arsenic exposure.

Both moves are major blows against the safety of working people.

Very few facts were in dispute in the Supreme Court case. The oil industry agreed that benzene causes cancer. The companies admitted that exposure restrictions could be met.

Their case rested on profits. They said OSHA could not prove that enough lives would be saved to justify the expense.

Both these rulings have been greeted with enthusiasm by businessmen and their news media mouthpieces. So far no protest of Carter's decision has come from Douglas Fraser, the member of the board of directors of Chrysler who is also president of the union representing the victims.

OSHA was established in 1970 under the pressure of the union movement on the Nixon administration.

OSHA decisions have saved lives and cost big business money. For that reason OSHA has been under severe attack from the beginning by Democrats and Republicans.

In 1978 the Supreme Court ruled that companies could block OSHA inspectors, requiring them to get search warrants.

In 1979, Congress exempted employers with ten or fewer workers from OSHA supervision. This eliminated 1.5 million workplaces and 5 million workers.

A bill is now before the Senate to weaken OSHA even more. Four of the five sponsors are

politicians elected as "friends of labor": Democrats Harrison Williams of New Jersey, Frank Church of Idaho, and Alan Cranston of California, and Republican Richard Schweiker of Pennsylvania.

The labor movement is fighting against their bill, but union officials are still supporting Cranston, for example, for reelection.

This is possible only because labor does not put forward its own candidates.

OSHA regulations face another test before the Supreme Court in the fall. Republic Steel is suing OSHA concerning coke-oven emission standards. There is indisputable proof of the toll of disease and death suffered by steelworkers around the coke ovens. Republic and the rest of the steel industry have already broken federal laws in refusing to meet the OSHA standards.

This case will be a test for the United Steelworkers. Will the union continue to fight for coke-oven safety or will it throw away more workers' lives to save the companies some money?

The fight for workplace safety is a big political question. It is also a war that will see combat plant by plant, union by union. Supreme Court decisions and bills in Congress carry all the weight of a piece of paper when unions establish the rights of their members to refuse unsafe jobs.

The workers movement has to fight for safety and health, not company profits. Legal rights in courts and Congress will be won out of these fights, as they were in the past.

The treachery of the Democratic and Republican politicians provides fresh evidence that labor's rights can be protected and advanced in government only labor's own political instrument—a labor party.

The price for the cold-blooded decisions by Carter and the Supreme Court will be paid in human lives.

But the ruling class will also pay a price. These blows help shatter the myth that the capitalist government represents the interests of working people.

CIA in Jamaica

On July 2 Louis Wolf, an editor of the *Covert Action Information Bulletin*, held a news conference in the Jamaican capital of Kingston. He revealed that the U.S. embassy is plotting to bring down the government of

Prime Minister Michael Manley.

Manley's crimes in Washington's eyes are that he has made some concessions to the desire of Jamaicans to control their own resources (especially bauxite) and that he has established friendly diplomatic ties with the revolutionary government in Cuba. (See background story, page 7.)

Wolf named fifteen embassy officials as CIA personnel working on the destabilization project. Two days later the home of Richard Kinsman, one of the fifteen, was reportedly sprayed with bullets. No one was hurt.

The incident is being used to whip up sympathy for legal measures to bar exposures of the CIA.

The gushing about Kinsman's safety is being used to obscure the fact that a completely illegal operation to bring down an elected government has been brought to light.

The project Kinsman is said to have been working on has already resulted in more than 250 deaths this year. Heavily armed gangs linked to the right-wing Jamaican Labor Party—Manley's CIA-funded opponents—have been spreading terror through the slums of Jamaica.

In 1976 the CIA's efforts in Jamaica included three attempts to assassinate Manley.

The legislation that the government wants would make it illegal to reveal such practices to the American people on the grounds that the lives of some assassins might be placed in jeopardy.

If the CIA wants to guarantee the safety of its operatives in Jamaica, it has a simple recourse. Keep its bloody hands off the island.

The real reason for the proposed law is that Washington knows most Americans are opposed to such operations. They oppose the many attempts to kill Cuban Prime Minister Fidel Castro, the assassination of Congolese nationalist leader Patrice Lumumba in 1961, the CIA-organized coup that brought the shah of Iran back to power in 1953, and similar bloody crimes.

And they know from bitter experience that today's "covert action" can become tomorrow's Vietnam.

The CIA agents who are responsible for the deaths of hundreds in Jamaica and untold thousands of others around the world don't deserve an ounce of our sympathy.

We have the right to know the full truth about the CIA and its activities. Open all the files!

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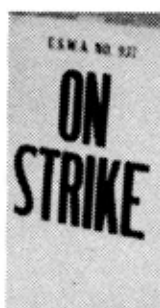


Cuban immigrants ordered deported

The U.S. government says it has no evidence, but it labels them "felons." Page 10.

Libertarians: Freedom (for the rich)

Libertarian Party candidate Edward Clark stresses individual rights. What's the real meaning of his campaign slogan? Page 16.



39,000 copper workers on strike

Members of the USWA and twenty-five other unions in the southwestern copper industry are demanding decent pay and safer conditions. Page 18.

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... S. African troops attack Angola

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indiscriminate slaughter of Angolan villagers as punishment for Angola's support to the Namibian people. In addition to trying to intimidate SWAPO forces, the South African regime hopes to weaken and, if possible, topple Angola's independent government.

De Figueiredo told the UN Security Council the results of the first bloody raids:

"They have killed over 370 men, women, and children," he said. "They have wounded more than 255 people, many of whom will succumb to their injuries. They have destroyed vehicles, bridges, houses. They have killed much of the livestock, depriving the remaining populace of its food and livelihood. They have mined roads and fields."

Contrary to the South African regime's original contention that its invasion lasted only one week, De Figueiredo disclosed that the South African occupation and military attacks have continued. He detailed the positions of South African forces in his country as of June 23, weeks after the South African regime claims to have pulled out:

"... since June 23, 1980, a motorized infantry brigade of the racist South African Armed Forces has been on Angolan territory. There is one infantry battalion in Eval, one infantry battalion in Mongua, and another one north of Kwamato.

"Then there are two battalions of paratroopers, one on the road between Ankuaka and N'Giva, and one on the road north of Neone.

"One company of armoured cars are northeast of Ongo, and one motorized infantry battalion supported by 32 artillery units of 155 mm, mortars, and AML-90 armoured cars are in the area of Xifufua."

Angolan leaders report that more than 600 civilians and dozens of Angolan soldiers have now been killed in addition to hundreds of SWAPO guerrillas.

De Figueiredo maintained that Angola would not tolerate further South African war moves. "... Africa has ample room for those who wish to live with us on terms of mutual respect," he said.

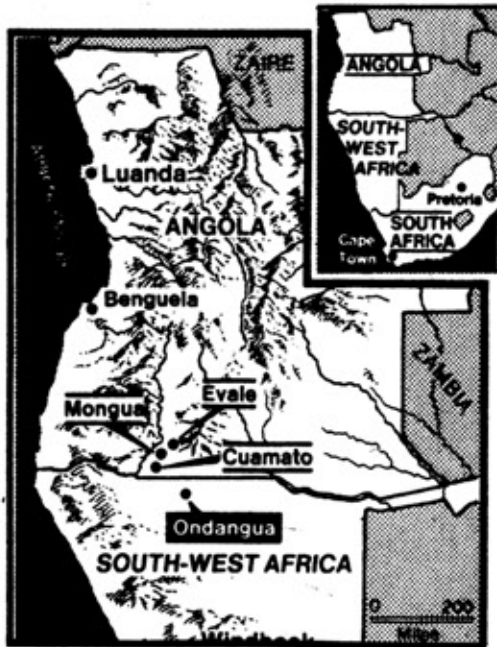
"But our vast continent has no room for settler colonialists or overseas rule. We will not tolerate minority rule and apartheid. And we will fight imperialist attempts to destabilize our region."

Appeal for sanctions

De Figueiredo appealed to the UN to take action, including economic sanctions against the South African regime.

"Fifty people held hostage has plunged the Western world into a reassessment of policy, into a hunt for military bases, into boycotts, into sanctions, into military action. But thousands of people massacred by racists merit no response other than sanctimonious resolutions without teeth?"

"... can Africa expect no justice?" he asked.



Victims of 1979 S. African raid into Angola

De Figueiredo placed the blame for the South African terror where it belongs: "For every child killed in Soweto, in Namibia, in Angola, responsibility must be accepted by those Western friends of Pretoria who help the apartheid regime to survive. ...

"If something is not done, and soon, about the explosive situation in southern Africa, the whole world will see and hear and smell blood—the rebellion against exploitation, the rejection of imperialism, the denial of colonialism, and the destruction of apartheid."

"It will be the masses of the Third World, Mr. President, and not only Africa, who will fight for justice, equality, and security against imperialist intervention."

This warning was echoed by Cuba's UN ambassador Raúl Roa Kouri: "Angola is not alone in its heroic resistance to the invader. By its side are the

peoples of Africa, the Non-Aligned countries and the progressive forces of the socialist camp." Thousands of Cuban soldiers are helping safeguard Angola's independence.

Robert Mugabe, prime minister of newly independent Zimbabwe, joined other African leaders in condemning the South African invasion of Angola. At the annual meeting of the Organization of African Unity, he called for "a definite concrete program" of aid, including military assistance, for Black freedom fighters in South Africa.

Mugabe also announced that the South African mission in Salisbury, the Zimbabwean capital, would be closed. He charged that South Africa was using the mission to recruit a force of Rhodesian whites to be used to "destabilize" Black governments in the

region, including that of Zimbabwe.

South Africa's invasion of Angola came in the midst of deepening resistance within South Africa to apartheid.

Since mid-April, large-scale student protests have swept the country, involving more than 100,000 in school boycotts and rallies.

The student protests have coincided with the outbreak of several major Black strikes involving thousands of teachers, textile workers, auto workers, rubber workers, and others.

South African authorities have responded with a major crackdown within the country, arresting key Black figures and killing and jailing demonstrators.

Substantial gains have reportedly been won by some Black strikers, however, and the upsurge is apparently continuing despite the news blackout by U.S. media.

INS guilty in Arizona desert tragedy

By Betsy McDonald and Josefina Otero

PHOENIX—"This is not the first time that something like this has happened," said Lupe Sánchez, director of the Arizona Farm Workers Union, about the July 6 tragedy that took the lives of a group of Salvadorans who were cast off by smugglers as they were trying to enter this country through the Arizona desert.

At least thirteen people died in the baking heat of Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument, a 516-square-mile area of southern Arizona, where there is no water and where the temperature reaches 110 degrees—and higher in spots.

The average person walking under these conditions loses one-half gallon of body water per hour.

Fourteen people survived the ordeal. Others are still unaccounted for, including two small children.

According to the Salvadoran survivors, the smugglers (coyotes) had

charged their victims \$1,200 apiece for adults and \$1,000 for children.

The four coyotes robbed them and left them without any provisions for survival. The people in the party had not even been told in advance that they would be traveling through desert, so they were completely unprepared for what they had to face.

As their suffering worsened, some of the women were set upon and raped.

The coyote Mateo Terriado, when picked up early by border patrol agents, said repeatedly that there were no other people in the desert.

Authorities say two smugglers are in custody, and a third escaped. The rapist is said to have perished in the desert.

"The coyotes should be jailed, and the key thrown away," Lupe Sánchez told the *Militant*. "But they are not the root of the problem."

Sánchez holds the U.S. immigration department indirectly responsible for the deaths, because immigration restrictions put undocumented workers at

the mercy of the coyotes. He called for doing away with the border patrol.

The national monument is a much-used entry point for undocumented workers coming into this country via Mexico. Sánchez says that the Arizona farm workers will press Gov. Bruce Babbitt to provide water towers in the desert.

"The government provides water tanks for animals lost in the desert," he said. "They should do this for people."

In Ajo, where the survivors were brought, the people have opened their hearts to the twelve Salvadorans.

Most of the people of Ajo are Papago Indians and Chicanos. Unemployment is high, and the copper mines of Phelps Dodge, the main employer, are closed owing to a strike.

But sixty people turned out to a meeting July 7 and contributed \$228 to send telegrams to the Arizona Congressional Delegation urging the U.S. State Department to grant survivors political immunity.

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July 21 antidraft actions planned across U.S.

By Suzanne Haig

As the Republican national convention prepares to put on a glittering stage show under the theme, "Detroit enjoys a good party," some 17,000 draft-age youth in that city—mostly Black, mostly unemployed—will not be having such a good time.

They are among the four million nineteen- and twenty-year-olds around the country who are being forced to register for the draft at post offices starting July 21.

But in Detroit, as in other major cities, picket lines, marches, rallies, forums, and leafleting are being organized to protest registration and the draft.

On July 21, the Detroit Committee Against Registration and the Draft has called a picket line at the main post office at 1401 Fort Street. All thirty-eight post offices in the city will be leafleted during the two weeks of registration.

On July 21 and July 31, CARD will hold conferences at 7 p.m. at Wayne State University Student Center to discuss organizing against the draft. For more information call (313) 577-3416.

Two antidraft actions are scheduled in New York City. The first is a picket line on July 21, 9:30 a.m., at the Gen-

eral Post Office, Eighth Avenue and Thirty-second Street, sponsored by the Coalition Against Conscription. For more information call (212) 673-1808.

The second action, also on July 21, is a rally at Seventy-second Street and Broadway, 6-9 p.m. The rally is called by the Mobilization Against the Draft and is endorsed by American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees District Council 37; United Auto Workers District 65; and others. Speakers include: Kevin Lynch, UAW District 65; Rev. William Sloan Coffin; Barry Lynn, National CARD; Dave McReynolds, War Resisters League; and others. For more information call (212) 260-2002.

In Washington, D.C., CARD has called a rally and march from the main post office to Lafayette Park across from the White House on July 19, the Saturday before registration.

Maryland CARD has called for a picket line from 4 to 6:30 p.m. at the main post office on Fayette Street in Baltimore. Leafleting throughout the week and draft counseling will also take place. For more information call

(301) 366-7200.

The CARD chapter in Morgantown, West Virginia, has called a picket line at the post office on Saturday, July 19, at noon. In the evening, CARD will hold a forum "The fight against the draft." Speakers include: Marianne McMullen, Morgantown CARD; Joe Ryan, founding member of Vietnam Vets Against the War and member of the Socialist Workers Party; Stuart Fisk, coordinator, Morgantown CARD. The documentary film about the Vietnam War, "Hearts and Minds," will be shown.

The forum will be held at the Outdoor Inn, Mountain Lair, West Virginia University, at 7:30 p.m.

In Pittsburgh, picket lines and leafleting will take place the last two weeks of July at several post offices. On August 1, an antidraft teach-in will occur at the University of Pittsburgh at 8 p.m.

In San Francisco, the California Campus Antidraft Coalition has called a July 19 march from Rincon Annex Post Office at 11 a.m. to the federal building for a rally.

The Mobilization Against the Draft has called a picket line July 21 at noon at the post office on Seventh and Mission streets. For more information call (415) 861-2982.

Los Angeles CARD has called a march and rally on July 21. Assembly is noon at the federal building, 300 North Los Angeles Street. Demonstrators will march to the main post office. For more information call (213) 831-9085.

The Oregon Committee Against the Draft has called for a march and rally on July 19. Assembly is at Portland University Park Blocks, followed by a march to Waterfall Park. Picketing and leafleting will occur July 21 at the post office.

The Twin Cities Stop the Draft Committee of Minneapolis and St. Paul will hold a community antidraft meeting July 20 and picket lines on July 21 at as many area post offices as possible.

Chicago CARD has called a picket line for the Loop Post Office, Dearborn and Adams streets, at noon on July 21. For more information call (312) 939-0737.

Week of expanded Militant sales set

By Peter Seidman

Come July 21, post offices are going to be busy places—and very political ones, too.

What with protests against the draft on the streets outside, lines of youth compelled to register, and postal workers compelled to sign them up—the post offices are going to be hotbeds of discussion about the draft, U.S. foreign policy, and all the other issues that face working people.

Members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance plan to be right in the middle of those discussions.

That's why socialists set the week of July 21-27 for stepped-up sales of the *Militant* and its Spanish-language sister publication *Perspectiva Mundial*,

with post offices as a special sales target.

In addition, the Young Socialist Alliance is bringing out the August-September issue of the *Young Socialist* a week early so it can be sold during this week of discussions and protests around the draft.

Sales at factory gates and in plants, where the draft is sure to be a prime topic of discussion, will also be a priority.

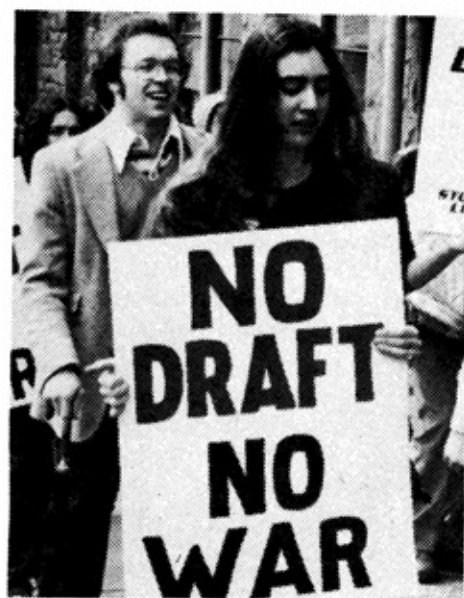
Supporters of Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann, the SWP presidential ticket, will also be distributing Pulley's brochure on "How to Stop the Draft."

They'll be pasting up thousands of "No Draft, No War" posters that are available from the SWP campaign office.

This sales week also coincides with a number of meetings in solidarity with the July 19, 1979, overthrow of the Somoza dictatorship in Nicaragua, and the traditional July 26 celebrations of the Cuban revolution.

For many areas where socialists will be petitioning to get candidates on the ballot, the socialists' antidraft platform should spur highly successful weeks of signature-gathering.

To help circulate the special antidraft week issues of the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and the *Young Socialist*, contact the socialists in your area (see directory on page 23). Or to order a bundle, contact the Militant Circulation Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014. Telephone (212) 929-3486.



Vietnam stops exile invasion of Kampuchea

By David Frankel

Military action by Vietnamese forces in Kampuchea has given the Thai military dictatorship a sobering jolt. The Bangkok regime has been forced to call an indefinite halt to its infiltration of Pol Pot's counterrevolutionary forces into Kampuchea.

U.S. officials claim that two companies of Vietnamese infantry, backed up by larger forces on the Kampuchean side of the border, crossed into Thailand June 23 and briefly occupied one of the areas where about 8,600 people had entered Kampuchea as part of a "repatriation" program undertaken by the Thai government.

But as *Washington Post* correspondent John Burgess admitted in a June 28 article, "Reporters covering the first repatriations found that many of the returning refugees were men of military age. Some admitted openly they would rejoin the fight against the Vietnamese."

In this case, "repatriation" is a code word for the invasion of an imperialist-backed exile army.

Washington, Peking, and Bangkok all recognize the deposed regime of Pol Pot as the legal government of Kampuchea, despite its genocidal record. Backed by these governments, Khmer Rouge guerrilla forces loyal to Pol Pot continue to operate in Kampuchea.

Thai military forces have stood by while organized Khmer Rouge units numbering in the thousands have crossed Thai territory.

Burgess points out that "foreign journalists repeatedly have seen armed Khmer Rouge in Thai territory. Khmer Rouge wounded routinely have been

sent across the border for treatment in Thai hospitals.

"Recently, I visited a point on the Thai side of the border where relief agencies turn rice over to Khmer Rouge porters. . . .

"Official Thai sources have on occasion admitted to giving the Khmer Rouge ammunition. Last winter, foreign journalists watched as a column of Khmer Rouge women porters crossed a stream into Thailand and returned laden with ammunition."

The military confrontation between Vietnamese and Thai forces was accompanied by artillery duels and the shooting down of a Thai spotter plane and a helicopter gunship. U.S. officials reacted with typical hypocrisy.

Secretary of State Edmund Muskie expressed outrage over the violation of "Thai territorial integrity," and warned June 27 that "it may represent an expansion of the conflict and exacerbates the suffering of the Thai and Khmer peoples."

Muskie's concern for the Thai and Khmer peoples would ring more genuine if Washington was not so busy trying to keep the war in Indochina perking along. While expressing concern for the people in the area, Muskie promised the Thai regime new military aid as a sign of Washington's support. And on July 1, the White House announced that some arms and ammunition would be airlifted to Thailand.

One "Western diplomat" in Peking indicated that the Chinese government is being pressured to do more than denounce Vietnam and funnel arms to Pol Pot.

"The Chinese have to follow

through," the June 26 *Los Angeles Times* quoted him as saying, "not so much because what they do will hurt the Vietnamese, but because the Thais and other Southeast Asians expect something."

He added a warning to the Peking leaders, who look to Washington for more aid and trade: "China's credibility and its reputation of a dependable

ally will be shattered if it stands by idly."

However, the Chinese regime is still licking its wounds from the last time it tried to make itself useful to imperialism by invading Vietnam. In the meantime, the Vietnamese have put Washington and its Thai clients on notice that the game they are playing in Kampuchea is not without risks.

From *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*

THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY IN POWER

by P'eng Shu-tse

Introduction by Ch'en Pi-lan

P'eng Shu-tse is a historic figure in the Chinese Communist movement. In 1920 he joined the first Communist organization in China, formed in Shanghai. He was a leader of the Chinese Communist Party during the revolution of 1925-27. He knew and worked with all of the CCP's leading figures.

The Chinese Communist Party in Power includes articles and interviews on the CCP's victory over Chiang Kai-shek, the Great Leap Forward, the Cultural Revolution, and the collapse of the Mao faction.

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What strategy to fight the draft

Should mov't call for refusal to register?

By Paul Mailhot

Draft registration—the first step toward military conscription—will begin for nineteen and twenty year olds on July 21. In the course of building protests at post offices around the country, antidraft activists are discussing and debating what strategy is needed to fight back.

Some, like the National Resistance Committee (led by the Libertarian Party), Young Workers Liberation League, and the U.S. Students Association, are calling upon young people to refuse to register. A few groups are planning civil disobedience actions to disrupt registration.

Those who refuse to register will be wholly within their rights. Defending them against persecution must be a priority for the antidraft movement.

The sentiment expressed in the slogan "Hell no, we won't go, we won't die for Texaco!" is exactly the rebellious spirit the antidraft movement should seek to organize, broaden, and mobilize.

It is understandable that some opponents of the draft, frustrated by the passage of registration despite earlier protests, are searching for means of stopping it dead on July 21.

But a strategy centering on demands for individual refusal to register will not accomplish this.

Narrow outlook

In an article focusing on such efforts, the *Guardian*, a radical weekly, wrote that "the cutting edge of the political struggle during the two-week registration period in July will be the confrontation between draft registration refusers and the Carter administration."

This description of the next stage in the battle against Washington's war plans is wrong. It takes an extremely narrow view of the forces that can be brought into the antidraft fight. It is consequently pessimistic and apocalyptic. In a confrontation between the Carter administration and those presently willing to refuse to register, the outcome would be gloomy indeed.

The initial two weeks of draft registration must be seen as opening a long-term fight, and not as the final showdown for the antidraft movement.

Antiwar, antidraft sentiment runs deep among working people in this country. The draft wasn't pushed through because this sentiment has been turned around, but because the Carter administration is determined to move step-by-step to grind down this sentiment and prepare for new Vietnams.

Restoration of the draft is central to this policy, which also includes escalation of military spending and the nuclear arms race, moves to legitimize chemical and biological warfare, and attempts to win public support for the use of troops—volunteers, special forces, advisors, or GIs—in places where Washington's domination is challenged.

The rulers are trying to convince working people such moves are needed because the Soviet Union, Afghanistan, Iran, Cuba, Arab oil producers, and other foreigners are threatening "our" interests.

Exposing these lies and persistently educating on Washington's real war aims is a central task in the antidraft fight.

Win support of millions

The challenge ahead is to mobilize the antiwar, antidraft sentiment of millions into a movement with the power to block Washington's war



Mass demonstration against Vietnam War, April 24, 1971. Antidraft forces need to organize and mobilize power of millions to stop new moves toward conscription and war.

plans. We should use the post office actions to begin reaching out to these millions.

A strategy of trying to convince individuals not to sign up, or of trying to physically prevent registration, cuts across building such a powerful movement.

Instead of centering our fire on the government and demanding that it stop its moves toward conscription and war, it would mean focusing our demands on the nineteen and twenty year olds. The entire burden of stopping Washington's war drive would be placed on their shoulders.

Instead of presenting the antidraft movement to youth as a force that wants to lift the shadow of conscription from their lives, it would demand that they be prepared to violate the law and risk imprisonment.

The situation would be different, of course, if a broad antidraft, antiwar movement already existed, with unions

and civil rights groups organizing their members to massively refuse to register and rallying a strong defense for anyone the government tries to victimize. That is not what exists today.

It is certain that thousands of youth, perhaps even tens or hundreds of thousands, will decide not to register. It is equally certain that millions will.

Appeal to registrants

The stance of the antidraft movement should be to defend the rights of all not to be registered or drafted, and to seek to draw all—whether they decide to register or not—into massive protests.

The upcoming post office rallies and picket lines can attract large numbers. In particular, they can appeal to those young people who are registering to join the protest and show their opposition to being dragged into Washington's military.

"No draft, no way!", "No U.S. intervention!", "Why die for Exxon?", and "Abolish registration!" are the type of slogans that are needed. They can reach out to the potential victims of the draft, to their families and friends, and to all who are threatened by militarization and war.

Demanding that youth not register will inevitably cut these demonstrations off from many who sign up. They aren't gung ho about risking their lives to kill working people around the world for big business. In large part they are opposed to war, but feel compelled to register under the government's threats of fines and jail terms.

Logic of civil disobedience

Civil disobedience actions at post offices to stop registration have a logic that tends to turn registrants and antidraft protesters against each other.

Thus some have equated these actions with union picket lines, talking of preventing "scabs" from registering. This stance treats the victims of oppression like the criminals.

Few antidraft activists endorse this view, but such arrogant postures are built into the strategy that hinges everything on whether individuals refuse to register during two weeks in July and August.

Union power

It is especially crucial that the antidraft movement reach out to the unions, which can be instrumental in providing the muscle needed to defeat the militarists.

A key area where the movement can be expanded today is among postal workers, who are being ordered to carry out the onerous task of registering youth.

They see their livelihoods threatened by cutbacks in jobs and safety conditions while the government pours ever more dollars into the war budget. And they don't like the idea of themselves or their children being sent to fight an unjust war.

But civil-disobedience actions which seem aimed at making their work more difficult, and which treat them as the enemy, can turn them against the movement.

Appealing to postal workers to join rallies and picket lines will prove far more effective. It can set them against the government's war policy—which most are already suspicious of—rather than against the antidraft protesters.

The unions, the draft-age youth, Black and Latino groups, the foes of nuclear power, the women's movement, and the opponents of social service cutbacks—these are forces that, united in massive actions, can stymie the government's drive to militarize society and prepare war.

The demonstrations at post offices on July 21 are only the beginning!

NO DRAFT!

Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president, are campaigning against Washington's plans to send American youth to fight and die in new Vietnams. Join us!

- ☐ Add my name to the list of Young Socialists for Pulley and Zimmermann.
- ☐ Send me Andrew Pulley's brochure, "How to Stop the Draft"—4¢ a copy.
- ☐ Send me the campaign poster "No Draft"—3¢ a copy.
- ☐ Send me the YSPZ antidraft button

(depicted on draft brochure at right)—50¢ each. 35¢ each for 10 or more.

- ☐ Send me a one-year subscription to the *Young Socialist* newspaper. Enclosed is \$1.
- ☐ I want to join the Young Socialist Alliance.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____
Zip _____ Phone _____
Union/School/Org. _____

Send to: Socialist Workers Presidential Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

Join the YSA!

HOW
TO
STOP
THE
DRAFT

BY
ANDREW PULLEY
1980 PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY



Paul Mailhot is National Organizational Secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Gearing up for new Vietnams

What Rapid Deployment Force is all about

By Fred Feldman

The Soviet Union was about to invade the Persian Gulf, seize the oil, and place the West at its mercy.

In case you had any doubt about this, newspapers and magazines sought to remove it by publishing maps. Those thick black arrows showing "traditional" invasion routes into Iran from Afghanistan and Soviet Central Asia were supposed to strike terror into our hearts.

One of Carter's answers was the Rapid Deployment Force. Its creation was proclaimed as a response to the Soviet action. It had been under discussion before, claimed the February 4 *Newsweek*, but the "invasion of Afghanistan" made the RDF, "definitively, a key element in U.S. defense planning for the 1980s."

The Rapid Deployment Force, which was formally established March 1, is supposed to be a 150,000-troop crack outfit that can rush anywhere in the world to counter "Soviet aggression."

Of course, the definition of "Soviet aggression" is very flexible. The Soviet leaders don't have to actually do anything . . . or even think about doing anything.

'Pre-emptive strategy'

Lt. Gen. Paul Kelley, the marine who heads the RDF, made a valuable clarification when he announced June 18 that the force could "be ordered to launch a pre-emptive strike to seize threatened ground before the Russians got there."

He told *New York Times* correspondent Richard Halloran that "the 'pre-emptive strategy' had evolved in the first one hundred days of the new deployment force."

But Halloran raised a note of uncertainty. "Would an American President defy precedent to make such a decision before an enemy attack?"

Perhaps Halloran has been lost in transcendental meditation while the twentieth century was marching on, but I think the people of Vietnam, the Dominican Republic, Lebanon, Cuba, Haiti, and quite a few other countries could come up with a quick answer to that one.

The Rapid Deployment Force propaganda has been fakery from the start. It wasn't a product of the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. It didn't start on March 1. And it has nothing to do with resisting "Soviet aggression."

The Rapid Deployment Force put a new label on military forces that have long had no other purpose but rapid intervention in countries where the interests of U.S. big business are threatened.

Even in its present form, the formation of the RDF long preceded the Soviet role in Afghanistan.

On June 22, 1979—seven months before Soviet troops entered Afghanistan—the U.S. Army announced it was drafting plans for a "quick-strike force."

Asked on June 21 if this was a "concept or a concrete decision," Gen. Bernard Rogers replied, "The army intends to do this."



Rapid Deployment: U.S. soldiers guard captured Dominican freedom fighters in May 1965. Washington sent 35,000 troops to Dominican Republic when military dictatorship was toppled. President Johnson kept troops there until uprising was crushed and repressive regime was installed. Propaganda about Rapid Deployment Force is used to prepare similar move in El Salvador or elsewhere.

The purpose of the force at the time was not described in terms of "Soviet aggression." It was the "answer to President Carter's desire for a specialized force for conflicts in the Third World."

It was to be "a 'go-anywhere' force rather than one specifically targeted on the Persian Gulf or any other area."

Real target

In the preceding months, popular unrest and a rebellion in the army had toppled a pro-Washington dictator in Afghanistan; the Iranian masses had driven the shah from his peacock throne; and Pol Pot's regime in Kampuchea had been toppled.

As General Rogers made this announcement, a mass insurrection was routing the dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza in Nicaragua.

Washington had backed these tyrants against the people of their countries, sometimes for decades. And Carter administration officials could hardly hide their chagrin that the antiwar mood in this country made it impossible to pour in U.S. troops to keep the dictators in power.

That is what the public relations ballyhoo about Soviet aggression, including the rechristening of

parts of the U.S. armed forces as a "Rapid Deployment Force," is all about.

It is aimed at pounding the American people into accepting higher military appropriations, the restoration of the draft, and the inevitability of new and even more bloody Vietnams.

The immediate target isn't Moscow, even though Washington is infuriated by the aid that the revolutionary government in Cuba and liberation forces in Indochina, Southern Africa, and elsewhere have obtained from Moscow.

The Soviet Union also has nuclear missiles, however, and the U.S. rulers are not anxious to assure their own destruction by launching a nuclear conflict.

It's the people of El Salvador, Guatemala, Iran, and other countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America who are the intended victims of "rapid deployment"—working people like ourselves who are trying to create a just society.

It is not nonexistent "Soviet aggression" but the U.S. government's drive toward war in defense of corporate profits that threatens the rights and well-being of the American people, and the people of the rest of the world.

House OKs production of nerve gas horrors

By George Kaplan

In the closing days of June the House of Representatives voted to end an eleven-year official moratorium on production of lethal chemical weapons.

A \$4.8 billion appropriation for military construction was endorsed, including funds for building a nerve gas munitions plant at Pine Bluff Arsenal in Arkansas.

The legislation is expected to breeze through the Senate. White House officials promise that Carter will approve it. "Either we're going to build the facility or we're going to say we're chicken and we aren't going to produce," said one Carter aide.

Washington never really got out of the chemical warfare business, but the bill signals a new step-up in poison production. Here are examples, cited by Kenneth Bacon in the June 26 *Wall Street Journal*, of what the Pentagon has in its "inventory":

"Modern nerve agents come in vapor or liquid form. Absorbed by breathing or through the skin, they attack the nervous system. Symptoms are heavy

sweating, hazy vision, uncontrollable vomiting and defecation, convulsions, paralysis and respiratory failure. Death comes fast, sometimes within minutes.

"Nerve gas tends to dissipate quickly in the atmosphere while the liquid agent, which rains down in oily drops, can remain lethal for weeks."

An eager U.S. Army officer is quoted: "They're a hell of an effective weapon on the battlefield."

Of course, it is all being blamed on the Russians, and on the Vietnamese.

For months the media have been filled with lurid stories of Soviet troops using nerve gas against Afghan rebels. For two years, charges were circulated that Vietnamese troops in Laos were using chemical weapons against remnants of mercenary armies organized by the Central Intelligence Agency.

The moral of these fables was explicit: "We" must "catch up" with the Russians in producing and using these weapons of torture and death.

One thing all these assertions about

the Soviet Union and Vietnam lacked was a shred of proof.

As Peter Niesewand wrote in the April 27 *Manchester Guardian Weekly*:

"There is so far no evidence to prove that the Soviet army has been using poison gas in Afghanistan. . . . Although Afghan rebel groups based [in Pakistan] continue to make such claims, they are not borne out by eyewitness accounts, by the evidence of injuries, nor by the reports of senior doctors in the main government hospitals here, where the worst cases are supposed to have been treated."

According to Niesewand, even "officials of . . . Western nations say flatly that they do not believe there is any truth in the allegations."

The case against Vietnam is just as flimsy.

Pentagon officials have also been warning that Americans might become victims of a chemical "first strike" by the Russians.

These hideous weapons have already been unleashed against Americans—

not by the Russians but by the U.S. government.

The official ban on further production was imposed in the face of protests by farmers, ranchers, and many other people. The protests followed the killing of 7,000 sheep by leaking poison gas near the army's testing ground in Dugway, Utah.

We can be sure that the production and storage of more of these weapons is preparing the way for new Love Canals or worse.

Thousands of American GIs became victims of a chemical first strike when U.S. planes poured tons of deadly Agent Orange on the Vietnamese countryside. Years later these vets are dying, suffering crippling disabilities, and fathering deformed children.

The House vote reveals the purpose of the propaganda build-up around alleged Soviet and Vietnamese use of chemical weapons: to provide Congress and Carter with a pretext for pressing the production and use of weapons that fill most Americans with horror and moral revulsion.

Condemns racist abuses

Court rules that INS violated Haitians' rights

By Harry Ring

Thousands of Haitians who fled persecution in their homeland won a victory when a federal judge ruled July 2 that the United States government had deliberately and systematically violated the rights of Haitians seeking political asylum here.

He ordered that no further action be taken against Haitians until the government presented him with an acceptable plan for reconsidering their asylum claims. The judge harshly denounced the racist disregard for the legal and human rights of the nearly 30,000 Black Haitians who have sought refuge here.

The ruling by Judge James L. King upheld the charges made in a class action suit filed by the Haitian Refugee Center in Miami.

In a telephone interview, Rev. Gerard Jean-Juste, director of the center, hailed Judge King's ruling as a "tremendous vindication." He said, "The judge confirmed that the treatment of Haitians was deliberate. The Immigration agents had orders to harass us; to deport us as fast as they could."

"We Haitians," he declared, "are

very happy to see that at least on one level we won the battle."

Jean-Juste's estimate is confirmed by what has already been published of Judge King's ruling.

"Haitians who came to the United States seeking freedom and justice," he wrote, "did not find it." Instead, they were confronted by an Immigration and Naturalization Service determined to deport them, "irrespective of the merits of their asylum claims."

He dismissed as "unworthy of belief" government data asserting that Haitians sent back to the Duvalier dictatorship would not be harmed.

Instead, the judge found valid the evidence presented by the Haitian plaintiffs. Witnesses testified about the torture and murder of people who return.

His courtroom, Judge King wrote, had become "populated by the ghosts of individual Haitians—including those who have been returned from the United States—who have been beaten, tortured and left to die in Haitian prisons."

King declared that until the INS can assure that those it would return will

not be subject to such treatment, "the brutality and bloodletting is its responsibility."

It was clear, the judge added, that racial discrimination was at the root of the government treatment of Haitians.

"The plaintiffs," he noted, "are part of the first substantial flight of Black refugees from a repressive regime to this country."

"One central issue," he emphasized was overriding. "The plaintiffs charged that they faced a transparent discrimination program designed to deport Haitian nationals and no one else. The uncontroverted evidence proves their claim."

He found that the treatment of the Haitians violated the U.S. Constitution, international law, and the very statutes of the Immigration Service. "It must stop," he declared.

A Justice Department attorney said it would be some time before the government decides if it will appeal Judge King's decision.

This conforms with the June 20 decision of President Carter granting six months' "parole" to Haitian and Cuban emigres who arrived here prior

to that date. A six-month period would leave the issue undecided until after the elections.

Rev. Jean-Juste expressed his thanks to the attorneys in the case and to the many national and local groups that had supported the fight. Since the suit was initiated, major union and Black organizations have joined the demand for political asylum for Haitians.

"Although we have won a battle in court," Jean-Juste said, "we must yet see if this administration will grant us justice."

Victory will not come, he insisted, "until we put an end to the injustices against Black refugees" by winning full political asylum, the right to legal residence, and, for those who desire it, citizenship.

The Haitian leader added that final victory will come when the United States government "stops supporting one family—one gang—against a nation."

"With this," he said, "the Haitian people will regain their pride, their human and civil rights."

Why CIA seeks to oust Jamaica gov't

The following is the first of a series of articles on countries in the Caribbean. The revolutionary victories in Nicaragua and Grenada have inspired struggles for democratic rights, freedom from domination by foreign corporations, and a decent living standard for the workers and small farmers throughout the region. And in the Caribbean in particular, Cuba stands as a powerful model for how these struggles can achieve victory.

By Fred Feldman

"Manley Will Have to Pay the Piper"; "Manley's Day of Judgment."

Headlines like these from *Newsweek* have appeared in many American newspapers and news magazines. They have set the tone for an open campaign by Washington, backed by U.S. and Canadian big business, to oust Jamaican Prime Minister Michael Manley—whether through elections scheduled for the fall or by other means.

On July 2 in the Jamaican capital of Kingston, Louis Wolf, co-editor of the *Covert Action Information Bulletin*, revealed what he said were the names of fifteen CIA officers in the U.S. embassy. Their assignment: bring Manley down.

Why the rush to get Manley?

Jamaica has economic, political, and strategic importance for U.S. imperialism. With 2.3 million



MICHAEL MANLEY

example of the Cuban revolution, only ninety miles away, has had a growing impact. And now the revolution in Black, English-speaking Grenada is being felt also.

Under the pressure of the struggle of Jamaicans for improvements in their lives, the government of Michael Manley, elected in 1972, moved to the left. Although Manley's People's National Party is a capitalist party, he proclaimed a program of "democratic socialism."

The government nationalized the electricity company and took a majority interest in much of the bauxite industry. It imposed new taxes on the take of the aluminum companies. And Manley tried to forge an OPEC-type cartel to protect the interests of bauxite-producing countries on the world market.

Land was purchased from some of the big landlords and agribusiness combines and distributed to poor farmers.

Some of the money from taxes on the aluminum companies was used to finance jobs and other benefits for working people.

These actions alone might have been enough to put Manley on Washington's hit list. But he combined them with the establishment of friendly diplomatic relations with Cuba. Hundreds of Cuban construction workers, teachers, and doctors came to Jamaica.

Their selfless behavior undoubtedly won even more people to the idea that Jamaica should follow the Cuban road.

In 1976 the Central Intelligence Agency got orders to arrange for Manley's ouster.

According to Ernest Volkman and John Cummings, writing in the December 1977 issue of *Penthouse* magazine, the CIA funneled money to the rightist Jamaica Labour Party. Its heavily armed gangs went into action, aiming to assure the election of JLP candidate Edward Seaga, a businessman. Three attempts to assassinate Manley were planned by the CIA but none succeeded.

On December 15, 1976, Manley won re-election by

an overwhelming majority. Once re-elected, he tried to shift to the right. He accepted an austerity program dictated by the International Monetary Fund as the price of loans. (Unfair terms of trade with the big capitalist countries and soaring oil prices are making countries like Jamaica ever more dependent on loans from the big imperialist banks.)

The results were skyrocketing food prices, cuts in real wages, and an unemployment rate of 30 percent (50 percent for youth).

Manley tried to fend off dissent through repression and by purging the left wing of the PNP, headed by D.K. Duncan.

It didn't work. Strikes and uprisings spread through the island, and Manley pulled back. He announced in early 1979 that he would ignore a ceiling in wages demanded by the IMF. After the IMF cut off all loans to Jamaica in December, he rejected its terms outright.

A resurgence of left-wing forces in Manley's PNP led Washington to doubt that he could block the masses' growing desire to take the road of Cuba and Grenada. Washington had remained hostile anyway, since Manley had retained friendly relations with Cuba and had supported many of Castro's positions at the September 1979 Non-aligned conference in Havana.

On October 6, 1979, Manley joined the governments of Guyana, Grenada, and St. Lucia in denouncing Carter's formation of a military task force for the Caribbean as a threat to any government in the region that asserted its independence.

In retaliation, U.S. food aid was cut off.

By January 23, according to Long Island *Newsday* correspondent Les Payne, State Department officials were letting it be known that Washington had "decided that, if Prime Minister Michael Manley does not moderate his pro-Cuba policies within six months, the United States will use all available influence and pressure to drive him from office."

Now the CIA is again heavily backing JLP candidate Seaga in the upcoming elections. And the JLP's gangs are relying on violence to make their point.

There have been hundreds of apparently political murders in Jamaica since Manley's February announcement that elections would be held. Almost all have been in the slums where Manley has his main support. The well-to-do areas that are regarded as solid for the JLP have gone untouched.

The pattern of targeting the poor and oppressed has fueled the belief that the CIA was behind a recent fire at a home for the elderly in Kingston. One hundred and thirty people died. Telephone lines were cut so that the fire department couldn't be called, and four people were seen fleeing the building as the fire started.

The U.S. media are unanimous in predicting Manley's defeat in the fall elections, but his most knowledgeable foes seem far from confident.

Thirty-one officers and soldiers of the Jamaica Defense Force and one civilian have been arrested since June 22 as part of a planned military coup.

Revolution in the Caribbean

people, 90 percent of them Black, it is the largest English-speaking Caribbean Island.

As the world's second largest bauxite producer, it provides much of the bauxite used to make aluminum in the United States and Canada. Jamaica is a major sugar exporter as well.

While U.S. and Canadian aluminum barons pull in huge profits from Jamaica, its people face deepening poverty. The "average" yearly income is \$810. This statistic is misleading because the 60 percent of the population at the bottom gets only 24 percent of the national income—the same percentage skimmed off by the five percent at the top. Half the adult population is illiterate.

Foreign banks and corporations have had it easy in Jamaica for a long time. Independence from Britain in 1962 did little to alter imperialist domination of the island. But things are changing.

Jamaicans, like most people in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, are being hit especially hard by the capitalist economic crisis.

But Jamaicans have been fighting back. The

Salvadoran junta extends state of siege

By Fred Murphy

MANAGUA—The military/Christian Democratic junta that rules El Salvador declared July 3 that the state of siege the country has been under since March is being extended for another thirty days. The announcement confirmed the U.S.-backed junta's intention to pursue the fresh wave of repression unleashed after the two-day general strike that shut down virtually all commerce, industry, transport, and government activity June 24 and 25.

The campus of the National University in San Salvador, the capital, was invaded by army, police, and National Guard troops on June 26 during a news conference being held on the campus by the Revolutionary Coordinating Committee of the Masses (CRM). While CRM leaders and journalists managed to escape, some thirty students were killed during the attack and hundreds were wounded or captured. In subsequent days the military occupiers thoroughly ransacked the campus.

According to university rector Félix Antonio Ulloa, troops had destroyed or carried off "laboratory equipment, typewriters, mimeographs, sound equipment, vehicles, and many other valuable items of university property" (Associated Press, July 3).

The National University functioned under military intervention from 1972 until the end of last year. University authorities say they will refuse to resume classes until all military personnel have been unconditionally withdrawn from the campus.

The other main center of higher education in El Salvador, José Simeón Cañas Central American University, has also come under attack. On June 29, two powerful bombs partially destroyed the university's printing plant. The right-wing paramilitary White Warriors Union (UGB) claimed credit for the blasts, saying "subversive propaganda was printed there." The UGB

is widely believed to be a cover for elements of the armed forces themselves.

El Independiente, the only daily newspaper that has refused to submit to government pressures for self-censorship, had its printing plant destroyed by dynamite and incendiary bombs on June 27. Two days later, publisher Jorge Pinto narrowly escaped death in a machine-gun attack outside the paper's editorial offices. *El Independiente* has continued to circulate by contracting other printing facilities.

Meanwhile, killings and kidnappings by right-wing paramilitary groups and the armed forces (which in most instances are indistinguishable from each other) go on unabated. An average of thirty corpses a day are abandoned on Salvadoran roadsides, often mutilated beyond recognition.

The overwhelming success of the CRM-called general strike clearly demonstrated the absence of mass support for the ruling junta. At the same time, it showed the strength, organization, and discipline of the mass revolutionary organizations. The regime rests only on naked military force backed up by arms and advisers from the United States, Israel, and Venezuela.

Washington's preparations for stepping up its intervention in El Salvador have coincided with ominous statements by top Salvadoran officials against alleged Nicaraguan aid to the armed revolutionary groups in El Salvador.

Sandinista leaders here have categorically denied such charges. They stress that the most important solidarity Nicaraguans can offer the Salvadoran people is to consolidate and strengthen the Nicaraguan revolution. They have also made clear, however, that Nicaragua will not stand idly by if El Salvador should become the victim of imperialist military aggression.

In recent days, Nicaraguan citizens traveling through El Salvador have been subjected to lengthy searches and detentions by Salvadoran police and customs officials.

On July 2, the Nicaraguan Council of State heard testimony by Ricardo Jara, a Nicaraguan held for several days without food or water in a jail in the Salvadoran port of La Unión. He was tortured repeatedly by police, who accused him of being a military trainer and demanded to know where he had hidden weapons. Jara was finally released, following several inquiries into his whereabouts by the Nicaraguan embassy in San Salvador. He later learned that the bodies of eight of his cellmates had been discovered on the outskirts of La Unión shortly before his release.

After hearing Jara's account and reports of the situation in El Salvador, the Council of State adopted a statement strongly condemning the repression in El Salvador (see box).

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

Nicaragua condemns repression

To: the people of Nicaragua and the world.

From: the Council of State of the Republic of Nicaragua.

Considering:

That the sister people of El Salvador are undergoing repression that is reaching genocidal levels;

That every day innumerable bodies of workers, intellectuals, aged persons, women, and children are discovered in cities, towns, and villages of El Salvador;

That students are murdered and the university campuses are violated, as occurred on June 26;

That all those who try to cross the border in a desperate attempt to save their lives are indiscriminately attacked, something that has even affected Nicaraguan citizens;

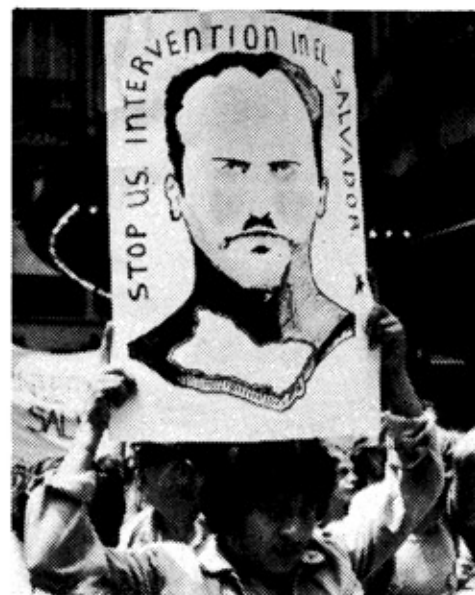
That representatives of the Catholic Church who have accompanied the Salvadoran people in their struggle are also persecuted;

That this genocide against an entire people that is struggling for its liberation is directed by those who seek to maintain the privileges and interests of a few to the detriment of the majority;

The Council of State resolves:

1. To condemn the repression unleashed against the sister people of El Salvador;

2. To condemn as well any attempt at intervention that would go counter to the self-determination of the Salvadoran people.



Perspectiva Mundial/Aníbal Yáñez

U.S. events celebrate Nicaraguan revolution

By Barry Fatland

NEW YORK—July 19 marks the first anniversary of the Nicaraguan people's victory over the Somoza dictatorship.

Casa Nicaragua, with the help of a number of political and religious organizations, is sponsoring a three-day festival in New York City July 18-20 to celebrate the victory and to aid reconstruction of the new Nicaragua.

Friday, July 18, several films on Nicaragua will be shown at 7:30 p.m. at P.S. 41 on Eleventh Street at Sixth Avenue. Donation is three dollars.

Saturday, July 19 at 9 p.m. there will be a salsa dance with live bands at Casa de las Americas, which is operated by long-time supporters of the Cuban revolution. Casa de las Americas is at 104 West Fourteenth Street at Sixth Avenue. Donation is four dollars.

On Sunday, July 20, there will be an all-day Nicaragua Victory Picnic and cultural celebration from noon until 7 p.m. on the Great Lawn in Central Park, Eighty-first Street near the Delacorte Theater.

Casa Nicaragua has organized a variety of entertainment and activities including sack and wheelbarrow races, softball games, and live music with Gaudencio Thiago de Mello and others.

One of the highlights of Sunday's activities will be a raffle for a free round-trip ticket to Nicaragua. The raffle tickets are a bargain at six for five dollars. For information on how to get them, call Casa Nicaragua at (212) 255-7156. All proceeds from the days' activities are to aid reconstruction efforts.

By Tony Prince

SAN ANTONIO—A June 21 "Rally for Nicaraguan Assistance" drew more than 100 people here. Organized by the local group, Nicaraguan Assistance, the event got out the word on and raised money for the reconstruction of Nicaragua.

Halima Lopez, Nicaraguan consul in Houston, was the keynote speaker. She described the literacy campaign now underway in Nicaragua, explaining it will cost millions, with an average cost of \$14 per volunteer in the cities and \$146 in the countryside.

In closing Lopez told the audience, "You are welcome to come to Nicaragua to see how your money is being spent."

Other speakers included Rick Green, vice-president of Organizations United for Eastside Development, San Antonio's major Black group, and Juan Gloria, editor of *El Visitante*, a Spanish-language Catholic newspaper.

Joan Suarez, international represen-

tative of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, said, "There is no chance for the growth of a free trade union movement without a population that can read and write. The literacy crusade is where democracy has a chance to grow."

Mario Cantú, representing the U.S. Committee in Solidarity with the People of Mexico, wrapped up the rally.

The meeting was chaired by Nicaraguan Assistance chairperson Warren Schubert, who announced that the group is planning another public rally on July 19, anniversary of the Sandinista triumph in Nicaragua.

July 19 activities

Other activities to celebrate the Nicaraguan revolution are planned for the following cities:

ATLANTA

Sat., July 19. Slide show: Nicaragua—The Challenge of Revolution. Speakers: Walter Reeves, Atlanta Committee Against Registration and the Draft; Alfredo Duarte, Atlanta Committee to End the Blockade; representative from Feminist Women's Health Center; Mohammed Oliver, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from Alabama. 6:30 p.m., dinner. 8 p.m., program. Pathfinder Bookstore, 509 Peachtree St. Donation: \$5, dinner and program. \$2, program only. Sponsored by Georgia Socialist Workers Party Campaign Committee. For more information, (404) 872-7229.

CAMDEN, N.J.

Sat., July 19. Speakers: Jack Hart, education director for United Electrical Workers District 1, others. Cultural event to follow. 5 p.m. Trinity Lutheran Church, 523 Stevens St. Donation: \$5. Sponsored by Comité del Istmo Centroamericano Nicaraguense, Coalition for a Free Nicaragua, Puerto Rican Socialist Party, Puerto Rican Independent Alliance. For more information in Philadelphia, (215) 844-0142 or in Camden, (609) 541-2945.

DETROIT

Sat., July 19. Slide presentation by Robert Buchta on aftermath of Somoza's rule. Speakers: Bill O'Brien, recently returned from El Salvador; Robert Lopez, international representative of United Auto Workers; taped greetings from FSLN. 7:30 p.m. Holy Redeemer Auditorium, Vernor and Junction. Sponsored by Detroit Area Nicaragua Solidarity Committee. For more information, (313) 579-2100.

SAN FRANCISCO

Thurs., July 17. Nicaraguan Women. 7 p.m. Women's Building, 3543 18th St.

Fri., July 18. Political and Cultural Celebration. 7 p.m. Mission Cultural Center 2868 Mission St.

Sat., July 19. March and Concert. Assemble 10:30 a.m. at 24th St. and Mission St. March to Dolores Park, 18th St. and Dolores St.

Sat., July 19. Dance Fiesta. 9 p.m. Mission Cultural Center, 2868 Mission St. All activities sponsored by Casa Nicaragua. For more information, (415) 824-9728.

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'Perspectiva Mundial' is the Spanish-language sister publication of the 'Militant.' Like the 'Militant,' it carries regular coverage of the labor movement and the struggles for social justice in the United States and abroad, plus news and analysis with a special emphasis on the workers movement in Latin America.

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How Israeli arms industry backs dictators

By David Frankel

El Salvador is on the brink of civil war. About 2,000 people have been killed by the ruling junta in just the first five months of 1980, and the level of confrontation is increasing.

In their struggle against the hated dictatorship ruling their country, the Salvadoran workers and peasants also face Washington, which is channeling arms, money, and advisers to the rightist regime. And they face a third enemy as well—the Zionist state of Israel.

According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), Israeli weapons accounted for 81 percent of the armaments bought by the Salvadoran dictatorship between 1972 and 1977.

Among the arms imports were eighteen Ouragan fighter-bombers, French-made planes that were rebuilt for the Salvadoran regime by Israel Aircraft Industries (IAI). Also sent to El Salvador were twenty-five IAI Arava transport planes, which can be used in counterinsurgency warfare.

Ta'as, or Israel Military Industries, has provided the regime with large quantities of its Uzi submachine gun and its Galil assault rifle.

'All battle-tested'

Israel is now the fifth-largest arms exporter in the capitalist world, after the U.S., France, Britain, and West Germany.

Israeli arms exports reached \$450 million in 1978, or 20 percent of all Israeli industrial exports. In 1979, the figure was up to \$600 million, and it is continuing to rise rapidly.

"Israel has a great advantage in selling, since all its systems are battle-tested," one Israeli executive proudly told *Business Week* last year.

Israel's four largest industrial enterprises are armaments companies—IAI, Ta'as, Soltam, and Tadiran. In all, "around 40,000 people, or 14 per cent of Israel's industrial workforce is directly engaged in the manufacture of armaments," reports Tim Coone in the May 9 issue of the British weekly *New Statesman*.

Almost all Israeli arms exports are sold to semicolonial countries and to South Africa. The right-wing dictatorships in Chile and Guatemala, and the Somoza regime in Nicaragua, have been some of the Israeli arms industry's best customers.

Supplied Somoza

In 1978, Washington felt it necessary to cut off arms sales to Somoza, and Israeli suppliers took up the slack. SIPRI estimates that 98 percent of the arms bought by Somoza during his savage battle against the Nicaraguan people were provided by Israeli exporters.

At one point, after an Israeli cargo vessel was seen unloading a consignment of heavy mortars, machine guns,

helicopters, and a small patrol boat, Prime Minister Menachem Begin pledged to halt further sales to Somoza. But the arms shipments were later resumed, and did not stop until July 2, 1979—only two weeks before Somoza was finally overthrown.

Israeli arms shipments to Somoza included fourteen Arava airplanes, which were used to drop 500-pound bombs on Managua, León, Matagalpa, and other Nicaraguan cities. The anger of the Nicaraguan people was explained inside Israel as an expression of "anti-Semitism."

Thus, following the defeat of the first Sandinista offensive against Somoza, the December 25, 1978, issue of the Israeli daily *Davar*—a publication associated with the supposedly liberal Zionists of the Israeli Labor Party—published an article by A. Ben-David titled "Growing Anti-Semitism in Nicaragua."

"The main opposition paper in Nicaragua, *La Prensa*, publishes daily articles full of hate toward Israel and the Jews," Ben-David complained. "The Sandinista propaganda success has managed to turn the Chamorro family" and "the entire Nicaraguan opposition, into anti-Semites," he declared.

A reply to Ben-David by Yoram Peri appeared in the January 21, 1979, issue of *Davar*. Peri noted that in Zimbabwe as well, where many of the weapons used by the racist white-majority regime were of Israeli origin, there was widespread hatred of Israel.

The problem, Peri explained, is that "Israel has become the supplier of dirty weapons for the whole world." What is needed, he said, "is a change of policy."

South Africa connection

However, no such change of policy is about to take place. The example of the continuing close collaboration between the Zionist regime and the apartheid state of South Africa gives an indication of the Israeli course.

Military links between Israel and South Africa are not limited to arms sales, although these have been substantial—well over \$500 million so far.

South Africa manufactures the Uzi submachine gun under license from Israel, it has bought long-range gunboats armed with Gabriel sea-to-sea missiles from IAI, and Tadiran has supplied South Africa with sophisticated electronic communications and detection components for use against guerrillas. There have also been repeated reports of aircraft sales.

Former chief of Israeli intelligence, Gen. Meir Amit, the current head of Koor Industries (which owns Soltam and half of Tadiran), admitted in July 1975, while on a visit to Cape Town, that senior Israeli military officers regularly lecture South African officers on Israeli military and counterinsurgency techniques. Some South African



Salvadoran masses slaughtered by government troops during funeral ceremony of Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero. Israeli weapons accounted for 81 percent of armaments bought by Salvadoran dictatorship between 1972 and 1977.

forces have been given specialized training in Israel.

But the most ominous aspect of the military link between Israel and South Africa is their cooperation in the development of nuclear weapons.

In September 1979, one of the Pentagon's Vela detection satellites recorded an intense double pulse of light—the distinctive signature of a nuclear blast—in the vast region south of Africa where the Indian and Atlantic oceans meet.

One can imagine Washington's reaction if a semicolonial government had been responsible for such a nuclear test—especially if it was a Black African or Arab government.

But the U.S. government, which began its nuclear cooperation with Pretoria in 1953, and which renewed its nuclear pact with South Africa in 1974, knew very well who was responsible.

For more than a month after the nuclear blast, Washington kept the news secret. But the story eventually leaked out, with the first reports suggesting that only South Africa was involved in the nuclear test.

U.S. officials reacted by trying to cast doubt on the existence of any nuclear blast. A panel of nine top U.S. scientists was appointed to look into the incident, but officials claim that the panel's findings are "technically indeterminate," and that the investigation is "ongoing, but inconclusive."

White House cover-up

Dr. Luis Alvarez of the University of California at Berkeley, one of the nine scientists on the panel, was interviewed as part of an investigation into the affair by Robert Manning and Stephen Talbot. They published their findings in the June issue of *The Middle East*, a business and news magazine published in London.

Alvarez told Manning and Talbot that the panel had met three times, and had issued reports each time, but that none had been released by the White House.

"We may sanitize the latest report by the scientists and release it to the public," said one White House aide, but so far not even a "sanitized" version has appeared.

Washington's difficulties are understandable. Initially, the Carter administration suggested that the Vela satellite might have malfunctioned. But this explanation was soon discarded, since the Vela has correctly spotted

nuclear blasts forty-one out of forty-one times. Moreover, the satellite sensors, both of which registered the double flash, had been tested just two weeks before the event.

The White House then fell back on the argument that the detectors may have been triggered by some natural phenomenon, such as solar flares, cosmic rays, or superlightning bolts. But all of these explanations have been ruled out by the panel.

The only nonnuclear explanation remaining is that a small meteorite or piece of space debris caused a double glint of sunlight—a possibility that even administration officials admit is "very low."

Meanwhile, on February 21, CBS News reported that the blast "was an Israeli nuclear test conducted with the help and cooperation of the South African Government."

Israeli censorship

Israeli journalist Dan Raviv, who had filed the report from Rome in order to avoid Israeli censorship, had his press credentials lifted by the Israeli government on February 24—an act that went a long way toward establishing the accuracy of Raviv's report.

Manning and Talbot report that "although the Begin Government will not discuss the subject, South African officials acknowledge privately that they have received help in their nuclear research from Israeli scientists. But even the South Africans are reticent about reports that South Africa provides uranium to Israel in return for Israel's technical aid."

Israeli nuclear researcher Col. Amos Horev, arriving in Johannesburg last November, confirmed that he was still involved in the Israeli nuclear program. The colonel was apparently not visiting South Africa as part of a vacation.

Apologists for Zionism argue that the Israeli state's close relationship with South Africa; its support to the brutal right-wing dictatorships in Nicaragua, Chile, and El Salvador; and its opposition to anti-imperialist movements all over the world are simply a matter of government policy that could be changed without altering the basic character of the Zionist state.

But more and more, the oppressed and exploited of the world are seeing Israel as an integral part of the imperialist order that they are struggling to overthrow.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor



South African demonstrators routed by armed forces. Israeli officers regularly lecture South African racists on military and counterinsurgency techniques.

'We have no real proof'

INS orders 18 Cubans deported as felons

By Harry Ring

After a secret hearing at the federal penitentiary in Talladega, Alabama, a U.S. immigration judge ordered eighteen Cuban emigres deported as felons. U.S. officials claim they committed murder and other crimes in Cuba before coming here on the Mariel boat-lift.

The June 24 verdict against the eighteen was the first round in a series of hearings that will be held for more than 1,000 of the Cubans who have recently arrived here.

Those emigres charged as felons are being held incommunicado in federal prisons across the country. All will be subjected to the same type of secret hearings as the first eighteen.

State Department official Myles Frechette conceded that the findings against the Cubans were based solely on "confessions."

"We have no real proof against them," he said.

While anyone accused of having picked a pocket is in trouble, there may be exceptions to the ban on criminals.

"Now when you have somebody accused of wanting to kill Castro," observed Frechette, "you go into the grey area."

Reporters barred

Reporters were excluded from the hearings and are barred from talking to the prisoners. This was justified on the basis of the Privacy Act, which is supposed to protect those involved in exclusion or deportation hearings. That is, the defendants are supposed to have the right to choose a closed hearing.

Apparently a fan of Catch-22, the warden at Talladega said the Privacy Act and prison regulations barred him from permitting reporters to ask the prisoners if they wanted an open trial.

State Department and Immigration and Naturalization Service officials are vague about what they will do with those ordered deported. Since Cuba has made clear it will not accept the forced return of those who chose to come to the United States, the likelihood is that those branded felons will remain in U.S. jails for a long time.

The treatment of these Cubans is an



Cuban emigres being taken to federal prison on McNeil Island. More than 1,000 are held incommunicado, subject to secret hearings where only evidence is 'confessions.'

outrage to human decency. As the June 15 weekly edition of *Granma*, the Cuban Communist Party newspaper, declared, "Not even our worst enemies were treated this way in Cuba!"

The abuse of the Cuban emigres represents a policy somersault by the Carter administration.

When Cubans were entering the Peruvian embassy in Havana last April seeking to leave the island, Carter hailed them for their alleged love of freedom.

But when the Cuban government opened the port of Mariel and said all who wanted to leave should go, Carter and the U.S. capitalist news media changed their tune. Suddenly the Cubans were portrayed as disease-ridden, criminals, and mentally retarded.

To justify their turnabout, some U.S. officials now point to the Cubans' characterization of those who are leaving as "scum" and "antisocial elements." Washington's new line is, in

effect: "Look, even Castro says these people are criminals."

What are the Cuban government and the Cuban people actually saying?

First, Cuban authorities emphatically deny U.S. claims of jails being emptied into the boats at Mariel. And Washington has not produced a shred of evidence to back up its charges.

Second, the Cubans refuse to discriminate against ex-prisoners who want to go to the United States. They have the same freedom to leave as anybody else.

"I wouldn't really say they were criminals," Fidel said of them in a June 14 speech (see box), "because a criminal is a person who kills somebody and is in prison; after he serves his sentence, well that's it, he paid his debt to justice and the law and should have the same right as any other citizen to go to the United States."

Carter, of course, prefers the U.S. system of punishing convicted felons for life by denying them the vote, harassing them, and discriminating against them in employment even after they have served their time.

Big criminals welcomed

Third, Castro pointed to the hypocrisy of the U.S. government on this question.

State Department and INS officials say that the eighteen are very likely the first Cubans ordered deported from this country since the Cuban revolution triumphed in 1959.

Castro pointed out that hundreds of killers and torturers from the ousted Batista regime, with the blood of thousands on their hands, have been welcomed to these shores by the capitalist rulers. And they brought pimps and big-time gangsters by the hundreds in their trail.

Many were put on the CIA payroll as mercenaries in the defeated invasion of Cuba at the Bay of Pigs in 1961. Many continue to enjoy full government protection in their criminal activities today.

The government that accepted mass murderers and gangsters as heroes, Castro declared, now wants to draw the line at those convicted of relatively petty crimes.

Nor should the U.S. government's word be taken regarding those they now label as felons, especially considering the conditions under which "confessions" have been extracted.

The capitalist politicians and media have lied consistently about the recent arrivals, in part to smear the real accomplishments of the Cuban revolution.

The repeated assertions about Cuba's physically and mentally ill being shipped here have been flatly contradicted by the findings of health screening officials in Florida. In fact, the remarkably good health among the emigrants is testimony to Cuba's system of socialized medicine.

Deserting under fire

What about the Cubans' denunciations of those leaving as "scum"? Does
Continued on page 15

"An amazing story... I was fascinated."
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Castro answers Carter on 'criminal' emigres

Fidel Castro made some remarks on the latest twist in U.S. government propaganda around the emigrants on June 14, when he participated in ceremonies opening the Ernesto Che Guevara Health Complex in Las Tunas, Cuba.

The following excerpt is reprinted from the June 22 English weekly edition of *Granma*, published in Havana.

Now they have said we have sent some criminals. A lie, that's a lie!

We have not freed of responsibility and authorized the departure from the country of anyone sentenced for crimes involving bloodshed. That is a special category and they are being kept right here.

There may be someone who was guilty of such a crime a long time ago, who served his sentence and now, in an absolutely free manner, wanted to go to the Yankee paradise. We can only wish him the best of luck, what are we going to do.

Look at the imperialist mentality; they are horrified, apparently horrified, saying that we have sent some criminals over there.

Just take a look at the hypocrisy of the imperialists. When the Revolution

triumphed on January 1, [1959] people who had murdered thousands of Cubans and tortured thousands of others—Ventura, Carratalá, Masferrer, all those people—were welcomed there with open arms. They were real criminals, responsible for

thousands of murders and thousands of cases of torture.

The same thing happened in Vietnam, they took in many thousands of killers from there, and the same with Nicaragua; wherever there has been a bloody terrorist regime, they

take in the criminals. And now they want to create a big scandal because they claim some criminals have gone over there.

Actually what went over there... I wouldn't really say they were criminals, because a criminal is a person who kills somebody and is in prison; after he serves his sentence, well that's it, he paid his debt to justice and the law and should have the same right as any other citizen to go to the United States.

Throughout our history thieves have taken refuge in the United States, but not chicken thieves, goat thieves or pig thieves. No, no, no, people who stole hundreds of millions of dollars from the economy. Where did Batista's supporters go with the money they had stolen in Cuba? And where did all the other millionaires from the previous governments in our country go with their stolen money? They went to the United States, where they were welcomed with open arms.

Now they must take the lumpen, the chicken, sheep or pig thieves, and those who stole some other things.

Why take the others and not these? What is the morality of such a stand? Where is the morality of such a policy? It is outright hypocrisy.



Nuez/Granma

California: 152,000 sign for SWP ticket!

California socialists have successfully completed their massive drive to put the Socialist Workers presidential slate on the state ballot. When the drive ended on schedule last week, campaign supporters had collected over 152,000 signatures, far surpassing the state requirement of 101,000. An equal number were collected for senatorial candidate George Johnson.

California SWP campaign director Sara Gates pointed out gains made as a result of the ballot campaign: "Ten people have already joined the Young Socialist Alliance as a result of the drive," she said. "And we were able to talk to hundreds of thousands of Californians about the socialist program and candidates."

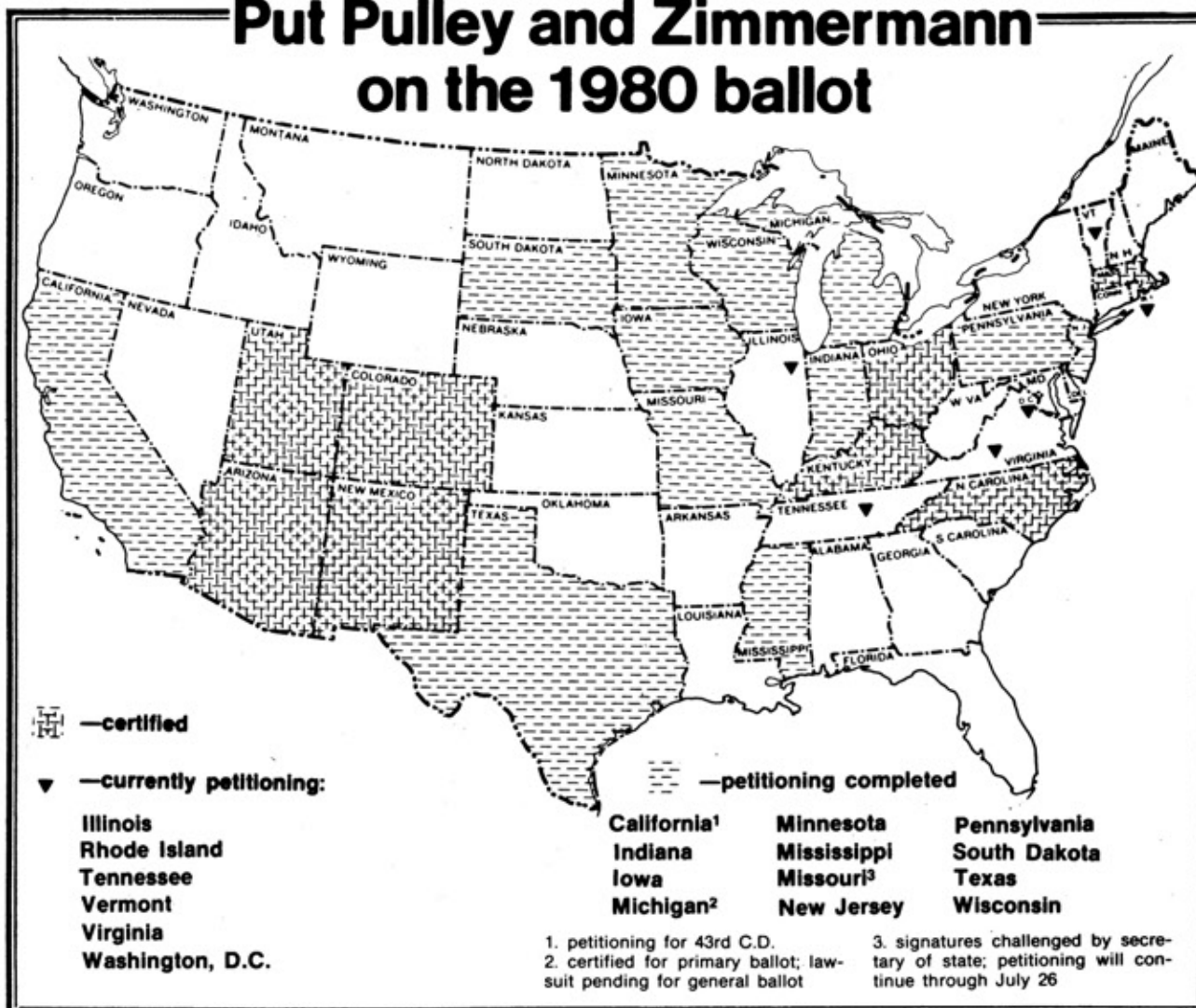
"Some of them sent donations with the coupon from the campaign leaflet they were handed when they signed our petition," she added.

The petition drive took campaign teams to cities the California SWP has not visited recently, including Salinas, Fresno, Monterey, Seaside, and Stockton.

"Other new supporters helped us to circulate petitions," said Gates. "Bob Dress, for example, lives in Ukiah, in northern California. He collected eighty signatures there and is now doing the paperwork necessary to prepare them for filing."

Other campaign supporters circulated and mailed back petitions that they'd gotten in an SWP campaign mailing. One supporter in San Francisco received a special mailing that was sent to every person registered with the city election office as affiliated with the SWP. He brought the petition to the city campaign office after having completely filled it with signatures.

Put Pulley and Zimmermann on the 1980 ballot



Virginia

By Omari Musa

NORFOLK, Va.—"Today the Socialist Workers campaign is launching an ambitious three-week drive to collect more than 10,000 signatures on nominating petitions," announced Sharon Grant at a news conference here July 7. "We are going to put our candidates for president and vice-president on the ballot in Virginia."

Grant is the SWP candidate for Congress from the First Congressional District. Earlier that morning, petitions for Grant had been certified by the Virginia Board of Elections, assuring her a place on the ballot. Grant is opposing right-wing Republican Congressman Paul Trible.

The opening of the state-wide petition drive marks a big advance for the SWP in Virginia, and another step in the expansion of the party in the South.

The establishment of an SWP branch in the Tidewater area of Virginia last year was an outgrowth of the SWP's support to the organizing drive and strike by United Steelworkers Local 8888 in the Tenneco-owned Newport News shipyards.

Interest in the *Militant*—a paper that told the truth week in and week out about the shipyard workers' fight for union rights—laid the groundwork for initiating a branch.

The response to the SWP campaign provided further evidence of the changing moods among southern workers.

The news conference announcing the petition drive was held across the street from the Norfolk Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company, where Sharon Grant works.

When workers filed out of the gates for their half-hour lunch break, they were met by petitioners and WAVY-TV cameras. During the half hour, sixty-four Norshipco workers signed to put the SWP on the ballot.

"I signed it," said one worker. "And I read the *Militant*. Why? Because that's what I am—militant. We stand for the same thing."

Illinois

By Brenda Brdar

CHICAGO—Thousands of Chicagoans remember Andrew Pulley's 1979 campaign for mayor against Democrat Jane Byrne. After witnessing Byrne's performance in office, some are now sorry they didn't vote for the Socialist Workers Party candidate. But they have an opportunity to make up for it by signing to put Pulley's presidential campaign on the November ballot.

Illinois socialists have collected more than 27,000 signatures so far for the SWP presidential slate and for Lee Artz, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate. Their aim is to even further surpass the state requirement of 25,000 signatures during the four-week ballot drive.

Petitioners unanimously agreed that putting socialists on the ballot has never been easier. Many

people sign immediately when a campaigner explains: "Will you sign a petition to put Andrew Pulley, a Black steelworker, on the ballot for president? He's a socialist running against the Democrats and Republicans."

A typical response from young people has been, "If he's against the draft, I'll sign!" A nineteen-year-old said, "My brother was killed in Vietnam. They're not going to get me!"

The Illinois Socialist Workers campaign and Young Socialist Alliance have organized a full schedule of forums, campaign events, and meet the candidates evenings during the ballot drive. More than 100 people have already signed Young Socialist for Pulley and Zimmermann cards.

Volunteers are needed to successfully complete the Illinois ballot drive. If you can help, call (312) 939-0737 or contact the Illinois Socialist Workers Campaign Committee at 434 South Wabash, #700, Chicago.

Other states

During the next week, socialist ballot drives will begin in three more states and in the District of Columbia. In Vermont and Rhode Island, campaign supporters aim to collect more than the 1,000 signatures required by each state. In Tennessee, 250 signatures are needed to gain ballot status. The Washington D.C. drive will aim to collect well over the 2,500 signatures demanded by city officials to put the SWP on the November ballot there.

Balto. steelworker launches Senate campaign

By Norton Sandler

BALTIMORE—A June 22 rally here launched the campaign of Geoff Mirelowitz as Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from Maryland.

Mirelowitz, twenty-six, is a steelworker, recently laid off from the giant Bethlehem Steel Sparrows Point complex.

Several workers from the strip mill and the brick and blast furnace departments came to the rally. Others came from Armco Steel, General Motors, Conrail, Bethlehem Steel Shipyard, W.R. Grace Chemical, and other plants.

A sizeable delegation of antidraft activists from the Maryland Committee Against Registration and the Draft also attended.

Nineteen-year-old John Wood, antidraft activist and new member of the

Young Socialist Alliance, told the rally, "from South Africa to Nicaragua, young people are in the forefront of the struggle for a better world."

"History is in our hands," said Wood. "The capitalists are trying to force young people to join in putting down revolutions worldwide. But by supporting the antidraft movement youth are supporting the worldwide revolution."

Another young person at the rally was Ron Rivera, a welder at the Bethlehem Steel shipyard.

Rivera explained why he decided to attend: "Seeing life ever since I grew up I knew things around me didn't fit. I have relatives in Panama and Puerto Rico and I found out what the trouble is—there are two classes of people, rich and poor."

"I saw my relatives suffer from no jobs in Panama. They couldn't afford

things. It broke my heart. I decided then I was a socialist. I am trying to find out and make up my mind about the full meaning of socialism—find out what I can do to help."

Mirelowitz pledged that his campaign would address "the crisis facing Maryland workers: the five thousand workers laid-off at Sparrows Point, the 2,000 laid-off at General Motors, the thousands more who are laid-off at smaller plants and the others, mostly Black and mostly young, who have never gotten a decent paying job to begin with."

"On the floor of a plant, factory, or mine," Mirelowitz said, "the relation between workers and employers is right up front. The bosses are represented by all sorts of supervisors and foremen who are there to look out for one thing—the company. We are represented by our unions."

"The bosses try to camouflage this in elections, but it's the same in politics. The employers are represented by both the Democrats and Republicans. We must have a political party—a labor party—that can represent us. When it comes to politics today, the working class is not much better off than workers in a plant who have no union."

Since announcing for office, Mirelowitz has campaigned at a picket line outside Baltimore police headquarters, demanding justice for Ja-Wan McGee, a seventeen-year-old Black youth paralyzed from the waist down by a trigger-happy cop; at the state unemployment office; and at a "tent city" recently set up by the NAACP near the state capitol building in Annapolis to call attention to job, housing, and welfare problems for the poor in Maryland.

Why fighters for Black ri

Andrew Pulley is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for president of the United States. His life reflects the poverty and racist oppression suffered by millions of Blacks in this country.



Born the son of sharecroppers in Sidon, Mississippi, Pulley worked in the cotton fields from the age of eight. When he was twelve his family moved to Cleveland, where they subsisted on welfare.

Pulley was branded a 'troublemaker' in school and charged with assault after a protest against the assassination of Martin Luther King. Given the choice of prison or the army, he chose the latter.

In the military Pulley met other advocates of Black Power. He was introduced to the teachings of Malcolm X, and to socialism.

He and seven other GIs who launched GIs United Against the War were brought up on phoney charges of 'incitement to riot,' he Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance were an active part of the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee, which helped to secure victory for the 'Fort Jackson Eight.'

After his release from the stockade, Pulley joined the Young Socialist Alliance.

Today Pulley is a steelworker and member of United Steelworkers Local 1066.

By Andrew Pulley

"We won't organize any Black man to be a Democrat or a Republican because both of them have sold us out," Malcolm X said in 1964. His rejection of the two racist parties holds just as true today. It sets the framework we need to chart the way forward for the Black community in the 1980s.

We cannot depend on the Democratic and Republican politicians in our fight for equal rights, for jobs, and against exploitation. We need to rely on our own strength—mobilized in the streets—together with allies who share our interests. And to carry forward our fight in politics, we need a new party. Only a party of workers, a labor party based on the unions, can fill this need.

The entire history of the struggle for Black rights points to this conclusion. The recent rebellion in Miami was one more confirmation.

Murder in Miami

The conditions that provoked the explosion of Black outrage in Miami are the same as those faced by millions of us across the country.

Forty percent of Miami's Black youth are unemployed. Black workers get the worst jobs. They're the last hired and the first fired. Dilapidated housing, rotten schools, and inadequate medical care are a way of life.

On December 17, 1979, Miami cops stopped Black insurance executive Arthur McDuffie. They said the brother ran a red light. They beat him lifeless, "cracked his head open like an egg," a medical examiner said after an autopsy. The killer-cops were charged with manslaughter, not murder. And an all-white jury let them all go scot-free.

The Black community had had enough. People took to the streets with signs: "Justice in America is a Damn Lie" and "Where is Justice for the Black Man in America?" Cops raced their squad cars through the crowd of demonstrators. They attacked with clubs, tear gas, and dogs.

Miami's Black rebellion was on.

Cops went wild trying to terrorize the community. At least thirteen Blacks were killed by police or by racists in civilian garb. About 300 brothers and sisters were wounded and more than 1,000 arrested.

How did the Democratic and Republican politicians respond?

James Carter set off for the Mount St. Helens volcano site, showing which of the two explosions he gave priority to.

Other Democratic and Republican politicians, white and Black, went to Miami to condemn the alleged violence of the Black community. They told Blacks to "cool off." Some asserted that the whole problem could be resolved by getting more Blacks registered to vote.

Solidarity with rebellion

I went to Miami the day after the rebellion started. Socialist Workers Party candidates from nearby states joined me. We walked the streets of Liberty City in the heart of Miami's Black community. We

talked to sisters and brothers who participated in the rebellion.

My campaign stood 100 percent with the demands of Miami Blacks. We printed the Black community's side of the story in the *Militant*, our national campaign newspaper. We joined in demanding:

- withdrawal of police and National Guard from Black neighborhoods and lifting the racist curfew;
- federal indictment of all cops involved in the McDuffie murder and the cover-up;
- the firing of State's Attorney Janet Reno and Public Safety Director Bobby Jones;
- amnesty for Blacks rounded up by the cops during the rebellion and the dropping of all charges;
- arrest and conviction of cops responsible for brutalizing and killing Blacks.

But not a single Democratic or Republican presidential candidate sided with the Black community of Miami. Not Carter. Not Reagan. Not Anderson. Not Kennedy.

Party of Klan and Kennedy

It's the same story across the country. Whether they wear blue uniforms or white sheets—or both—racist killers terrorize and murder Blacks with impunity. The Democrats and Republicans, from city halls to the White House, do nothing to stop it. But if we protest, we're "irresponsible" and "violent."

Now in California the Democrats are running the Ku Klux Klan "Grand Dragon" for Southern California, Thomas Metzger, for U.S. Congress! Some other Democrats say it's an "accident." But it's no accident that a hooded Klan hooligan feels right at home in the party of Carter and Kennedy.

The Democratic and Republican politicians pay lip service to desegregation. But they oppose busing, the only effective means to end segregated schools.

They say they're for equality. But they condemn affirmative action with teeth as "reverse discrimination."

The two parties promise jobs. But they cut social spending for jobs and do nothing while the big corporations shut down factories and lay off hundreds of thousands.

The Democrats and Republicans vow equality for women. But they vote down the Equal Rights Amendment and deny poor women Medicaid funding for abortion.

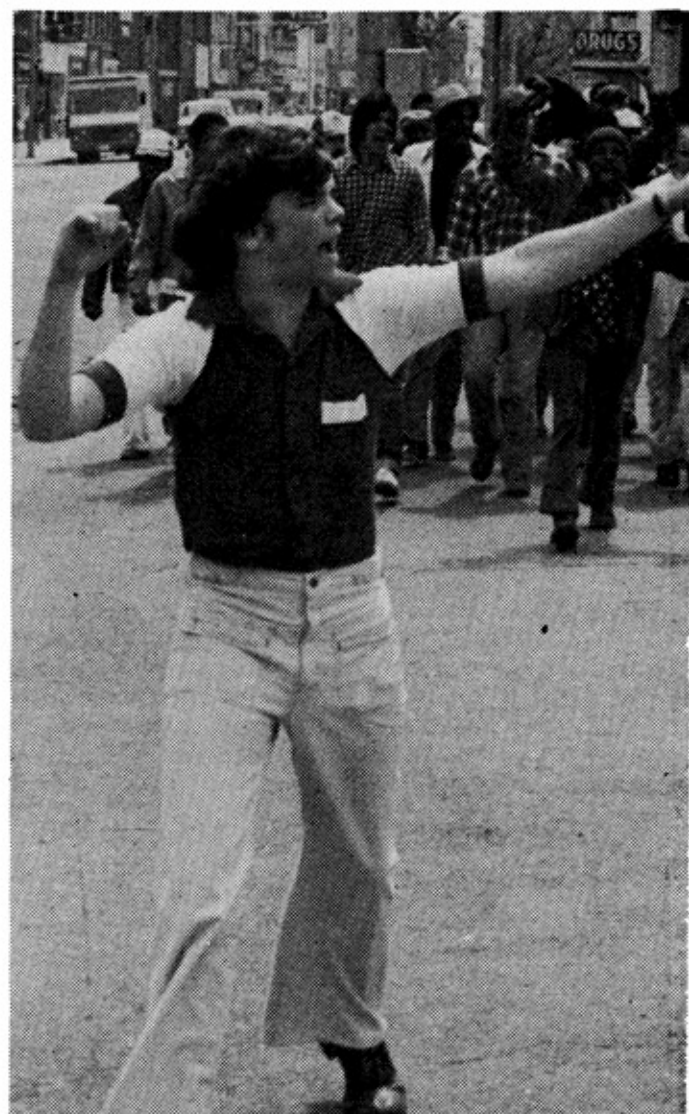
They talk of peace. But they bring us the draft and threats of new Vietnams.

Do we need any more proof that we can't rely on these enemies of the Black community to lead our people to freedom?

Who profits from racism?

To decide how to solve our problem we must identify the source of the problem. Why does racist

Miami Blacks protest Carter. 'The conditions that provoked explosion in Miami are the same as those faced by millions of us across the country.'



Newport News shipyard workers picket lines. 'Black and white v their common livelihood.'

discrimination persist, 115 years after the abolition of slavery, 26 years after the Supreme Court outlawed school segregation, 16 years after the Civil Rights Act?

Racism exists because it's *profitable* to the rulers of America.

Billions are pocketed by the owners of U.S. industry every year because they pay Black workers only fifty-seven cents for every dollar they pay whites. And they profit because this drags down wages for whites as well.

It's also politically useful for the rulers to encourage white workers to think they have a stake in the racist status quo. But many white workers today are changing their thinking.

Many white workers in Miami, for example, explained after the Black rebellion that they sympathized with the anger that motivated the Black community. They recognized that Blacks were the victims of racist injustice and they opposed this.

Growing numbers of workers are seeing that the same system that oppresses Blacks, exploits Black and white workers on the job.

In Newport News, Virginia, Black and white shipyard workers fought side by side for their common livelihood against Tenneco and they won a union—Steelworkers Local 8888. Black and white workers in other parts of the South (and North) are seeing that the fight for decent wages and conditions, the fight to establish unions, and the fight against the Ku Klux Klan are one and the same.

The same cops who terrorize the Black community are unleashed against strikers—white and Black—to help the employers crush union struggles.

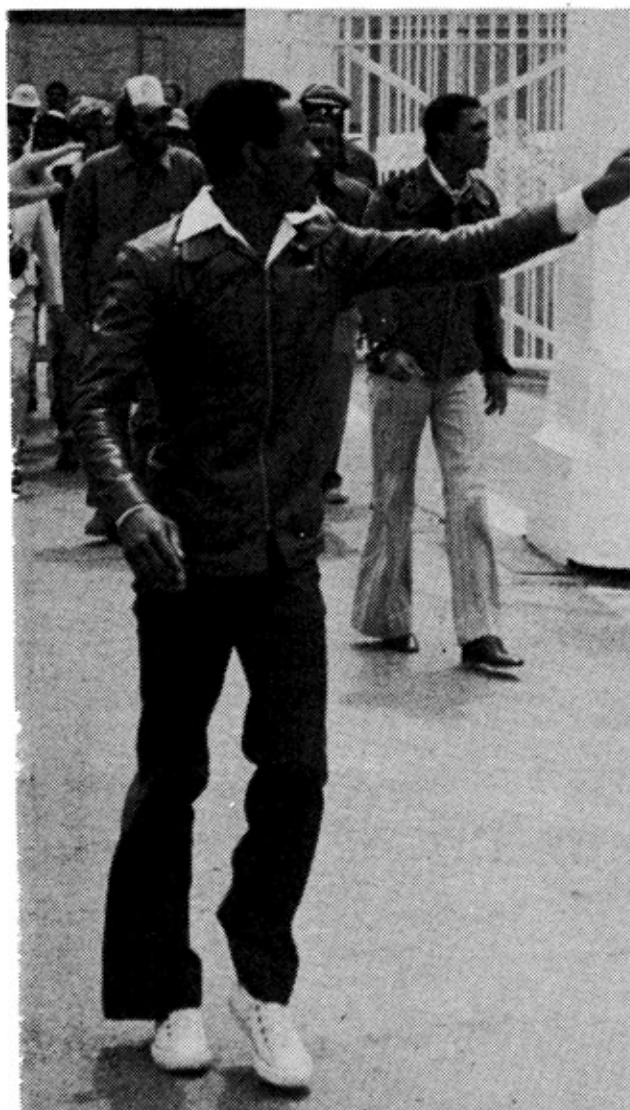
Class society

Racism is a product of the division of this society into two classes: the class of the capitalist billionaires vs. the working class, of which the Black community is a crucial part.

That is the real reason the Democratic and Republican politicians won't champion the fight against racism. Both these parties are dedicated to preserving capitalist profits and the profit system. And that is why, in spite of the election of several thousand Black Democratic and Republican officials over the past decade, we are no closer to Black liberation. Whatever their intentions, no political leader who puts himself or herself at the service of the big-business parties can effectively challenge racist injustice.

We can also see why the hiring of Black cops has

gths need a labor party



Militant/Jon Hillson

March against cop attack on workers fought side by side for

not ended police brutality against the Black community. The function of the cops—be they white or Black—is to defend private property and corporate power, including beating down the Black community. The step-up in cop terror we see in many cities today is part and parcel of the rulers' drive to intimidate all working people, to force us to accept sacrifices for the bosses' profits.

The power of labor

Where can Black people look to find allies powerful enough to offset the hostile class forces? In only one place—the working class and its mass organizations, the trade unions.

The power of working people is what keeps this country running. It's our productive labor in the steel, auto, rail, oil, and other industries that produces the wealth of this country.

Cuban soldiers in Angola. 'Here is a government that has sent its troops to defend African independence against U.S. and South African imperialism.'



The changing attitudes in the ranks of the unions, and the militancy of millions of Black workers, have led the unions to begin to use their power in the fight for Black equality.

My union, the United Steelworkers, for example, led the way in the victory that was scored for all working people when the racist Weber decision was overturned. The USWA opposed the attempt of Brian Weber, backed by the company, to kill the affirmative-action hiring policy at Kaiser Aluminum. The union put resources into the battle. At public forums around the country, as well as in the courts, leaders of the union defended affirmative action as a step toward equality.

The defeat of Weber showed how powerful the unity of Black rights organizations and the unions can be. Such an alliance has the potential to score real advances for equality and justice.

We can be confident that Black workers will be in the front lines of the unionists who will take the next step needed to lead our class and our people forward. That is, the formation of a labor party.

Program of struggle

A labor party would give us a political instrument to fight for the urgent needs of the Black community and all working people:

Funds for jobs and education, not war. Dump the inflationary \$150-billion military budget; use the money to expand and improve education and other vital social services. Launch a public works program to provide jobs and meet our needs for schools, housing, hospitals, clinics, child-care centers, libraries, parks, and public transit systems.

Affirmative action plans in hiring and training women, Black, and Latino workers should be preserved and expanded. No layoffs should be allowed to reduce by even one percentage point the proportion of women, Black, and Latino workers in skilled trades or the work force as a whole. Ratify the Equal Rights Amendment. Defend the right to abortion—restore federal funding for abortions for poor women.

Shorter workweek. Ban forced overtime and reduce the legal workweek to thirty hours, with no reduction in current weekly take-home pay. This would create millions of jobs.

No registration or draft. Our fight for justice is here at home.

Stop racist attacks. Defend busing to desegregate the public schools. Expand and upgrade bilingual programs. Prosecute KKK and other right-wing terrorists for their crimes against Blacks and Latinos.

End cop terror. Get the cops out of the Black community. Replace them with a community-controlled police force drawn from community residents. Open the FBI files on government complicity in the assassinations of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King and the shooting of Vernon Jordan.

International solidarity with workers and



1963 Civil Rights March on Washington. 'We need to rely on our own strength—mobilized in the streets—together with allies who share our interests.'

farmers of other countries. From South Africa to El Salvador they face the same enemy we do: the exploitation and oppression of U.S. imperialism.

Cuba shows it can be done

Can our class take political power and establish a workers government? Will such a government end racism? The capitalists try to convince us it can't be done.

But it already has been done—in Cuba. Nowhere in the Americas have Blacks made such giant strides toward economic, social, and political equality. Cuba shows that even though a minority, Blacks can achieve equality when capitalism is overthrown.

Afro-Cubans are one-third of the 10 million people on the island. They were once slaves. They later had to fight Cuba's form of Jim Crow segregation.

The revolution in 1959, led by Fidel Castro's July 26 Movement, changed all of this. The workers and peasants of Cuba ended the rule of the U.S. corporations, the big landlords, and U.S.-backed businessmen. Now a job is a right, not a privilege, in Cuba. Medical care and education are free and available to all. No Cuban pays more than 10 percent of their income for rent. Though smaller and much poorer than the United States, Cuba accomplished all this.

Afro-Cubans have central leadership responsibilities in the Cuban government. Racist practices are illegal. And the government has gone on a massive campaign to educate against racist prejudice.

Afro-Cuban culture has flourished and contributed to shaping Cuban culture. Here is a government that has sent its troops to defend African independence against U.S. and South African imperialism.

For those seeking to eliminate racism and class exploitation, Cuba is an example to follow. That is why the U.S. government has slandered and threatened military action against the Cuban revolution.

The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance believe Cuba shows working people can build a new society free from racism and exploitation. If you agree with these ideas, join us in the fight to put them into practice.

Reprints of this article are available in brochure form at four cents each from the Socialist Workers Presidential Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

JOIN US!

- ☐ I want to join the Young Socialist Alliance.
- ☐ Please send me more information on the campaign of Andrew Pulley for president and Matilde Zimmermann for vice-president.

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

Plans to get out vote for Democrats

NAACP meets in shadow of Miami rebellion

By Osborne Hart

MIAMI BEACH—The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People held its seventy-first convention here June 30-July 5. The 4,000 delegates and observers faced many of the same issues that confronted previous meetings of the oldest and largest civil rights organization.

"We gather at a crossroads," said Benjamin Hooks, NAACP executive director. "We come at a time when just a few short miles away, the fires caused by racial discontent in the city of Miami have just been extinguished. Yet, the frictions which sparked the disorders remain."

"We come at a time when right here in America Blacks and other minorities are saying to our leaders of government, the day has long since passed when we will tolerate being ignored, passed over, forgotten, shortchanged and oppressed."

Margaret Bush-Wilson, chair of the NAACP board, said in her keynote speech: "Whether we will long be remembered here or soon forgotten depends, during this week, on whether we come to grips with the real issues confronting the civil rights movement in particular and this nation in general."

"If there had been real justice, equal education and substantive opportunity in Miami, Florida, for all its citizens on May 17, 1980, the awful, awesome spectacle of rioting would not have reared its ugly head."

Shadow of Miami

NAACP leaders spoke frequently about the rebellion and warned that the conditions that created it exist in all major U.S. cities. But they offered little in the way of strategy to respond. Indeed, they took a standoffish approach to the Miami Black community.

With over 1,000 Blacks arrested during the rebellion, a convention resolution urged amnesty only for those "who were routinely engaged in normal and legitimate activities."

The convention failed to go on record supporting Black community demands for federal prosecution of the killer cops or for dismissal of State's Attorney Janet Reno.

The opportunity to put the weight of the NAACP behind the cause of Miami Blacks through a rally, march, or other mobilization was ignored.

No aspect of the convention was planned for the Liberty City community, scene of the rebellion. During the convention's youth session, young NAACP members were warned not to venture to Miami.

Any Liberty City resident who wanted to participate in the convention was faced with a long bus ride and a twenty dollar registration fee.

Police brutality

The NAACP leadership's answer to the rise in cop brutality against the Black community was to tighten their collaboration with the police. In conjunction with the federal Law Enforcement Assistance Administration and the Police Foundation, the NAACP will conduct "an intensive fifteen month grass-roots project to reduce

police shootings of minority citizens." The association received nearly \$400,000 for the project.

On the second day of the convention a special news conference and workshop outlined the project goals. The workshop panel was exclusively cop representatives including a former New York City police chief; the San Jose, California, police chief; and an LEAA administrator.

1980 elections

The NAACP extended invitations to the Democratic and Republican candidates for president.

John Anderson, Edward Kennedy, and James Carter spoke before the convention. Ronald Reagan, in a racist gesture, snubbed the invitation.

Anderson, Kennedy, and Carter seized on the Reagan insult, pretending that merely showing up at the convention proved they were responsive to Black needs.

Anderson said his proposal to cut the

youth eighteen to twenty-four years old.

An important aspect of the plan, NAACP leaders said, is to identify "undesirable" candidates. Finding desirable ones, they acknowledged, will be difficult.

'Don't take to the streets'

Electoral activity behind Democratic and Republican politicians was openly counterposed to demonstrations for Black rights, against the draft, or for other needs of working people.

Joe Madison, director of the NAACP Voter Education Department, explained:

"During the Vietnam protest era, one of the most frustrating things to the student protesters was that they did not have the right to vote. And that is why we reverted to protests and demonstrations."

"Now, what the NAACP is proposing is that we don't necessarily have to take to the streets three or four times a

On the other hand, Margaret Bush-Wilson, in response to a question by this reporter, asserted that "registration is not the draft." Pressed further whether she favored Blacks being drafted, she answered, "No comment."

Bush-Wilson devoted part of her keynote speech to extolling the opportunities for Blacks in the U.S. military. And she denounced as racist "the suggestion that Blacks may refuse to fight in certain parts of the world."

Africa, of course, is one of the places Black youth might be reluctant to die for Uncle Sam. Unfortunately, the recent upsurge of Black protest in South Africa, violent repression by the racist regime, and the South African invasion of Angola got no mention at the NAACP convention.

Bush-Wilson, a board member of the Monsanto Corporation, was asked about that company's role in South Africa. Obviously flustered, she responded with claims of ignorance because her membership was on the

Demonstration greets Carter on July 4



Outside NAACP convention, nearly 400 Blacks—mostly Haitian refugees—demand jobs and political asylum as Carter makes pitch for votes inside. Militant/Jerry Hunnicutt

minimum wage for youth would ease Black unemployment.

Kennedy said he could be measured by his deeds, and by those of his family.

Carter, sensing the anger at his four-year record, concentrated on warning that Reagan would probably appoint more racist Supreme Court justices than the Georgia Democrat would.

Behind a formal stance of not endorsing candidates, the NAACP has long devoted its energies to backing the Democratic Party. Despite the dismal results for Blacks from supporting Carter in 1976, there is little doubt the NAACP leadership will do the same this year.

With great fanfare they announced a pre-election voter registration drive, known as Project POWER (Political Organization with Education and Registration). The plan is aimed at Black

year. But only wait on November 4, identify those congressmen and senators who voted for the draft registration, target them to the 18-24 year-olds and I'm certain they will vote their interests."

Draft registration got little formal attention during the convention.

Hooks stated, "The NAACP is opposed to the resumption of draft registration. We are opposed to peacetime military conscription."

Georgia State Senator Julian Bond, president of the Atlanta NAACP branch, told the *Militant*:

"There's never been registration without a draft. There's never been a draft without a war. I'm opposed to registration and I'd be opposed to the reintroduction of conscription. I have a feeling that is the feeling of most Americans, both Black and white."

"outside" board. But she defended the company and assured the media that "we" are employing Blacks in that country.

Other crucial issues failed to get a hearing. There was no mention of or resolution on the attempted assassination of civil rights leader Vernon Jordan.

At past conventions there has been discussion of the NAACP board's position on the energy crisis, with some delegates objecting to the board's support to nuclear power and to decontrol of oil prices. There was no such floor discussion this year, but one of the exhibits that greeted participants was on the virtues of the "breeder" nuclear reactor.

As conditions worsen for Blacks in America, the NAACP leadership made clear at this convention that its face is firmly turned toward the big corporations and the Democratic and Republican politicians, who do their bidding.

But this posture means turning away from the masses of Black people the NAACP leaders claim to represent—away from the angry residents of Miami and the potential Miamis across the country, away from the Black youth who don't want to be drafted to fight Exxon's wars, away from the Black workers who suffer the brunt of attacks from the oil companies and other corporate profiteers.

Yet those are the only forces that can defend past gains for Black rights, much less carry forward the fight for justice.

Supreme Court ruling upholds quotas

By Osborne Hart

The U.S. Supreme Court ruled July 2 that specific racial quotas are constitutional for affirmative action in federal contracts.

Ruling six to three in the *Fullilove v. Klutznick* case, the court upheld congressional requirements that 10 percent of the \$4 billion in the 1977 Public Works Employment Bill be granted to Black and other minority contractors.

The decision agreed that quotas are a remedy to the effects of past discrimination. The court rejected twelve law-

suits challenging the constitutionality of the government program.

The ruling maintained the Supreme Court's stance on the use of quotas taken in last year's *Weber* decision. In that case, the court rejected Brian Weber's charge of "reverse discrimination" in a training program won by the Steelworkers union that allotted specific slots for Blacks and women.

Civil rights groups and many labor unions mounted a campaign against Weber's suit, citing it as an attack on Black rights and the entire labor move-

ment.

The victory in the *Weber* case turned back the legal sabotage of affirmative action the Supreme Court had OKed the previous year in the *Bakke* decision, which found medical school admissions quotas for minorities unconstitutional.

The *Fullilove* decision indicates the court is biding its time before making another move against affirmative action. The Supreme Court is slated to hear two more suits involving quotas during its next term.

NY forum hits FBI crimes & cover-ups

By Rita Salles

NEW YORK—Prominent civil liberties attorney William Kunstler was the opening speaker at a forum here on FBI harassment. Sponsored by the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, the June 21 meeting was attended by 130 people.

Kunstler blasted the FBI "charter" now being considered by congress. The charter, he said, "would legalize any crimes from murder on down committed by FBI agents or informers, including those encompassed in the SWP lawsuit, to which we all owe a great debt, and all other lawsuits."

Walter Schneir, co-author with Miriam Schneir of *Invitation to an Inquest*, described how the FBI interfered with their investigation into the Rosenberg case.

Willie Mae Reid, 1976 vice-presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, declared "The attack on democratic rights that has been discussed tonight is part of the government's plans to prepare for war."

She said that the U.S. government seeks to lay the basis for new Vietnams by "reestablish[ing] the political climate that accepts secrecy . . . that makes it possible for the political police agencies to carry out clandestine and criminal activities."

Reid said that the SWP suit against FBI and CIA harassment sets a precedent in exposing and combating such government spying and sabotage against "the whole labor movement and every organization of oppressed people."

Seattle: political firing overturned

After a forty-day hearing that spanned four months, hearing examiner Sally Pasette ruled that Seattle City Light Department had illegally discriminated against Clara Fraser when it fired her in July 1975.

Fraser, a longtime radical activist in the area who heads the Seattle-based Freedom Socialist Party, had been dismissed for her views, the examiner found.

City Light had claimed in-

itially that her layoff was due to budget cutbacks. But this was shown to be a pretext when officials cited such incidents as her support to a 1975 strike by city employees as reasons for her dismissal.

Fraser was ordered reinstated in her job or a comparable one with full civil-service and seniority rights. She is to receive nearly \$80,000 in back pay, attorney's fees, and compensation for embarrassment caused by City Light's actions.

Unionist wins case vs. Secret Service

The Secret Service has officially apologized to Jane Margolis for its violations of her rights.

A member of the Communications Workers of America, Margolis was seized and roughed up by Secret Service agents on the floor of the CWA convention on July 16, 1979.

Margolis, a delegate to the convention, was apparently singled out for attack because

of her vocal opposition to supporting President Carter. Carter addressed the gathering that afternoon.

Margolis filed suit against the government.

In addition to the apology, Margolis received \$3,500 from the government as compensation. She stated June 17 that the money would be donated to the union.

Puerto Rican prisoners gagged in Chicago trial

By Maggie McCraw

CHICAGO—Two Puerto Rican nationalists, Alicia Rodríguez and Luis Rosa, were ordered out of the courtroom where they were being tried July 7 on charges of robbery and weapons possession.

The two are accused of being members of the Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN), an alleged terrorist group. As more than thirty people marched outside to demand their release, Judge James Bailey ordered sheriff's deputies to clamp their hands over the defendants' mouths and sentenced Rodríguez to a third term in jail for contempt of court after she declared:

"I refuse to enter the courtroom. I am here against my will. I am a Puerto Rican prisoner of war. This is only an excuse for U.S. imperialism to abuse us."

Earlier, on June 16, Carlos Torres was gagged for speaking Spanish in court.

While the defendants were out of the courtroom, the jurors were treated to an inflammatory display of pistols, rifles, and shotguns allegedly seized from FALN members.

Alex Torres, mother of Car-



Demonstration in support of Puerto Rican prisoners.

Libertad

los Torres, who is one of the chief defendants, told the *Militant* that the defendants are seeking a hearing before an international tribunal because they do not recognize the jurisdiction of the U.S. court system

over Puerto Rico.

The Committee to Free the Puerto Rican Prisoners of War plans to take the case to the next meeting of the United Nations Decolonization Committee.

Chicano cannery worker sues against brutal INS raid

Roy Gonzalez, a Chicano factory worker, is suing the Immigration and Naturalization Service and the San José police for \$2.25 million for brutality and illegal practices inflicted on him during a September 14, 1979, raid on a San José cannery. His suit is being supported by the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund.

The following account of what brought the suit is from the Spring 1980 issue of the MALDEF newsletter:

"Without the authority of a warrant, INS agents surrounded the cannery. They sealed off all exits; they rounded up workers who looked Mexican. . . .

"All people without papers . . . were moved to a special area where their hands were bound with wire. None were advised of their rights.

"Some were pushed, thrown and kicked by immigration officers. Many workers were threatened with jail unless they signed a paper voluntarily waiving their right to a deportation hearing.

"When the raid had gone on for about an hour, three INS agents grabbed Roy Gonzalez, an American citizen and a Vietnam veteran working at the cannery as an electrician.

"The officers pushed Gonzalez to the floor. They kicked and struck him, calling him a

'dumb Mexican wetback.'

"They dragged Gonzalez to a police car . . . and, finally, heeding other workers who were shouting 'he's a citizen,' they released him.

"As Gonzalez ran to escape the INS agents, he was grabbed by San Jose police who again beat him, pushing his head into a cement sidewalk.

"Gonzalez was treated at a local hospital for severe bruises, a dislocated shoulder and intense headaches which persisted for several months.

"When members of his family conclusively proved his citizenship, Gonzalez was finally released from custody."

...Cubans

Continued from page 10

that entitle the U.S. government to treat them as less than human?

All Cubans face economic hardships caused by the legacy of imperialist exploitation, the vindictive U.S. blockade, and CIA sabotage. All face political and military threats from Washington because of the Cuban government's solidarity with revolutionary struggles in Africa, Central America, the Caribbean, and around the world.

The vast majority of the island's population, inspired by recent revolutionary victories in Nicaragua, Grenada, and elsewhere, are standing firm. The Cuban people are organizing and mobilizing by the millions to defend their own revolution and to aid others.

They do so knowing that sacrifice in their living standards—and possibly sacrifice of their lives—is the price imposed by U.S. imperialism for such revolutionary courage and intransigence.

The small minority that have buckled under the pressure, that have succumbed to U.S. propaganda and

departed for what they think will be an easy life in the paradise of capitalism, are viewed as people who are deserting under fire. They are branded accordingly.

But since when has lack of revolutionary commitment, the absence of dedication to the world struggle for socialism, been grounds for excluding or deporting people from the United States?

Anti-immigrant campaign

The reason for the switch in U.S. government policy toward the Cuban emigres has nothing to do with why they left Cuba, or with the presence among them of some individuals with prison records.

For generations, immigrants to this country have had to face legal and physical abuse by INS cops. Countless victims have been jailed or deported in unconstitutional star-chamber hearings similar to those being used against the Cubans.

The Cuban government, by making it possible for 100,000 people to come here, struck a blow for the rights of all immigrants.

The publicity around the Cubans

played a big part in forcing the president to retreat from his intention of expelling thousands of Haitian refugees.

But easing immigration restrictions is the last thing the U.S. rulers want to do. It infuriates them. Their plans call for further tightening up immigration and narrowing the rights of immigrants. That's the course Washington is trying to whip up public support for, even if their propaganda against the Cuban revolution suffers somewhat as a result.

Carter is now trying to use the Cubans to inflame public opinion against all immigrants—especially Blacks and Hispanics. The portrayal of the Cubans as murderers, rapists, and mental cases is intended to smear all immigrants.

Our rights at stake

The attack on immigrants is part of making working people pay for the recession. Carter wants to gull us into believing that Mexicans, Cubans, and Haitians are responsible for unemployment, cuts in living standards, decaying cities, and rising taxes.

This theme also fits into Carter's plans for moving toward new Vietnam-style wars. He wants to blame our problems on foreigners instead of on the American big-business interests that profit at our expense.

New restrictions on our democratic rights are part of Carter's program. Whenever anyone can be thrown into a cell on no evidence, held incommunicado, and convicted at a secret hearing, we're all losers.

Working people have a big stake in defending the rights of all immigrants.

If the government is serious about dealing with Cuban criminals, let them apprehend the counterrevolutionary exiles who gunned down Eulalio Negrín and Carlos Muñiz, leading opponents of the U.S. blockade against Cuba.

Let Washington apprehend those who keep bombing the Cuban Mission to the United Nations.

Let them jail those who shake down and intimidate members of the Cuban community in the name of anticommunism.

They're the ones who should be behind bars.

What does Libertarian Party stand for?

By Gus Horowitz

Although the Libertarian Party was formed only eight years ago it has grown, says party chairman Edward Crane, "from thirteenth party to third party in the country." It garnered 1.3 million votes in state and local elections in 1978, and says it is aiming for ballot status in all fifty states this year.

Proclaiming the principle of individual rights as paramount, and disclaiming "left/right" labeling, the Libertarians have attracted supporters as diverse as corporation lawyers and anarchists.

Libertarian campaign literature can appear at first sight as a hodge-podge: opposition to the draft, but support for strategic nuclear weapons; abolition of the CIA and FBI, but support for "consistent law enforcement" by local police; repeal of all state "right to work" laws, but for employers to be guaranteed the right to refuse to recognize trade unions.

Youthful Libertarians participate in antidraft demonstrations. Women have set up the Association of Libertarian Feminists. And a leader of Libertarians for Gay Rights sees his party as "more completely committed to the cause" than any other.

Yet the party's presidential standard-bearer is Edward Clark, a lawyer for the giant Atlantic Richfield oil company. His running mate is David Koch, an heir to Koch Industries—a family-owned major oil distributor that, according to *Forbes* magazine, "may well be the U.S.'s most profitable private business."

Why the seeming inconsistencies?

What do the Libertarians really represent?

Individual rights

The Libertarians say proudly that they are a party of principle, dedicated to the proposition that "all individuals have the right to exercise sole dominion over their own lives."

The main individual rights spelled out in the party's statement of principles are: the right to life; the right to liberty of speech and action; and the right to property.

The inclusion of property rights in the triad shows the basic framework of Libertarian politics.

Libertarian principles add that people "should be left free by government to deal with one another as free traders; and the resultant economic system, the only one compatible with the protection of individual rights, is the free market."

Accordingly, the Libertarians would abolish all corporate taxes, all government regulatory agencies, and all antitrust legislation.

The Libertarian ideal of a pure, unrestricted "free market" capitalism has never existed, of course. Nor can it. Big government, and government regulation of industry and finance, are unavoidable outgrowths of monopoly capitalism, as exists in the United States today.

The problem, though, is not the utopian nostalgia of the Libertarian schema, but the practical effect of Libertarian proposals today.

The unrestricted green light that the Libertarians favor giving to big business would deal bitter blows to working people. The Libertarians, for example, would repeal all usury laws, abolish rent control, and lift all rate regulations for gas, electricity, water, and telephone.

What about another key libertarian plank, the right to liberty of speech and action? At first reading, this seems unobjectionable. And it is from this principle that the Libertarians develop such positions as their opposition to laws that discriminate against gays, that restrict the legal right to abortion, or that permit the police to invade an individual's right to privacy.

But that is just small change for the Libertarians. The underlying meaning of this principle is clarified further in a passage stating, "we oppose all interference by government in the areas of voluntary and contractual relations among individuals."

The main thrust of this idea is reactionary.

Antilabor planks

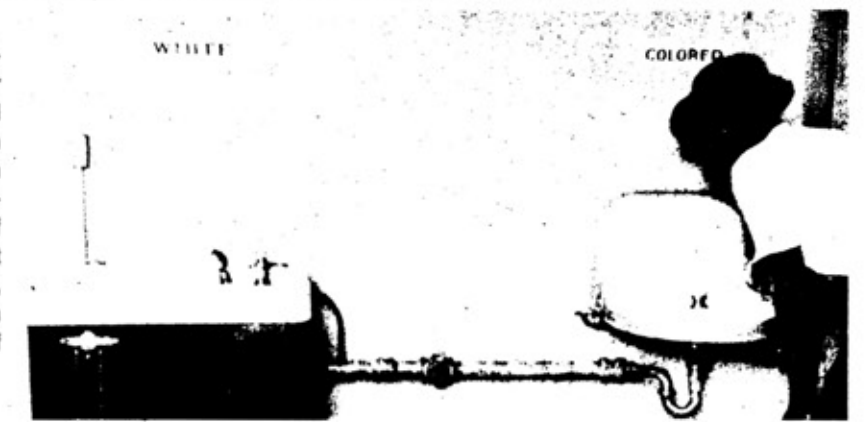
The Libertarians classify as "interference by government" all laws and institutions, fought for and won by working people, that restrict the rapacious power of big business or that provide vital social necessities.

Following this principle, the Libertarians oppose minimum wage legislation. They oppose unemployment insurance. They oppose social security.

They would abolish the Environmental Protection Agency and repeal the Occupational Safety and Health Act (OSHA). They would get rid of the National Labor Relations Act, including the provisions that labor unions have used to win union



Edward Clark, Libertarian Party candidate for president, is an attorney for Atlantic Richfield oil company. Old lithograph, top right, shows children factory workers in early nineteenth century. Libertarian Party favors abolition of public education and repeal of laws outlawing child labor. At right bottom are segregated water faucets, representative of old Jim Crow system in South. Libertarians uphold right of property owners to discriminate.



recognition and bargaining rights. They would even eliminate laws barring child labor.

The Libertarians, in short, would grant working people no legal protection whatsoever against the profiteering corporations.

Farmers, too, would face a bleak future, because farm income support would be eliminated altogether if the Libertarians had their way.

The same is true for the Libertarian view of Black, Latino and women's rights. "Anti-discrimination enforced by the government is the reverse side of the coin," says the Libertarian platform.

It is not just affirmative action or busing rulings that the Libertarians abhor. They also "oppose any governmental attempts to regulate private discrimination, including discrimination in employment, housing, and privately owned so-called public accommodations."

Shamefaced racism

To be sure, the Libertarians do excuse themselves for upholding racist and sexist discrimination as a sacred right of property owners. "Members of the Libertarian Party do not necessarily advocate or condone any of the practices our policies would make legal."

It recalls the days of Jim Crow segregation, when shamefaced whites expressed their regret, but wouldn't lift a finger lest they interfere with the principles of "states' rights."

In the Libertarian view, it is clear, there is a hierarchy to rights. Human rights are subordinate to the right of property, at least when Blacks, Latinos, women and working people are concerned.

It should come as no surprise to learn that the Libertarians are just as reactionary on key social issues.

They would abolish all welfare programs, food stamps, and all tax-supported services for children.

They would eliminate not only federal funds for abortion but all Medicare and Medicaid.

They would end any government funding for education, science, sports, and the arts.

They would get rid of all consumer protection legislation that restricts business advertising or regulates product safety. They would eliminate all nutritional and safety standards for food and drugs.

They don't oppose nuclear power; just government funding or regulation. If privately-owned energy corporations want to go nuclear, fine. The Libertarians oppose any effort to regulate the use of property on the grounds of riskiness.

Children, too, would suffer

They would eliminate all government-funded public education, and even the requirement that all children receive an education. As an interim move toward private (and costly) schools, they would reduce tax support for existing schools. "Those not responsible for the education of children" would be absolved from paying school taxes.

It is no wonder that the Libertarians campaigned vigorously for Proposition 13 in California. They not only support all such reactionary measures but have made this a major theme of their campaign propaganda.

The Libertarians are very specific about itemizing the social services that would be cut if their tax proposals were implemented. But when they talk about military spending they shift and twist.

The Libertarian platform calls for reductions in military spending, but hastens to add: "We recognize the necessity for maintaining a sufficient military force to defend the United States against aggression."

A more widely-distributed and popularly written brochure for Clark's presidential campaign, however, doesn't specify any cuts, saying only that Clark "opposes increasing the military budget" and "favors a strong defense for the United States itself."

Atom bombs & the draft

The Libertarian platform calls for the mutual disarmament of nuclear weapons. But Clark told the party convention in New York state that "our strategic nuclear weaponry is really the only defense this country needs."

In light of all this, the Libertarians' current stand against the draft rings hollow. It stems, not from opposition to capitalist war aims, but from the Libertarians' view of the draft as a form of "involuntary servitude" for youth—an example of what the Libertarians mean by government interference in individual rights.

But as with Blacks, Latinos, women, and all working people, the rights of youth are subordinate, in the Libertarian view, to the rights of individual property owners. The Libertarians would support any war that they perceived as defense of property. And since all of Washington's wars nowadays are fought to defend capitalist property rights, young people had better look elsewhere than the Libertarians to defend themselves against the draft.

For all their talk about individual rights, the Libertarians reveal themselves as a thoroughly reactionary group, whose policies would add enormously to the misery and suffering of working people.

The Libertarian principle of undiluted individuality works only for the rich and powerful. Working people and the oppressed, however, know that as individuals they are weak. Only collective action can make them strong.

Only collective struggle, and ultimately governmental power by the workers and farmers, can uproot racist and sexist discrimination, improve living standards, and defend the individual rights of the great masses of human beings.

That's what socialists stand for. Socialism is the polar opposite of the mistitled doctrine called Libertarianism.

Safe energy committee formed

Unionists discuss how to fight nuclear danger

By Nancy Cole

The June 29 Toledo meeting of anti-nuclear trade unionists showed the progress that has been made in mustering labor opposition to nuclear power since the Three Mile Island accident began fifteen months ago.

The 135 participants who formed the Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment met one day after krypton venting at the TMI plant near Harrisburg was halted when a radiation alarm sounded.

Radioactive releases were resumed less than thirty-six hours later, a reminder of the urgency of mounting a powerful campaign that can halt the nuclear conspiracy between utilities and the government which supposedly regulates them.

The Toledo gathering was called at a meeting of the Labor Task Force of the Coalition for a Non-Nuclear World. The task force met at the offices of the International Association of Machinists following the April 26 antinuclear march on Washington.

People from twenty unions in sixteen states plus Canada attended the June 29 meeting. The presence of official representatives of two of the most important unions in the country was a sign of the growing involvement of labor in the antinuclear fight. United Mine Workers President Sam Church and United Auto Workers President

ment as others in the antinuclear movement.

"There are many ways to burn coal in an environmentally safe manner," explained Charles Grimm, international field representative for UMWA District 6. He went on to state his opinion that the Environmental Protection Agency has held back on implementation of new technologies to make it even cleaner.

Russell Gossman, a member of the staff of the UAW's Environment and Conservation Department, explained the UAW's stand on nuclear power. He brought with him copies of a UAW brochure on nuclear energy—the text of a June 1979 executive board statement—calling for a moratorium on nuclear power plant construction.

In a later panel, UAW staff person Jerry Tucker urged unionists not to wait for national initiatives, but to act on the local level. "It is our policy that when you don't agree with the evolution of the nuclear juggernaut in your area, you are free to participate in community action with other like-minded people," he urged.

Representing the International Chemical Workers Union, Gail Bateson first thanked unionists at the meeting for giving support to the ICWU strike in Laurel, Mississippi, against Sanderson Farms.

She then outlined her union's stand on nuclear power, which is for a complete moratorium on construction of new nuclear plants and the immediate disassembly of plants currently operating.

Industry propaganda

Much of the battle, all here admitted, is getting out the truth about nuclear power. Since the Harrisburg accident began, the nuclear industry has been on a giant public relations campaign.

It's not just TV, radio, and newspaper ads, explained Alden Meyer, an economic analyst with the Environmental Action Foundation. "They're sending materials to schools, public relations representatives are going out on the speaking trail, and they're setting up dummy pro-nuclear 'citizens groups.'"

Several panelists spent time debunking some of the myths, or more accurately lies, that have enveloped nuclear energy.

One is that nuclear costs less than other forms of energy. The Atomic Industrial Forum just released a report, said Meyer, that concluded nuclear power was 34 percent cheaper than coal-powered electricity for the year 1978.

Energy consultant Charles Komanoff checked the report and found that AIF had left out twelve of the fourteen most expensive reactors in the country. It had also neglected to include some of the cheapest coal-fired plants. After this was corrected, even taking the AIF's data at face value, Komanoff concluded that nuclear power plants



Militant/Lou Howort

April 26 antinuclear march on Washington. Toledo meeting considered fall conference of labor for safe energy and full employment.

The next meeting of the Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment is set for Pittsburgh on Sunday, August 17. For more information, contact the committee at 1536 Sixteenth Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20036, phone (202) 265-7190.

Douglas Fraser both delegated members of their union staffs to attend the meeting. A representative of the International Chemical Workers Union also spoke.

The Toledo meeting was planned to be educational, as well as a working session, to help arm unionists with the facts on nuclear power and its alternatives.

Coal as the alternative

The question of what alternative to nuclear-generated electricity is an important part of involving unionists in the antinuclear fight. In the past, discussion often focused on solar or other renewable energy sources. Since technology doesn't exist to use these forms of energy on a massive scale, this put the prospect for stopping nuclear power at some indefinite future date. Either that, or live with fewer lights.

At the June 29 gathering of unionists, however, the main alternative addressed was coal—a plentiful, immediately available energy source.

Panelists made clear that unionists are as concerned about the environ-

were 7 percent more expensive than coal in 1978.

This, Meyer explained, doesn't begin to take into account the taxes that subsidize the industry, or the funds it will take to decommission the used-up plants and deal with the nuclear waste for which there is as yet no existing technology. In fact, until these expenses are determined, no one really knows the real costs of nuclear power.

"The nuclear industry is not giving up," Meyer said. "There are still substantial profits to be made if they can get these nuclear lemons into the rate base and charge the ratepayers for them."

Jobs for minorities?

Michelle Tingling, chair of the Minorities Organized for Renewable Energy (MORE), took on another myth. "They say to minorities, 'We're going to provide jobs for you.' I'll give you one guess as to what kind of jobs they're talking about. You've heard about the spills? People cleaning up the wastes?"

"Whose communities are those wastes transported through?" she continued. "In Washington, D.C., I live in a section called Anacostia—a low-income, primarily Black area. All along the routes there they have 'H.C.'—hazardous cargo. That means anything from nuclear waste to toxic chemicals, anything they think is too dangerous to go under the Capitol goes through our neighborhood."

Tingling noted that eight of the fifteen largest oil companies also have controlling interests in uranium mining, milling, and processing. And they own 44 percent of leased coal reserves.

"They don't like to talk about control, because they control it all. But when we talk about a safe energy future, we're talking about some measure of control over energy—what kind you're using and how you're using it," she said.

Earl Keihl, a member of the Furniture Workers in York, Pennsylvania—twelve miles from Three Mile Island—asked at one point if it didn't make sense for unionists to begin a movement to nationalize the utilities.

This idea of who controls energy was one of several broader issues raised at the conference, all suggested by the seriousness of the nuclear peril.

A number of speakers pointed out that even those Democratic and Republican politicians who claim to be antinuclear, like Sen. Edward Kennedy, refuse to take any action against nuclear power.

Other speakers went beyond express-

ing their frustration with the two big-business parties, offering alternative proposals for how the labor movement can fight back.

National labor conference

With the discussion of a national fall conference of labor for safe energy and full employment, the idea of the union movement flexing its muscle, acting on its own independent of the Democratic and Republican politicians, became real.

A young steelworker from Detroit, Stan Hill, explained that the rate for recruitment into the armed services in the Detroit area is soaring. "Many of my friends are going in, not because they want to but because they can't find jobs," he said.

"The current policy of the government is not to provide jobs but to draft us into the army. Young people would be inspired if the unions took up the fight against the draft, like they are beginning to around nuclear power," he said. "We don't want guns in our hands, we want paychecks."

Hill received a careful hearing and a round of applause from the meeting.

One of the speakers from the floor most favorably received was Pennsylvania coal miner Kipp Dawson. She welcomed "the opportunity to build a movement that does not have to rely upon the hollow promises of the Democratic and Republican politicians who have so betrayed the needs of working people."

"In Pennsylvania right now," she said, "our brothers and sisters in Harrisburg are being bombarded with krypton gas, all through the good offices of the politicians, who have done nothing to stop the nuclear threat. In fact they have promoted nuclear power."

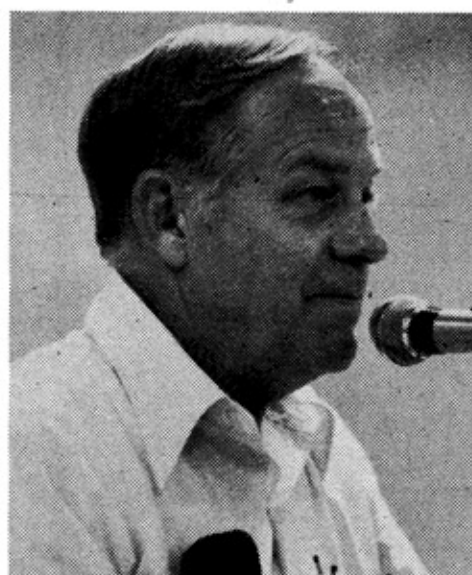
"The Democratic and Republican candidates for president really represent what we're up against. Ronald Reagan needs no explanation. Jimmy Carter is a name not very well liked among coal miners," Dawson continued, explaining that he had tried to use the Taft-Hartley Act to crush the miners' strike in 1978.

She referred to the comment by Joel Bander, a UMWA representative at the meeting, that a national labor conference for safe energy would not hear from a lot of politicians but instead from the unionists fighting nuclear power.

"The only politicians we would want to speak to us are politicians who represent us," Dawson said. "We need our own politicians. We need an independent voice, a labor party."



Jerry Tucker, left, from United Auto Workers and Charles Grimm from United Mine Workers represented their unions at June 29 meeting.



Militant/Nancy Cole

'We are in no mood for takeaways'

39,000 workers strike copper industry

By Dan Dickeson

SALT LAKE CITY—"No contract, no work!"

That was the watchword as picket-lines went up at copper mines, mills, and smelters here and around the country July 1. Unions representing 39,000 workers have shut down most operations of the seven major copper companies in Utah, Arizona, New Mexico, Montana, and other states.

A key issue in the strike is effective cost-of-living protection. The old contract provided for quarterly raises tied to the cost of living, with no maximum or ceiling. Under this formula, the average wage for union workers in the industry rose to \$10.23 an hour.

Company negotiators are now reportedly proposing to put major restrictions on the cost-of-living clause in the new contract. They have offered to increase some other benefits "in return," but in a period of double-digit inflation this is obviously a losing deal for the union.

Negotiations between the copper industry and the twenty-six unions that make up the Non-Ferrous Industry Conference have been suspended since the strike began. There is no sign of an early settlement.

Some companies are using the first weeks of the strike to perform scheduled maintenance work, using supervisory personnel. It will be a few weeks before the industry feels the full impact of the strike.

The copper unions have a militant tradition. They have struck over every contract in the past thirteen years. In 1967 they stayed out over eight months in a strike that had a major impact on the national economy.

In Butte, Montana, pickets at the Anaconda Copper Mine prevented salaried personnel from going in to maintain pumps that keep the mine shafts from flooding. The company responded by getting a federal judge to call a court hearing to seek an injunction against the unions.

More than 6,000 workers are on strike at the giant Kennecott Copper mine and smelter complex near Salt Lake City. The mood on the picket-lines is one of determination to hold out as long as necessary.

Several union members expressed disappointment at not getting more detailed information about the negotiations.

The general feeling was summed up by one striker outside the mine: "They're trying to take away what we fought for before. But we're not giving up anything."

A.D. Green is vice-president of Uni-

Dan Dickeson is a member of International Association of Machinists Local 1525 in Salt Lake City.

ted Steelworkers Local 485, which represents the miners at Kennecott. He told me, "We've been forced out on strike. What they're offering us just amounts to takeaways—taking back what we've won in past contracts. That's what they did to the unions in basic steel and aluminum, and now they're trying to do it to us."

"But the copper industry is different. It's not depressed like basic steel. We are in no mood for takeaways. We are not going to negotiate on the basis of takeaways."

He added, "I think this is going to be a hard strike—for everybody."

By Josefina Otero

PHOENIX, July 1, 12:15 a.m.—Minutes after the contract expired, I talked to Cass Alvin, spokesperson for the twenty-six-union copper coordinating committee.

"All the companies had to offer were takeaways," he said. "We are asking for what workers in auto and other industries got. The copper industry is in a position to pay us the wage increase we are asking for."

Alvin said that in addition to rejecting the unions' wage proposal of ninety-five cents an hour over three years, the companies also want to take away a scheduled cost-of-living raise. "There is a lot of solidarity among the workers in rejecting this takeaway of COLA," he said.

SAN MANUEL, Az., July 2—"About 1,000 workers showed up this morning

Josefina Otero is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from Arizona. She is a member of United Steelworkers Local 3937 at Reynolds Aluminum in Phoenix.

Wages of copper miners have not been keeping up with inflation. Their jobs are difficult and dangerous. But things are not so bad for the copper companies. Refined copper shipments increased 9.6 percent last year. But profits increased much more:

Company	1979 operating profit	% increase from 1978	Dividends paid out to stockholders
Amax	\$479,890,000	82%	\$91,930,859
Asarco	139,578,000	1,400%	38,418,900
Kennecott	241,999,000	140%	34,816,950
Newmont (Magma)	213,399,000	186%	37,687,500
Phelps-Dodge	272,065,000	60%	24,861,600
Anaconda (Arco)	179,000,000	1,071%	

*These figures are just for Anaconda which was bought by Arco in 1976. Anaconda's huge 1979 profits were 14.9 percent of Arco's \$1.2 billion profit.



Militant/Whitney Grey

Pickets from coalition of unions in front of Magma Mine smelter, San Manuel, Arizona. 'We need the right to walk off the job if it's dangerous.'

at the Steelworkers Local 937 headquarters," said Emmett Gomez, a grievor for the union at the Magma mine. "They came to sign up for picket duty and find out about food stamps and unemployment benefits."

I asked if the miners were financially prepared for the strike. "We are never really prepared. Miners are just like everybody else. They are always in a hole, always in a bind to grab hold of money."

When Oscar Bejardo, another miner in the union hall, heard that I am the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate, he asked, "What are you going to do about getting rid of the 'right to work' law? It should be gotten out of the way for good, buried somewhere."

I asked if he had heard about the resolution in favor of a labor party passed at the recent western district convention of the Steelworkers. "No. But that's what we need. We need a party for the peons, the working people."

From the union hall, we went to talk to the pickets at the entrance to the Magma smelter.

A Boilermakers union member there

told us about the pollution in the mine: "There's sulfur dioxide in there. Sometimes you can't see 100 feet ahead of you because the smoke is so thick. We have to use respirators. There are times you can't see what you're eating."

A Machinists union member raised the issue of the right-to-work law again: "It's killing us. It's anti-union. It's anti-people. As long as it's on the books, forget it."

I pointed out that almost all the states that have refused to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment also have the anti-union right-to-work laws. The workers I was talking to said they support equal rights for women. A woman steelworker said there are about 250 women working in the Magma mine.

An International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers union member raised another issue. "We're trying to get rid of the no-strike clause so that when they give us a hard time we can walk out."

There are eight or nine unions among the 4,000 workers at the Magma mine. About 2,100 are in the United Steelworkers. Most workers we met feel they are weakened by the division into separate unions. There is the feeling that the unions need all the strength they can muster. Workers estimate the company stockpiles can withstand a six-month strike.

Miners feel the stakes are high. An IAM member told us, "We're in a bind. Not just here, but all over the country. I'm not going to sign a contract that makes me lose money from what I had before. That's not Americanism. The company shareholders made record profits this year, and they want to take advantage of the workers."

Joseph Brendel, a Boilermaker at Magma for eleven years, put it this way: "It's just like old Mexico. They want to keep the poor people poor and the rich people rich. Big companies don't give a damn about us. All they care about is themselves."

500 protest Chicago steel shutdowns

By Jon Hillson

CHICAGO—"Two, four, six, eight—we won't let them close the gate!"

That was the angry chant of nearly 500 steelworkers who picketed U.S. Steel headquarters and the federal building here July 8 protesting the two-week shutdown of U.S. Steel South Works.

The action called by USWA Local 65 was swelled by supporters from area USWA locals, the closed Wisconsin Steel mill, fire fighters, teachers, hospital workers and members of Operation PUSH.

The shutdown, which began June 29, may last longer than the announced two-week layoff of the mill's 3,000 current work force. Three thousand additional workers are already laid off.

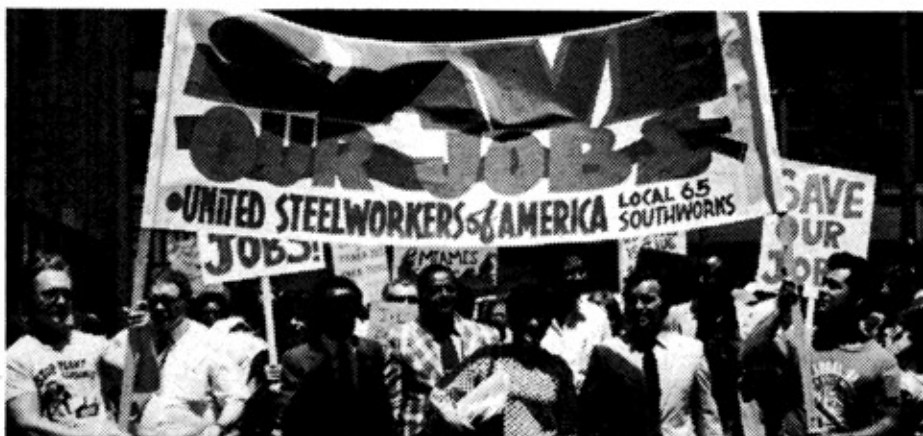
Blasting the profits-first priorities

of U.S. Steel, Local 65 President Alice Peurala told cheering workers at a rally before the picketing, "One thing we've learned from Youngstown is the need to mobilize."

"There is," she said, "absolutely no difference between Carter, Reagan, and Anderson. When is the labor movement going to wake up to the fact that we need a labor party? We should call an all-unions conference to launch a labor party rather than elect friends of labor who, when they get elected, stab us in the back."

At a later rally at the federal building after the picketing, Peurala repeated the call for "labor to become an independent political force."

She called it a "lie" that imports are the reason for the crisis in the



Militant/Jon Hillson

USWA Local 65 President Alice Peurala, center: 'We need a labor party.'

steel industry. She pointed to "mismanagement and non-investment in steel" as the source of layoffs.

"We have a right to a job. Our

work built those plants and everything in this country. And we can run those plants," Peurala said to cheers.

'Without SUB, Ford ain't nothing'

Auto crisis reaches workers still on job

The Ford plant in Metuchen, New Jersey, is one of the few in the country operating at normal production. Some workers felt they were being spared the fate of the hundreds of thousands out of work.

On June 20 Ford permanently shut the nearby assembly plant in Mahwah. The shutdown was blamed on poor quality work.

Then it was announced that 400 young Metuchen workers who had not completed their probation would be fired, their jobs given to high-seniority Mahwah workers.

When local United Auto Workers officials protested, the international union put the local in receivership.

As the workers from Mahwah came in, workers who were to be fired were forced to train them.

Then Ford announced the Supplemental Unemployment Benefits fund (SUB) had run out of money for all those workers with less than ten years' seniority.

Workers counted on SUB to cushion the anticipated six-week layoff when Metuchen is retooled to produce Ford's new Lynx and Escort subcompacts.

Some hope to get TRA (Trade Readjustment Allowance) benefits from the federal government. But TRA is supposed to be for workers hurt by foreign competition. The model changeover may not be construed that way.

Then Ford posted a notice that it may schedule the two eight-hour shifts for ten hours each.

At a news conference June 20, UAW international representative Joseph Reilly had called on Japanese auto workers to refuse overtime in order to limit production and supposedly create more jobs in the U.S.

With SUB and/or TRA, workers can take home nearly as much as their average pay when working, \$250 to \$300 a week. Without them, they will receive only about \$117 a week from New Jersey unemployment.

John Gaige, a worker on the Metuchen production line, describes below the reactions of people drawn into the uncertainty and pain of the capitalist economic crisis.



One car a minute, sixteen hours a day at Metuchen. 'Train your replacement, then you're fired.' Surprise. Disbelief. And anger.

By John Gaige

METUCHEN, N.J.—Surprise. Disbelief. And anger. Workers learned from a newspaper article that SUB will be cancelled.

"I heard it this morning and it ruined my breakfast."

"We'll get TRA, right?"

"I don't think most people know. The union should keep us informed," a young worker chipped in as the line started.

"You know, without SUB or TRA, working at Ford ain't nothing. They want quality, but they never give us anything to work with. Lousy materials and lousy tools. And now no SUB. If I skip my car payment and they get after me, I'll just write and tell them the fund ran out."

"Who controls the SUB? How do we know it ran out of money? Maybe Ford just ripped it off."

Another worker mumbled, "It's going to be rough. I hope the new car sells."

Management says Metuchen is the key to Ford's future.

Workers have seen the prototype of the Escort. They know about the robots

being installed as part of retooling.

To the members of UAW Local 980, plans for the Escort are not the comfort they once were.

Mahwah closing

The Mahwah closing was calculated to get more mileage than the cars get on the highway. Ford blamed the victims: the workers.

A foreman told a reporter it was Blacks and women who forced the closing.

The shutdown has continuing repercussions. Foremen use the code word "quality" to harass, intimidate, and discipline. "Shape up or you'll end up like Mahwah."

One foreman goes around asking workers their middle name. After they answer he fires back, "No, it's 'Quality!'"

Recently Ford upgraded about seventy general utility workers to check-up on quality. A foreman compared them to assistant foremen. They are not supposed to help people get out of the hole [keep up with the line] or make emergency relief calls or clean up like they used to.

It's odd to see them standing around inspecting and polishing cars when they used to run around the line doing jobs here and there.

Ford's dream is not odd. They want to weaken the union by blurring lines between management and workers.

Ford preaches hatred for its competitors. They say, "We're all in the same boat, striving for quality, beating back the Japanese."

The transfers from Mahwah led to a stir concerning affirmative action. The percentage of women will be much lower after the probationary workers are pushed out. Local union leaders contacted the NAACP to investigate. Within a few days the international UAW stepped in to run the local.

Union meeting

One union meeting was cancelled. Over 300 showed up for the one held June 29, many for the first time. The local president conducted regular business. Then the meeting was taken over by Regional Director Ed Gray. There were many questions on the receivership.

"What is the percentage of women coming from Mahwah?"

"What are the charges against local president Wedgeworth and chief bargaining committeeman Richardson?"

"When will the local be returned to the membership?"

Gray brushed most questions aside. Lawyers from the international backed-up Gray's claim that the international could be sued if it acted differently.

Gray ruled all motions out of order. People left the meeting dissatisfied.

But there were some positive things.

A young Black probationary worker called his "new trainee," a white man in his fifties from Mahwah, his brother, and he suggested a large meeting of both locals be held to discuss the fight for jobs.

An older worker from Mahwah stood up to say that we need a march on Washington to demand jobs. "And no more Democrats and Republicans. We need a labor party."

Cleve. strikers win support, reject threats

By Glen Arnodo

CLEVELAND—United Auto Workers members have been on strike here against Baker Material Handling Corporation since April 22. In late June the company escalated its union-busting drive. But the strikers rejected company threats and are beginning to receive the solidarity that is essential to winning.

Every union member received a letter from company President William Lorden stating that if a "substantial number of employees do not return to work, we will be placed in a position of having to hire replacements for those who have decided not to work."

The leadership of UAW Local 451 organized an emergency meeting for the morning of June 25 to respond to this threat. President Frank Sasey took the podium. "This is not a ratification meeting. There is no agreement."

He explained the issues involved and why the strike had to continue. "The company wants to move disciplinary action on your record from six months to two years. That's a takeaway."

"The company says that they don't want to take away your seniority. That's false. They want to lay people off and then transfer others to that classification. If we accept this the company will beat the hell out of us."

"They want to change the contract date from April 22 to June 30—another takeaway. June 6 was the payoff for COLA [cost of living allowance]—thirty-one cents. By moving the con-

tract date they'll rape us of this thirty-one cents. They offered a nickel with one hand and took thirty-one cents away with the other."

"The company wants to abolish past practices on grievances. We fought too long, too hard, struck too many times to give this up now."

"The other issue is safety and health. We had one of our sisters lose her arm. They say it was her fault. The machine she was cleaning had no lock-out. They were negligent."

"The roof leaks. You need an umbrella to run a machine. We have many, many safety problems. If we can't settle them in the grievance procedure then we have to have the right to strike. This is a key issue. The company says they will never agree."

"We've been on strike for ten weeks. They provoked us. The fight has just started."

Following the president's remarks, a member jumped up and proposed an immediate march on the plant.

Three hundred fifty strikers assembled in front of the gates chanting, "You will never divide us, you will negotiate." Salaried employees, who are working, watched from the windows.

The next day, 75 to 100 union members gathered outside. Only one person accepted the company deadline and went in. He quickly came out again, tried to start a fight with a picket, and was arrested by the police.

The union is seeking solidarity from the rest of the labor movement. A



UAW Local 451: 'We fought too long to give up now.' 300 demonstrate in front of Baker plant June 25.

special representative from the local was sent to the UAW convention in California to gain support for the strike. The Cleveland chapter of the Coalition of Labor Union Women voted its support. An article explaining the issues appeared in the newspaper of Steelworkers Local 2265, representing workers at Republic Steel.

Local 451 needs all the support it can get.

After the company back-to-work ultimatum failed, it went into court July 1 charging the union with violating the earlier injunction, which limits the number of pickets. The judge found two picketers guilty of contempt and

ordered them not to picket at all. They are to be sentenced later. Police have also stepped up their patrols in the area.

On July 9 the union held another meeting followed by a rally in front of the plant. About 300 strikers heard UAW Region 2 Director Bill Casstevens report that the union has contacted the German Metalworkers Union to get their support. Baker is owned by Linde, a West German manufacturing company.

Casstevens announced that the Region 2 office will send letters to UAW locals urging donations and plant-gate collections for the Baker strikers.

UAW leadership: then and now

By Frank Lovell

(second of two parts)

Most entrenched officials of the United Auto Workers are conditioned to believe that there is a "philosophy" that goes with their leadership positions, something beyond the mundane worry over keeping their well-paid jobs and fat expense accounts. This is what newly elected UAW Vice President Steven Yokich referred to when he said at the union convention this year, "we're changing names, not philosophy." Bureaucrats talk to each other this way for mutual reassurance.

Their "philosophy" has two sides. One is the necessity for union-management collaboration. The other is the bureaucratic instinct for self-preservation, which was euphemistically called "leadership theory" under the regime of longtime UAW President Walter Reuther.

Leaders in class war

This is the opposite of the theory and practice upon which the UAW was founded. Those workers who seized General Motors plants in Flint, Michigan, in the winter of 1936-37 and forced mighty GM to sign its first union contract were engaged in class warfare.

They knew from experience that if they lost the battle, the corporate empire would continue its merciless treatment of them. They fought *against* the corporation out of desperation and in self-defense. They fought for all other workers too, both those out of work and those with jobs. It never occurred to them or the leaders among them that they had anything in common with corporate management.

Union leaders under those circumstances were selected by a natural process. Those who knew how to organize the fight and win against all odds were the recognized leaders.

The odds against the union were great. If company thugs and state police were unable to break up picket lines or evacuate sitdown strikers, government mediators were brought in to reach a "peaceful settlement" with no union protection. The friendly Democratic party politician was also there, then as now, to promise eventual improvement of working conditions and creation of jobs—if the union would just back off for now. The strike leader who knew how to overcome or skirt around all these obstacles was usually elected to union office.

It didn't always happen. Homer Martin, an unemployed preacher who became the first elected UAW president, was not much good as a strike leader or union official. But the UAW in the early days before World War II had ways of correcting such mistakes. The membership of the union was able to directly influence policy decisions of the leadership. That possibility was choked off decades ago.

Since 1948, when Reuther consolidated his control over the union, the UAW bureaucracy has been organized to dictate the pecking order within the organizational structure and to select candidates for job vacancies.

IEB caucus

Decisions on policy and personnel are made by the International Executive Board Caucus, and its decisions are binding. Those on the union payroll who violate the decisions are ostracized if they happen to hold elective posts, and dumped at the first opportunity. If they have appointed jobs they are fired on one pretext or another. The system does not always work smoothly, but it serves its purpose.

The replacement of Regional Director Paul Schrade soon after Leonard Woodcock became UAW president in 1970 revealed some details about the system of leadership selection.

Schrade began his career as an aircraft worker in Los Angeles. He joined the union in 1947 and quickly became president of his local. In 1957 he was picked to work for the international in Detroit. Eventually he became Reuther's administrative assistant. In 1962 he was elected UAW regional director for the West Coast. He held that job for ten years, gaining a reputation as a "left winger" because he opposed the war in Vietnam and got involved in the "Dump Johnson" movement when Lyndon Johnson was still in the White House.

Woodcock had little use for Schrade personally and cared less for the liberal tinge of his Democratic party politics. At the 1972 UAW convention Schrade was defeated for his sixth two-year term as regional director by right-winger Jerry Whipple. Whipple had Woodcock's backing.

Schrade later complained that Woodcock violated caucus discipline, and defied precedent. In a letter to Secretary-Treasurer Emil Mazey on March 18, 1973, he wrote: "The International Executive Board Caucus decision last June to accept Whipple into



Chrysler chairman Lee Iacocca, center, and UAW President Douglas Fraser, right, at signing of Chrysler bailout.

the Caucus indirectly but effectively expelled me from the Caucus. Woodcock announced here in California that if I exercised my right to return to the Staff he would not permit me to work in California.

"My expulsion was in direct violation of the clearest precedent in the case of Casstevens and Forchione in Region 2 in 1970," he said.

"In that case, Casstevens successfully undermined and defeated Forchione. At that time the IEB Caucus refused to allow Casstevens membership in the caucus because of his serious violation of IEB Caucus rules. Because of this Forchione was given the right to run again for Director in the caucus and the right to work on the Regional Staff to make his comeback effort.

"Those clear precedents have been violated in my case," Schrade said. "Whipple who also violated the Caucus rules was accepted into the caucus right away, although Casstevens was not. I was expelled and blocked from working on the Regional Staff, as Forchione was not."

The first rule

Schrade did not understand the first rule, which is that in the union hierarchy some are less bound by caucus discipline than others. He had the mistaken notion that fifteen years loyal service in the interest of the bureaucracy entitled him to tenure and gave him equal rights. He thought he was a member of "the family." But one of the duties of membership is to know who is head of the family. The Schrade example was a reminder to those who did not know or had forgotten.

Schrade's real crime in the eyes of the bureaucracy was to go back to work at the Rockwell plant in Los Angeles after he was dumped as UAW district director. The purpose of leadership caucus is not only to keep order and proscribe political cannibalism. The more important purpose is to shield the bureaucracy against pressure from the rank and file of the union. When Schrade went back to work for a living the bureaucracy instinctively understood that he was appealing to the ranks of the union to win back his old job, and that is unforgivable.

This protective system depends on the working relationship between corporate management and top UAW officials. When this tie comes apart, as it is beginning to in the present economic crisis, the bureaucratic crust of the union will crack.

No signals

The reason the leadership came to the UAW convention this year without a militant sounding "plan" to fight the present layoffs and plant closings is not from ignorance of what can be done. Their problem is with management. Fraser is not getting any signals.

The directors of the auto corporations are not yet sure what they can or will do, and they are undecided how the union fits into their future plans. Consequently, Fraser talks about "the threat of Japanese imports," and the need to "democratize management." But this is only a way of marking time until he hears from them.

Another source of silence is the two-party political establishment. Politicians in the Democratic and Republican parties prefer not to talk confidentially with union bureaucrats these days. They no longer openly seek union support. Some say they are better

off without it. Consequently, Fraser invited the social democrats—Michael Harrington, who wants to reform the Democratic party in this country, and Ed Broadbent of the Canadian New Democratic Party—to talk to the convention about "political alternatives."

At the international convention this year there was no lack of resolutions from the locals addressing the problems of unemployment, inflation, and political action.

UAW members everywhere support the idea of a shorter work week with no reduction in take home pay. The traditional "30 for 40" demand (thirty hours work at the present forty hours pay) is popular. Auto workers first raised it more than forty years ago.

A big public works program, the takeover of idle plants to produce needed goods and services, is nothing new to the UAW. This demand is raised periodically by the union. The leadership always explains that the union has no way to win or implement such a demand. It needs an act of congress.

Several convention resolutions this time called for a labor party to elect working men and women to public office and get the government behind the needs of workers and their families.

As old ties snap . . .

The leadership organized the convention to prevent any of these proposals from being discussed. They know that under present circumstances these demands, if endorsed by the union, will lead to an open confrontation with the corporations. This is what the bureaucracy fears.

The deepening crisis puts heavy strain on the old labor-management ties. As these ties snap the UAW leadership policy of collaboration with management will collapse. The corporations have already launched their anti-union offensive. The UAW is one of the major targets in their battle strategy, now only in the first stages of deployment.

A policy of working-class struggle against corporate management, and against the political tools of management (Democrats and Republicans), will replace the present servile effort of the union leadership to restore and continue the old collaboration.

The new policy will have to be initiated by new leaders from the ranks of workers in the plants, not by the union bureaucracy or any segment of it. The new policy first finds expression in rank-and-file action against management in the work place, and for the needs of the working class in society, just as in 1933 through 1939 when the UAW was being forged in the heat of great class battles.

Further reading

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

A Political Biography of Walter Reuther: the Record of an Opportunist by Beatrice Hansen. 23 pages, \$.40.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014, or from bookstores listed on page 27. Please include \$.75 for postage.

The Great Society

Harry Ring



And bad goat's breath—The United States Steel Corporation asked a federal court in Pittsburgh to modify a \$400 million pollution consent decree it signed last year. They said new information suggested that unpaved roads and uncovered storage piles, not steel-making, were the "principal source" of poor air quality.

Especially not reduce prices—Gasoline prices remain high even though supplies are up and demand down because the unusual laws of economics don't apply to the industry,

explains Robert Weeks, a Mobil exec. "There is not a whole lot Mobil or any other oil company can do," he opined, "to ease the motorist's burden. . . ."

The wheels of justice—After several years of legal maneuvering, Marvin Mandel, ex-governor of Maryland, finally entered prison for a three-year stretch. He had been convicted of accepting kickbacks, bribes, etc. Six weeks after he entered prison, Mandel was up for parole. The board will act within three weeks.

A puzzle—Apparently with some surprise, the UN Food and Agriculture Organization reported that in the first half of 1980 the world demand for meat had not even matched the small growth in supply. Are more people vegetarians? Or could it be that the "demand" for meat doesn't match the meat trust's demand for money?

Philly's finest—Even though Chief Rizzo's gone, Philadelphia cops are still committed to law 'n order. Three of them were held for trial, charged with loading up at a local appliance

shop. They figured out a clever scheme to avert the front-door burglar alarm and load TV sets out the back door onto a van. But they woke a neighbor.

Particularly those on layoff—Transportation secretary Neil Goldschmidt says: "I think the country's and the automobile interests are the same. The interest is to keep the industry healthy, keep those jobs, have orderly investments, make sure the profits are there. . . . What benefits the industry benefits the nation."

Women in Revolt

Suzanne Haig



'We have to decide which side we're on'

The following is a guest column by Gale Shagold.

One of the most interesting workshops at the Mid-Atlantic Regional conference of the National Organization for Women, held in Cherry Hill, New Jersey, June 14-15, was on women and the military.

It came on the eve of the resumption of draft registration for men and amid attempts by opponents of the Equal Rights Amendment to equate ERA with drafting women.

The discussion centered around a NOW position paper on the subject published last March in the *NOW National Times*. It was summarized at the beginning of the workshop by Susan Kahil, one of its authors, and Shirley King, who served in the military.

The contradictory and controversial position paper opposes draft registration but at the same time advocates registering and drafting women, if these are imposed on men. It advises Washington to strengthen the U.S. armed forces by ending discrimination against women in the military. It argues that a volunteer army is more effective for the Pentagon than a draftee army and is in the interests of women.

The unpopularity of this pro-U.S. military position was expressed during the workshop and throughout the conference.

"We have to decide which side we are on," said Claire Moriarty from Newport News, Virginia. "Are we for or against Black majority rule in South

Africa? Are we for or against Nicaraguans running Nicaragua? Are we for or against Iranians controlling Iran? The U.S. army fights for the interests of big business and against South African, Nicaraguan, and Iranian freedom fighters. We must be on the side of these freedom fighters, not in the U.S. military, fighting against their just struggles."

A theme of the discussion was that rather than demanding women be included in the draft, NOW should be demanding that no one should be drafted—no women, no men.

"Feminists don't just want a piece of the existing pie, we want to change that pie," said Debi Jamison from Summit Area NOW in New Jersey. "We don't want 50 percent of what exists. We want to change what exists. There is confusion on what equality is. Equality means women becoming full human beings. And the military has nothing to do with women becoming full human beings."

Mariana Hernández from Essex County, New Jersey, NOW is a Chicana whose brother is permanently disabled as a result of his service in Vietnam. Hernández pointed out that Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and Native Americans were drafted and killed in Vietnam in disproportionate numbers. Yet dying in Vietnam did not win them equal rights at home. The same will be true for women.

An antidraft resolution passed by the NOW-New Jersey State Conference in March was discussed and unanimously passed by the workshop. The convenors of the workshop also supported the resolution.

Many women were excited by the discussion, seeing it as a real education, and talked about it afterward to people who had not been able to attend the workshop.

At the plenary session the next day the antidraft resolution passed again overwhelmingly, after being strengthened by conference participants.

The resolution called for NOW to work actively for the repeal of draft registration, stating "that forced conscription is not a right, and therefore we do not support its extension to women." It proposed "that the exemption women currently have . . . be extended to men."

During the conference, regional director Judy Knee urged NOW members to unite with other organizations in demonstrations opposing the draft.

Support to the protest actions called by the Committee Against Registration and the Draft (CARD) at post offices across the country during the two weeks of draft registration beginning July 21 is a good way for NOW chapters to register their opposition to Washington's war moves.

Also passed were a resolution against nuclear power and one calling for NOW chapters to sponsor walk-a-thons and other actions on August 26 for the ERA.

A resolution supporting increased representation of minorities in leadership positions in NOW was also passed. Commitment to its spirit was demonstrated when the conference elected Brenda Frazier, a long-time Black leader of NOW, to NOW's national board.

What's Going On

ARIZONA PHOENIX

'NICARAGUA: FREE HOMELAND OR DEATH.' A film showing. Sat., July 19, 7 p.m. 1243 E. McDowell Rd. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (602) 255-0450.

COLORADO DENVER

THE ECONOMIC CRISIS AND THE ELECTION. Speaker: Alan Gummerson, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., July 13, 6 p.m. 126 W. 12th Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: SWP Campaign. For more information call (303) 534-8954.

WHY WORKING PEOPLE SHOULD SUPPORT THE NICARAGUAN REVOLUTION. Speaker: Kevin Porch, Young Socialist Alliance and member Local 8412 Communications Workers of America. Sat., July 19, 7 p.m. 126 W. 12th Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (303) 534-8954.

CELEBRATE THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION. Picnic at Sunken Gardens Park, across from West High School. 8th Ave. and Elati. Sat., July 26, 5 p.m. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (303) 534-8954.

FLORIDA MIAMI

REVOLUTION IN GRENADA: EYEWITNESS RE-

PORT AND SLIDE SHOW. Speaker: Jerry Hunnicutt, Socialist Workers Party. Wed., July 16, 7 p.m. 8171 NE 2nd Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Bookstore. For more information call (305) 756-8358.

MICHIGAN DETROIT

NICARAGUA: THE FIRST YEAR. Anniversary celebration. Robert Buchta, photographer for INRA and ATC who will show slide presentation; Bill O'Brien, report and slides on the civil war in El Salvador; Robert Lopez, international representative, United Auto Workers, will speak on trade unionists and Nicaragua. Music and refreshments. Sat., July 19, 7:30 p.m. Holy Redeemer Auditorium, Vernor and Junction. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Detroit Area Nicaragua Solidarity Committee. For more information call (313) 579-2100 or 526-4828.

OHIO CLEVELAND

GRAND OPENING OF CLEVELAND SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY HEADQUARTERS. Speakers: John Powers, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate; others. Sat., July 26, 5 p.m. reception; 7 p.m. dinner; 8 p.m. rally; 9 p.m. party. 2230 Superior Ave. Donation: \$6 dinner and rally; \$1.50 rally only. Ausp: SWP Campaign. For more information call (216) 579-9369.

OREGON PORTLAND

'THE LAST GRAVE AT DIMBAZA.' A film show-

ing. Sun., July 20, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW. Everett St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA PITTSBURGH

NICARAGUA AND THE LATIN AMERICAN REVOLUTION. Speakers: Anibal Yáñez, editorial board, *Perspectiva Mundial*; a speaker from Pittsburgh Nicaragua Solidarity Committee. Fri., July 18, 8 p.m. 1210 E. Carson St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (412) 488-7000.

1980 SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN PICNIC. Celebrate first anniversary of Nicaraguan revolution. Meet Linda Mohrbacher, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate. Sat., July 19, noon to dark. South Park Quebec Grove. Donation: \$5. Ausp: Western Pennsylvania SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (412) 488-7000.

VIRGINIA NEWPORT NEWS

WORKERS AND THE CHANGING SOUTH. Two classes. Sat. July 19, 5 p.m.; Sun., July 20, 2 p.m. 111 28th St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (804) 380-0133.

CELEBRATION OF CUBAN REVOLUTION AND SUCCESS OF SOCIALIST WORKERS PETITION DRIVE. Speakers: Matilde Zimmermann, SWP candidate for vice-president. Sun., July 27, 4 p.m. 111 28th St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: SWP Campaign and

Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (804) 380-0133.

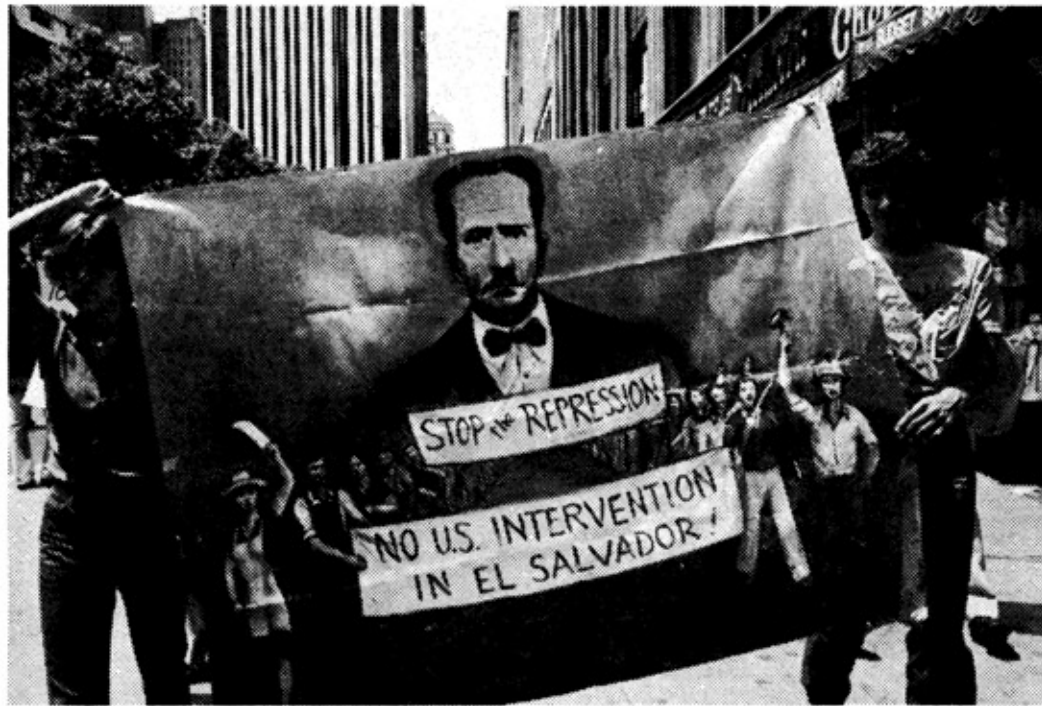
WASHINGTON D.C.

DRAFT REGISTRATION AND U.S. WAR AIMS IN CENTRAL AMERICA. Speakers: Vince Benson, president, Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks Local 1906; Leonor Carrillo, member D.C. NICA, Nicaragua solidarity committee; representative of Washington Bloc in Solidarity with the Bloque Popular Revolucionario of El Salvador; Sam Schuchat, activist in Washington Area Coalition Against Registration and the Draft; Glenn White, Socialist Workers candidate for D.C. City Council. Fri., July 11, 7 p.m. 3106 Mt. Pleasant NW. (near Columbia and 16th). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

WISCONSIN MILWAUKEE

CELEBRATE ONE YEAR OF A FREE NICARAGUA. Slide show, panel, and celebration. Speakers: Howard Handelman, professor at Marquette University; representative of Partners of Americas and Coalition to Aid Nicaraguan Democracy. Sat., July 19, 4 p.m. program; 7:30 p.m. celebration with direct telephone hook-up to Managua. Theatrical performance, live music and dancing. CONTEMPORARY, 900 S. 5th St. Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: Coalition to Aid Nicaraguan Democracy; Milwaukee Archdiocese Office of Human Concerns; LAUCR; La Guardia Newspaper; Mobilization for Survival; Partners of the Americas; Esperanza Unida; Texas Farm Workers; Community Enrichment Center; Justice and Peace Center. For more information call (414) 933-3033.

Revolt in El Salvador



Augustín Farabundo Martí depicted on banner at June 28 New York demonstration

The fast approaching insurrection in El Salvador has its roots in an earlier massive revolt there—the 1932 peasant insurrection.

One of the central leaders of that struggle was Agustín Farabundo Martí. Martí became a national hero, and remains so for today's Salvadoran fighters, because he stood up uncompromisingly against the repressive rulers and their backers, U.S. imperialism.

Martí began studying Marxist ideas while a student at the National University, beginning in 1914. Like many other young rebels of his time, he was inspired by the 1917 Russian revolution.

He was expelled from El Salvador in 1920 for speaking up on behalf of a fellow student rebel. During this first exile in Guatemala, in 1925, Martí became a charter member of the Central American Socialist Party.

Martí was thrown out of Guatemala that same year and returned to El Salvador.

"In those days," asserts Thomas Anderson in his book *Matanza*, "Martí wore a red star on his lapel with a picture of Leon Trotsky on it." Anderson states that although Martí managed to get some aid from the Soviet government during 1930 and 1931, Martí was never a Stalinist.

He was again exiled from El Salvador in 1925 for his work with the Regional Federation of Salvadoran Workers. He soon slipped back into the country.

In 1927, Martí was jailed for his activity. A hunger strike combined with pressure from student supporters won his freedom, but the government continued to persecute him.

In 1928 he went to New York and made contact with the Anti-Imperialist League there. By May 1928, he was back in Central America, this time in Nicaragua to join the fighters led by Augusto César Sandino.

Although Martí later left Nicaragua because of political differences with Sandino, he declared the Nicaraguan leader the "greatest patriot in the world."

Martí returned to El Salvador during the summer of 1930, and became secretary-general of the Central Committee of the International Red Aid. The Red Aid was probably the biggest and most influential workers organization in El Salvador at the time.

El Salvador's one-crop economy (coffee) was hit hard by the world capitalist depression. Unemployment was widespread in the countryside and cities. The chasm between the *campesinos* (farmers) and giant landholders widened. The hunger and misery of the Indian population intensified.

It was in this period of growing working-class unrest that elections for president were held in 1930. The government thought it safest to be rid of Martí, so from a jail cell they shipped him out of the country in December 1930. Martí

eventually escaped from his captors and made his way back to San Salvador in February 1931.

By this time, rallies and marches protesting the economic misery were becoming frequent, as were confrontations with government forces. The outlawed Martí even led one of these marches on President Arturo Araujo's own house. Martí was arrested, but a hunger strike and mass pressure again won his release.

The regime responded with stepped-up repression. Police began a series of raids against leftist headquarters and searches of the mail for subversive materials.

When in September government forces murdered a dozen people, including children, in Asuchiyo, Martí is said to have made a personal visit to Araujo to protest the massacre. Araujo detained him for a few days, reportedly offered him a post with the government, and then exiled him once again. Martí was back in El Salvador within a few days.

On December 2, a military coup placed Gen. Maximiliano Hernández Martínez in power. Promises of reform gave hope to many rebels. But from the moment he assumed power, Hernández Martínez began to prepare the repressive machinery to crush the mass peasant movement.

Rigged elections were held and Communist Party claims of victory for some seats were ignored.

The economy was getting worse, and the government decreed wage cuts for civil workers and tax hikes.

The insurrection began on January 19 with a barracks revolt in San Salvador. In following days, the predominantly Indian fighters attacked towns, armed only with machetes. They cried, "Death to the bosses!" "Death to the rich!" "Long live the Red Aid!" and "Long live the Soviet republic!"

But within a week the government's machine guns had overpowered the peasants' machetes.

U.S. and Canadian destroyers in the area rushed to El Salvador, offering to land marines and armed sailors to back up the government. Gen. José Tomás Calderón declined, announcing the revolt was under control—"4,800 communists have been liquidated."

The massacre that followed left 30,000 dead. After known leaders were rounded up, the government arbitrarily chose others for execution. All those carrying machetes were guilty, as were any with strong Indian features, or who dressed in *campesino* costumes.

In the cities, any who had registered to vote as Communists became immediate victims of the firing squad.

Martí and two student leaders, Mario Zapata and Alfonso Luna, went on trial. Martí told the judges, "I do not wish to defend myself because my work and that of my comrades will be justified." The three were executed on February 1, 1932.

—Nancy Cole

Discriminatory interest

I read in the Seattle paper that Rupert Murdoch, publisher of the *New York Post*, was granted an 8 percent loan by the Export-Import Bank to buy some Boeing jetliners for an Australian airline he controls.

This low-interest loan was approved just six days after Murdoch's newspaper endorsed Carter in the New York Democratic primary. A few days before the endorsement, Murdoch had met Carter for lunch at the White House.

An article in the same paper a few weeks earlier reported that some home mortgage rates in the Seattle area had soared as high as 17.5 percent. One builder commented, "Our industry is in a state of crisis right now . . . That translates into less opportunity in the long run for the purchaser who needs shelter."

It's a sorry state of affairs when jet planes are available to the few at 8 percent interest, and the rest of us are prohibited from buying roofs over our heads by mortgage rates approaching 20 percent.

Phil McCann
Seattle, Washington

Worse than you think

In her excellent column, "Milton Friedman's hoax," in the June 20 *Militant*, Suzanne Haig says, "Right to work" laws outlaw the closed shop." Unfortunately, the law is worse than that.

The 1947 Taft-Hartley Act outlaws the closed shop anywhere in the country. In addition, Taft-Hartley gave the states the power to outlaw the union shop. The closed shop is one where only union members can be hired. The union shop is one where workers must join

the union after a period of time.

Under Taft-Hartley no union may legally bargain to get the closed shop. In those states which passed special legislation falsely called "right to work" no union may legally bargain for the union shop.

When Taft-Hartley was passed the union movement vowed to fight this vicious piece of legislation by—electing Democrats. Thirty-three years later, and after many Democratic presidents and congresses it is still there.

Seth Wigderson
Detroit, Michigan

A phony survey

The agents and think-tanks of the ruling class spend an inordinate amount of time and energy fabricating all sorts of charts, graphs, and surveys to convince us that the country is moving to the right and other similar fictions. All those lines and graphs give the illusion of a scientific approach.

Recently Paul Tribble, congressman from Virginia's first district, decided to run his own survey in the periodic rag that he sends out to his "constituents." The question Tribble asked was simply are you for or opposed to [draft] registration?

After a month or so the results are in. I landed with the 11 percent progressive minority opposed to registration out of 1,965 respondents.

Like most surveys, this one is totally misleading when one considers that 89 percent who favor the draft are those whom this anti-democratic legislation will not affect. Like his mentor, Ronald Reagan, Tribble receives most of his support from the white middle and upper class and practically nil from the Black community.

When I was petitioning for

GIs meet Australia socialists

Recently a flotilla of U.S. warships visited Perth, Western Australia, to give their crews a break after their long stint off the coast of Iran. This was the force from which Carter's mismanaged military attack was launched.

Our small city was suddenly flooded with American marines and sailors trying to wipe out the boredom and fear contracted during their recent duty. Our branch of the Socialist Workers Party found a ready audience for our political opposition to Carter's war drive among these people.

While we were selling our paper *Direct Action* on the streets we sometimes made a special attempt to reach U.S. service people. Simply walking up and saying "Will you buy this paper? We believe the Shah should be sent back to Iran to face his justice" was generally enough to clinch a sale.

My experience was that Blacks were the most interested. *Direct Action's* cover featured an article in defense of Cuba and I sold a paper to some Puerto Rican sailors on that basis.

Three marines came into our bookshop one day and

fell into conversation with one of our members. They were prepared to put their lives on the line if ordered by their president. But when it was pointed out to them that Rockefeller is not about to put his life on the line to protect Exxon's profits they pondered a while and then agreed.

Before they left one bought a T-shirt with a Palestinian motif, another bought an anti-nuclear button, and the third bought our booklet called *The Truth About Afghanistan*.

Many of these service people were strongly patriotic and were strong believers in the ideals of democracy. But they displayed a weary understanding of the fact that their lying president was abusing their faith and beliefs.

There will be more of these ships coming in from the coast of Iran in the future and we would like to be prepared for them with some of your election material. Can you please send us about 500 election statements by Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann.

Keep up your good work.

Michael Rowney
Perth, Australia

Learning About Socialism

Why nationalize under capitalism?

A reader's question:

A few weeks ago you ran a column explaining what is wrong with the idea of workers buying factories to prevent them from closing [May 30 issue]. You said that whether owned by a capitalist corporation or worker-owners, the factory would have to operate by the same economic rules.

My question is, why call for nationalizing a certain industry like oil, steel, or auto? The steel industry in England is nationalized, and they are throwing more workers into the street and closing more plants than here.

What good is nationalization as long as there is capitalism?

M.P.

Newport News, Virginia

Stu Singer replies:

In England, steelworkers at the nationalized British Steel Corporation were forced on strike for thirteen weeks this year for the first time since 1926. Management made them an insulting 2 percent wage proposal in the face of 20 percent inflation.

At the same time BSC is carrying out its plan to "rationalize" the steel industry by closing plants and discarding one-third of the workers.

The British Steel Corporation is run by managers appointed by the capitalist government.

Most of the British steel industry was nationalized after the Labour Party victory in the 1945 election. The measure was strongly opposed by the British ruling class.

Only a small portion of the British industry was nationalized in this way. The bulk remained directly owned by capitalist corporations and banks. Successive governments, Labor and Conservative, have attempted to run the nationalized steel industry in the overall interests of the British capitalists.

Iron laws

As the May 30 "Learning" column explained, competitive pressures require a "worker-community" owned steel plant, as well as one owned by big capitalists, to put the burden of the economic crisis on the workers or eventually go under. This is inescapable, an iron law of the system.

But this does not hold true in the same way for a nationalized industry.

The difference is the role of the government.

A Labor Party government in England, or even a Conservative Party government under massive pressure from the workers movement, could operate the steel industry to produce steel and maintain jobs. A nationalized industry does not have to be operated only in terms of international capitalist competition.

The resources of the British state could be applied to this purpose. Cut the military budget, withdraw the troops from Ireland, send the queen and the House of Lords out to get useful jobs. These are some of the political decisions the government can make.

But the schemes for employee stock purchase plans or "worker-community" ownership are dead ends. They take money out of the pockets of the workers. And the onus for imposing cuts in jobs, wages, and working conditions is put on the backs of the workers themselves.

our Socialist Workers Party candidate, Sharon Grant, I ran into scores of young people who, though not registered to vote, voiced their opposition to Tribble's constant war-whooping. Many others signed because there was finally a person running against his campaign of war and militarism.

Outside my apartment the other day, a young boy about nine years old saw my No Draft button and told me, "I'm with you." Did he participate in Tribble's "survey?" Hardly, along with hundreds of other draft-age youth who just as well knew nothing about it.

Craig McKissic

Newport News, Virginia

'Kramer vs. Kramer'

I would like to respond to Suzanne Haig's review of *Kramer vs. Kramer*, which I thought was an unfair appraisal and also inaccurate in some respects.

First of all, although in the movie you don't see directly the drudgery of Joanna's life before she left Ted, the role she had played was made clear by the effect her leaving has on Ted and Billy. Ted's insensitivity to her misery is made quite clear.

From this point in the movie, both go through metamorphoses. Ted becomes less self-centered and career-oriented and for the first time is able to be sensitive to the needs and fears of his child. He is finally able to understand how dreary life had been for Joanna and why she left.

We catch up with Joanna's transformation in a courtroom scene where she and Ted are fighting for custody of their child and, yes, she cries when forced to recount painful episodes of her life (to which, incidentally she responded decisively and at a great price to the traditional self-image as a mother. This does nothing to reaffirm traditional role playing as Haig asserts.)

One does not have to look far to find strong, independent, even militant women who are still nagged by the self-doubt and lack of assertiveness with which we were raised and who are put to tears under pressure. This does not make them or their accomplishments any less.

Far from applauding the negative aspects of life, this film merely portrays them for what they are worth.

Finally, this was not a film about a working-class family nor a definitive answer to the questions of child custody. *Kramer vs. Kramer* was striking for the open and fair way with which it portrayed the experiences of the three main characters, struggling to make sense of their lives in a society where so much hard work frequently leads you nowhere.

Roz Melnicoff

New York, New York

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.

British working people are well aware of the difference between private and nationalized industry. Attempts by British capitalists to denationalize steel and other industries have been defeated by massive working-class opposition.

Can the economic problems we face be solved under capitalism?

No. But the price paid by the working class is not predetermined. It is set by the class struggle. Strong action by workers can win concessions. Nationalized industry is an example.

This is not a solution to the problems of capitalism. It is a defense of workers against some effects of capitalism.

The solution is the overthrow of capitalist rule.

Fighting against catastrophe

Nationalization of industry is not a new idea. The measures proposed by Marx and Engels in 1847 in the *Communist Manifesto* included: "centralization of credit in the hands of the state by means of a national bank; centralization of the means of communication and transportation in the hands of the state; extension of factories and instruments of production owned by the state."

These demands, seventy years later, were in the program of the Bolshevik Party in the months before the successful October 1917 revolution in Russia.

In a pamphlet written in September 1917 called *The Threatening Catastrophe and How to Fight It*, Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin pointed to the shortages of food and fuel, the closing of the factories, and the general breakdown of society under the sabotage of the capitalists and the demands of the war. He explained that the Bolsheviks had to put forward a program to be enacted immediately by the capitalist government in power, to carry out the most immediate tasks to prevent famine. "Nationalize the banks into a single state bank; nationalize the syndicates" (giant corporations) such as "sugar, oil, coal, iron and steel."

The workers and peasants government led by the Sandinistas in Nicaragua is now carrying out a similar program. It is nationalizing industry and has established a single state bank.

Nationalization is a demand of the workers movement, whether it is demanded of a capitalist government or carried out by a workers government.

A revitalized workers movement will fight to extend, not dismantle, nationalized industry in Great Britain.

The key to transforming the nationalized steel industry and the whole economy in Great Britain is the struggle of the workers. That includes the struggle to establish a real workers government that will put the interests of the workers first instead of those of the capitalists. The Sandinista and Bolshevik governments are models.

M.P. and other Militant readers interested in this question should read or re-read *The Communist Manifesto* and Lenin's pamphlet, *The Threatening Catastrophe and How to Fight It*. Both are available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014 and at the offices listed below.

Please send questions you would like to see answered in this column to: Stu Singer, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

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THE MILITANT

Detroit city workers win strike support

Labor confronts Mayor Coleman Young

By Elizabeth Ziers

DETROIT, July 9—Democratic Mayor Coleman Young first threatens and scolds, then tries diplomacy, then threatens again to force 9,000 striking city workers back to work.

They have been out for a week now: bus mechanics, garbage collectors, clerical workers, water works staffers, and recreational department life-guards.

They are members of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Council 25, and they are fighting to defend their standard of living against the ravages of inflation.

The union represents 9,000 of the city's 23,000 workers and has won the support of the labor movement in the city.

Amalgamated Transit Union bus drivers and Teamsters have been honoring the strike.

Further support was gained on July 8, when leaders of seventeen city unions—fifteen AFL-CIO unions plus the Auto Workers and the Teamsters—met to discuss what could be done.

Tom Turner, president of the Metropolitan Detroit AFL-CIO, announced later in the evening the full backing of

the labor movement for a picket line the next day in support of AFSCME's demands.

Over 1,000 picketers, from the main city unions as well as AFSCME, surrounded city hall for two hours, demanding that the city meet the workers' demands.

'Won't get fooled again'

The city workers' response to Coleman Young's exhortations has been straightforward: "We won't get fooled again."

They remember well what happened in 1977, when the city government previously pleaded poverty. Coleman Young, appealing for team spirit and faith in the revival of Detroit, talked them into settling for base pay hikes of only 4 percent per year and a COLA (cost-of-living allowance) that was capped at twenty cents per hour and did not carry over from one year to the next. (It is never rolled into the base pay; hence the city workers call it the "uncola.")

Now AFSCME has to start back at ground zero to regain the COLA granted in 1977.

While living costs shot up more than 30 percent during the three years of the contract, AFSCME workers' wages rose only 13 percent.

As one Department of Transportation mechanic put it, "We voluntarily agreed to a contract in 1977 which amounted to a pay cut. Now Young is trying to force us to accept another wage cut in 1980."

The city workers have learned a few things since 1977. They've seen city council members grant themselves whopping pay raises. They've seen Coleman Young shell out \$20,000 for his personal limousine. They've seen thousands spent to spruce up downtown and refurbish the expressways for the Republican national conven-



Detroit city workers picket in front of site for Republican national convention, above, and outside City County building, right. Workers refuse to accept another skimpy raise that would put them further behind inflation rate.



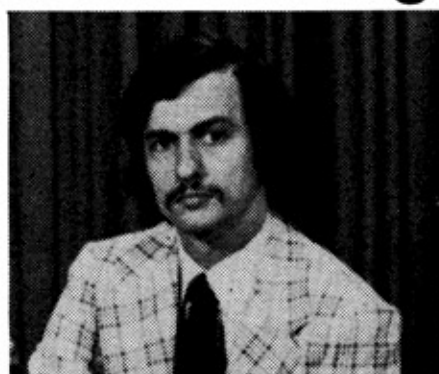
Coleman Young was elected mayor with support of Blacks and labor. Now he tells city workers they must accept 'Chrysler-style' contract.

Socialist urges solidarity, blasts Young's strikebreaking

Bill Arth, Socialist Workers Party candidate in the Fourteenth Congressional District, said that Detroit Mayor Coleman Young had given "a slap in the face to city workers" July 3, when he appealed to them over TV to accept a "Chrysler-style" contract.

Arth, who is a laid-off Chrysler worker, said "I know what acceptance of that contract meant. Many of us handed over our jobs. The wage give-aways help only Chrysler's creditors. City workers have nothing to gain by accepting such a take-away deal."

Arth added that the city workers "should be commended for calling a halt to the steady war on their standard of living. If they make gains, it will aid us all. They should be vigorously supported by all workers in Detroit."



Bill Arth, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress

Arth also stated that the city workers' strike shows "the futility of continuing to put labor's trust in capitalist party politicians like Coleman Young."

tion. They've seen millions of dollars in tax breaks and bond deals extended to Detroit-area developers to build a sports arena and high-rise hotels.

Detroit's workers also saw windfall tax breaks go to Chrysler in 1978, only for Chrysler to turn around and lay off 75,000 workers in 1979.

Chrysler-style contract

Now, city officials want AFSCME workers to accept a Chrysler-style contract.

That's why city officials say that AFSCME negotiators have "blood in their eyes." AFSCME leaders are going to the bargaining table with an angry membership at their backs.

City bargainers confronted the strikers by saying the city had nothing and would give nothing. No raise, no COLA, no improvement in overtime provisions.

The union negotiators' original demand was for a 7 percent pay raise and an uncapped COLA, which would be rolled into the base rate. Their chief negotiator, Lloyd Simpson, has since scaled that down to 4 percent.

The city then submitted a new offer. It contains no increase in base wages, but adds an "uncola" of 3 percent per year for three years; and Mayor Young says even this skimpy raise would necessitate laying off more AFSCME members.

While the city moans about the money, union members cite other grievances.

Workers at the city water works are constantly harassed and unjustly disciplined by foremen.

AFSCME is demanding an end to forced overtime, and elimination of an attendance control program, which the city enforces strictly.

Last year Detroit's garbage collectors struck against the forced overtime. The issues were never resolved, and the unsettled grievances have mounted.

Young: image & reality

Whatever the final outcome of the strike, Coleman Young's public image is likely to be damaged.

Four years ago this Democratic Party politician, a former United Auto Workers organizer and top city AFL-CIO leader, could pass himself off as an eloquent representative of Detroit's Black community and labor movement.

Today he says he "won't let the unions hold the Republican national convention as a gun to the head of the people of the city of Detroit."

He threatens mass firings and applies strike injunctions and court orders against striking workers.

"Hell will freeze over before I give the city away," is how he expresses his attitude. He sounds no different from his fellow union-busting Democrat, Mayor Edward Koch in New York City.

Union bargainers had to issue a written statement that criticized Young for bargaining "through the media instead of at the table."

Such developments let the workers of Detroit see the real Coleman Young, and the real logic of Democratic Party politics.