

THE MILITANT

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

The fight for jobs Why labor needs its own party

The following statement was issued June 25 by Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president. Pulley is a Chicago steelworker and member of United Steelworkers Local 1066; Zimmermann is a former staff writer for the 'Militant.'

Millions out of work. Plants shutting down and layoffs spreading. Unemployment and food-stamp benefits running low. Black unemployment nearing 50 percent in some cities.

The jobs crisis has American working people by the throat. What do the Democratic and Republican parties propose to do about it?

To the jobless, to the unions, to the Black and Latino communities, to the women getting pushed out of decent jobs, these two parties offer empty promises.

To big business, they offer higher profits through more tax breaks and government subsidies.

Despite differences in rhetoric, that's what the economic proposals of Carter, Kennedy, Reagan, and Anderson all boil down to.

To fight effectively for jobs for all, to protect workers' right to a job and a decent standard

of living, the unions urgently need to break from the Democratic and Republican parties and launch an independent labor party.

Just look at our supposed "choice" in 1980:

Carter. After campaigning four years ago on promises to "put America back to work" and to cut war spending, the Georgia peanut profiteer has slashed funds for social programs and cut back public works jobs. He has raised taxes on workers (especially Social Security taxes) while cutting taxes for business. The Pentagon budget has soared to \$153 billion. And instead of jobs, Carter offers youth the military draft.

Carter demonstrated his policy in Miami, where the Black rebellion showed the explosive potential of the jobs crisis. He refused disaster relief to thousands of Miami Blacks left homeless and without jobs. Instead, he pledged aid to Miami businesses to rebuild or begin new profit ventures.

Now Carter says he is working on a new "antirecession package." He rules out sorely needed increases in federal jobs programs. Instead he hints at a tax cut. For individuals, the "cut" would merely be a slowing down of the Social Security tax hikes scheduled to take effect next year. For corporations, Carter proposes major new tax breaks in the name of "building productivity into our economy."

None of this will put the jobless back to work.

Kennedy. With his candidacy down and almost out, talk is cheap for the Massachusetts Democrat. He poses as the defender of funds for social programs, and even suggests spending \$12 billion to provide some 820,000 jobs (when by official count over 8 million are unemployed).



Militant/Nancy Cole

March on Washington for jobs May 17 was sponsored by Operation PUSH and unions.



PULLEY



ZIMMERMANN

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Behind
new
fighting
in
Indochina
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Assassins
target
Grenada
leaders
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Grenadian Prime Minister Maurice Bishop escaped injury in June 19 bomb attack.

...jobs fight

Continued from front page

Kennedy spouts the bosses' line, blaming foreign workers for unemployment and inflation. His call for stricter import curbs takes the fire off the real cause of unemployment—the job-cutting profit plans of U.S. corporations.

Kennedy made his real program clear earlier in the campaign, when he seemed a shoo-in for the Democratic nomination. Just a few months ago he told the press he is not committed to big spending to solve the problems. "The problems of the '80s are different from the problems of the '60s and require different solutions," he said then. He stressed that tax cuts should first go to big business and suggested "possi-



'Get in, we're both going in the same direction.'

Socialist program for jobs

The Socialist Workers Party candidates propose the following emergency steps to provide jobs for all and to protect working people against inflation:

1. **Emergency relief.** The government should pay all jobless workers, including youth and others just entering the labor force, unemployment compensation at full union-scale wages for the entire time they are out of work.

2. **Funds for jobs, not for war.** Dump the inflationary \$150 billion military budget and use the money to expand social services and launch a public works program to meet the needs of working people for schools, housing, hospitals, clinics, child-care centers, libraries, parks, and public transit systems.

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

4. **Open the books of the monopolies.** Make public all the secret documents and transactions, financial and other records of

the oil, steel, auto, coal, and other corporations that jack up prices or lay off workers. Let us see the truth about their profits, tax swindles, payoffs, and bribes, as well as their resources, production statistics, and technological possibilities.

5. **Public ownership of industry.** Nationalize the energy industry, whose hoarding and price-gouging are the biggest inflationary problem facing society. Nationalize the steel, auto, rubber, and other companies that are closing plants, dumping workers into the street, and devastating communities. Control over production—work speed, automation, hiring and firing, health and safety—should be in the hands of the workers themselves through their unions or committees. The nationalized industries should be managed by elected public boards whose meetings and records are open to all.

6. **Cost-of-living escalators** to automatically raise wages to fully compensate for all increases in the cost of living. Also COLA for Social Security, pensions, and veterans' and disability benefits. No wage controls. Repeal Taft-Hartley and all other laws restricting workers' right to organize and strike.

bly a reduction in the corporate income tax rate."

Reagan. The California Republican begins with the proposal to abolish the minimum wage. Like Carter, he's for decontrol of oil prices and against "excessive taxation" of the energy giants. He says even bigger increases in the military budget would help revive the economy.

The latest Republican tax cut proposal is virtually the same as Carter and Kennedy's—a slight income tax cut for individuals (with the biggest benefits going to the rich), and faster tax write-offs for business.

Anderson. Posing as an independent, Anderson says nothing much different from the other big-business politicians. His claim to fame is his call for a fifty-cent tax on gasoline—a double whammy for workers already hard-hit by skyrocketing energy prices.

Anderson urges cuts in government spending, including Social Security for the aged and disabled. He's against price controls or regulations on the energy profiteers. Like the others, he wants more tax breaks and "incentives" for the corporations.

Some choice!

The Democrats and Republicans agree that *no jobs can be provided unless it is profitable for the corporations to do so.*

The Democrats and Republicans agree that military spending must be raised to protect corporate investments and profits around the world—meaning less money for jobs and services at home.

No wonder millions of workers, farmers, unemployed, Blacks, women, and youth are looking for an alternative. A labor party, based on the power of the unions and reaching out to all the victims of inflation and unemployment, can provide that alternative.

Only a labor party can carry out a political fight for jobs, because these days providing jobs means challenging the profits of the corporate bosses.

The answers are no secret—a shorter workweek; a massive public works program; nationalization of basic industry. The unions have the power to win that fight.

The Democratic and Republican politicians are doing a good job of looking out for the interests of the capitalists. Workers need a party that will do the same for us.

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Black council member urges labor party

Mel Mason says progress for working people, especially Blacks, requires break with Democrats and Republicans. Mason won city council seat in Seaside, California, despite red-baiting and racist attacks. **Page 11.**

Crisis in auto

Ford and Chrysler victimize and blackmail workers, shut plants, push speed-up, and try to paralyze union through divide-and-conquer tactics. **Pages 16 and 17.**



Venice summit: no gains for Carter

Washington is having trouble lining up its allies in Europe and Japan on Iran, Afghanistan, Olympic boycott, and nuclear weapons buildup. **Page 9.**

The Militant

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But still no permanent status

Carter retreats on Haitian deportations

By Harry Ring

The Carter administration has been forced into a partial retreat in its long-standing efforts to deport Haitian refugees.

In a June 20 policy statement, the State Department said Haitian and Cuban "boat people" would be permitted to stay here at least six months. The White House said that meanwhile it would propose legislation that would permit many to gain permanent status.

Washington has created a mounting scandal with its efforts to deport thousands of Haitians back into the hands of the murderous dictatorship of "Baby Doc" Duvalier.

The deportation moves became particularly untenable while the government was receiving more than 100,000 Cubans here. The administration's dilemma was pointed to by the June 21 *New York Times*. It noted that Washington had to be particularly concerned "lest it be accused of racial bias against Haitians, who are Black."

But the present policy statement does not end the administration's racism—or duplicity—says a prominent Haitian leader.

In a telephone interview, Rev. Gerard Jean-Juste, director of the Haitian Refugee Center in Miami, characterized Washington's statement as "playing games with human lives . . . exploiting votes."

Rev. Jean-Juste noted that in six months, "it's after the elections. Suppose we have another administration and it says, 'We're not responsible for what the present administration wanted.' Nobody is bound to this policy statement."

For eight years, since Haitians have fled here in large numbers, he said, "we have been in limbo. This prolongs it."

The only meaningful response to the



Militant/Miguel Pendás

Haitian emigre issue, he declared, is to recognize the reality that they are political refugees and grant them political asylum.

The politicians in Washington, Jean-Juste charged, "have no morality at all. They should do like Fidel Castro. When we [Haitians] arrive in Cuba, Fidel Castro says, 'You want to stay, you're welcome.' He helps us. Here they say, 'Get out!'"

Haitian refugees have fought hard and effectively for their right to political asylum here. A growing list of unionists, Black leaders, members of Congress and others have joined in the demand that they be granted political asylum.

The demand was given added weight with a federal court suit seeking an end to the double standard applied to Haitians by the Immigration Service. When the suit was initiated several years ago, an injunction was granted barring further deportations until the court hands down its decision, which is still pending.

The Carter administration policy statement completely ducks the issue of political refugee status.

Some 15,000 Haitians were facing deportation threats and nearly as many are estimated to have eluded Immigration cops when they arrived here.

Along with Cubans who arrived between April 21 and June 19, Haitians are now classified as on "parole." That parole is what's being extended six months. Carter's policy statement emphasized this will not cover Haitians or Cubans arriving after June 19.

A particularly tricky clause requires that those seeking the six-month parole must register with Immigration.

Rev. Jean-Juste said of this: "It might be another trap, like we were trapped in 1977."

At that time Haitians were told that if they registered they would be given work permits. When they did, a number were then threatened with deportation. It took a court order to block that move.

Other serious limitations in the government's new policy statement underline how grudging the concession is.

For example, those in parole status are supposed to be eligible for limited federal benefits under Medicaid and welfare programs—"under the rules of the state in which they are residing."

That's Catch 22.

In Florida, for example, such benefits are denied single men and "able-bodied" heads of families.

"What they are talking about," a Florida welfare spokesperson explained, "is an emergency assistance program which Florida does not have."

Cuban emigres as well as Haitians will feel the bite of this particular bit of fine print. For instance, the Pennsylvania House of Representatives has already given tentative approval to a bill barring any kind of aid to Cuban emigres, or any others arriving in that state.

Haitians will not be secure here until they win political asylum.

Cuban emigres get jail, poverty

Many of the Cubans who left their homeland because they opposed the course of the revolution and dreamed of plugging into capitalist "plenty" are getting bitter lessons.

A thousand of those who arrived from the port of Mariel are being held as suspected felons.

On June 24, a federal immigration judge ordered eighteen deported after a secret hearing. The government says they confessed.

The circumstances of their confessions can be guessed from the fact that all suspects are being held incommunicado in various federal prisons.

Cuba's revolutionary government says it will not accept the forcible return of anyone to the island.

Those who are imprisoned aren't the only Cubans getting a glimpse

of the realities of the social system here.

Seven Cuban women were taken to Orlando, Florida, by a "sponsor" with the assurance of good jobs. On arrival, they were stunned to learn that the job was dancing nude in a topless bar, plus the opportunity to engage in prostitution.

When they refused they found themselves picking oranges without pay and living in a miserable labor camp until rescued by a refugee service.

In Miami, it was reported that a thousand emigrants were roaming the city without food and sleeping in the streets.

Officials decided they had better provide shelter, of sorts, for homeless Cubans. Hundreds are now sleeping on cots under the bleachers at the Orange Bowl.

Some must dream of what they left behind.

New Cuba films slated in N.Y.

NEW YORK—More than 300 people attended a panel discussion on recent events in Cuba held here June 19. It was sponsored by the Center for Cuban Studies.

Participants in the panel had all recently visited Cuba and offered accounts of what they had seen and heard.

The panel members were Jon Alpert, who made films for NBC in Havana during the Peru embassy events and had earlier done feature coverage on Fidel Castro's visit to the UN; Paul Hoefell, who recently won an Overseas Press Club award for a piece on repression in Argentina; Julie Nichamin, a unionist; and Pat Ruffin, a graduate student. Sandra Levinson, director of the

center, led the panel.

It had been planned to show three new documentary films by Santiago Alvarez, Cuba's top documentary filmmaker. But late arrival and technical difficulties made it impossible to show them that evening.

A new showing has been scheduled.

It will be held Thursday, July 10, 8 p.m., at P.S. 41, Sixth Avenue and Eleventh Street, New York.

The first film depicts events at the Peru embassy in Havana and the giant march past the embassy April 19. The second is about Cuba's May Day celebration, and the third on the outpouring of five million Cubans May 19.

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Work of 'imperialism and its agents'

Grenada leaders escape injury in bomb attack

By Ernest Harsch

Washington's campaign against the Grenada revolution took a sharp turn on June 19 with the attempted assassination of Prime Minister Maurice Bishop during a terrorist bombing of a mass rally in the Grenadian capital of St. George's.

Bishop and other Grenadian leaders who were present escaped uninjured, but two young women were killed and dozens of persons were wounded. Hospital officials termed it the worst tragedy since Hurricane Janice swept the Caribbean island in 1955.

Later that day, Prime Minister Bishop went on the air over Radio Free Grenada to condemn this terrorist action, which he termed the work of "imperialism and its local agents."

Shortly after the bombing, information provided by witnesses led the security forces to a home in St. Paul's, where two suspects were believed to be hiding. When the occupants of the house were asked to come out, they responded with a hail of automatic rifle fire. Reinforcements were brought in and a gun battle ensued.

One of the suspects, Strachan Phillip, was killed. Another, Keith St. Bernard, escaped and was being sought. When the security forces searched the house, they found ammunition, explosives, detonators, fuses, and guns.

Both Phillip and St. Bernard were linked to a grouping of counterrevolutionaries led by the Budhlall brothers,

which has been resisting the government's campaign to stamp out large-scale marijuana cultivation and which was involved in a previous plot to overthrow the revolutionary government.

The bombing was obviously intended to kill as many leaders of the revolution as possible and to terrorize the Grenadian population.

Despite heavy rain throughout the day, several thousand persons had gathered in Queen's Park in St. George's to commemorate two Grenadian heroes: Uriah Butler, a Grenadian who led the trade-union movement in Trinidad in the 1930s, and Alister Strachan, a political activist who had been killed by the former dictatorship of Eric Gairy during a demonstration in June 1977.

Virtually the entire top leadership of the People's Revolutionary Government and the revolutionary New Jewel Movement (NJM) was present to address the rally. On the speakers' platform were Bishop, Deputy Prime Minister Bernard Coard, Minister of Labor, Works, and Communications Selwyn Strachan, Minister of Agriculture Unison Whiteman, Minister of Education George Louison, Minister of Health and Housing Norris Bain, and Commander of the People's Revolutionary Army Hudson Austin. Governor-General Paul Schoon was also present.

The bomb was placed directly under the speakers' platform. Equipped with a timing device, it was detonated precisely at 3:00 p.m.



Bishop, center, with Nicaraguan leader Daniel Ortega and Fidel Castro at Havana May Day celebration. 'Whole country will be mobilized' to respond to terror, say Grenadian officials.

Killed by the blast were thirteen-year-old Laurie Charles and twenty-three-year-old Laurice Humphrey.

Thirty-eight persons were hospitalized for their injuries. Two sisters, ten-year-old Jackie Bailey and fifteen-year-old Bernadette Bailey, were in critical condition, Jackie having lost one of her legs. Sixty other persons were treated for less serious injuries and sent home.

Grenada's minister of legal affairs, Kendrick Radix, told *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor* that the bombing in St. George's was "an extension of the terror of those antidemocratic forces in the world" who were responsible for "the brutal and cowardly murder of Walter Rodney" in Guyana, the sabotage actions in Cuba, and the efforts to destabilize the Jamaican government.

In reply to the June 19 bombing, the NJM has pledged to take even greater steps to defend the revolution.

"The whole country will be mobilized," Radix said. "In the next few days, we're likely to see the manifestation of the unity and solidarity of the whole people of our country."

Prime Minister Bishop, in a radio broadcast, pledged that the militia would be greatly expanded, with the goal of recruiting 20,000 persons—nearly one out of every five Grenadians—to defend the country against imperialism.

The Grenadian leaders are also appealing for international solidarity. "We feel," Radix said, "that all democratic and progressive forces, particularly the working people in the United States, are our allies in the cause of freedom."

From *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*

U.S. socialists pledge support

The following telegram was sent June 21 to Grenadian Prime Minister Maurice Bishop from Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president.

We stand with you 100 percent in your struggle to bring to justice the cowardly counterrevolutionaries responsible for the bombing of your rally on June 19. We are saddened by the deaths and injuries sustained by your people.

U.S. imperialism must bear responsibility for this murderous act. Despite just demands by your people for the extradition of the hated tyrant Eric Gairy, the U.S. government continues to harbor him. Washington's refusal to return this criminal to Grenada inspires and emboldens all those who would like to weaken and destroy your revolution.

Moreover, it is well known that the CIA has been involved in many attempts to assassinate other leaders in countries fighting for freedom and national independence.

The people of Grenada, as well as Blacks and working people in the United States, all have the same enemy—the imperialist rulers who will stop at nothing to further their own profits.

The struggles of the Grenadian people, along with their brothers and sisters in Cuba and Nicaragua, are an inspiration to workers here struggling for our own rights.

We in the United States will do everything in our power to bring the truth about your revolution to the American people and to demand that the U.S. government cease its threats and attacks on peoples fighting for justice in the Caribbean and Central America.

S. African strike wave spreads

By Nancy Cole

The week following the revolt by Cape Town youth, the spotlight on South Africa's Black upsurge moved to the industrial city of Port Arthur and its suburb Uitenhage.

United Press International reported that on June 20 police fired shotguns into crowds of demonstrating strikers. The walkout by Volkswagen assembly plant workers in Uitenhage, which began June 16, had been joined by workers at General Motors, Ford, and Goodyear Tire plants.

In all, more than sixteen plants, many of them American-owned, have been struck in the Port Elizabeth area. Other industries hit include wool-processing and construction.

In addition to police firing tear gas and shotguns, UPI said, "for the first time in the current unrest, troops and armor were rushed to the Uitenhage area to protect the plants."

There were no news reports of the number injured or killed.

During the five days of rebellion the preceding week near Cape Town, coinciding with the fourth anniversary of the Soweto revolt, police killed up to sixty Black demonstrators and wounded 200 more.

In response to the strike wave, Prime Minister P.W. Botha warned Blacks June 22 that the government would use "all its might" to crush the upsurge.

The Black strikers are primarily demanding higher wages. The *Christian Science Monitor* quoted a South African sociologist's conclusion that the strikes are also "a manifestation of black unions' growing awareness of their own collective power."

On June 25, UPI reported that auto workers had won a 20 percent pay increase. Earlier reports had said they were demanding 75 percent. Wages for Black workers in the auto plants range

from \$1.53 an hour to a top of \$3.20.

Black South African leaders have cautioned the racist regime that it faces a "volcano" of social discontent. "If we go on as we are going on, we are going to have a bloodbath," Anglican Bishop Desmond Tutu said June 16. Tutu is the Black general secretary of the South African Council of Churches.

"It won't be very long before I'm repudiated by these youngsters. . . . We'll be shoved aside for our moderation, for being sellouts," he said.

The South African apartheid regime is Washington's most powerful and reliable ally on the African continent. It's understandable then that the *New York Times* struck a note of fear June 20 with its statement, "The racial conflict in South Africa can wrench the world, especially the West and particularly the United States."

Assassination in Guyana

Walter Rodney, leader of the Guyanese Working People's Alliance, was killed June 13 when a bomb ripped through his car in the capital city of Georgetown. Rodney's brother Donald was injured.

The WPA accused the ruling People's National Congress of being behind the assassination.

Rodney first came to prominence in the late 1960s as one of the foremost proponents of the "Black Power" movement in the Caribbean.

He spent several years in Tanzania studying the African revolution. There he published his best-known book, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*.

In 1974, Rodney returned to Guyana, and shortly afterward joined with other socialists opposed to the PNC regime to form the Working People's Alliance.

The WPA, openly based on the "principles of Marxism-Leninism," pressed for land reform, nationalization of major industries, and other measures.

As the WPA gained in support and influence, it was met with repression from the regime of Prime Minister Forbes Burnham.

Rodney and other WPA leaders became victims of a political frame-up in July 1979 when they were charged with arson in connection with the burning of several government buildings.

Prior to the opening of the arson trial on June 3, the WPA held two public rallies, drawing 5,000 people.

The murder of Rodney came on the crest of a mounting campaign of government repression and terror. It was a serious blow to the WPA.

But as the group pledged in a statement the next day: "The WPA, his comrades in arms, will carry on his work."



WALTER RODNEY

Grenadians rally against 'marijuana capitalists'

By Ernest Harsch

Large-scale growers of marijuana in Grenada are resisting the government's campaign to suppress cultivation of the drug. Faced with this opposition, thousands of Grenadians have repeatedly demonstrated in support of the revolution and the government's campaign.

The ruling New Jewel Movement (NJM) and the People's Revolutionary Government headed by Prime Minister Maurice Bishop have encouraged these actions. They insist that only through the organization and mobilization of the toiling population can the revolution be adequately defended. (See accompanying article.)

The campaign against marijuana cultivation began in early April, when Police Commissioner James Clarkson revealed a sharp increase in the activities of the marijuana growers. He said that they had cleared large areas of land for growing marijuana—known in Grenada as "ganja"—in some cases seizing farmers' lands and cutting down trees. This, he said, "can only be considered as counterrevolutionary," especially at a time when the government was seeking to boost food production. (Grenada imports much of its food.)

The government warned the large-scale growers to cut down their marijuana fields and offered to assist them in planting other crops.

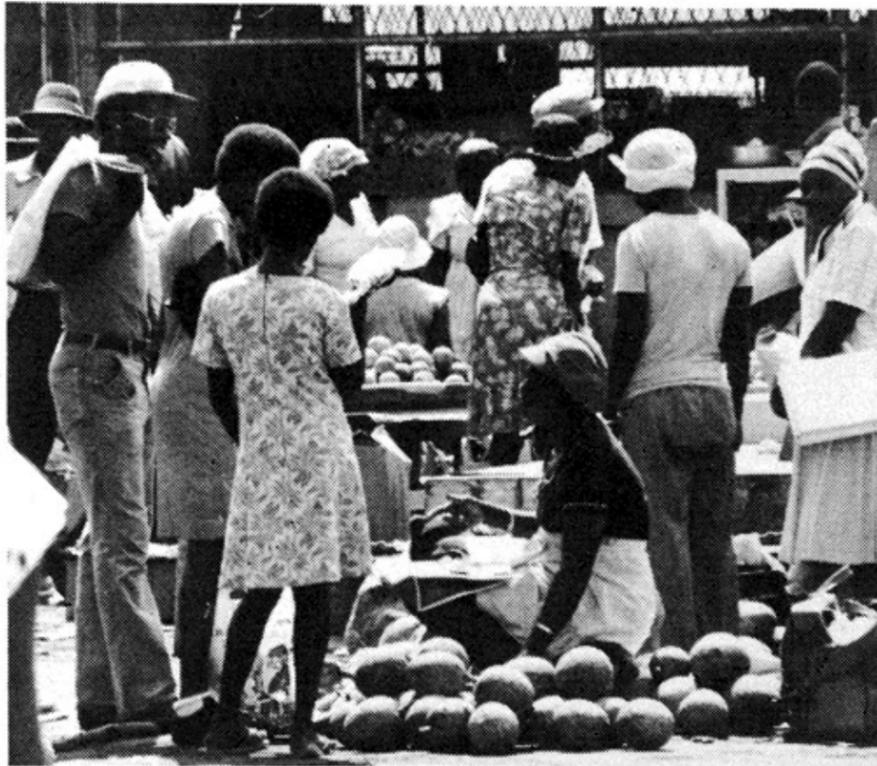
Support for this campaign was widespread. Rallies and meetings were held around the country to discuss the issue and to mobilize popular sentiment against marijuana cultivation.

The NJM National Youth Organisation backed the government's proposal to implement a land reform program for those growers who voluntarily ceased cultivation—and urged firm action against those who did not. NJM Women's Groups in Duquesne, Gouyave, Concord, and other towns condemned the cultivation and sale of marijuana, emphasizing that all land should be used for food production.

On April 22, a meeting of the Grenada Trade Union Council—which includes Grenada's major trade unions—issued a statement condemning "any attempts to make the use of marijuana or any other narcotic drug widespread in our country."

Growers adopt leftist guise

In face of this challenge to their business, the marijuana growers sought to stir up opposition to the government by playing on local grievances. In some cases they adopted a leftist guise, accusing the government of not moving quickly enough on social reform or of being corrupt.



Intercontinental Press-Inprecor/Ernest Harsch
Market in St. George's, Grenada. With government seeking to boost food production, large-scale cultivation of marijuana is counterrevolutionary.

One grouping, led by Kenny "Buck" Budhlall, prompted agricultural workers and local residents to seize the River Antoine Estate near La Poterie in eastern Grenada. In doing so, Budhlall took advantage of discontent over wages and working conditions among the agricultural workers, at the same time leading them to believe that their action had the support of the People's Revolutionary Government.

The agitation of the marijuana cultivators for the "freedom to grow" found an echo among some Rastafarians—members of a Caribbean-wide religious and cultural movement who use marijuana—and even among some members of the People's Revolutionary Army (PRA) and the NJM.

In late April, the government arrested former NJM activist Kennedy Budhlall—one of Kenny's brothers, who was also active in the marijuana trade—and dismissed a number of his supporters from the PRA camp at Pearls Airport. They were charged with plotting to overthrow the government on April 26.

The authorities pointed to a possible link between the plotters and imperialist interests, noting that an unidentified helicopter had flown over the Pearls army camp on the night of April 26 and that the Budhlall brothers

had previous ties with Stanley Cyrus, an opponent of the Grenada revolution who is said to be working with Washington and who was detained for a time for his counterrevolutionary activities (Cyrus left Grenada after his release).

The next provocation came on Sunday, May 4. In the morning, about 200 persons marched out of the village of Tivoli, in eastern Grenada, and demonstrated through the streets of Paradise and Grenville, the island's second largest town. They marched to Pearls Airport, openly smoking marijuana and shouting slogans in support of the Budhlall brothers. "Give us our freedom" was one of their chants.

'CIA no way!'

This action prompted an immediate counterdemonstration. By noon, about 300 persons began circling through Grenville, shouting their support for the government and their opposition to the marijuana growers. Later that afternoon, more than 1,000 supporters of the revolution rallied in Paradise and then marched through Pearls, Moyah, Conference, Tivoli, and La Poterie. They chanted, "Tell President Carter, Bishop is we leader!" and "CIA no way!"

Several days later, the government issued a statement calling on the Peo-

ple's Militia to step up their vigilance against the possibility of an imperialist-inspired attack.

The same day the government issued its statement, May 7, three counterrevolutionary prisoners at Richmond Hill Prison attempted to escape, including Dennis Charles, a member of the Budhlall grouping; Antonio Langdon, a supporter of ousted dictator Eric Gairy; and Rasta Nang Nang, a Rastafarian figure who was jailed in October 1979 for conspiring to overthrow the revolutionary government. All three were shot and wounded during their escape attempt.

On May 8, a second promarijuana demonstration was held by 200 persons in Tivoli. Again, government supporters mobilized. Their action began with 300 persons in Grenville and was joined by high school students and Grenville workers who had just gotten off work at mid-day. They marched through several towns to Tivoli, where the crowd, then numbering more than 1,000, held a rally to condemn the marijuana growers.

5,000 march

The government and NJM then called another mass mobilization to answer the marijuana growers. The May 10 issue of the NJM's weekly *New Jewel*, in a front-page article headlined, "March Against Counter-Revolutionaries," declared, "The Revolution now calls on all the people of Grenada to come out in your thousands to Grenville this Sunday [May 11] at 1:00 p.m. for a massive march against counter-revolution. . . . The marijuana capitalists will see where the people stand on this issue! We will march to Tivoli and we will put counter-revolution under heavy, heavy manners!"

The next day, about 5,000 persons responded to this call and gathered in Grenville for the beginning of the five-mile march. They marched at a rapid pace to Tivoli, led by five of the top leaders of the NJM: Bernard Coard, Unison Whiteman, Kendrick Radix, George Louison, and Vincent Noel. At Tivoli they were joined by another 1,000 persons.

In addition to mobilizing the population against the marijuana growers, the government has also responded by moving to alleviate the conditions of agricultural workers. It set up a commission of inquiry to investigate the working conditions of the laborers at the River Antoine Estate.

On May 12, the commission held its first sitting. Gellineau James, the general secretary of the Agricultural and General Workers Union, testified that workers on the estate had no running water, medical facilities, or pension scheme and were not paid overtime for working on holidays.

The government and NJM have made their sympathy with the grievances of the workers evident and have linked the need to improve their conditions with the struggle against marijuana cultivation.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

'They will have to fight 100,000 people!'

The following appeared as an editorial in the May 17 issue of the 'New Jewel,' the weekly organ of Grenada's New Jewel Movement.

Some of our people are asking why don't we just pick up the Ganja leaders instead of organizing marches against them. We say that *anytime imperialism organizes counter-revolutionaries against the Revolution the people must answer them by showing the strength of the Revolution.*

The strength of the Grenada Revolution lies in its popularity among the people, not only in the strength of the armed forces. We do not depend on our Army alone to defend the Revolution.

Now let us face it. *Everyday, imperialism is arguing counterrevolution. Everyday, more and more plans are being drawn up to destabilize our Revolution. Imperialism does not rest for one minute.*

We must never for one minute

forget what happened in Chile. The C.I.A. organized small marches at first. They paid a few women to come out in the streets.

But it was not answered by the people. The people left everything up to the Government. Gradually, the C.I.A. was able to organize bigger and bigger marches. They would organize an article of food to be scarce and then organize a march about it. They would get a factory owner to close down his factory and pay corrupt trade union leaders to organize a march. They organized a strike of all truck owners so that no vegetables could get to the cities and then they would organize a march on that! Gradually, there were marches and confusion every day. This was one of the most important things leading to the fall of the Allende Government.

If the people just sit by and allow the counter-revolutionaries to organize, and we do not organize, their strength will increase while ours decreases. If we allowed them to be

in political control of the streets, it would appear as though the people are weak and it would encourage other opportunists and criminal elements to join them. We must *demonstrate our strength as the majority.*

We can pick up the leaders, yes! But the people have to be out there in the streets. Remember who picked up the three ganja leaders last week? It was the masses. It is the strength and power of the people which must be felt in any real Revolution. The Army is there to support and back up the people, but it cannot replace the people.

Our Revolution will show the counter-revolutionaries that the people are strong. We have to let imperialism know that it is not only the PRA [People's Revolutionary Army] they will meet when they come. They will meet the wrath of the masses. They will have to fight 100,000 people.

That is why we march. Our people are our Revolution. *Long live the Revolution!*



New York Times

Guatemalan rebels move toward unity

On May 7 the four main organizations involved in armed struggle against Guatemala's ruling military dictatorship met to initiate a process of joint activity.

The unification follows months of rising combativity on the part of Guatemala's workers, farmers, and students in the face of one of the bloodiest repressions in Latin America.

Tens of thousands have been murdered since the 1960s by right-wing armed gangs such as the White Hand. These are linked not only to the Guatemalan army, but also to the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency.

Washington remains determined to frustrate the Guatemalans' desire for social progress. In 1954, a democratically elected government headed by Jacobo Arbenz was overthrown by an exile army organized by the CIA.

Arbenz's government had initiated a land reform and other popular measures.

The four organizations that signed the May 7 pact were the Guerrilla Army of the Poor, which initiated the meeting; the Rebel Armed Forces; the Revolutionary Organization of the People in Arms; and the Guatemalan Party of Labor,

which has been the pro-Moscow Communist Party in Guatemala.

A statement issued by the four groups declared: "Our people's struggle within the country has been stimulated and backed by the struggle of the fellow peoples of Central America. The victory of the Sandinist Revolution [in Nicaragua] is an example of what a people can achieve when it decides, arms in hand, to fight for its definitive liberation."

In a letter to Fidel Castro, the four groups declared their solidarity with revolutionary Cuba.

They said they had "reached the main conclusion" that Washington's response to "the defeats the imperialists have suffered all over the world, from Vietnam to Nicaragua and Iran, has been to implement a threatening policy clearly aimed at intervention in the Caribbean and Central America."

The letter expressed "absolute and militant solidarity" in face of "threats of U.S. imperialism against the Cuban people and their Revolution."

And it declared "willingness to take whatever actions necessary and within our means to help defeat the imperialists' policy of aggression in the area."

Dominican transport union fights gas hike

A strike by drivers has paralyzed public transport in the Dominican Republic. The strike, which began May 29, was called by the United Drivers Union of the National District and the National Drivers Union to protest a fifty-four-cent per gallon increase in the price of gasoline.

The increase is part of an austerity plan that includes hiring and pay freezes for public employees.

President Antonio Guzmán Fernández, a big landowner, deployed more than 5,000 police and soldiers to take over the capital city of Santo Domingo in an effort to break the strike.

People poured into the streets to support the strike. They blocked roads and defended themselves with stones against cops and soldiers.

In five days, five died, more than thirty were wounded, and 1,000 were arrested.

On May 31 two prominent left-wing leaders—Narciso Isa Conde of the Dominican Communist Party and Franklin J. Franco of the Anti-imperialist Patriotic Union—were arrested. Leaders of the strike were forced to go underground.

But popular pressure forced the government to release Isa Conde, Franco, and hundreds of others.

Cop attack protested by Trinidadians

On April 21, police armed with automatic rifles, batons, and submachine guns charged students and workers at the administration building at the St. Augustine campus of the University of the West Indies in Trinidad and Tobago. About fifty people were injured.

The target of the attack was a demonstration in support of the University and Affiliated Workers Union, which represents nonacademic workers at the university.

The workers were asking a 50 percent pay increase, and

the student body was backing them.

Many political organizations and unions in Trinidad have protested the attack: the Trinidad and Tobago Student Movement, the Communication Workers Union, the National Movement for the True Independence of Trinidad and Tobago, and other groups.

The April 26 issue of *New Jewel*, organ of Grenada's ruling New Jewel Movement, denounced the police attack. One of those beaten, Student Guild president Ambrose Phillip, is Grenadian.

Salvadorans demand: 'No U.S. intervention, no aid to junta!'

The Salvadoran Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR), a coalition made up of virtually all the groups opposing the ruling military junta, sent a letter on June 5 to President Carter. The letter asked him to withdraw U.S. support from the junta and to forego any "military invasion of El Salvador," which the FDR warned could lead to "another Vietnam" in Central America.

The letter notes that "under the pretext of fighting Communism, you are denying the Salvadoran people the right to be free." The FDR is also sending four delegations to visit eighteen countries in Europe and the Americas appealing for an end to foreign intervention in El Salvador.

The FDR is made up of groups spanning the political spectrum from revolutionaries to Social Democrats to Christian Democrats.

Favio Castillo, former rector of the University of San Salvador and a member of one of the FDR delegations traveling in Europe, told a Paris press conference that his country is the victim of political, economic, and military intervention from the United States, Guatemala, Honduras, and Venezuela.

He noted that since November 1979, the Guatemalan military regime has been financing and organizing the ultrarightist paramilitary group ORDEN in El Salvador. According to Castillo, ORDEN today has 100,000 men under arms.

The Venezuelan regime has also been providing technical military assistance to the ruling junta, Castillo charged.

Castillo noted that statements by certain U.S. leaders show that Washington is prepared "to intervene militarily in El Salvador." In particular,



Perspectiva Mundial/Anibal Yáñez

Picket line held in March in New York City called for end to U.S. military moves in El Salvador.

the Salvadoran representative pointed to Zbigniew Brzezinski's comment that "the United States will never permit a new Nicaragua, even if it must take the most reprehensible measures to prevent it."

In El Salvador on June 8, Arturo Rivera y Damas, the acting archbishop of San Salvador, blasted the armed forces and government for their "indiscriminate violence against the people."

Rivera y Damas, who replaced Archbishop Oscar Romero following Romero's assassination by rightists in March, reported that between January and the first week of June, 2,056 people died as a result of official and paramilitary violence. He added that 212 people had been murdered in the first week of June alone.

Northern El Salvador has become a virtual war zone. According to a communiqué by the Armed Forces of National Resistance (FARN), one of the guerrilla organizations, fight-

ing has reached "levels of frontal battles between two armies" in departments throughout El Salvador.

The latest step toward united action against the regime came on June 10 when the four main guerrilla groups announced they were joining forces to overthrow the junta and would begin joint military actions. The four groups have political links to the People's Revolutionary Bloc, United People's Action Front, February 28 People's Leagues, and Communist Party.

The new Revolutionary Military Coordinating Committee is made up of the Armed Forces of National Resistance (FARN); the Farabundo Martí People's Liberation Forces (FPL); the People's Revolutionary Army (ERP); and the military forces of the Salvadoran Communist Party, which recently decided to join the armed struggle.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

Bolivia: workers vs. generals

By Fred Feldman

A test of strength is building up in Bolivia between impoverished workers and farmers on one side, and wealthy businessmen, landlords, and military commanders on the other.

The immediate focus of the confrontation is the presidential election scheduled for June 29.

Much of the army general staff is pressing for a military coup. (The army ruled Bolivia directly from 1964 to 1978.)

The generals are convinced that an elected government won't be able to keep the lid on the demands of working people for food, better pay, health care, and other basic needs.

The ruling elite's fears were heightened by the entry into the race of Juan Lechín Oquendo. Lechín heads the country's powerful trade-union federation, the Bolivian Workers Federation.

He is the candidate of the Revolutionary Party of the Nationalist Left-Alliance, which is seen by Bolivians as the voice of the union leadership.

Lechín's candidacy is being supported by the Revolutionary Workers Party-Combate, Bolivian sister organization of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party,

as an expression of independent working-class political action.

Lechín's entry into the race has coincided with disintegration and splits among the capitalist parties, particularly the Revolutionary Nationalist Movement (MNR). This party was once widely popular because of the leading position it held during the Bolivian revolution of 1952.

The MNR has lost ground due to its allegiance to Bolivia's rich and its subservience to Washington. Largely as a result of splits in the MNR, a total of eighteen slates are contending in the elections.

On June 17 and 18 right-wing gangs stormed through the streets of Santa Cruz, Bolivia's second-largest city.

The well-armed rioters had the backing of the rightist Bolivian Socialist Falange Party and virtually open support from the army commanders in the Santa Cruz region.

Santa Cruz, located in the western region that borders on Brazil, has been a traditional launching pad for military coups in Bolivia.

One target of the heavily armed rioters was the U.S. consulate. U.S. Ambassador

Marvin Weissman has spoken against a military coup before the elections.

This is in line with Washington's current policy of avoiding public responsibility for such military takeovers, while continuing to train, arm, and advise the coup makers.

Weissman no doubt recalls that a brief military takeover last November spurred a labor upsurge that forced the army to back down.

Reports in the U.S. press indicate that the attacks of the rightists and their military sponsors may have received a similar working-class rebuff in Santa Cruz.

According to a dispatch in the May 20 *New York Times*, the rightists "were routed by students and workers in clashes that left one student dead."

New York Times correspondent Warren Hoge reported in a June 18 dispatch that the army command responded by sending 300 Rangers to the outskirts of the city, but then hurriedly withdrew them.

"This afternoon Falange leaders tried to organize a march, but could not arouse enough support."

Nicaraguan capitalists set back

FSLN answers 'love & hate' campaign

By J. Milan

MANAGUA—Nicaragua's capitalists are seeing their margin for maneuver systematically reduced. They have been forced to retreat from anti-FSLN (Sandinista National Liberation Front) mobilizations to the territory of morality.

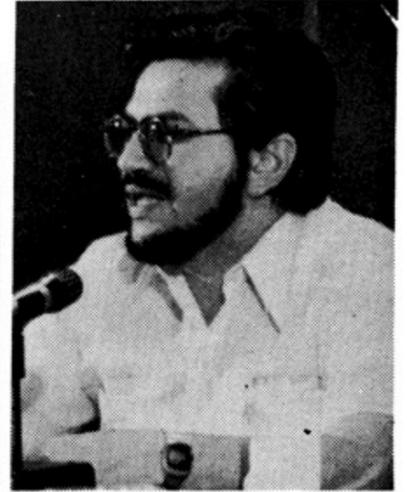
Lengthy discussions about love and hate fill the pages of *La Prensa*, the main capitalist daily here, and are broadcast over the radio stations still in capitalist hands.

The argument of the wealthy runs as follows: We made the revolution so that everyone, rich and poor, could love each other. But the Sandinistas are now dedicating themselves to encouraging class hatred rather than conciliation between the classes. This is unleashing the baser instincts of the lower classes. The rich are being unjustly coerced and threatened by the enraged masses, and their property and possessions are now endangered.

"To love is to hate the exploiters" has been the theme of the opposing ideological campaign carried out by the FSLN.

The Sandinistas have been carefully explaining that the base of the revolution is the workers and peasants—that is to say, the vast majority of the population. Approaching all disputes from this point of view, the FSLN unmasked the capitalists' claim that antagonistic classes have the same interests, and that they should love each other.

But the struggle is not taking place only in philosophical terms. While the capitalist press and radio stations pontificate about love, counterrevolutionary bands were attacking a Sandinista police headquarters, killing one police officer.



Militant photos by Fred Murphy

April 26 rally against Robelo, right, after his resignation from government junta. Forced to draw back, Robelo has now accepted seat in Council of State.

In the week following this attack, dozens of counterrevolutionaries were detained. Many of those arrested were previously or are now members of COSEP (the Superior Council of Private Enterprise) or were directly tied to COSEP through the Cattlemen's Association. Large quantities of arms and money were found in the possession of those arrested. Their confessions have implicated the "loving" capitalists, who now find themselves in a tight spot.

Alfonso Robelo, leader of the bourgeois Nicaraguan Democratic Movement (MDN), had to suspend a demonstration that had been announced for June 8 in Nandaime, with embarrassed excuses about the climate of violence in the country. Instead, several thousand attended a demonstration organized by the FSLN in the

same location, on the same day, in order to commemorate the first anniversary of the insurrection against the Somoza dictatorship.

Many small towns and neighborhoods have issued proclamations against Robelo and have launched important mobilizations against him and his bourgeois followers. On June 9, Robelo had to leave Chinandega; militants of the FSLN, who provided Robelo with protection, had to hold off hundreds of demonstrators.

The setbacks for the capitalists are indicated not only by the dismantling of their armed bands or their loss of the battle of love and hate. Robelo, who had initiated a course of confrontation with the FSLN, has been forced to draw back and accept a seat in the Council of State appointed by the FSLN.

Robelo's confrontationist course has failed, and he will now try to play the role of a "parliamentary" opposition, while regrouping his forces. But this time he must operate from a far weaker position than before. The sectors he had hoped to lead are more divided than ever and have no immediate perspective for advancing their interests.

Of course, the dangers of counterrevolution have not disappeared. It is just that the internal base for such an undertaking is weaker than two months ago, when Robelo broke with the Junta of National Reconstruction precisely over the question of the Council of State. He has now been obliged to enter the body he previously boycotted, with his head bowed and his ranks divided.

Moreover, Robelo's recent activities have enabled the FSLN to further clarify who the forces of counterrevolution are, as well as their real objectives. It has exposed the anticommunist

campaigns of the capitalists and their maneuvers with imperialism, and it has spurred further important gains in the organization of the masses—particularly in the Sandinista Defense Committees and the popular militias.

Mass mobilizations continue on a daily basis. Currently Nicaraguans are beginning the celebrations of the first anniversary of the mass uprising against Somoza. To give only one example, in Masaya, a town of 50,000, some 30,000 people took part in such a meeting.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

Ultraleft prisoners released

MANAGUA—Seventeen members of two ultraleft sectarian currents that had come into conflict with the Sandinista-led government in Nicaragua were recently released from custody. Those released include twelve members of the Nicaraguan Communist Party (PCN) and its trade-union organization, the CAUS, and five members of the Frente Obrero (FO) and *El Pueblo*, the newspaper associated with it.

At a June 5 news conference, Dr. Rafael Córdova Rivas, newly appointed member of the Junta of the Government of National Reconstruction, pointed to the release of these prisoners as further evidence of the revolution's generosity.

Comandante Jaime Wheelock explained that he and Comandante Tomás Borge had been commissioned by the National Directorate of the FSLN to seek closer relations with other political, trade-union, and professional organizations. In this capacity, they had both held discussions with members of the Frente Obrero.

He said that the discussions had been positive and that the possibility of involving members of the FO in carrying out the tasks of the revolution was being studied. Wheelock said that their right to dissent would be respected, but not their right to obstruct the revolutionary process.

Sandinistas reject use of death penalty

MANAGUA—The Swedish section of Amnesty International has sent a letter to the Junta of National Reconstruction and the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN):

"With great appreciation and admiration we have observed that during the revolution being carried out in your country, you have happily managed to avoid the death penalty and the violence of torture. With this, an example has been established for the world and hope has been given to other countries."

In recent months, hundreds of Somoza guards and collaborators have been judged by revolutionary tribunals and have generally received sentences of more than twenty years in jail under a law that establishes the maximum penalty of thirty years. They have

commonly been brought up on charges of "atrocious assassination" and "criminal conspiracy." Such charges certainly characterize the genocidal National Guard of Somoza, installed and aided by American imperialism for decades.

On May 29 the Council of State discussed the possibility of making an exception in the case of assaults against and murders of members of the National Literacy Crusade by imposing the death penalty as the maximum punishment.

Popular sentiment was running high after the cold-blooded torture and murder of campesino Gregorio Andrade, father of five small children and an assistant in the literacy campaign, and expressed itself in demonstrations calling for "Paredón!" (the wall).

But the Council of State rejected the death penalty after taking into consideration the opinion of the FSLN delegation that the Sandinista people's revolution has sufficient moral and political authority to confront its enemies without resorting to such extremes.

Comandante Bayardo Arce, speaking for the position of Sandinism, said, "We have noted the popular sentiment. We understand it because as revolutionaries we have felt in the deepest way the anger and indignation that these criminal, counterrevolutionary acts produce." He added, however, "We are of the opinion that one of the best arguments in defense of our revolutionary process before its multitude of enemies has been the undeniable generous character of our revolution."

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

July 19 solidarity activities

Solidarity groups in the United States are planning activities to coincide with Nicaragua's first anniversary celebration July 19.

On July 19, 1979, the last of dictator Somoza's generals fled as the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) entered Managua victorious.

Casa Nicaraguas in New York City and in San Francisco have scheduled events as follows:

NEW YORK CITY

Nicaraguan Films. Fri., July 18, 7:30 p.m. P.S. 41, 116 W. 11th St. (at 6th Ave.) \$3 donation.

Salsa Dance, Live Band. Sat., July 19, 8 p.m. Casa de las Americas, 104 W. 14th St. (at 6th Ave.) \$4 donation.

Nicaragua Victory Picnic and Cultural Celebration. Sun., July 20, noon-7 p.m. Central Park, Great Lawn, 81st St. (near Delacorte Theater).

For more information, call (212) 255-7156.

SAN FRANCISCO

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

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

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

Dance Fiesta. Sat., July 19, 9 p.m. Mission Cultural Center, 2868 Mission St.

For more information, call (415) 824-9728.

New blow dealt to rightists

Behind battles at Thailand-Kampuchea border

By Fred Feldman

On June 23, Vietnamese forces reportedly moved across the Kampuchean border into Thailand.

Media reports on the conflict are vague and contradictory. It is not yet possible to determine the scale or outcome of the clashes.

But press and television reports leave no doubt on one point. We are being lied to again.

The U.S. State Department and the media describe the targets of the Vietnamese move as "Thai villages" and "refugee camps." They charge that Vietnamese forces acted to stop the distribution of food by international relief agencies to hungry and homeless Kampuchean civilians.

The real targets are not Kampuchean civilians or international relief efforts.

The fighting centers on border areas where the U.S. and Thai governments, supported by Peking, provide base camps, arms, and protection to rightist military gangs that seek to overthrow the Heng Samrin government in Kampuchea.

Thousands of Kampuchean refugees are held as virtual prisoners in these camps. Those who try to flee from their captors are returned by Thai army units. Food supposedly destined for civilian refugees is eaten, stored, or sold by rightist bands.

The most important of these are the 10,000 or more Khmer Rouge troops controlled by Pol Pot, the brutal mass murderer who was ousted from power in January 1979 by Vietnamese troops and Kampuchean insurgents.

A lesser threat are the Khmer Serei units, organized by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency in the early 1960s.

The Thai army regularly engages in joint military patrols and other operations with the Khmer Rouge and Khmer Serei inside Kampuchea.

The current fighting was sparked



Pol Pot troops fled to Thailand in 1979 after defeat by Vietnamese and Kampuchean troops. Thai army gave Pol Pot bases and modern arms. It now wants to return his forces to Kampuchea to start war anew.

when the Thai Army began to convoy thousands of Khmer Rouge soldiers and their civilian captives back into Kampuchea to resume fighting. The goal was to devastate western Kampuchea, formerly the country's main rice-producing region, and block the restoration of agricultural production.

The military operations of the Khmer Rouge reflect their lack of any popular support. They are aimed at terrorizing the civilian population.

One such incident, described by NBC reporter Neil Davis and United Press International, involved an ambush of a train bound for Pnompenh. (Public transportation, largely destroyed under Pol Pot, is being reestablished by the Heng Samrin government.) About 150 civilians were reported killed.

Success for the Khmer Rouge and Khmer Serei would mean another devastating famine for Kampuchea.

And in the event of failure, the Thai

Army was certain once again to provide a refuge, military bases, and new arms for the Khmer Rouge.

The role of Washington and the Thai military dictatorship in backing the Khmer Rouge and Khmer Serei killers is coming under criticism from those relief officials who try to help Kampuchean refugees and civilians living in western Kampuchea.

Louis Wiznitzer wrote in the May 29 *Christian Science Monitor*. "A gap much deeper than has been reported has widened since early last fall between the objectives of UNICEF-Red Cross on the one hand, and of the ASEAN countries [Association of Southeast Asian Nations—an anticommunist bloc including the Thai regime], China, and the US on the other. . . .

"The UN officials . . . describe the contrasting aims of the two sides in these terms:

"Those of the international community (UNICEF-Red Cross):

"1. The survival of the Cambodians
"2. Achievement of self-sufficiency by the Cambodians at the end of 1980. . . .

"Those of the American Embassy in Bangkok and its backers:

"1. Supporting politically and materially the Khmer Rouge and other Cambodian groups fighting against the Vietnamese-backed Heng Samrin regime.

"2. Destabilizing [Kampuchea's] Battambang Province near the Thai border."

Thus far, Washington—which earlier hinted at military action if Vietnamese and Kampuchean forces tried to clean up Pol Pot's forces in Thailand—has limited itself to verbal denunciations of Hanoi. Bangkok poured troops into the border region and threatened to protest to the United Nations Security Council.

Pol Pot killed 20,000 in Pnompenh prison

By Fred Feldman

The targets of the Vietnamese strike across the Thai-Kampuchean border are the outposts of one of the more grisly and reactionary regimes in the world: the government of Pol Pot.

Pol Pot, responsible for the deaths of millions of Kampucheans, was driven from power by Vietnamese troops and Kampuchean insurgents in January 1979. Since then his murder squads have used bases in Thailand provided by the Thai army to continue a war against the Heng Samrin government, which replaced Pol Pot.

Despite secure sanctuaries in Thailand and massive help from the Thai, U.S., and Peking governments, Pol Pot's forces steadily lost ground. The reason is the virtually universal hatred of the Kampuchean people for the ousted rulers.

Some reasons why can be found in Tuol Sleng. Formerly a high school in the Kampuchean capital of Pnompenh, it became a prison, torture center, and place of execution for the Pol Pot regime after it came to power in April 1975.

'Crushed to bits'

Thousands of documents, as well as battered corpses and parts of corpses, were left behind by Pol Pot's army as it fled Pnompenh in the first days of January 1979.

Anthony Barnett, a scholar and journalist, visited Tuol Sleng. An article about what he found, written by Chanthou Boua and Ben Kiernan, appeared in the May 2 issue of the

London *New Statesman*, along with an account by Barnett himself.

Barnett estimates that 20,000 people were held there in the course of Pol Pot's rule. Virtually all were tortured and then "crushed to bits" as the documents state repeatedly.

The methodical mass murderers preserved pictures of many victims as part of the file. Hundreds appear to have been children and teenagers, soldiers in the Khmer Rouge army.

Tuol Sleng was not where ordinary Kampucheans were sent to their deaths. They generally ended up in the mass graves that pockmark the country.

"The prison was basically a political one, for personnel from the regime itself," explains Barnett.

The type, extent, and effectiveness of torture were routinely recorded by Pol Pot's officials.

"This is Phao's answer after we whipped him four or five times to break his stand, before taking him to be stuffed with water," reads one letter.

Another report on the same prisoner, written a week later, declares: "This time the gist of Phao's confession is that he hid other traitorous forces. . . . I have tortured him to write it again."

Barnett studied the records of Hu Nim, a central leader of the struggle against U.S. domination of Kampuchea. A member of the Kampuchean CP, Hu Nim served with other CP members in Prince Sihanouk's cabinet in the early 1960s but fled to help initiate the guerrilla struggle when Sihanouk cracked down on the left in

1963. He became minister of information under Pol Pot.

"In December 1978," Boua and Kiernan note, "the American journalist Richard Dudman, visiting Phnom Penh, was told that Hu Nim was 'still active in government.' We now know that he was killed halfway through that year. . . ."

Like many of those who passed through Tuol Sleng, Hu Nim was forced to confess that he had been a CIA agent virtually from childhood, devoted to the "construction of capitalism" in Kampuchea under Washington's direction.

As in other cases, his torturers extracted a description of an elaborate "CIA" network, implicating dozens of others.

"By the time Hu Nim came to 'confess' that this was so," the article notes, "he was confessing it to people whose own principal supporters were the Chinese, and (indirectly) the Americans."

Nonetheless Hu Nim's confession provides insight into the Pol Pot regime, and into the massive opposition to Pol Pot which existed in the Kampuchean Communist Party and Khmer Rouge army. This opposition had been largely "crushed to bits" when its remnants, supported by massive numbers of Vietnamese troops, brought Pol Pot down.

There is no evidence as yet that Hu Nim opposed the forced evacuation of Pnompenh and other cities that was carried out when Pol Pot came to power in 1975.

"Internal evidence from the confession," write Boua and Kiernan, "suggests that his doubts began to grow at the end of 1976, or the start of 1977—when Pol Pot began to introduce compulsory collective eating, administrative purges down to village level, and simultaneous attempts to eliminate all senior party opponents."

Hu Nim's confession declares himself a traitor for violating "the party's secrecy policy" and "the Organization's instructions which forbid people to contact one another."

He admits agreeing with "Brother Nhim," who wanted to obtain "materials, machinery and tractors from other countries."

He described being "disturbed" when "Brother No. 1" (apparently Pol Pot) insisted that the government radio treat as models for the whole country regions of which "No. 1" approved: especially Kompong Chhnang, "where they use no machinery at all, only labour."

Hu Nim summed up his crimes as a "CIA agent" as amounting to a plot to "rule Kampuchea as a revisionist country like Vietnam, toeing the line of the Soviet Union, and accepting aid from all countries . . . especially the United States. . . ."

He was then ordered "crushed to bits."

When the State Department bemoans the Vietnamese attack along the Thai border, it is striving to protect the last shreds of the bloody regime that tortured and killed Hu Nim and thousands of others.

Why Washington's allies balk

Summit papers over rifts on Iran, USSR

By Fred Feldman

"Their coming together at the summit is a pretense," said an editorial in the June 22 *New York Times*, "their aimless discussion a tragedy."

The editors were bemoaning the outcome—or lack of one—of the June 22-23 meeting in Venice of the heads of state of the big capitalist powers.

The summit, an annual affair since 1975, was officially supposed to discuss the economic problems of the capitalist world. There was general agreement on making workers pay for the crisis through rising unemployment, rising prices for gasoline and other necessities, increased use of deadly nuclear power plants, and declining social services.

But the Carter administration wanted more out of this meeting. It wanted other governments to take on more of the political, economic, and military burden of combating revolutions in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

Among other things, this meant supporting Washington's moves to reverse the revolutions in Iran and Afghanistan, and to punish the Soviet Union for sending troops to block a rightist takeover in Afghanistan.

Neither goal was achieved in Venice.

Iran not mentioned

The joint statement adopted June 22 denounced the taking of diplomatic hostages (not, of course, the crimes of the shah). "But, to the surprise of many, it made no specific mention of Iran," reported *Times* correspondent R.W. Apple, Jr.

The summit demanded that the Soviet Union withdraw all its troops from Afghanistan. (As the gathering commenced, Moscow announced that one division of troops would soon leave Afghanistan.)

But the condemnation of the Soviet Union was a toothless one. And to get it, Carter had to back off on his demand for veto power over any European or Japanese negotiations with the Soviet government.

Earlier, French President Giscard d'Estaing aroused Washington's ire by meeting with Brezhnev in Warsaw, Poland. Similar irritation followed the announcement that West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt would visit Moscow within days of the Venice meeting.

But at the conclusion of the summit, Carter declared that such meetings were "beneficial." More to the point, he added, "We could not prevent them even if we wanted to."



President Carter and West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt. Carter had to give way on Schmidt's upcoming trip to Moscow.

The outcome of the Venice meeting followed a series of setbacks for Washington's anti-Iran and anti-Soviet drive.

Carter's demand for a total economic boycott of Iran has been largely ignored. The decision May 18 by the European Economic Community to cancel all trade contracts signed after the embassy crisis began in November was flouted initially by the British government. Now the European and Japanese capitalist governments are making ever-longer lists of exceptions to the sanctions.

The boycott of the Moscow Olympics sparked protests by athletes, sports fans, and antiwar forces around the globe.

As a result, teams from Italy, Britain, France, Denmark, the Netherlands, and Belgium—all governments represented in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)—will be in Moscow when the games open. Only Norway and West Germany among Washington's European allies have joined the boycott.

Nuclear arms escalation

Washington's demand that a new generation of nuclear-tipped missiles, targeting the Soviet Union, be stationed in Western Europe also faces growing opposition. The plan was approved last December by NATO, but the Belgian and Dutch governments said they could not yet go along. The reason: mass opposition at home.

Since that time, resistance to the plan has spread across Europe.

It led German Chancellor Schmidt, an early advocate of the missiles, to suggest freezing the number of missiles in Europe until 1983, pending the outcome of negotiations with Moscow.

In substance, this proposal hardly differed from Washington's, which also calls for having the new missiles in place in 1983. But it is a gesture aimed at placating the opposition to nuclear escalation in West Germany, particularly in Schmidt's own Social Democratic Party.

Carter criticized Schmidt's proposal in a strongly worded letter June 13. Washington fears that such verbal concessions will fuel rather than dampen opposition to a new military buildup.

Adding to Washington's woes, on June 13 governments belonging to the European Common Market ignored state department warnings and issued their own Middle East "peace plan"—one calling for the Palestine Liberation Organization to be "associated" with negotiations.

The PLO dismissed the proposal as an empty one. But it was indicative of Washington's inability to impose its will not only on the peoples of the Middle East, but also on its traditional junior partners.

The differences that have emerged between Washington and its allies do not reflect the collapse of the alliance. Nor do they signal the end of Washington's decisive role. The European and Japanese capitalists remain dependent on Washington's nuclear arsenal as the ultimate defense of their rule.

Nor do the conflicts stem from any greater sympathy for the colonial revolution or the Soviet Union on the part of the European and Japanese ruling classes.

Schmidt's government, for instance, remains the single biggest aid donor to the reactionary regime in Pakistan—and the ties of the West German regime with the rightist rebels in Afghanistan are well documented.

The French government has sent troops to Zaïre, Chad, the Central African Republic, and other countries in Africa to block struggles of the oppressed and exploited—something Washington has been unable to use its own troops for.

Weakening imperialism

The divisions are an inevitable consequence of the weakening of U.S. imperialism, and therefore of world imperialism. The revolutionary victories in Vietnam, Kapuchea, Iran, Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Grenada, Zimbabwe, and elsewhere have undermined confidence that Washington has the muscle to effectively reverse the tide at this time.

The allied governments know that the "Vietnam syndrome" in the United States—the opposition of working people to new wars in Asia, Africa, or Latin America—has not been reversed.

And they face a similar "syndrome" among workers in their own countries. This resistance by the European and Japanese working classes is the major check on the ability of these governments to simply fall in step with Washington.

The worldwide capitalist economic crisis and the stiffening competition for markets among the capitalist powers are also producing growing strains.

The European and Japanese capitalists have more to lose than their U.S. competitors in giving up the advantages of trade with the Soviet Union and Iran, or joining in an attempted crackdown on Arab oil producers—especially when they see no guarantee that Washington can back up economic sanctions with the military force needed to deal lasting blows to the world revolution.

The tensions and rifts in the counter-revolutionary alliance headed by Washington are good news for working people the world over. They create openings for people in struggle from Vietnam to Palestine, from Iran to Nicaragua.

As the *New York Times* fretted May 21, "It is an ominous trend that the rest of the world is learning to exploit."

Washington seeks overthrow of Iran gov't

By George Kaplan

When President Carter refuses to apologize to Iran for the U.S. government's role in organizing the 1953 military coup that restored the shah to power, the message couldn't be clearer to the Iranian people. Washington has no regrets about overthrowing a government that challenged its dominance in 1953, and it has every intention of doing so again if it can.

Iranian rightists are being given free rein to organize inside the United States (unlike Iranian students who support the revolution).

According to an article by Richard Burt in the June 12 *New York Times*, Gen. Gholam Ali Oveissi recently visited the United States. Oveissi said he had assembled a "small group of experts" who are working on a plan to "remedy the chaos in Iran" by "getting rid of Khomeini."

Oveissi acknowledged that he has "many American friends." Washington officials admit meeting with his

aides, but are reluctant to talk about their discussions.

Who is Oveissi? In Iran today, he is known as "the butcher." In September 1978 he commanded the Iranian military forces that gunned down thousands of antishah protestors in what has come to be known as "Bloody Friday."

There are also reports that Oveissi was given money and military equipment by President Saddam Hussein of Iraq. Oveissi just established a radio transmitter in Iraq that beams anti-Khomeini messages into Iran for three hours each day.

Hussein has also reportedly allowed former Premier Shahpur Bakhtiar and members of the shah's general staff to set up military bases in Iraq.

Evidence is accumulating that the Hussein regime is acting as a conduit for aid to the rightists from Washington. "Already there are hints that Washington is lending covert military

assistance to Iraq," reported Bill Paul in the June 4 *Wall Street Journal*.

The Carter administration also continues to probe the possibilities of launching new military strikes. "The

United States privately has served warning to Iran of possible military action should the Tehran hostages face trial" reported the June 24 *Christian Science Monitor*.



Victims of September 1978 'Bloody Friday' slaughter of anti-shah protesters in Tehran. General Oveissi, who organized bloodbath, still has Washington's backing.

'Center fire on government'

Young socialists build antidraft actions

By Harry Ring

Right now, building a massive protest against draft registration is the number one priority of the Young Socialist Alliance.

The National Committee Against Registration and the Draft (CARD) has called for nationwide rallies and picket lines at post offices the day young people are told they must go there to register.

"The YSA is going to throw itself into building the post office demonstrations," Paul Mailhot, national organizational secretary of the socialist youth organization, told the *Militant*.

Mailhot said the deceptive way the government is proceeding in trying to reinstate the draft is actually a sign of weakness.

"The intention is to bring back the draft," he explained. "But sentiment is so strong against it, they have to move a step at a time, beginning with registration."

If they can, Mailhot added, they will reinstate the draft. "They never wanted to give it up in the first place," he observed. "It was the antiwar movement that forced it on them."

Why they want draft

"They need a draftee army to protect the overseas investments of the oil companies and other monopolies that are threatened by popular struggles—El Salvador, South Africa, South Korea—not to speak of revolutionary Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada.

"One big problem with the 'volunteer' army," Mailhot added, "is that it isn't big enough. There are about 2.7 million men and women in the military right now. Why just in Vietnam alone, some three million went over there and a total of eight million were involved altogether."

"Now they're facing revolutions in a whole number of countries. If anything, they want an even bigger army."

The post office demonstrations, Mailhot said, will be an important way of reaching draft-age youth, showing them there is a way to protest and oppose conscription, even as they go to register. "They can come out and join the rally or picket," he commented.

What about those who will resist registering?

"There's so much opposition to the draft, it's clear some people won't register," Mailhot replied. "Some will demonstratively not register. Others will simply not show up."

View of resistance

"The YSA," he added, "is entirely supportive of those who refuse to cooperate with registration. We will defend them against any government reprisals."

"But, at this point, there is no basis for believing that so many millions of youth will actually refuse to register that it will seriously cripple registration. Right now, there's no unions, no Black groups, no mass organizations

calling on their young people not to register. So at this time it doesn't seem like this is the way the draft is going to be stopped."

"We have to reach out to those who will register," he continued, "as well as those who won't. The way to do that is to have activities they can both participate in. There should be no suggestion that those who feel they must register are the problem—or that it's those who register against those who don't. That deflects our fire from the real target, the government."

The general approach of CARD in building the post office actions, Mailhot said, has been to center its fire on the government.

And the coalition does have the prospect for putting together a successful action. It has some fifty affiliates, including the Catholic Peace Fellowship, SANE, War Resisters League, U.S. Student Association, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee Youth Section, as well as the YSA and more.

Further, Mailhot pointed out, even after Congress sends the measure to Carter and he sets the date, there will be a period of weeks before the actual registration day. This period can be effectively utilized.

"We can protest Carter's signing," Mailhot said. "And we can demonstrate wherever he or his aides show up. That was common during the antiwar movement."

One important thing about the post office demonstrations, he said, is that they should seek to win the sympathy of postal workers who may be compelled to do some of the government's work. Many of them are already sympathetic to the draft protesters.

"I think there's been a very good approach on this," Mailhot said. "Efforts have been made to contact postal workers, to invite them to meetings and so on."

One thing Mailhot feels needs more attention from CARD is systematic efforts to win support from unions.

But is it realistic to assume unions can be won to this, particularly since the AFL-CIO national council voted to support registration?

Absolutely, Mailhot replied.

He pointed out that two important union leaders had argued against the AFL-CIO council stand. One was George Hardy, president of the Service Employees International Union, and the other William Winpisinger, president of the International Association of Machinists.

Also, the San Francisco area labor council has called upon the national AFL-CIO council to reconsider its stand.

Mailhot pointed to all the unions could do in aiding the movement.

"We got an idea of it," he said, "when we were building the big anti-draft action in D.C. March 22. The IAM gave us space in their offices there, free use of the copier and other equipment."

The main importance of relating to the unions, he added, is winning support of young workers.

With some, he said, the issue has to be argued out. Some have been confused about Iran, Afghanistan, the alleged Soviet "threat."

"We have to convince them," Mailhot said, "that the threat to peace begins right here, with our government. It was U.S. forces that invaded Vietnam, that are garrisoned around the world, that recently almost brought us to war with Iran, that threaten Central America and the Caribbean."

And, he stressed, Young Socialists in industry find these issues can be discussed, and their co-workers persuaded.

He recalled that when Carter announced the registration plan YSAers at the Ford plant in Metuchen, New Jersey, and the GM plant in Tarrytown, New York, circulated antidraft petitions among assembly line workers. Some 300 co-workers signed them and some helped circulate the petitions.

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!

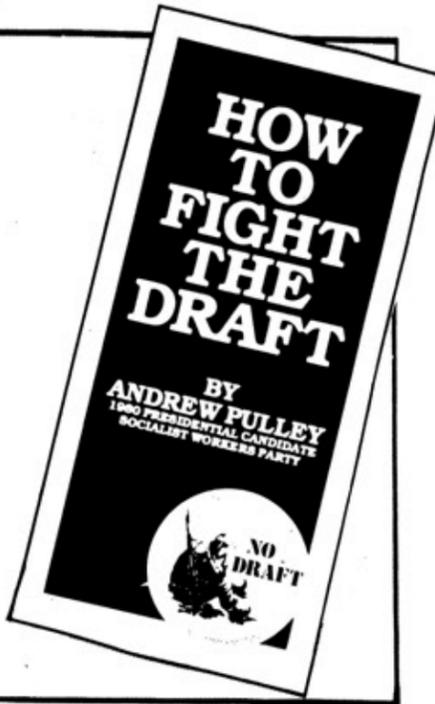
- Add my name to the list of Young Socialists for Pulley and Zimmermann.
- Send me Andrew Pulley's brochure, How to stop the draft—4¢ a copy.
- Send me the campaign poster "No draft"—3¢ a copy.
- Send me the YSPZ antidraft button (depicted on draft statement cover)—50¢ each, 35¢ each for 10 or more.

- 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!



World class struggle is focus of Oberlin conference

By Barry Sheppard

The Socialist Educational and Activists Conference in Oberlin, Ohio, the week of August 2-9 will feature classes as well as workshops, meetings of trade unionists, rallies, and special presentations.

Some of the topics to be taken up in the educational aspect of the conference were discussed in last week's *Militant*. In addition, there will be classes on important international issues.

One is the revolutions in Central America and the Caribbean. Staff members of the *Militant's* sister publication in Spanish, *Perspectiva Mundial*, will lead classes on the struggles in El Salvador and Guatemala, and on the fight for the independence of Puerto Rico.

The revolution in Grenada will be the subject of another class.

A series of three classes will discuss the Cuban Revolution. "The Cuban Revolution Today" will focus on what

has happened in Cuba in the past year. The Sandinista victory in Nicaragua and the other struggles in the region have brought to a head a debate in Cuba between the Marxist line of extending the socialist revolution and the line of those who put seeking accommodation with U.S. imperialism at the center of their strategy.

The Marxist leadership around Castro has clearly won this debate against those whom Raúl Castro calls the "faint-hearted"—bureaucrats who want to pull back from any confrontation with imperialism. The huge mass mobilizations of the past few months in Cuba have settled the question for those who had doubts—Cuba's course lies in extending the revolution.

Two other classes will study the way the Cuban leadership has dealt with women's oppression and agriculture. In both these major social areas, the Cuban leadership has adopted Marxist policies in the interests of the working masses.

Four classes by correspondents for *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor* stationed in Nicaragua will go over the history of the struggle there and developments since the insurrection.

Classes will be held on other international hot-spots: Afghanistan, Iran, Korea, South Africa, Palestine.

Do workers in the imperialist countries exploit workers and peasants in the semi-colonies? Do white workers exploit Black workers here? Do male workers exploit female workers? These and related questions will be tackled in another class.

The struggle of oppressed nations against their imperialist oppressors was an important theme of the early Communist International under Lenin and Trotsky. One class will examine this history, and discuss why it remains relevant in today's world.

A two-part series will be held on the present world capitalist crisis. Three classes will discuss the Chinese Revolution. Three more will cover the de-

feated German revolution of 1919-23. Another will center on the German revolutionists, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, and their contribution to the fight against imperialist war.

Marxists from Canada will lead classes on Canada's labor party, the New Democratic Party, and the struggle in Quebec.

Rounding out the sessions on the international class struggle will be a two-part series on why figures such as Tito and Mao Zedong remained basically Stalinist, in spite of their differences with the Kremlin. Their policies will be contrasted to the revolutionary policies of the Castro leadership.

Many other classes will take up themes more directly centered on the class struggle inside the United States. *Militant* readers desiring more information on the conference should contact the Socialist Workers Party branch or Young Socialist Alliance chapter in their area (see page 23).

'Time to take care of business'

Black city council member calls for labor party

By Peter Seidman

OAKLAND—Mel Mason is a member of the city council in Seaside, California.

What makes him different from other Black elected officials is that he won despite the fact that his public support for the Socialist Workers Party made him the target of red-baiting and racist attacks during his campaign.

Mason agrees with the SWP that working people, especially Blacks, need an alternative to the Democrats and Republicans.

This was the theme of his greetings to an SWP campaign rally here June 7. The rally launched an ambitious petitioning drive to put Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann—together with senatorial candidate George Johnson—on the California ballot in 1980 (see box).

"There is really only one party in this country," he explained, "and it belongs to the corporations. There are two divisions of this Corporate Party. One of the divisions is called the Democrats and the other is called the Republicans."

Unlike other Black elected officials, Mason calls for a new strategy based on a break with the two big-business parties.

'Catching hell'

"We're catching hell," he complains. "And the economic situation will become even more critical. Because revolutionary upheavals in more and more third world countries are leaving Washington with less and less blood to suck.

"Naturally," he explains, "Blacks have been the first to be hit. But *all* working people are getting hit now.

"It's time for us to start taking care of business," Mason warns, "before big business starts taking care of us."

"A labor party," Mason says, is "the only alternative that I feel we have left for the people of this country."

How does a labor party relate to the struggles of Black people?

"The platform of a labor party," Mason says, "will relate to all workers. But Blacks are workers also. The labor party should have a division that would address our specific needs."

Mason's conviction is carefully considered. The necessary next step in the fight for both Black rights and economic survival for working people, he believes, lies with the entry of the labor movement as an independent force in the political arena.

His beliefs flow out of lessons drawn from the struggles of Black people during the 1960s and 1970s—struggles in which he played an active part.

'No providence'

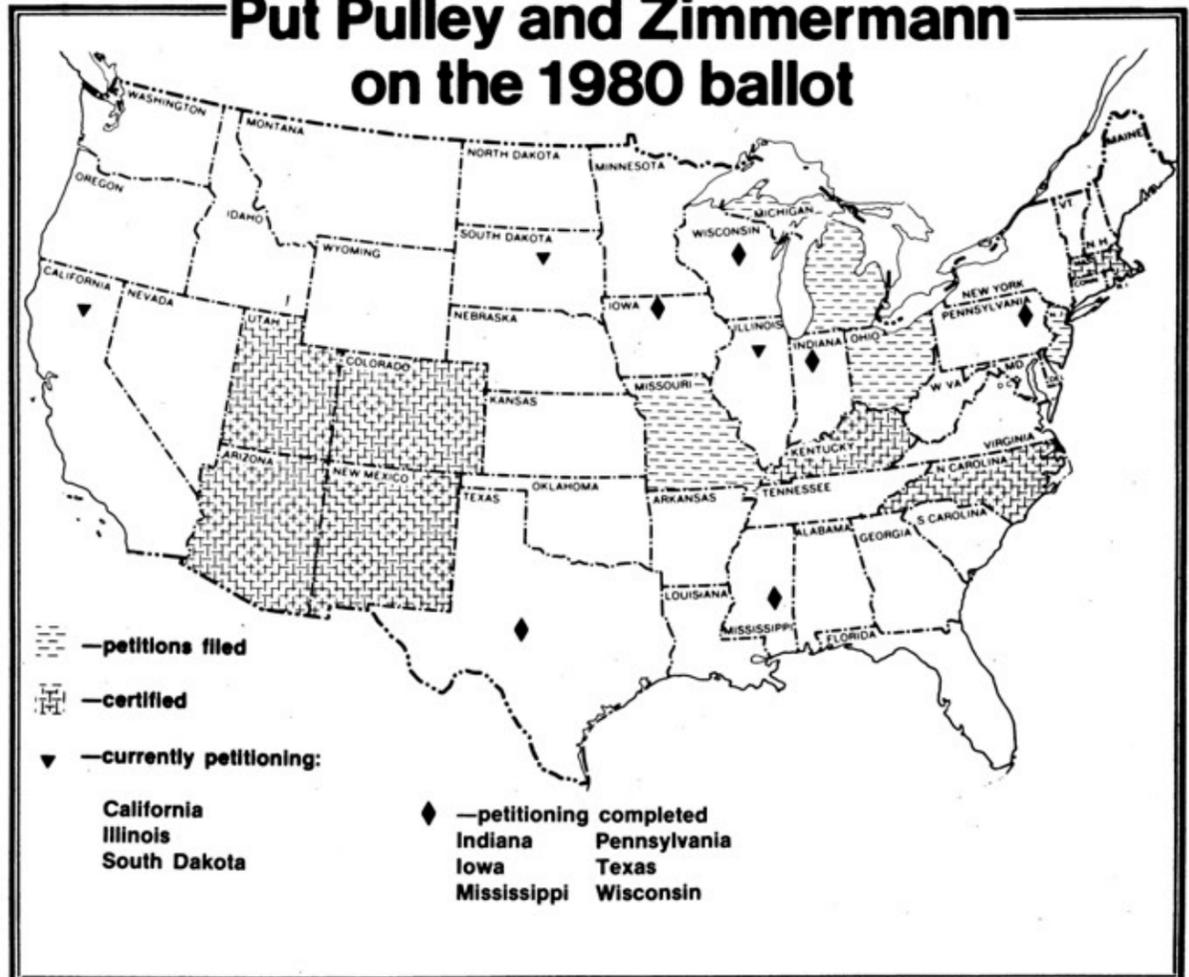
Mason has lived in the Seaside area since he was twelve. His mother brought him there from Providence, a coal-mining town in Kentucky where he was born in 1943.

"It was no 'providence,' for Black folks," Mason recalls. His mother moved him across the country to Seaside to escape from Klan rallies and lynchings that scar his memories of childhood.

But there's no escaping racism in America, as Mason was to discover—certainly not in Seaside, a town on the Monterey Peninsula of some 36,000 people—including many retired military personnel from nearby Fort Ord.

Mason got some of his first lessons about this during a 1961-65 stint in the air force. After going

Put Pulley and Zimmermann on the 1980 ballot



through basic training, he spent some eighteen months stationed in Turkey.

He tells a story to illustrate his state of mind at that time. "A Turkish officer approached me and asked, 'Why is it that Black people in America don't revolt?'"

"I explained to him that 'things are getting better. We're going to wait for change to come.'

"The officer laughed at me and showed me a Turkish newspaper with a picture of dogs being set on Martin Luther King, Jr. Somehow not being able to read the caption and just seeing that picture made things a lot clearer to me."

Mason got a bad conduct discharge in 1965. "They said I was incorrigible," he remembers.

"When I got back home, I didn't know what to do. I got into street life. I participated in the 1965 Black rebellion in Seaside. This began after a policeman hit a pregnant Black woman in the stomach with a billy club."

'All American'

That was when Mason first learned about the ideas of Malcolm X.

"I was only getting ready for Malcolm," he recalls. "He was a true fighter for Black rights. I still had this capitalistic orientation towards making money. I wanted to play basketball and go to school."

Mason was the only graduate of Monterey Peninsula College ever to make All-American. He was offered a host of scholarships, finally choosing Oregon State University in Corvallis.

He still sounds shocked when he recounts the racist double standard facing Black athletes at OSU.

Mason wound up blacklisted from college sports. He got a job at the Western Electric plant in Sunnyvale, outside of San Jose. Soon he was organizing a caucus of Black workers.

In 1968, Mason joined the Black Panther Party. He became a Panther labor organizer, helping to establish and coordinate Black caucuses at area plants—Lockheed, Ford Milpitas, Western Electric, and Fairchild Industries.

After Mason moved back to Seaside in 1970, he joined the Nation of Islam for about a year. "The Black Muslims were outstanding for promoting self-help and pride," he recalls. "But I never felt comfortable when they talked about waiting for a Black God to come and save us from the white man."

Mason just didn't want to wait.

He became active in various Seaside community struggles.

Meets SWP

Then in 1975, he heard about the SWP's 1976 presidential campaign of Pedro Camejo and Willie Mae Reid. He remembered that Malcolm X had made some favorable remarks about the SWP and the *Militant*. So he arranged to have Reid speak at Monterey Peninsula College, where he'd gotten a job as Student Affairs Counselor.

Mason became a regular reader of the *Militant*. In

Continued on page 14



Militant/Della Rossa



Militant/Peter Seidman

Andrew Pulley, left, petitions in Los Angeles. Right, Mel Mason addresses Socialist Workers campaign rally.

Calif. petition totals

California socialists have already surpassed the state petition requirement of 101,000 signatures to put the Socialist Workers presidential ticket on the ballot! As of June 24, the total collected was 104,265. A similar number has been collected for SWP senatorial candidate George Johnson.

The California SWP is continuing the drive to go way over the legal requirement.

Campaign committees report the following results for the presidential ticket:

East Bay/Oakland	24,496
Los Angeles	28,659
San Diego	19,338
San Francisco	16,036
San José	15,169
Seaside	567

Livermore worker takes on nuclear

The Livermore nuclear weapons facility east of San Francisco came to national attention early this year when an earthquake cracked a tank, causing a leak of fifty gallons of radioactive water.

Owned by the U.S. Department of Energy, the Lawrence Livermore Laboratory sits on top of or around thirteen earthquake faults. Alarm has centered on the building that stores several hundred pounds of plutonium, the most deadly substance known to science.

Two times in April, plutonium leaked from the lab.

A Draft Environmental Impact Statement on the Livermore lab prepared for the Department of Energy in 1979 documented seventeen accidents, at least ten of them involving radioactive materials, between 1970 and 1975.

As many as thirty-two microcuries of plutonium from the lab have been found in the Livermore city sewer system.

In April 1980, Dr. Donald Austin, chief of cancer epidemiology of California, released a study showing that the rate of malignant melanoma was five times greater among white males working at the Livermore lab than the population at large. There were nineteen cases of melanoma, a rare form of skin cancer, during the study period; three of the workers died.

Lab officials have steadfastly claimed that the nuclear facility poses no danger whatsoever to lab workers or to the surrounding population. A lab spokesperson even went so far as to suggest that the cancer cases resulted from workers being exposed to sunlight while playing volleyball and other games during their lunch breaks.

Karen Mewes, a former technician at the lab, is currently challenging the government's assurances of health and safety through her fight for unemployment benefits. She contends she was forced to leave her job because she feared for her health and safety.

Mewes was recently interviewed for the *Militant* by Roberta Frick.

Question. How long did you work for the Livermore lab and what did you do?

Answer. I worked there more than two years, beginning in July 1977. The first year I trained as a mechanical technician in the bio-med department. The second year, I worked in the electroplating shop. I coated metal with other metals.

Q. Is this where you worked with uranium?

A. Yes. For several days, I "masked" cylinders of uranium, U-238. I put lead tape and paint on areas that they did

not want plated. U-238 is natural uranium with the "hot" parts removed. It still emits radioactive rays, mostly alpha particles. But it breaks down into daughter products emitting beta and gamma rays. Alpha particles are dangerous if you ingest them.

Since U-238 is principally an alpha emitter they told me it was safe and provided me with no protective clothing or gloves.

I did this "masking" in the "lunch room." Everyone would eat their lunch at one end of the table, and I would work on the other end.

Q. When did you first become aware that you were exposed to radiation?

A. A couple of months after I worked on the U-238, I got a call from the Hazards Control Department telling me I had received a dose of radiation on my dosimeter. They asked me if I had been around any radioactive materials. I told them about the uranium. They said they doubted that was where I got it from, but since that was all I was exposed to, they would attribute it to that.

Didn't know source

It bothered me that they did not know what the source was.

Q. What is a dosimeter and how accurate is it?

A. It is a badge that is supposed to register radiation exposure. It is very inaccurate. It picks up just what hits it. If it is worn on the chest, as it usually is, it will not pick up exposure to your abdomen or it will register an altered

reading. And it does not register alpha particles or monitor internal exposure.

Q. When did you first become knowledgeable about radiation hazards?

A. In August 1979 I had an operation to remove precancerous cells from my uterus. I started to worry that I might be at a higher risk if I kept working at the lab, which routinely handles radioactive materials.

In September 1979 I attended a conference where I heard Dr. John Gofman, a noted medical doctor and nuclear chemist. He has long maintained that even tiny doses of radiation can have serious health effects and that small doses have a cumulative effect. He said there were no safe doses of radiation. This directly contradicted everything the lab had told me.

Also I saw a film about the GIs who were present at the Nevada nuclear test sites in the 1950s. It showed the GIs running across the field during those mushroom-cloud explosions. They were told at that time not to worry, that it was safe. But they were used as guinea pigs. A lot of these men have died of cancer. This proved to me that the government could not be trusted.

Q. When did you leave the lab?

A. In May 1979 the UC Nuclear Lab Conversion Project had leafleted the lab. This group is trying to force the University of California to break all ties with the lab and convert it into non-weapons use.

Contacts antinuclear group

So in August, I got in touch with them. In mid-October, I handed in my resignation letter, explaining that I feared the effects of low-level radiation.

I left the lab in November. I found out I was pregnant shortly before I left. This scared me. I didn't want to be at the lab at all during my pregnancy.

Q. Why did they deny you unemployment benefits?

A. Lynn Currey, the lab's public relations person, said that since I was pregnant, it was normal procedure to just transfer from one area of the lab to a safer one. They charged I quit without good reason. The Conversion Project offered to sponsor my case and I got a lawyer, Michael Friedman. We appealed the denial to the administrative law judge in Oakland.

Q. What testimony did the lab give?

A. The lab brought in a supposed expert with credentials as long as your arm. He mumbled a lot of scientific jargon and skirted my attorney's questions. After being asked repeatedly by my attorney if there were any studies proving that the present standards for safety at the lab were indeed safe, he finally admitted there weren't.

Q. Does that mean that there is no place in the lab that could be considered safe?

A. That could be inferred for sure. It means that their standards for health and safety are arbitrary. For example, the lab allows a maximal permissible dose for pregnant workers of 500 millirems. But there was a study done as long ago as 1958 by Dr. Alice Stewart from Britain which showed that as low as 80 millirems exposure to a fetus can cause cancers after the child is born.

Another example is that they allow workers in the nuclear industry doses of 5,000 millirems and allow the population at large 500!

Lab refuses list

My attorney asked for a list of the locations of all radioactive materials in the lab. The lab refused to provide this information. How, then, do you know where there is a "safe" area?

Q. Why do you think the judge ruled against your claim?

A. He did not want to deal with the issues in this case. They are too explosive. He said that if my concerns were real, the lab should be shut down. So

Court victory

The University of California group opposed to the Livermore nuclear weapons laboratory won a court go-ahead June 10 to display antinuclear literature in the lab's visitors' center.

Superior Court Judge Robert Bostick ruled from the bench, ordering the lab to permit the UC Nuclear Weapons Labs Conversion Project to distribute materials to counter pronuclear propaganda pushed by the lab.

The judge also said the antinuclear group will be allowed to use the mini-auditorium in the visitors' center twice a month to show slides supporting its arguments that the lab should be converted to do peaceful research.



Karen Mewes (inset) 'masked' cylinders of uranium at one end of table while workers ate

er lab

despite strong testimony on my side, he concluded that my concerns were not based on objective facts but on "controversy." He said I should have transferred to another part of the lab.

Q. What is your aim in pursuing this case?

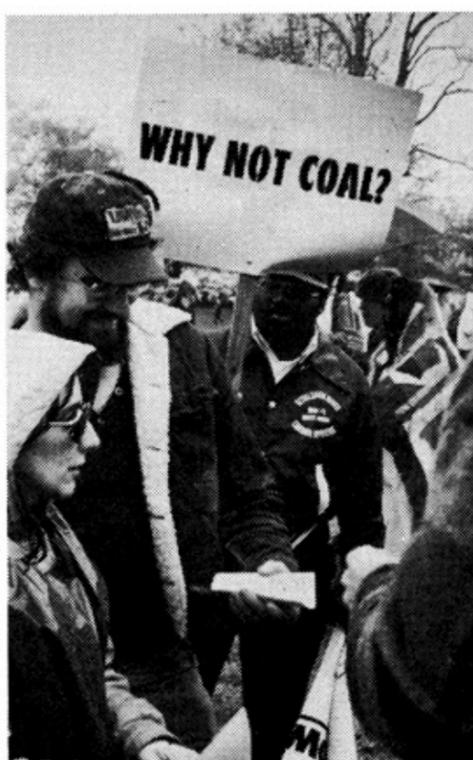
A. The aim was never just for the \$105 a week in benefits. I hope to bring to public attention the dangers of the laboratory and the hazards of low-level radiation. Workers should have the right to quit their jobs and receive unemployment benefits if they feel their health is jeopardized.

Q. Where do you go from here?

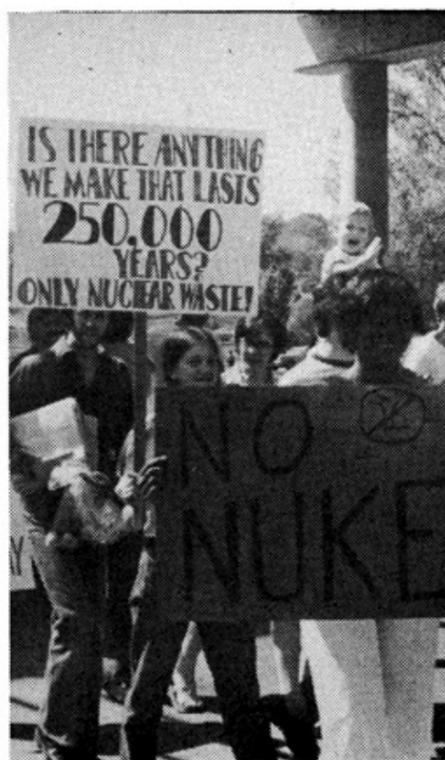
A. I appeal to the California State Board of Unemployment in Sacramento. If they rule against me, the next stage is the Alameda State Supreme Court. It is possible that it could eventually get to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Q. Lastly, what do you personally think should be done with Lawrence Livermore Lab?

A. Personally, I think it should be shut down. My political view is that they should all be shut down or converted to safe, peaceful suppliers of alternative energy sources.



Militant/Arnold Weissberg



Militant/Joe Ryan

Pulley campaigns in Livermore with SWP's antinuclear proposals

By Peter Seidman

LIVERMORE, Calif.—Andrew Pulley, presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, came here June 14. With him was a team of campaign supporters who were collecting signatures to put the socialist ticket on the California ballot.

Pulley wanted to find out what some of the nearly 2 million people who live within twenty miles of the Lawrence Livermore Laboratory (LLL) think about it.

A lot of Livermore residents depend on the nuclear weapons lab for their livelihoods. Many are influenced by company and government propaganda. There is a great deal of genuine confusion here about the nuclear danger.

So it was no surprise that most people Pulley talked with did not oppose the laboratory.

People are worried about their jobs, but they are, nonetheless, wary of government claims. And genuinely interested in finding out more about the nuclear danger and the socialist proposal to end it.

Many signed petitions to put Pulley on the ballot.

"Well, what's going to be the alternative to nuclear energy?" was a typical question.

Use coal instead

Pulley outlined his proposals for using coal—mined safely and burned cleanly—as an immediate, practical alternative to nuclear-generated electricity.

One man answered Pulley that he was "biased" in favor of the lab. "I work there," he said. "I think nuclear energy serves a vital part in our national defense program and our national energy program."

But this man agreed there really wasn't an oil shortage right now. He agreed that coal could be an alternative to nuclear power, but questioned whether it can be burned cleanly and safely.

"Look at the problem on the East Coast right now with acid rains," he argued.

Pulley answered that if even a portion of the federal money used to subsidize atom power was made available to research acid rain, this and other unsolved problems could be quickly cleared up.

"As for clean coal, scrubbers and other technology exist to burn it cleanly. But the utilities don't want to foot the bill.

"Safety in the mines has always depended on how much control the miners themselves have over produc-

tion and working conditions. It, too, is a matter of subordinating profits to health and safety."

This man was the strongest backer of the lab that Pulley met during the entire day. And though still unconvinced by Pulley's arguments, even he had criticisms of the nuclear industry. He admitted that in some cases nuclear scientists are guilty of "complete outright lying."

Two women Pulley spoke with were strong opponents of the lab.

One said she'd been "raised that way." Her husband, who works for Sandia, a company that manages the lab along with the University of California, is still only "somewhat" against nuclear power. Since Three Mile Island though, she said, "he's beginning to wonder."

Government lies

Pulley started to tell the woman how the government lies about nuclear safety. She interrupted, laughing, "Of course they do. They wouldn't get away with it if they told the truth."

The other woman explained that she used to work at the lab. "I didn't really want to leave," she said. "I was laid off. But I wouldn't go back now."

"What made you change your mind?" Pulley asked.

"Probably the earthquake more than anything else," she replied.

"What do you think of the antinuclear movement?" Pulley asked her.

"Well, I'm not for it. But I'm not against it either," she answered. "See, the money's the thing. You've got to be able to convince people who are concerned about the money thing at the lab. That's their livelihood. That's their life."

She listened, nodding, when Pulley responded: "The government has the responsibility to set up programs for retraining workers affected by the shutdown of dangerous nuclear installations like LLL.

"These workers, because of exposure to radioactive poisons, may already be paying a permanent price for their jobs. They should not have to suffer a double penalty," Pulley said.

"The funds now wasted on developing atomic power and weapons—the \$155 billion spent on the entire military budget—should be used to build mass transit, housing, new schools, and hospitals.

"Rather than spending our tax money on weapons that threaten the entire existence of humanity, money could be spent to develop safe energy sources and to clean up the mess big business has made of the environment."



Militant/Roberta Frick



ch at other end.

On the nuclear peril

What are the dangers of nuclear radiation? What caused the Three Mile Island nuclear accident? What are the alternatives to nuclear power? This pamphlet answers these and other questions about the problems and dangers of nuclear power.

Also included is a statement "What We Can Do To End Nuclear Power" by Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president.

40 pp., \$.95
Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Enclose \$.75 for postage.

Ga. Blacks file suit against racists

Black leaders in Wrightsville, Georgia, have filed a \$1.3 million suit against county and city police agencies and the mayor for police brutality.

Mailed to federal district court on June 15, the class action suit charges Sheriff Roland Attaway of Johnson County and his deputies, Police Chief L.H. Smith and three cops, and Mayor Willis Womles with assault on Black demonstrators April 8.

The attack occurred during a march by Blacks for jobs, representation in local government, improved conditions in their community, and an end to

segregation. A racist mob, including the sheriff and cops, attacked marchers with chains and clubs. Fifteen Blacks were injured.

John Martin, head of the Johnson County Justice League (affiliate of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference), Rev. E.J. Wilson, and other community leaders are plaintiffs in the suit.

In the wake of the April 8 incident, several demonstrations in support of the Wrightsville Black community have been organized by SCLC and other organizations.



Young demonstrator at June 7 SCLC march in Wrightsville. SCLC

Follow NAACP convention on TV

The upcoming national convention of the NAACP will be featured on the Public Broadcasting System (PBS) June 30-July 4.

New York's Channel 13, WNET, will televise the convention proceedings from Miami, Florida. The reports will be broadcast to other PBS stations around the country.

PBS will televise daily

reports from 3-4 p.m. In addition, half-hour evening summaries will appear at these times:

June 30 — 11 p.m.
July 1 — 12 midnight
July 2 — 11 p.m.
July 3 — 11:40 p.m.
July 4 — 12:40 a.m.

On July 6 at 10:30 a.m. PBS will present a summary of the entire convention.

Another cop gets off

The State's Attorney in Baltimore has ruled out criminal prosecution of a white cop for shooting and critically wounding a seventeen-year-old Black youth.

William Swisher asserted June 19 that there was "no criminal intent" on the part of detective Stephen McCown in the shooting of Ja-Wan McGee.

McGee, shot on March 20, lies paralyzed from the waist down. He was shot in the back

by McCown while entering a pizza shop.

McCown—off duty at the time—claimed he saw a shiny object and thought the youth was planning a robbery. The shiny object was a cigarette lighter.

Relying on a "suspicious sixth sense," McCown fired without any warning.

The McGee family has filed a \$15 million suit against McCown and the city.

W. Va. meeting supports demands of Miami Blacks

By Bill Thomas

MORGANTOWN, West Virginia—Responding to the recent Black rebellion in Miami and the shooting of Urban League leader Vernon Jordan, several groups sponsored a meeting here in defense of the Black community.

A panel of speakers addressed the theme, "Behind the Miami Explosion: No Jobs, No Justice."

The facts in the case of Arthur McDuffie, the Miami police victim, were presented to the June 5 meeting by Father John Chewning of St. Gabriel's Campus Mission. He also discussed the additional cases of Miami police violence that triggered the rebellion.

He emphasized that violence during the rebellion was overwhelmingly directed against Blacks by cops and vigilantes, just the opposite of the way the media presented it.

Stuart Fisk, a leader of the Committee Against Registration and the Draft, pointed to escalating military spending, the consequent cutbacks in social services, and the threat of the draft as additional factors which brought on the Miami explosion.

These same factors, he said, exist in West Virginia and nationwide. "That's why," he declared, "Blacks and other



Militant/Jerry Hunnicutt

National guardman in Miami Black community during rebellion.

youth won't fight a war in Africa or Central America. Our fight is here."

Anita Trice of the Monongalia Black Caucus and NAACP said that Blacks everywhere knew a Miami was going to happen. It was just a question of when and where.

She also argued against the fake claim that Cubans arriving in Miami are taking jobs from Blacks. "There were no jobs before the Cubans came," she said. She also scored the victimization of Haitian refugees.

Coal miner Tom Moriarty Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor, stressed the stake of white workers in struggles for justice such as the one in Miami.

Low wages for Black work-

ers, he explained, are used to keep down the pay of whites as well. And employers work to divide Black and white workers in order to keep the South nonunion, to the disadvantage of workers across the country.

That's why Black-white solidarity is needed, he declared, pointing to how such solidarity forced the giant Tenneco corporation to recognize the Steelworkers union at its shipyard in Newport News, Virginia.

The meeting was chaired by Rory Fields, a member of United Mine Workers Local 1702.

The sponsors were St. Gabriel's Campus Mission, CARD, Monongalia Black Caucus, Concerned Citizens Alliance and the Militant Labor Forum.

AIM frame-up hearing begins

By Curt Johnson

PORTLAND—Supporters of American Indian Movement activists facing frame-up charges here demonstrated at the federal courthouse June 23.

Hearings began that day on a series of pretrial motions in the case of Dennis Banks, Kamook Banks, Russell Redner, and Kenneth Loudhawk.

They are slated to stand trial in September on charges of possessing illegal firearms and explosives. The attempted frame-up began five years ago.

At the pretrial hearing, the judge considered a prosecution proposal to accept anonymous depositions from government informants "A" and "B." The prosecution said it did not want the witnesses to reveal their identities.

The judge ruled that another government witness would tell the informers' story and respond to defense cross-

examination to the point where the witnesses' identity might be disclosed.

This novel procedure is of the same cloth as the rest of the case.

On November 14, 1975, state police, acting on an FBI tip, stopped two vehicles and arrested the present defendants, plus Anna Mae Aquash.

Three days later, the FBI reported it had searched the vehicles and found seven cases of explosives. A federal grand jury handed down indictments within a week.

Aquash was returned to South Dakota on "firearms" charges. She reportedly escaped jail and was later found dead. A pathologist associated with the Bureau of Indian Affairs said she died of exposure. The family got a second autopsy. It established she had died from a bullet fired into the back of her head.

Meanwhile, in Oregon, the frame-up was not faring well. The FBI told the court that it could not produce the seven cases of explosives. It said it could not find a place to store them safely, so they had to be destroyed.

The case was thrown out, with the judge ruling the defendants could not be retried.

The government persisted and in 1979 won reversal of the dismissal. So the new frame-up proceedings are now under way.

A National Offense/Defense Committee is urging messages demanding that the charges be dropped be sent to U.S. Attorney Sidney Lezak, U.S. Court House, Portland, Oregon 97205.

Copies and statements of support should be sent to the defense committee, 5632 N.W. Willbridge, Portland, Oregon 97210.

...labor party

Continued from page 11

1976 he changed his voter registration form to read "SWP."

In 1977 he campaigned for a seat on the Monterey Peninsula Unified School District Board.

"I nearly won," he recalls.

Then in 1980, Mason did win. On April 8 he received 890 votes—coming in second in a field of eleven candidates in a nonpartisan election for two seats on the Seaside City Council.

Mason won despite a redbaiting campaign launched by a local racist group called Citizens for Honest Government. The CHG made Mason's registration in the SWP a central issue in the campaign.

"I'd never made a secret of my support for the SWP," Mason explained in the *Monterey Peninsula Herald* February 15. "I have been with the Socialist Workers Party for quite some time, quite a number of years," the paper quoted him as saying, in an article headlined: "Mason Makes No Apologies for Affiliation with SWP."

"My party affiliation should not have been an issue in a nonpartisan election," Mason says now.

"The real reason my SWP affiliation was dredged up," he insists, "is because of my record in fighting racist oppression in Seaside."

Mason's racist opponents didn't limit themselves to sending hostile letters to the local press. "I started getting anonymous calls saying that my six-year-old son Melvin II 'would be killed.' That 'we know where he goes to school.' That 'we'll bomb your house.'"

"At 2 a.m. one night, somebody rammed the front end of my car, doing \$2,000 damage." There was other harassment from businesses, and the local bank.

"But fortunately," Mason says, "most people have more sense than these racists give them credit for. Their campaign began to backfire when I stood up to it. A lot of people even called me up to offer encouragement."

The Seaside city council, of course, is only a limited arena for the struggles Mason has always been involved in.

The other council members are now aligned with

the Citizens for Honest Government gang, as is the new mayor.

They seem to have found ways to evade California's open-government legislation by coordinating their plans behind Mason's back. The vote is always four-to-one on critical issues.

Seaside's racist police chief, who Mason wants to see removed, says he's "glad" Mason won. The chief has spread the word that they'll "give me a heart attack now by constantly outvoting me," Mason reports.

"But what he and the other racists don't understand," Mason explains, "is that I don't expect to get a lot done inside the city council. I expect to help the people to deal with the city council."

That's why he's working "to organize a grass roots movement in Seaside by putting my office at the disposal of the people."

At the same time, Mason is helping the SWP campaign in the Monterey Peninsula area.

His message, delivered here to rousing cheers at the June 7 rally, is very simple: "I recommend that everyone in the United States of America belong to the Socialist Workers Party."

Victimizations curbed

Texas: last OCAW locals end refinery strikes

By David Marsh

HOUSTON—After five months, the longest refinery strike in U.S. history has finally come to a close in Texas. In the past month, settlements were reached with the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union at all the major Texas refineries.

The economic package was basically settled two months ago when Gulf Oil presented an offer that set the industry pattern. However, Gulf, along with the rest of the oil giants, demanded victimizations against strikers as part of the settlement. The oil companies accused union members at refineries across Texas of "violence" and "illegal acts" on the picket line. They demanded firings and lengthy suspensions.

Beginning with the huge Gulf refinery in Port Arthur, Texas, members of OCAW refused to consider a contract that included victimizations. "We all walked out together, we should all go back together" was the prevailing sentiment.

Many oil workers believed that the companies were trying to weaken the union. The entire strike was marked by a vicious attack on the union. The oil barons used court injunctions, police harassment, lawsuits, and threats of disciplinary action. Union members were determined to beat back this assault and preserve the union's strength.

With settlements coming at most refineries around the country, the oil barons were able to concentrate their fire on the groups that remained on strike. Supervisory personnel were shipped from plants that had settled into those still on strike to beef up the scab force.

Nevertheless, oil workers kept the pickets up for weeks in an effort to eliminate or cut down the disciplinary action against union members.

After seventeen weeks, members of OCAW Local 4-23 at Texaco in Port Arthur reached an agreement. The company fired one worker and sus-

pending four others. These cases will be taken to arbitration.

Charter Oil in Houston, part of Local 4-227, also settled with three firings and four suspensions.

After eighteen weeks, OCAW settled at the Amoco refinery in Texas City. The company had aimed at firing two strikers and suspending two more for six months. In the back-to-work agreement, none were fired. Two received six-month suspensions and two others received four-month suspensions.

After twenty weeks out, OCAW members at the giant Gulf refinery in Port Arthur, the first group offered the new economic package, voted to settle. Three workers were fired for alleged violence. Their cases will be taken to arbitration.

Three others were suspended for thirty days; five received five-day suspensions; one worker received a three-day suspension. The suspension periods are one-half what Gulf had demanded.

The Port Arthur plant, according to the June 2 *Oil and Gas Journal*, has been on strike 288 days during the past five and one-half years, with lengthy strikes in both 1975 and 1979.

And after twenty-one weeks, the group at Crown Central Petroleum, Local 4-227 in Houston, became the last to settle. Crown had demanded the firing of four union members. The final settlement left three fired. Those cases will be taken to arbitration.

The *Oil and Gas Journal* quoted a Gulf Oil official as stating that "arbitrators have reduced or eliminated periods of suspension in about 80% of the industry's discipline cases in recent years." That belief is what convinced many union members to vote to accept an offer that included reprisals. There is confidence that these cases can be won in arbitration.

Nevertheless, a significant minority predict that these victimizations are just the opening shot in the oil companies' anti-union drive.

Conrail's job cutbacks hit by court ruling

By Miles Hawthorne

BOSTON—Rail workers have taken a step forward in the fight against job cutbacks with a recent ruling by Federal Judge Peter Scuderi.

The ruling came in a suit filed by more than 100 brakepersons, members of the United Transportation Union (UTU), against an illegal agreement between Conrail and some of their general chairmen (district directors).

In 1978 a UTU negotiating committee, appointed by then-President Al Chesser, signed the agreement on crew consist (size of work force) and other matters.

Opposition to the deal was widespread, since it would eliminate one third of the operating jobs on Conrail. In addition, the shorthanded crews would be left working in unsafe conditions, as a crew of two would have to do the work of three.

Four general chairmen in UTU districts covering a large part of the northeast refused to sign the agreement.

The agreement, moreover, was illegal. The UTU constitution stipulates that binding agreements may be signed only when based on a poll of local chairmen (heads of local unions), who elect the general chairmen. This had not been done.

Michael Maloof, local chairman of UTU Local 1473, along with many rank and file members of the local, took Conrail to court to have the agreement overturned. Their general chairman was among those who had refused to sign.



Militant/Howard Petrick

Conrail's drive for increased profits means fewer and unsafe jobs for railworkers.

Under the March 27 ruling, Conrail is ordered to renegotiate a contract with the four districts whose general chairmen refused to sign.

If new agreements are not reached in 120 days, the old agreements, signed with the railroad companies that merged to form Conrail, will stand insofar as crew consist is concerned. Most likely these previous agreements will mean fewer crew cuts than the current Conrail agreement.

The decision will undoubtedly be appealed by Conrail. But the plaintiffs, even though they are now exempted from the illegal crew reductions, will also probably appeal.

They want the agreement declared null and void for all UTU members on Conrail. This option was left open by the court ruling, which considered the agreement illegal but refused to take action beyond the four districts.

"We would like all of the general

committees [districts] on Conrail released from the crew consist agreement," Maloof explained, "based on the fact that the only reason they ever signed it was because they believed they had to under federal law, which the judge found they did not have to."

In order to challenge the Conrail agreement, the suit had to be filed not only against the company but against the international union. The rail workers who brought the suit view it, however, as a blow against the company and a move to strengthen the union.

"The judge affirmed the UTU constitution," Maloof said, "and held that it is a contract between the members and the international, and he also found that the railroad must comply with it. So I think that it is a victory for the union completely, and I feel that it's a serious defeat to Conrail."

"They planned from the very beginning what they were doing . . . they knew and had knowledge that they were violating the constitution, and they got caught. So I'm very happy about that."

According to Ann Gilmore, lawyer for the plaintiffs, the judge's decision occurred "only because so many workers came forward to fight, risking positions in the union and even their livelihoods. It could not have happened without the help of many people."

The fight is far from over. Conrail stands to lose millions if it is defeated, not to mention the implications for other carriers. Rail workers across the country will want to follow the development of this suit.

NOW president praises UAW efforts for ERA

By Osborne Hart

ANAHEIM, Calif.—Eleanor Smeal, president of the National Organization for Women, was warmly greeted by the delegates at the recent United Auto Workers convention here. Smeal was a featured speaker.

Arriving from Illinois, where NOW has been fighting for passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, Smeal expressed her gratitude for the UAW's role in that state:

"I wanted to thank you for all the work and for your efforts in the fight for the Equal Rights Amendment."

"We greatly appreciated it at the big march [May 10] we just had for ERA in Chicago. The UAW, especially Region 4, was well represented at our labor conference for ERA."

Smeal referred to the bribery allegations against NOW in Illinois as "some more dirty tricks" and "smoke-screens to divert us from the real issues of equal rights for women."

She said ERA opponents "tend to be those interests that speak for big business."

"The Equal Rights Amendment is an economic issue. Most people would like us to forget that and to think of it as just a woman's issue. . . . But at heart it is an economic issue."

Smeal's appearance was the first time a president of NOW has addressed a convention of a major U.S. trade union.

Smeal denounced Carter's support to the South Korean dictatorship as a "step backwards" for human rights.

She also remarked:

"So often we in the women's movement are encouraged to stay only in our own sphere, to only think of women's issues as auxiliary issues to the main issues. . . . But we will never ever succeed if we allow each issue to be treated separately, to allow women's issues to be treated apart from labor's issues, to allow civil rights issues to be treated apart from labor and women's issues."

The convention delegates passed a resolution that reaffirmed ERA ratification as a "top priority" for the union.

Included in each delegate kit was a pictorial brochure on the May 10 ERA march and excerpts from the labor message to the Illinois state legislature.



ELEANOR SMEAL Militant/L. Paltrineri

'Harassment ten times worse'

Life at 'new Chrysler' since the bailout

By Elizabeth Ziers

DETROIT—Joe Allor works for the "New Chrysler Corporation"—after putting in fourteen years for the old one.

He's a member of United Auto Workers Local 140 and is on the 3 p.m. to midnight shift at Warren Truck Assembly (Dodge Truck) producing light trucks.

Allor's job is mixing paint for the two-tone repair line. A few months ago, he was pushing truck bodies 200-300 feet down the line.

Last fall Allor and 119,000 other auto workers were asked to "save" Chrysler by approving a contract that gave up \$462.5 million in wages and benefits. Chrysler held a knife to their throats, threatening unemployment if the company went bankrupt. There are now 39,300 Chrysler workers out of a job.

I asked Allor how things have changed in the plant since the signing of the new contract and the initiation of the Chrysler bailout scheme.

"Management harassment has increased ten times over," he said. "It seems that since we gave in to them and gave up the Big Three pattern to sign a lousy contract, management doesn't even respect the terms of the lousy contract. They pay no attention to seniority rights or job classification or restrictions on speed-up."

Because Allor is on a repair job, the line speed in his department is a little slower than the rest of the plant—forty trucks per hour. Line speed in other departments is fifty trucks per hour. But speed-up is a common occurrence at Warren.

Speed-up

"In the metal shop, the limit is fifty, but they manage to slip in fifty-one or fifty-two on the line.

"When that happens, a union official is called in and the line slows down.

"Sometimes management won't slow it down, they will just argue with the union official.

"As far as job classification and seniority rights go, I had more seniority in the department but I had no right to bid for any job. I had to do the job I was told to do.

"Sometimes if they run short of people, they take people out of one department and put them in another department without regards to their seniority or classification. They just take whoever they feel like taking.

"Workers are fired for the slightest infraction, usually absenteeism. They use this to force workers to toe the line in all ways, not just absenteeism.

"They know that we know there are thousands of workers' from plants they've shut down, ready to step in to fill our shoes. They use this unemployment as a club over our heads, to control us, to make us accept anything they say.

"Me, personally, if I'm late or absent one more time, I have to take a thirty-day disciplinary layoff.

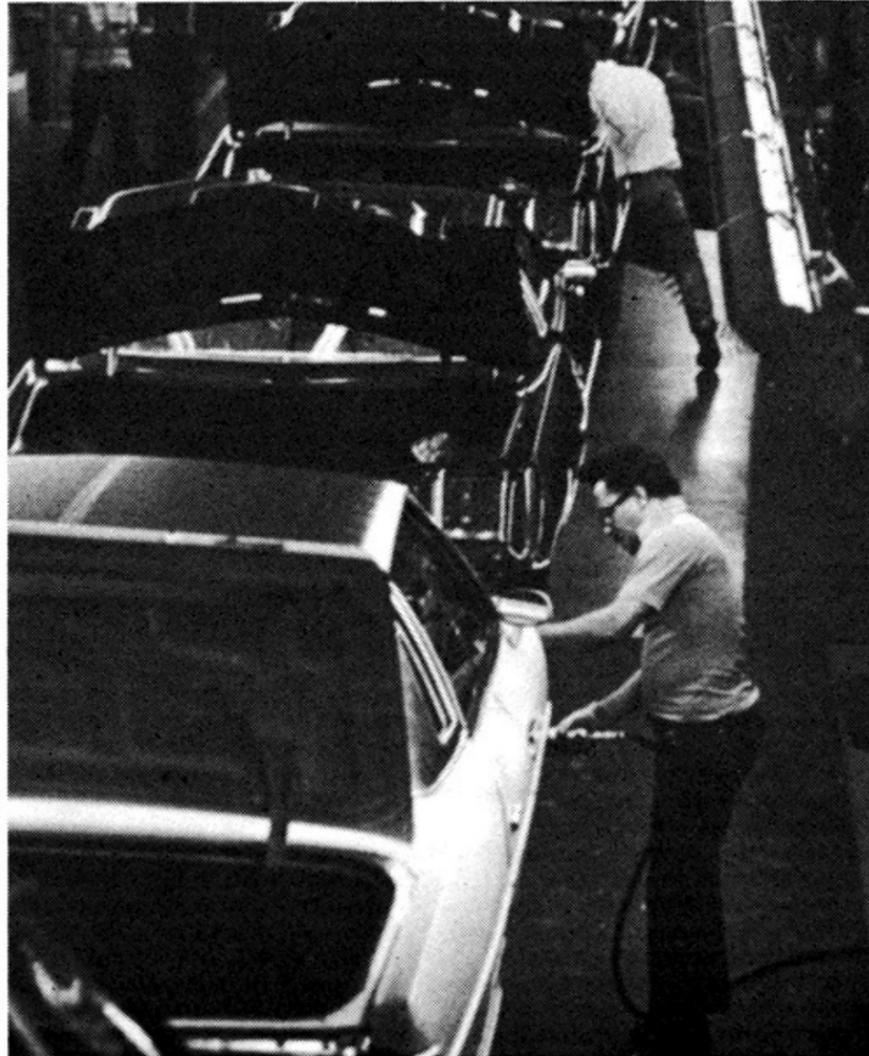
"Of course, they say if I'm really sick, I can bring a doctor's note. But they don't accept doctors' notes! So what's the point?"

Mysterious form

"They have a somewhat mysterious form they want a doctor to sign. The doctor is supposed to write down that you were totally incapacitated—and it has to be those exact words. If your doctor says something else, they can say, 'Well, it doesn't say you're totally incapacitated.'

"They don't put these rules out so everybody knows what the doctor is supposed to do. They just throw the excuse out.

"There's another thing. Let's say a guy is sick in the hospital and he is told to report a certain day. If you don't report to work on that certain day, they make you a Code 19, I think



Speed-up is commonplace in Chrysler plants, where conditions have deteriorated under deal to 'save' company.

it's called. You are not fired, but you are not there at work. You're out there in limbo and it can be two or three months before you get back. During that time you can't collect unemployment or get anything."

Allor says management "frequently drops steps in disciplinary procedure to fire a worker that much faster."

Several hundred auto workers from the Dodge Main have been transferred to the Warren plant. Dodge Main was closed in January 1980. Workers there were victims of the Chrysler bailout plan.

"When some workers from Dodge Main were brought in, four or five of them were fired the first day. They couldn't keep up. We're supposed to have three days to learn a job, but they don't pay any attention to that."

Tension in plant

"Tension in the plant is always very high. You can feel it when you walk in. Before the new contract, people thought that if they just came to work and did their job right, they'd be all right. But now that's not enough. You can't just do your job. You have to do it faster, and they're always adding work to it."

I asked if there was any language left in the contract about speed-up.

"Sure, but when any worker tries to use that language to fight back, management watches them and gets them.

"Why, if you miss a job, there are foremen who'll make you run down the line and catch it. That way they can eliminate a few repairmen. (They get paid ten cents an hour more.) A worker might refuse to do it, but if he's had a few write-ups already for any minor infractions, they'll watch him and they'll hit him hard the next time.

"Local union officials just shrug their shoulders. They say we have no weapon against Chrysler anymore because 'you can't strike a dying corporation.' That's how much the union has been weakened by the Chrysler deal."

Is Chrysler dying? Isn't it possible that the concessions the union gave,

the bank loans, and the federal subsidies will save the company?

"I don't think so.

"Chrysler has already said that before the smoke clears there will be 30,000 jobs eliminated—and that's if the corporation pulls through! They're saying this is just a rough period. But it's more than that.

"Chrysler got government help in 1957. That helped for awhile. This time, the company's putting all their money on the K-car. That's supposed to be the meal ticket. What if it doesn't sell?

"Also, many banks—including Detroit banks—are holding back on the loans they promised. Chrysler will be lucky if they go ten years before bankruptcy. In the meantime, we are able to pay a few more house and car notes. In return, the entire UAW is weakened."

What was given up to the company?

Congressional order

"We made the first concessions in November 1979. They were bad enough. Then Congress ordered us to reopen contract negotiations in January and demanded that the union give up even more.

"So we gave up millions of dollars in wages and benefits. Our wage in-

creases were postponed. Our COLA (Cost-of-Living Allowance) won't be rolled into the base rate until later this year. That messes up pensions and medical benefits.

"Also, we gave up twenty Paid Personal Holidays. You know, PPHs were promoted as the solution to unemployment—through 'shorter worktime.' We gave up the one thing that was supposed to save jobs."

Why did Chrysler workers vote for the contract concessions?

"The ones who voted yes thought it was all cut and dried. They didn't think there was an alternative. Either a bad contract or no job. Also, they really believed that this is just a temporary rough time and things will get better.

"Personally, I voted no. I know many workers who also voted no. Most of us saw it was futile to keep giving concessions because the corporation is never satisfied. Many workers learned that lesson from American Motors four years ago. The UAW made concessions to them, but they closed the Milwaukee plant anyway."

What do workers at Warren Truck think of UAW President Douglas Fraser's participation on the Chrysler board?

"Most people think he shouldn't be there because he can't represent the union and management at the same time. I've never heard anybody say they think it's a hot idea."

What would you say to the next group of workers who are singled out for a Chrysler-type deal?

'Stick to your guns'

"Tell the company no, and stick to your guns. Once you start giving things up, they just start demanding more and more. This could result in breaking the whole UAW.

"The rank and file has to get organized to push the entire union forward to fight for concessions from the company."

"Many workers at Chrysler saw the takeaway contract Budd Company was trying to force on workers last winter as testing the water. Budd did not have money trouble. In fact, they were making record profits. UAW members at Budd said from the beginning of the strike that they would not accept a Chrysler-style contract.

"And they didn't.

"They stayed out on those picket lines every day, through five-degree weather and snow, for almost a month.

"The contract they finally settled on wasn't everything the ranks wanted, but it wasn't the takeaway contract Budd tried to force down their throats.

"The workers of UAW Local 212, Chrysler Mack Avenue Stamping Plant, opened their hall to the Budd workers. The hall was right across the street from the Budd plant. That was a sign of solidarity.

"The next time union members go out on strike to fight a takeaway or blackmail scheme, the entire UAW has got to show real solidarity."

More blood demanded

DETROIT—Chrysler Corporation announced June 3 that it will not close the Lynch Road assembly plant here. The company says car production can continue indefinitely with "appropriate" concessions from the United Auto Workers.

The company confirmed as recently as May 20 that the plant, which completely retooled only a year and half ago to make the Chrysler New Yorker, was closing down in July. About 2,800 of the more than 5,000 Lynch Road workers are on indefinite layoff.

Chrysler would not specify the concessions it wants but hinted at relaxed job rules in the UAW contract. However, any concessions would be in addition to the \$462.5 million the union has already sacrificed.

Chrysler workers were pressured to accept that scheme because they thought it was their only chance for survival. Lynch Road is an example of what Chrysler's blackmail means for workers. It hasn't meant survival.

—E.Z.

Ford closes Mahwah, blames victims...

By Vivian Sahner

METUCHEN, N.J.—The last Fairmont Futura rolled off the line June 20 at Ford Motor Company's Mahwah, New Jersey, assembly plant.

It was a gloomy day as men and women who had worked side by side for years said goodbye for the last time.

With the plant padlocked, their livelihood taken away, they face a bleak and uncertain future.

Plant shutdowns are always cruel. But Mahwah has a special twist.

Not only are 5,000 workers losing their jobs, but Ford is blaming the closing on the workers themselves. And now it's trying to use their plight to intimidate and discipline workers at its Metuchen assembly plant. That's where, next fall, the company will start producing its new front-wheel-drive subcompacts—and raking in big profits, Ford managers hope.

Ford's effort to turn its auto worker victims into criminals revolves around charges that Mahwah was closed because of poor quality, indiscipline, and incompetence by the workers.

Management at Metuchen and other area auto plants tell us to work harder or "this could be the next Mahwah."

Ford blames minorities

Mahwah workers are accused of being so high on marijuana that they don't know what they're doing.

Women are described as too weak to do the jobs, but forced on the company by government regulations.

An anonymous Mahwah manager is quoted as blaming poor quality on the Black and Hispanic workers. "Some of those guys never picked up a screwdriver before they came here," said the manager, whose skill extends to picking up his own paycheck.

A front-page *Wall Street Journal* article June 16 told of real quality problems at Mahwah. But they result from management policy. Workers were ordered to install parts that didn't fit. Cars were designed with the front end out of line. Management admitted keeping the sixty cars an hour running past a broken automatic welding machine they knew was missing key welds.

But these facts get lost in the blare of propaganda blaming the workers.

Local union leaders react to the company charges by agreeing that there used to be discipline and quality problems from the workers, but these have been solved in recent years. They claim to have a good relationship with management and to be shocked by the false charges.

Some of the statements by United Auto Worker district and international officials concerning Mahwah are shocking to union members.

Close Metuchen?

District Director Ed Gray was quoted in the Newark *Star-Ledger* as saying Ford should have closed the Metuchen plant instead of Mahwah. He said there are more industrial jobs in the Metuchen area to absorb unemployed workers.

International Representative Joseph Reilly, former president of the Mahwah local, is quoted in the *Wall Street Journal* as backing up the company claim that poor quality resulted from marijuana smoking in the body shop.

The only UAW activity involving Mahwah workers since the shutdown announcement was a May 5 rally for Edward Kennedy. It was held in the company parking lot and was intended to get out the vote in the New Jersey Democratic primary.

Not one speaker at that rally, which included top UAW officials in addition to Kennedy, so much as said a harsh word about Ford.

In April and May, Ford hired about 400 new workers at Metuchen in preparation for fall production of the new, small Escort and Lynx models.

For the first ninety days in an auto plant, a worker has little union protection, even though you start to pay dues after thirty days.

UAW officials and Ford management agreed on a plan to replace those 400 probationary workers with 400 top seniority workers from Mahwah after the shutdown.

The UAW Local 980 president at Metuchen, Guy Wedgeworth, protested. Wedgeworth said the contract does not allow Mahwah workers to bump those at Metuchen, as company and UAW officials maintain.

Almost all the probationary workers at Metuchen are young. About 80 percent are Blacks, Hispanics and women. A petition was circulated among the probationary workers, protesting their loss of jobs. The New Jersey NAACP was contacted to investigate the firings as a violation of affirmative-action laws.

The UAW international leadership, which never raised a finger against the Mahwah closing, wasted no time in responding to the rumblings from Metuchen. Local 980 was immediately put in receivership. An administrator from the UAW district office took charge of the local. Wedgeworth and other local officers were stripped of their power. A union meeting was cancelled.

After fifteen years

On Monday, June 23, the first workers from Mahwah began working at Metuchen. Most of them are men in their forties and fifties who have not done actual assembly line work for fifteen or twenty years, having gotten less grueling work through high seniority.

They come into Metuchen as new workers, facing the same ninety-day probationary period and lack of union protection.

That first night was terrible. The older workers could not keep up with the intensity of the work or the high temperature in the plant. Several of

them had to go to the hospital for medical treatment. Some quit.

They were worried about being able to do the work, and anxious about the attitude of the Metuchen workers they were going to replace. They were also concerned about people believing the image of them broadcast by the company as lazy and incompetent.

Fortunately, there was very little hostility from the Metuchen workers.

Some of the Mahwah workers told me the company led them to believe they would lose their unemployment benefits and jeopardize their pensions if they didn't come to Metuchen. This is false. But it is true that many older

workers from Mahwah must get in more years of work in order to qualify for full pensions.

Union response

In the face of one of the most blatant attacks against auto workers ever, with the companies using divide and conquer tactics to the fullest, the union must act.

For decades the UAW has talked about the need for a shorter work week with no cut in pay to create more jobs. We need it now. We also need to lower the age for pension benefits, slow down the line speed, and require the company to use more workers on the lines.

Instead, union inaction and the company offensive are setting up one local in the union to fight against another. Workers fighting against each other within the same local. Old against young, men against women, white against Black against Hispanic.

The slogans around which the unions were built were not empty phrases. The survival of our union as an organization to protect workers against the companies requires a return to the ideas of "an injury to one is an injury to all" and "solidarity forever."

A modest step in promoting this discussion would be for the locals at Mahwah and Metuchen to get together in a joint meeting. We could begin to discuss how to fight to get Mahwah reopened, how to ensure our Mahwah brothers and sisters get full assistance in the meantime, and how to fight against any layoffs beginning at Metuchen.

unique features Local 420 had won over the years.

• Production workers had always been allowed to punch out after producing their daily quota. If that took four hours, a worker went home after four hours with eight hours pay. Ford demanded an end to early leaving.

• Like many other plants, production workers were not responsible for "down time" should the line break down. The plan is to have workers work harder to make up for a loss of production.

• Workers were asked to give up wash time.

• In skilled trades, there had been a "leader" for every six skilled workers. The "leader" was a member of the union who directed work but did none.

The company demanded that "leaders" work.

• The company demanded the right to merge many different trades and to require skilled workers to drive forklifts.

The international union leadership urged members to accept the take-back demands. During a union meeting May 28, the membership overwhelmingly ratified the contract as a means of saving their jobs.

Granting the "job saving" concessions by the union has opened the way for Ford to renegotiate the entire national contract using the Chrysler model. With the lack of a response from the UAW leadership, the take-back campaign will not stop at Ford, as it did not stop at Chrysler.



Militant/Stu Singer

Friday, June 20. Last car came off the line around 10 a.m. Second shift was cancelled. People who had worked together twenty-five years said goodbye.



Militant/Stu Singer

...extracts ransom in Cleveland

By Dean Cohen

CLEVELAND—Following the anti-labor example set by Chrysler, Ford has used the threat of a plant shutdown to extract major concessions from auto workers here.

The victims of this blackmail are members of United Auto Workers Local 420 at Ford's Walton Hills stamping plant.

Local 420 had long considered itself the most militant of the Ford stamping plant locals. Of the six Ford stamping plants around the Great Lakes, it was the only one that had not signed a local agreement by mid-May, when the shutdown threat was announced.

Concession demands included basic contract provisions, as well as some

Steelworkers strike Ind. utility

By Jon Hillson

GARY, Ind.—A union busting drive by Northern Indiana Public Service Company has sparked stiff resistance from 4,200 striking steelworkers here.

More than 100 picketers, many of them mobilized by Northern Indiana Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) and United Steelworkers District 31 Women's Caucus, demonstrated at the Gary offices of NIPSCO on June 19.

The marchers leafleted passersby with a fact sheet about the strike, which began May 31.

NIPSCO's demands include the elimination of cost-of-living adjustments in the contracts for the two striking steelworker locals. Local 12775 represents production and maintenance employees and Local 13976 represents clerical workers. The company also demands givebacks in sick leave, pensions, and insurance benefits, while attacking seniority rights.

"All NIPSCO cares about is greater profits," Local 12775 President Fred Hershberger told the *Militant*. "They're not concerned about the public or the employees."

The seniority take-away aims at the overwhelmingly female clerical workforce. The company seeks to abolish company-wide seniority and replace it with department seniority. This would mean clerical workers bidding into higher-pay production jobs would lose all seniority.

"This would be a 20 year step backward," said Sharon Stiller, a member of the Local 13976 negotiating committee.

Recognition of this danger has prompted widespread concern in the women's movement. "Women are coming to us to find out more," Stiller said. Members from both locals are traveling to area USWA locals to get the



Picket line supporting strike against NIPSCO includes supporters from Coalition of Labor Union Women and antinuclear Bailly Alliance.

facts out about the strike.

NIPSCO, Stiller said, "prepared for the last six or eight months for this strike," forcing the steelworkers out with its take-away demands and stonewalling at the bargaining table.

The utility has already spent half a million dollars on anti-union propaganda. Helping to churn out its slick, labor-hating rhetoric are "consultants" from Seyfarth, Shaw, Fairweather and Geraldson, the same law firm that packaged Chicago Mayor Jane Byrne's tirades against city workers and unionized fire fighters. This outfit also provided ammunition for Tenneco's

war against the USWA at the Newport News, Virginia, shipyard.

At the same time NIPSCO uses Carter's wage ceiling to deny steelworker wage demands, it is seeking its own "guideline buster"—a 12.2 percent rate increase. This comes on top of a 23 percent increase in profits over 1978-79.

The June 19 picketers answered with the chant, "we support the strikers, not the rate hikers."

Not even a massive downpour could drown the fighting spirit of the strikers and their supporters as they chanted in the rain, "What do we want? Contract!"

Union head: 'No nuke plant!'

GARY, Ind.—United Steelworkers Local 12775 President Fred Hershberger put the striking NIPSCO workers on record against construction of the Bailly nuclear reactor on June 17.

The union represents workers who would maintain the deadly power plant should it be completed.

The NIPSCO-owned reactor is the subject of intense controversy and debate in northern Indiana. Its construction has been the target of repeated protests by antinuclear activists, led by the Bailly Alliance.

Hershberger criticized NIPSCO's decision to build the plant in the densely populated Chicago-Gary area. "Chicago and Gary get their drinking water from Lake Michigan," on whose shores Bailly is being built, he told the *Militant*.

Local 12775 is also opposed to the reactor's construction because it is so close to area steel mills. "The decision was unwise all around," the union president said.

"The union," Hershberger stated in a press release, "must take this position because of safety for the community, fellow steelworkers, and the employees of NIPSCO."

The Bailly Alliance is a strong supporter of the striking steelworkers. Members of the Alliance joined the solidarity picket line in Gary on June 19.

While Local 12775 does not reject nuclear power in general, Hershberger said, the union's stand against Bailly is emphatic.

"Allowing NIPSCO to build Bailly is like putting a bomb in the hands of a three year old," he said.

Youngstown conference discusses shutdowns

By Stu Singer

YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio—More than 200 people attended the Great Lakes Seminar on Plant Closings, held at the United Steelworkers Local 1330 union hall here on June 7.

The meeting location was appropriate: USWA Local 1330 represents the victims of the closing of Ohio Works mill by U.S. Steel.

The irrationality of the epidemic of plant shutdowns and layoffs became more apparent through the discussions at the conference. In Youngstown, for example, rotting bridges are closed to traffic while mills that could produce the steel for new bridges are shut down.

The need for public transportation becomes more urgent, but the main passenger rail plants in the country, Pullman in Hammond, Indiana, and Chicago, are scheduled to close so the company can invest in more profitable ventures. A delegation of steelworkers from "Eugene V. Debs Local 1834" at Pullman circulated petitions protesting the shutdown.

The one-day seminar included two plenary sessions and a number of workshops. In one, on preventing plant shutdowns, a Youngstown unionist said you can tell if your company is planning a shutdown if there is lack of investment and things are allowed to run down more than normal.

Then a steelworker local president from Wheeling, West Virginia, got up to say his plant is going to be shut down soon, but the company just invested millions in modernizing it.

For about three years there has been a fight in Youngstown. It has centered around efforts to buy one or more plants and operate them under "worker-community" ownership. This effort has run into one failure after another.

The steel companies refuse to sell the plants because they do not want competition.

The courts reject legal maneuvers involved in the plan, ruling they violate property rights.

The federal government, which would have to provide tens of millions of dollars, is not interested.

In several workshops and the plenary sessions, a number of different people suggested the government should nationalize plants that private industry does not want to run.

Ed Mann, president of Steelworkers Local 1462 in Youngstown, whose local is another victim of plant shutdown, proposed a Labor Day march on Washington to demand jobs.

A number of speakers in plenary and workshop sessions raised ideas concerning political action. United Electrical Workers Vice-president Frank Rosen said that we need a "second" political party.

Pat Grogan, from USWA Local 65 in Chicago, explained the idea of a labor party. She pointed to the recent vote in favor of a labor party by the Steelworkers District 38 conference and the ongoing labor party discussion in the California AFL-CIO.

Youngstown union leader Ed Mann has petitioned for a ballot spot as an independent candidate for U.S. House of Representatives in the congressional district including Youngstown. There was informal discussion about the potential of that campaign.

In a workshop one unionist suggested more support to "friends of labor" Democrats, but he acknowledged that it is getting very hard to find such people.

Black activist Ron Daniels, who teaches at Kent State University and has a TV program in Youngstown, gave the closing speech. He said, "The Republican and Democratic parties represent the same things. They don't speak to real problems. We can create our own political party in this country."

Many of those attending the confer-



Workshop discussion. Standing is John Bowman, president of USWA Local 1834.

ence were local union leaders and activists who are grappling with the immediate problems of how to defend workers against unemployment.

There were several people from Johnstown, Pennsylvania, from the Steelworkers and United Mine Workers. They were involved in organizing a demonstration there for jobs a few days earlier.

There was discussion of the role played by imports in the economy and whether imports hurt American workers. Opinions were mixed on this, but there were few people willing to take all the blame for plant closings off American companies and blame Japa-

nese steel or cars.

Many people were particularly galled at what they viewed as the hypocrisy of U.S. Steel Corporation, which, it was recently revealed, imports Japanese steel to sell in its West Coast Steel Service Centers at the same time that it leads the industry pack in denouncing imports.

The June 7 Youngstown seminar is another part of the big discussion going on throughout the labor movement on how to respond to the economic crisis. It did not vote on any proposals for action, but there was openness to ideas such as industry nationalization and the labor party.

By William Gottlieb
(eighth of a series)

Near the end of World War II, representatives of forty-four governments met in the resort village of Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, to ratify a plan for the world monetary system dictated by the victorious U.S. capitalists. The system was to be built around a dollar that was "as good as gold."

The American dollar was to be redeemable in gold at the fixed rate of thirty-five dollars an ounce. That is, the value of the dollar was set at one thirty-fifth of an ounce of gold. Foreign governments and central banks (and to a certain extent foreign individuals) could cash in their paper dollars at this rate. The dollar, with solid gold backing, was to be accepted throughout the capitalist world as a "reserve currency." It could be used just like gold for settling international debts.

It was no longer legal for individual Americans to own gold, let alone convert their dollars into gold at the U.S. Treasury or Federal Reserve banks. (The ban on owning gold was lifted in 1975 at the insistence of the U.S. capitalists, and nowadays the financial press is full of advertisements for buying gold in various forms.) Thus the Bretton Woods system was a modified gold standard.

U.S. dominance

The special status of the dollar reflected the overpowering economic, political, and military might of U.S. capitalism. At the end of the war, Washington held 75 percent of the world's gold reserves—and a monopoly on the atomic bomb.

Dollars flooded the world as U.S. corporations invested billions abroad and as the Pentagon war machine spread on every continent to protect those highly profitable investments.

In 1960, the potential claims on U.S. gold by holders of dollars abroad exceeded the U.S. gold stock for the first time. But the world capitalist



economy was still expanding, the dollars were needed to facilitate world trade, and so the "excess" creation of paper dollars caused only minor concern.

By the late 1960s, however, the modified gold standard of the Bretton Woods system was crumbling. During the Kennedy and Johnson administrations in the 1960s, demand and production had soared, partially because of the Vietnam war. But, as we've seen, this very prosperity represented *gross overproduction* from the viewpoint of the capitalist system of production for private profit.

Demand for gold soared by the end of the decade as capitalists scurried to *conserve* their capital and as governments and central banks abroad sought to protect their reserves by cashing in dollars for gold.

The gold standard could have been saved only if the U.S. government adopted a very tight money policy, that is, cutting back the supply of dollars in the form of bank reserves and checking accounts. Since tight money would drive up interest rates, government expenditures would have had to be sharply slashed. Any attempt to maintain high government spending under those conditions would mean huge government borrowing, driving interest rates even higher and worsening the deflationary collapse of credit throughout the rest of the economy.

Fear of depression

Such a course of preserving the gold standard at the end of the 1960s would have lowered prices—at the cost of a huge depression and mass unemployment. Washington, however, dreaded depression. This is at bottom a tribute to the capitalist government's fear of the American workers.

The Johnson and Nixon administrations had another reason for avoiding the balanced budgets and tight money that would have been required to maintain the value of the dollar at one thirty-fifth of an ounce of gold. They were pouring billions into the genocidal war against the Vietnamese people, in the face of growing opposition from students and workers at home. Saving the gold standard would have meant stopping the war for sheer lack of funds, or else raising taxes and slashing domestic spending to a point certain to provoke a social explosion.

Instead, the U.S. government chose simply to

Why 1970s brought permanent inflation



1973 meat boycott—one of first protests against soaring prices

abandon its remaining obligations to redeem its currency in gold.

This process began in March 1968, when international gold-buying fever pushed the "price of gold" in the Paris market to the record high of \$44.36 an ounce. Rather than sell gold from their reserves to keep the "price of gold" down (in reality, keep the value of the dollar up), the major capitalist governments decided to let the private-market gold price fluctuate. They would continue to conduct gold transactions among themselves at \$35 an ounce.

This "two-tier" system obviously could not last for long as world overproduction deepened and Washington continued to let the dollar decline in real value.

'New Economic Policy'

In August 1971, as part of his emergency "New Economic Policy," Nixon ended forever the convertibility of dollars for gold at a fixed price. The result has been that the gold value of the dollar dropped from 1/35 of an ounce in 1970 to an average of 1/350 of an ounce during 1979. In January 1980 the dollar plummeted to 1/875 of an ounce at one point! In other words the dollar has lost more than 90 percent of its gold (that is, real money) value in about a decade.

This is why the last decade has been so inflationary in spite of the fact that there has certainly been no shortage of commodities. In fact, only the surplus of commodities pressing down on the market has prevented the dollar prices of goods from rising *much faster*. During the 1970s consumer prices rose about 100 percent while gold rose 1,000 percent. That indicates that in terms of real money—gold—the prices of commodities have *fallen sharply*! Needless to say, wages have fallen even faster.

With the severing of the dollar from any fixed gold value, the inflationary process feeds on itself and threatens with increasing frequency to get completely out of control.

A rise in gold prices quickly tends to spill over into the commodity futures markets, where capitalists speculate on the future prices of silver, copper, other metals, and agricultural products. As these sensitive prices rise (and as speculation heats up), the demand for loanable funds also increases and interest rates go up.

If the government lets interest rates go up—and especially if it turns to tight money policies to try to stem the declining value of the dollar—the likely result is recession or depression.

On the other hand, if it eases up on monetary policy to avert a recession, then the dollar's slide in value will accelerate and inflation will get that much worse. And if the government simply let the price of gold rise without limit, hyperinflation—where the currency becomes essentially worthless—would sweep the United States and the world. The result would be a depression on a scale that would dwarf even the 1930s.

Throughout the 1970s U.S. economic policy has zig-zagged between two poles, depending on which potential disaster seems more immediate.

When gold soared in 1973-74, the Federal Reserve adopted tight money and the Nixon-Ford administration tried to balance the budget. The result was the 1974-75 depression. The partial liquidation of overproduction during this depression restored the hopes that profitable production on a sound "hard money" basis would be restored.

Gold dropped from about \$200 an ounce at the peak of the crisis in late 1974 to \$100 an ounce in August 1976. Even at \$100 an ounce the dollar showed a huge loss of gold value from 1970. The result was that dollar prices *rose rapidly throughout this depression*, making it the first inflationary depression in U.S. history.

Despite its devastating effect on working people, this depression was too short and too mild to liquidate decades of overproduction.

The result was that the price of gold soon began to rise again as easy money and federal budget deficits stimulated renewed overproduction. By fall 1978 gold had risen above \$200 an ounce and the flight from paper currencies was accelerating.

The Carter administration and Federal Reserve announced moves to restrict demand and drive up interest rates. However, these actions were half-hearted. Carter hoped for only a mild recession in 1979 and a recovery in 1980, allowing him to run for reelection on a record of prosperity.

The result was that the economy stagnated but did not decline sharply across the board in 1979. But from the capitalist point of view, the very success in staving off serious depression in 1979 was the problem. Overproduction was worsening. The frenzied demand for gold by the capitalists kept on rising. By summer 1979 gold hit \$300. Six months later it was over \$800. The dollar had lost more than half its gold value in less than six months!

The rate of inflation in consumer prices soon rose toward 20 percent and threatened to go much higher. Interest rates skyrocketed as capitalists were reluctant to make loans in a currency that was losing value at such a rate. A crisis was at hand.

In January the Federal Reserve moved to tighten money. In an unprecedented move, Carter withdrew his budget and submitted a new, balanced budget. Military spending was raised, while social spending was sharply reduced. In March the Federal Reserve took further steps to restrict consumer loans.

By the beginning of May gold was down to about \$500 (still twice the level of a year earlier), interest rates were falling, and the immediate threat of runaway inflation was reduced. But the economy was in a tailspin, with production dropping rapidly and layoffs spreading like the plague.

In the face of these more and more destructive fluctuations of the capitalist economy, how can working people protect ourselves? That will be the subject of our concluding article.

In Review

'Kramer vs. Kramer'

Kramer vs. Kramer. Starring Dustin Hoffman and Meryl Streep. Written and directed by Robert Benton. Columbia Pictures.

Kramer vs. Kramer, a film dealing with the dilemma of child custody, recently won great acclaim for its sensitive coverage of the subject.

In addition to receiving rave reviews and Oscars, it was praised by many for its moving portrayal of a father's love for his child.

But Barbara Grizzuti Harrison, reviewing the film in the January issue of *Ms.* magazine, had a nagging feeling that something was wrong.

"Afterward," she wrote, "I felt, in a way—it was not immediately easy to analyze—that I had to some extent been had, that I had been manipulated by director and scriptwriter Robert Benton."

The film traces Ted Kramer's development from a career-oriented husband, who leaves child rearing to his wife, to a parent who becomes devoted to his child after his wife leaves him. The plot revolves

Film

around this and the wife's subsequent attempts to gain custody of the child.

The audience goes through the process with Ted. A film showing the evolution of such a man had the potential to be a serious drama.

But not this film.

Taking advantage of our empathy, the film reinforces a set of premises that have nothing to do with the real needs of women, men, or children—namely that the place for women is foremost in the traditional family role.

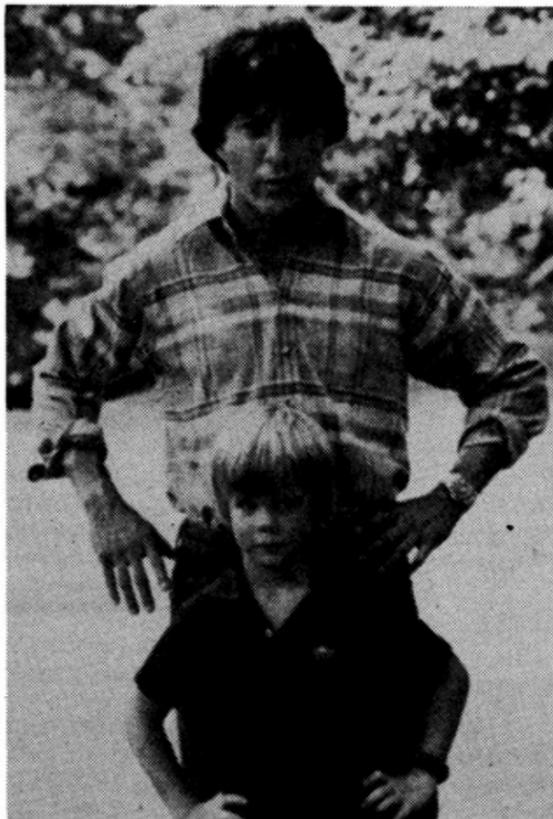
How does the film make these points?

First, in the way it counterposes the character of Joanna, the wife, to Ted. Although Joanna actually desires nothing more than the same opportunities that her husband has had, she is made to appear cold and selfish for wanting this.

While Ted is shown taking on the warm, almost maternal, characteristics that make up the romanticized view of motherhood, we never see Joanna's past as a mother. The closest we come to seeing her attachment to her child is the scene where Joanna watches out of a store window, hoping to catch a glimpse of Billy at school.

Nor are we shown her previous life at home—the dreary cycle of washing, cleaning, and cooking, which made her decide to leave.

It is implied that Joanna is moody, unstable, insecure. After the breakup, she sees a psychiatrist to help her develop a sense of self worth. Ted is shown full of confidence and as aggressive as ever.



Dustin Hoffman as Ted Kramer and Justin Henry as his son Billy.

And he is able to grow to combine these traits with tenderness.

The film is about Ted, not Joanna. Because of this, the audience naturally sympathizes with him. There is nothing wrong with that, of course.

The problem is that what Joanna is trying to do—struggle for selfhood—is treated without sympathy, even though what she is trying to do is admirable.

Why? Joanna is a foil. Her personality and actions are made to compare negatively to Ted's from the viewpoint of what the film presents as a good parent.

In the court scene where both Kramers are the butt of unfair questions and attacks by their respective lawyers, Ted handles himself with composure. But Joanna bursts into tears, full of doubts and insecurities. Is she perhaps the director's idea of the "new woman"?

In the end, Joanna gives Billy to Ted. Why? The

director is not merely tacking on a happy ending for commercial reasons. This conclusion makes a political point.

Joanna explains: "I painted a room for Billy with clouds on it, so it would be just like home. But then I realized that he is already home. This is his home. I would just be taking him away from the place he belongs."

Other endings were possible, but they might have suggested that a woman can both have her economic independence and raise her child.

Two other women characters in the film function to bolster the traditional female role.

First is the sophisticated, intelligent, single career woman at Ted's office.

What happens to this cool lady?

Spending the night with Ted at his apartment, she gets up naked to go to the bathroom, encounters six-year-old Billy in the hallway, and falls apart, flustered and embarrassed.

This was good for quite a laugh for some in the audience.

Why was this scene chosen for our successful career woman? Any student of comedy knows that when you want to deflate and ridicule someone—male or female—just put them in a scene getting caught with their pants down.

There is another, more important, female figure, the neighbor, Margaret.

Margaret is separated from her husband at the beginning of the film. Ted first attacks her as a woman's liberationist, responsible for putting ideas into Joanna's head. But she, like Ted, also undergoes a transition.

She becomes very maternal, takes loving care of Billy, feels guilty when he is hurt, washes Ted's dishes, empathizes with him, and gives him the needed emotional support wives are supposed to give their husbands. She is fiercely loyal and self-sacrificing toward the men she cares for.

What conclusions does she reach about her own life under the impact of the child custody hearing—where she testifies in Ted's behalf? She decides to go back to her husband, who left her for another woman, because it is better for the children. It's a satisfying ending in the context of this film.

This film serves to reinforce women's traditional role in the family at a time when it is increasingly challenged. More and more women—because they want to or because they have to—are entering the work force, developing confidence and independence, and demanding equality.

Kramer vs. Kramer is a subtly constructed argument for those opposed to women's rights.

—Suzanne Haig

'For Her Own Good'

For Her Own Good: 150 Years of the Experts' Advice to Women. By Barbara Ehrenreich and Deirdre English. Garden City, New York. Anchor/Doubleday, 1978. 325 pp. \$3.95 paper.

The triumph of the American Revolution presented the ideologues of capitalism with a problem: They had mobilized the people under the banner of equal rights, but they had no intention of letting equal rights interfere with property rights. How could economic inequality be justified in a society that pretended to offer equal opportunity to all?

The solution to the problem was to blame inequality on the individual. In place of older social justifications of hierarchy, capitalism created new

Books

biological ones.

A historic advance, the rejection of inequality as a legitimate social institution, was combined with a historic retrogression, the construction of biological theories of race and sex to explain the persistence of inequality.

For Her Own Good shows how science has been used in the service of sexual inequality. Although the book occasionally shades into opposition to professionalism per se, the indictment of the American medical establishment is extremely effective.

Ehrenreich and English show how the profession of gynecology developed in the early nineteenth century as part of the redefinition of women's

sphere in capitalist America. Middle-class women were being excluded from professions formerly open to them. They were being confined to the home in order to free up the male for the competition of the business world. But this exclusion had to be reconciled with the supposed equal opportunity of American life.

The answer was simple: Women were biologically and psychologically unfit for competition by virtue of their reproductive organs. "The Uterus . . . is the controlling organ in the female body," wrote Dr. F. Hollick in 1849, "being the most excitable of all . . ." (p. 108).

Because women were ruled by their reproductive organs, reasoned the doctors, surgical intervention into those organs was the most effective treatment for such diverse "diseases" as backaches, irritability, eroticism, and discontentedness. The most frequent operation was the removal of a woman's ovaries; clitoridectomy, or female castration, was also employed.

Although the prescriptions of the doctors were aimed at middle-class white women, poor women and especially non-white women were the most brutally victimized.

Thus the "father of modern gynecology," Marion Sims, practiced his techniques on female slaves whom he kept specially for that purpose, and later performed his experiments on indigent Irish women in the New York Women's Hospital.

This continues today. Puerto Rican women were made into guinea pigs for the development of the pill, while Black, Latina, and Native American

women are still subjected to forced sterilization in hospitals around the country.

Ehrenreich and English also discuss the misuse of psychology in the twentieth century campaign to keep women in the home. Although their description of the ways in which Madison Avenue and the American Medical Association manipulate women is fascinating, their analysis is incomplete.

They relate the manipulation of women to the growth of advertising and the corporations' need for customers for a vast array of consumer goods. The role of women in reproducing the labor force and as a supply of cheap female labor is downplayed.

The limits of the authors' analysis show up best in their final proposal for ending women's subordination. They say vaguely that "the Market . . . must be pushed back to the margins. And the 'womanly' values of community and caring must rise to the center as the only human principles." The problem here is that market and communal relations cannot coexist.

"The Market," after all, rose at the margins of feudalism and pushed aside or destroyed all other ways of organizing work and life because it was based on the superior productive capacity of manufacturing and machine industry.

To end its dominance over our lives we must reject any romanticization of the preindustrial past and keep our eyes firmly on the future—a society where the private ownership of the social wealth has been abolished once and for all.

—Stephanie Coontz

The Great Society

Harry Ring



They could get even sicker—The Nuclear Regulatory Commission received a letter signed by forty staff members near Three Mile Island, plus scrawled signatures of some of their children. The writers offered to be present when radioactive gas at TMI is vented, to demonstrate their belief in how safe it is. "It's sick," and NRC official said. "But believe me, they're perfectly serious about it."

Solace—"One kind of stress many people are experiencing today is the loss of job status. . . . Grief may be felt. . . . But then, on the upswing comes a developing sense of hope and, finally, an acceptance of what has taken place."—James Schmidt, Ph. D., in *Ford World*, an in-house publication.

You're sure?—"Burning down a building cannot create any jobs," Carter advised Miami Blacks. Meanwhile, a Senate committee reported that landlords and businesspeople collect \$1.6 billion a year insurance on arson-for-profit torchings.

Science dep't—At a Bank of America livestock seminar, a cow was milked by a mechanical milker powered by gas produced from its own manure. Now if General Motors could figure on something like that for assembly-line workers, the energy crisis would be over.

Or broke—The president of a Los Angeles supermarket chain offered a series of tips on how to be a thrifter shopper. Point #1: Never do your shopping when you're hungry.

Underground humor?—A poster in a Philadelphia drug store window features old glory and the caption: "Long may it wave. Free the Hostages—Courtesy Chelton Hills Cemetery."

Our clear-thinking president—Carter recently conceded his administration had failed to solve many problems. But, he insisted, he had been willing to make unpopular decisions and this was what the voters wanted.



Making do—A group of condos are going up along Los Angeles's Wilshire Boulevard. Prices start at \$350,000, with one going for \$7 million. It in-

cludes four bedrooms, each with two baths, plus two private elevators. Observed a developer, "People have to live somewhere."

Women in Revolt

Suzanne Haig



The plot against Martha Coleman

Picture the following: "a white divorcee," "a thirty-six-year-old blond in a white cocktail dress," "an attractive woman" who "drives a bright red Grand Prix sedan with a white top."

This is the way the press has described Martha Coleman, who was with Urban League Director Vernon Jordan when he was shot in the early morning of May 29 in Fort Wayne, Indiana.

From this characterization of Coleman you would never know that she is a colleague (not a "friend," "companion," or "mystery woman," as the press refers to her) of Jordan. Coleman is a member of the Fort Wayne Urban League's board of directors.

The descriptions of Coleman are nothing but crude, sexist code words designed to elicit a certain sordid response from the reader. They are terms of slander and derision frequently used against women.

In the Jordan case, these sexist slurs were used for a political purpose: to cover up the racist nature of the assassination attempt and substitute what the Fort Wayne police term "a triangle" theory—that Jordan was shot by Coleman's "jealous boyfriend."

Coleman put her finger on the reason for the slurs. "I think all [of this] . . . prying into my personal life," she said, ". . . has taken the pressure off the fact that a prominent Black leader was shot in our town. It has kind of kept a lid on a racist problem by making me the victim."

Evidence in fact reveals that the "triangle" the-

ory was a conscious set-up devised by Fort Wayne authorities to hide the political and racist nature of the crime.

According to the June 9 *Miami Herald*, the "jealous lover" theory was developed by city authorities immediately following the shooting. The mayor, Winfield Moses, was worried that an attempted assassination "would cause riots here like the one in Miami."

The *Herald* says Moses now admits that the authorities consciously denied the possibility of racial motivation, and his staff spokespeople and the police department he controls played up the "triangle."

Rather than round up members of the Ku Klux Klan (who have recently stepped up activity in the area) and other known racists, cops and the FBI spent their time investigating Coleman. Her former husbands, friends, and associates were questioned. She, as well as a previous husband, had to take lie detector tests!

As could be expected, no serious clues turned up, and the cops claimed to have no further leads.

But the nationwide slander campaign against Coleman and Jordan served another purpose. The shooting comes at a time when unions, civil rights organizations, and women's groups are uniting to fight against racism and unemployment and for passage of the Equal Rights Amendment and for unionization in the South.

The employers and their government would like

nothing better than to find ways to divide these powerful forces.

Take the June 8 *New York Times* article headlined "Urban League Aides Worry About Image." It says that there is a "debate within the league and among blacks generally about the fact that Mr. Jordan was in the company of a white woman, Martha C. Coleman."

After repeating the "jealous lover" theory, the article states, "a major debate among blacks has been over social relations between black men and white women."

So here you have it. A major Black leader is the target of an assassination attempt, conditions of racist brutality and poverty in Miami lead to a Black rebellion, working people are under economic assault, and the *New York Times* says Blacks are spending most of their time debating white/Black social relations!

Reading all this, I can't help but feel suspicious. Not about "jealous lovers," but about the role of the FBI and other police agencies.

I recall the FBI's attempts to blackmail Martin Luther King and the unanswered questions on their part in his murder and in the murder of Malcolm X.

I remember the tragic case of actress Jean Seberg, who committed suicide last year after the FBI planted a rumor in the press that she was pregnant by a Black Panther Party leader. Seberg was a supporter of the Panthers.

Is something like this at the bottom of the Jordan case?

What's Going On

CALIFORNIA LOS ANGELES

THE CARTER-REAGAN DRIVE TOWARD WAR: HOW WORKING PEOPLE CAN STOP IT. Speaker: Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president. Sat., June 28, 7:30 p.m. 2211 N. Broadway. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (213) 225-3126.

NEW YORK NEW YORK CITY

EL SALVADOR: REFORM OR REVOLUTION? Speakers: Robert Armstrong, Committee in Support

of the Salvadorean People's Struggle—Farabundo Martí; Anibal Yáñez, staff writer for *Perspectiva Mundial*; representative of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of Guatemala. Sat., June 28, 7:30 p.m. 108 E. 16th St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Foro de Perspectiva Mundial/Militant Forum. (Habrà traducción al español). For more information call (212) 260-6400.

NO DRAFT! NO WARI! NO INTERVENTION IN EL SALVADOR! March and rally. Sat., June 28, noon. Meet at Armed Forces Recruitment Center, 43rd and Broadway at noon. Rally at the United Nations at 2 p.m. For more information call (212) 989-5695.

AFRICAN AND LATIN AMERICAN REVOLUTIONARY SONGS. Sat., June 28, 9 p.m. Edwina Lee

Tyler's African music. Sun., June 29, 8 p.m. Sabiá Latin American music. 151 W. 19th St. Ausp: Taller Latino Americano.

PEÑA—CULTURE OF THE CHILEAN RESISTANCE. Music, poetry, and dance by Latin American artists. Food and drink. Sat., June 28, 7:30 p.m. Grace and St. Paul's Lutheran Church, 123 W. 71st St. Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: Comité Chileno Antifascista.

OREGON PORTLAND

HERBICIDES AND THE ENVIRONMENT. From Oregon forests to Love Canal. Speaker: Cameron

McCredie, Oregon Sierra Club Executive Committee. Sun., June 29, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW. Everett St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA PHILADELPHIA

UPSURGE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. A panel discussion chaired by Langson Mahoso, Philadelphia ZAPU. Film showing of "There is No Crisis." Sun., June 29, 7 p.m. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) 927-4747.

Vindicate the Rosenbergs!



In 1975, two young men, Michael and Robert Meeropol, initiated a campaign to vindicate their parents.

The Meeropol brothers did not do this to save their parents' lives. It was too late for that. Accused of espionage and treason, they had been executed June 19, 1953, when Michael and Robert were children.

Their parents were Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. They were railroaded to the electric chair as "atom spies." The government falsely charged that the Rosenbergs had given the "secret" of the A-bomb to the Soviet Union. Since their execution, substantial evidence has been uncovered confirming the charges were a hoax.

At the time of their trial in the early 1950s, there was already enough evidence to make clear the case was a political frame-up and that the Rosenbergs were the victims of the government's drive to deepen the witchhunt.

Investigative reporters compiled evidence bringing out glaring contradictions in the government case.

But it was only after their death that it was possible to conclusively establish the extent of the government frame-up.

Miriam and Walter Schneir wrote a book, *Invitation to An Inquest*, which effectively refuted each key point in the government case.

Then the Meeropols, backed by a broadly supported committee, used the Freedom of Information Act to uncover long secret government files on their parents. The documents further exposed the frame-up.

A "sketch" of the A-bomb allegedly drawn by Julius Rosenberg was in the government files. A top scientist who worked on developing the bomb looked at it and branded it a worthless "caricature."

The story of one of the two principal government witnesses was proven to be shot full of holes and based in good measure on "evidence" fabricated by the FBI. The second key witness was proven a pathological liar whose fanciful story was equally worthless.

On the eve of their execution, President Eisenhower offered the Rosenbergs a reprieve if they would "confess" to the charge. They went to their deaths insisting they had nothing to confess.

Their children reopened the case not only to clear their parents' names. They also recognized that exposure of the frame-up perpetrated against their parents would deal a blow to such governmental methods and make future political frame-ups more difficult.

The fight to vindicate Julius and Ethel Rosenberg is, at the same time, a contribution to the fight to end the death penalty.

One need only look at the case of Jack Howard Potts, who is now facing electrocution in Georgia, to see what a barbaric institution the death penalty is.

Potts declared from Death Row that he wanted to die, to get it over with. Having spent five years in the shadow of the electric chair, he indicated he would rather die than live any longer under this truly murderous pressure.

Potts's ordeal is one side of the cruelty of capital punishment.

When the Supreme Court reinstated the death penalty in 1976, it said it was needed as a means of "retribution."

Repression would have been a more precise word.

Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were but one example of how the death penalty is used as a weapon of political repression, designed to curb dissenting views.

There have been other such frame-up cases—Joe Hill, Sacco and Vanzetti, the Haymarket martyrs, more.

And there have been other innocent people who went to the death chamber only because they were poor, Black or Latino.

A fitting way to mark the anniversary of the martyrdom of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg will be to intensify efforts to abolish the death penalty—and the reactionary social system that relies on it as a weapon.

'Death of a Princess'

I wish to add the following two remarks to Suzanne Haig's excellent review of "Death of a Princess" (*Militant*, May 30).

The first is that while the purpose of the film is to expose the social and political corruption and oppression in Saudi Arabia and to attract attention to the processes and consequences of imperialism, the dogged insistence of the American media to show the film is motivated primarily by racism—anti-Arab sentiment as well as anti-Muslim.

The second remark deals with the "discussion" which was appended to the film. Its purpose seems to have been nothing but collusion on the part of both public television and the U.S. government. It is a collusion whereby you can eat your cake and have it too.

By showing the film, the media found a vent for its racist sentiment and hatred of a culture. By appending the discussion, the government sought to defend and apologize for its partners in exploitation and reaction.

H. Selwyn
Kokomo, Indiana

Another world

A picture in the Harrisburg, Pennsylvania *Evening News* recently showed Cuban "refugees" on their way to Fort Indiantown Gap, one of the resettlement camps, which is about thirty miles from Harrisburg.

The picture is captioned "Into another world." Appropriately, the immigrants are deplaning at Harrisburg International Airport with Three Mile Island's nuclear cooling towers just visible in the background. Below the picture was a report of radioactive krypton gas being released at TMI.

Also on the same page was a story on the Miami rebellion,

and another on Mt. St. Helen's eruption. Truly "another world" from Cuba!

A couple of days later, twenty Cubans were rounded up by military police after having "escaped" from the camp for four hours one night. They were found indulging in their thirst for freedom in a local saloon.

To complete the hospitable picture, recent burglaries and hold-ups in the area are being blamed on Cubans. All that's missing is the welcome mat.

Jay Johnson
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Treatment of handicapped

I have been reading your newspaper off and on for ten years, and I have yet to see anything dealing with handicapped people. Why do you ignore us? Don't you consider us an oppressed people?

I have some questions that I would like to ask you. How will the ERA help handicapped women? How will handicapped people be treated differently under Khomeini than under the Shah? How about now that Somoza is gone?

Will we be treated any differently under socialism than under capitalism or will we still be shoved into a corner?

James E. Benson
Lancaster, Ohio

[In reply—An article in the June 13 *Militant* described the respectful and conscientious treatment the disabled now receive in Nicaragua, despite the widespread destruction and lack of resources that resulted from the civil war.]

Vietnam meeting attacked

I received a letter June 10 from the Committee in

Great sales of a 'bad' paper

"It tells the truth."

"It's a bad paper. You should read it, I did. Those articles on Miami are something else."

"It's very interesting."

These are a few comments about the *Militant* made by new readers at Armco Steel, Baltimore Works.

For the past nine months I've been regularly selling the *Militant* at my plant-gate. Sales began slowly—three to five per week—and gradually increased to ten to fourteen over the past few months.

So when the Miami events prompted a national sales effort, I thought the time was right to "bust loose" with sales. Over the past three weeks I've sold almost seventy-five copies of the *Militant* to co-workers.

Malcolm X once said about the *Militant*: "If you put the right things in it, it gets around." Yesterday I noticed someone taking home a copy of the May 30 issue to read the coverage of the steel contract. If the dog-eared condition of the paper

was any indication, that particular *Militant* really got around.

Some time ago, I sold a *Militant* to a co-worker and told him I wanted to talk with him about the paper after he read it. He cautioned me that he was going to tell me what he really thought, not what I wanted to hear. After he read the *Militant* he described it as a paper that tells the truth. He also mentioned that his wife thought it was very informative, and that his son took it to school for a discussion on Iran.

One final thing. I've been selling the *Militant* for eleven years and I've never been prouder of it than in the past year. Not content to rest on past achievements, it gets better and better. One new reader told me, "It has great coverage. Always sending reporters to the scene. The other papers could do that, yeah they could, but they don't."

Keep up the good work.
Salm Kolis
Baltimore, Maryland

Our party is your party

THE MILITANT is the voice of the Socialist Workers Party

IF YOU AGREE with what you've read, you should join us in fighting for a world without war, racism, or exploitation—a socialist world.

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SWP, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

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Learning About Socialism

New catalog of socialist literature

Solidarity with Vietnam, Kampuchea, and Laos. It described a May 10 meeting of the committee held, in conjunction with the Association of Vietnamese Patriots in the U.S., at the Union Theological Seminary in New York.

The committee says the meeting generally went off fairly well.

But a speaker from Vietnam's UN Mission was asked not to attend because "an organized body of right-wing Vietnamese had converged outside the premises . . . specifically for the purpose of disrupting the celebration and attacking the Vietnamese men, women, and children inside."

Totaling about 100, the rightists "attempted to break into the building [and] harassed and threatened everyone who tried to enter. . . . At least one of the attackers was seen brandishing a large knife."

The right-wingers didn't limit themselves to words and gestures. They "succeeded in beating up and hospitalizing one Vietnamese man who was on his way to the event, and in assaulting one of the committee's friends who was guarding the entrance."

The cops were uncooperative. They allowed the rightist action "to go on without a permit." The committee "had asked them to move the group across the street," but the cops refused. And throughout the evening they "engaged in friendly conversation with the demonstrators."

The group that organized the attack was identified as "Free Vietnam," set up in 1978 by rightist exiles—no doubt with help from the U.S. government. They are "former military officers and intelligence personnel in Thieu's and his predecessors' armed forces."

The attack on the meeting, the committee correctly states, "is but another example . . . of the continued hostility of the U.S. government to Vietnam."

Referring to the attack as a "harrowing experience," the committee says it shows the necessity to "build a broad-based movement of support for Vietnam, Kampuchea, and Laos . . . to counteract the barrage of lies which inundate the public via the media."

Fred Feldman
Jersey City, New Jersey

It seems a new crisis in world capitalism develops almost daily. It is hard to know where to start looking for material on topics which vary from the decline of the economy, to upheavals in places like Iran and Afghanistan, to the dangers of nuclear power.

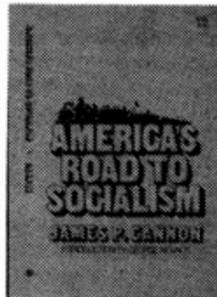
Pathfinder Press has just released its 1980-81 catalog. Pathfinder is a Marxist publishing house, and many of the items in its catalog reflect the program of the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party. The books and pamphlets listed can help provide answers and explanations to events happening in the world today.

The first section, entitled "Introduction to Socialism" lists five books and pamphlets to familiarize a reader with socialism. How does socialism work? Can it be achieved? Is it democratic?

The five books are:

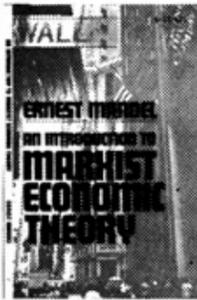
• America's Road to Socialism

James P. Cannon
This book explains how and why the American working class can make the socialist revolution and gives a picture of what America would look like without war, racism, sexism, and exploitation. 124 pp., paper \$2.95



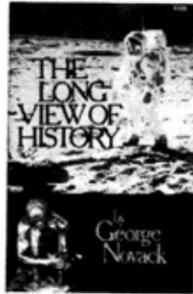
• An Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory

Ernest Mandel
Provides a brief explanation of how capitalism works, using clear language and modern examples. 78 pp., paper \$2.25, cloth \$8.00



• The Long View of History

George Novack
An introduction to a study of the development of human society from the viewpoint of scientific socialists. This is a popularized account of the main line of evolution from fish to mankind, from savagery to civilization, and from Indian life to contemporary capitalism in the United States. (This essay is also contained in the book *Understanding History*.) \$1.25



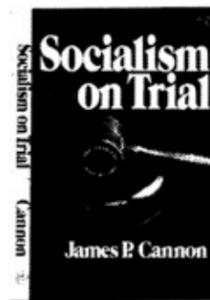
• Socialism and Individual Freedom

Harry Ring
Some people think that socialism is totalitarian, antidemocratic, and regimented. This pamphlet answers the question of whether socialism will mean more or less individual freedom. \$.35



• Socialism on Trial

James P. Cannon
This is a clear and simple explanation of the ideas of socialism and their application to the United States. It is a transcript of the testimony of Socialist Workers Party National Secretary James P. Cannon at the 1941 trial of twenty-nine Socialist Workers Party leaders and Teamster union militants on frame-up charges of "conspiring to advocate the overthrow of the U.S. government." 184 pp., paper \$3.45, cloth \$10.00



This set of books and pamphlets can all be purchased for \$10.25. They make a useful collection of literature taking up the most common concerns of people first coming to grips with socialist ideas.

The rest of the catalog is organized under various topics: American Radical and Labor History, Women's Liberation, Cuba and Latin America, Black Liberation, Marx and Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, and others. There is also a listing of the Education for Socialists booklets, the Education for Socialists tapes, and Persian, Russian and Spanish language titles available from Pathfinder Press.

In addition, the catalog lists non-Pathfinder titles available from Pathfinder Press that are needed to have a well rounded selection of reading.

The small format of the catalog will make it handy for mailing, to give to people on the job, to those you meet when out campaigning for Pulley and Zimmermann, selling the *Militant*, and at all gatherings where we meet people interested in literature that helps explain the current world situation. It will also be a good reference for further readings and studies.

The catalog can be obtained on request at Socialist Workers Campaign headquarters, and at bookstores working with the Socialist Workers Party (the offices listed below usually have one), or by writing Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. The books and pamphlets listed in the catalog are available at these locations or may be ordered directly from Pathfinder Press.

—Helen Meyers

Reader's questions

The 'Militant' and the Socialist Workers Party receive questions from people raising many different issues. Frequently these involve points of general political interest.

'Militant' readers ask that terms used in the paper be clarified. We get questions on why certain proposals are made, what their ramifications are, how they would be carried out.

We will start printing some of these questions and answering them in this 'Learning About Socialism' column. Readers are encouraged to send questions to: Stu Singer, 14 Charles Ln., New York, N.Y. 10014

If You Like This Paper, Look Us Up

Where to find the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and socialist books and pamphlets

ALABAMA: Birmingham: SWP, YSA, 1609 5th Ave. N. Tel: (205) 328-9403. Send mail to P.O. Box 3382-A. Zip: 35205.
ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 1243 E. McDowell. Zip: 85006. Tel: (602) 255-0450.
CALIFORNIA: East Bay: SWP, YSA, 2864 Telegraph Ave., Oakland. Zip: 94609. Tel: (415) 763-3792. Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2211 N. Broadway. Zip: 90031. Tel: (213) 225-3126. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 201 N. 9th St. Zip: 95112. Tel: (408) 998-4007.
COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, 126 W. 12th Ave. Zip: 80204. Tel: (303) 534-8954.
FLORIDA: Miami: SWP, YSA, 8171 NE 2nd Ave. Zip: 33138. Tel: (305) 756-8358.
GEORGIA: Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 509 Peachtree St. NE. Zip: 30308. Tel: (404) 872-7229.
ILLINOIS: Champaign-Urbana: YSA, 284 Illini Union, Urbana. Zip: 61801. Chicago: SWP, YSA, 434 S. Wabash, Room 700. Zip: 60605. Tel: (312) 939-0737.
INDIANA: Indianapolis: SWP, YSA, 4850 N. College. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 283-6149. Gary: SWP, YSA, 3883 Broadway. Zip: 46409. Tel: (219) 884-9509.
IOWA: Cedar Falls: YSA, Box 352. Zip: 50613.
KENTUCKY: Louisville: SWP, YSA, 131 W. Main #102. Zip: 40202. Tel: (502) 587-8418.
LOUISIANA: New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3319 S. Carrollton Ave. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.
MARYLAND: Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2913 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.
MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, P.O. Box 837. Zip: 01002. Tel: (413) 546-5942. Boston: SWP,

YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.
MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, 4120 Michigan Union, U. of M. Zip: 48109. Detroit: SWP, YSA, 6404 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 875-5322.
MINNESOTA: Mesabi Iron Range: SWP, YSA, 1012 2nd Ave. South, Virginia, Minn. Zip: 55792. Tel: (218) 749-6327. Twin Cities: SWP, YSA, 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.
MISSOURI: Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. St. Louis: SWP, YSA, 6223 Delmar Blvd. Zip: 63130. Tel: (314) 725-1570.
NEW JERSEY: Newark: SWP, YSA, 11-A Central Ave. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.
NEW MEXICO: Albuquerque: SWP, YSA, 1417 Central Ave. NE. Zip: 87106. Tel: (505) 842-0954.
NEW YORK: Capital District (Albany): SWP, YSA, 103 Central Ave. Zip: 12206. Tel: (518) 463-0072. New York, Brooklyn: SWP, 841 Classon Ave. Zip: 11238. Tel: (212) 783-2135. New York, Lower Manhattan: SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 260-6400. New York, Upper Manhattan: SWP, YSA, 564 W. 181 St., 2nd Floor. Send mail to P.O. Box 438, Washington Bridge Sta. Zip: 10033. Tel: (212) 928-1676. New York: City-wide SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 533-2902.
NORTH CAROLINA: Piedmont: SWP, YSA, 216 E. 6th St., Winston-Salem. Zip: 27101. Tel: (919) 723-3419.
OHIO: Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 970 E. McMillan. Zip: 45206. Tel: (513) 751-2636. Cleveland: SWP, YSA,

2230 Superior. Zip: 44114. Tel: (216) 579-9369. Oberlin: YSA, c/o Gale Connor, OCMR Box 679. Zip: 44074. Tel: (216) 775-0084. Toledo: SWP, YSA, 2120 Dorr St. Zip: 43607. Tel: (419) 536-0383.
OREGON: Portland: SWP, YSA, 711 NW Everett. Zip: 97209. Tel: (503) 222-7225.
PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16444. Tel: (215) 734-4415. Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, 5811 N. Broad St. Zip: 19141. Tel: (215) 927-4747 or 927-4748. Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, 1210 E. Carson St. Zip: 15203. Tel: (412) 488-7000. State College: YSA, c/o Jack Craypo, 606 S. Allen St. Zip: 16801. Tel: (814) 234-6655.
TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Dallas: SWP, YSA, 5442 E. Grand. Zip: 75223. Tel: (214) 826-4711. Houston: SWP, YSA, 806 Elgin St. #1. Zip: 77006. Tel: (713) 524-8761. San Antonio: SWP, YSA, 1406 N. Flores Rd. Zip: 78212. Tel: (512) 222-8398.
UTAH: Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. Zip: 84102. Tel: (801) 355-1124.
VIRGINIA: Tidewater Area (Newport News): SWP, YSA, 111 28th St. Zip: 23607. Tel: (804) 380-0133.
WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699.
WASHINGTON: Olympia: YSA, Room 3208, The Evergreen State College. Zip: 98501. Tel: (206) 866-7332. Seattle: SWP, YSA, 4868 Rainier Ave. South. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330.
WEST VIRGINIA: Morgantown: SWP, YSA, 957 S. University Ave. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.
WISCONSIN: Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 3901 N. 27th St. Zip: 53216. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

THE MILITANT

Equal Rights Amendment: the fight must go on August 26 NOW actions are next step

By Brenda Brdar

CHICAGO—Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president of the United States, strongly condemned the Democratic and Republican Parties for again voting down the Equal Rights Amendment in Illinois.

She called for redoubled efforts by women's groups, labor, and civil rights organizations to win passage of the amendment.

Zimmermann was here June 18 when the Illinois House of Representatives rejected the ERA. The vote of 102 in favor, 71 against, was five short of the three-fifths majority required in Illinois for ratification of a constitutional amendment.

Zimmermann made support to the ERA the central focus of her campaign tour here.

Many people were angry and wanted to know why ERA was defeated, especially after the campaign mounted this spring by the National Organization for Women and the labor movement. This campaign had culminated with the April 26 labor conference for the ERA and the May 10 march and rally of 30,000 in Chicago.

The day after the vote, Zimmermann talked with workers at an unemployment office near U.S. Steel South Works.

"We face a hard fight to win ERA for the same reason that our unions face stiff resistance when they try to get wage increases to keep up with skyrocketing inflation," she said. "And for the same reason that a quarter of a million auto workers and thousands of steelworkers are currently laid off, that hospitals are closing in New York City, and that education and social programs have been slashed.

"The owners of the banks and corporations are waging war against working people, increasing their profits at our expense."

A woman steelworker just laid off from South Works agreed. "The way



Militant/Suzanne Haig



Militant/Linda Nordquist

May 10 ERA march and rally in Chicago. Rulers hope ERA defeat in Illinois will demobilize growing movement of women, labor, and civil rights organizations for ERA.

the economy is now," she said, "the way they are socking it to us every chance they get, they're not about to give us ERA."

"ERA would provide the framework for winning equal pay for equal work and other rights for women," Zimmermann explained. "Not only would almost half the work force benefit by passage of the ERA, the entire labor movement would be strengthened in its fight against the current economic attack.

"No wonder the corporations and the Democrats and Republicans, who front for them, want to stop ERA," she said.

The rulers hope the vote in Illinois will sound the death knell for ERA, but the fight is by no means over. Zimmermann told ERA activists in Chicago that popular support for ERA today is stronger than ever. She pointed to the growing action alliance of labor, women, and civil rights organizations.

"The ERA action campaign you mounted here this spring points the way forward. We need a massive education and action campaign, a visible movement of all our allies, independent of any advice or any agenda of the Democratic and Republican politicians.

"This August 26, NOW has called for ERA walkathons around the country. This will be an important opportunity for labor, women, and civil rights organizations to come together again for ERA.

"The fight for ERA has shown us who are our friends and who are our enemies," Zimmermann told a socialist campaign rally June 20.

"Look at the record of our so-called friends in the legislature this time around.

"Giddy Dyer, the ERA sponsor in the House, told the *Chicago Tribune* that they had 107 votes lined up but five 'broke their promise.'

"In addition, the ERA lobby in Springfield had flown in one Democrat for the vote, because they were so sure of him. He abstained.

"We've seen this happen time and time again in the fight for ERA ratification. What does this tell us? It tells us that these politicians are not our friends. They hold allegiance to the corporate rich who profit from paying us 59 cents to every dollar earned by men."

Zimmermann pointed out that if unionists—steelworkers, autoworkers—had been sitting in the legislature instead of Democratic and Republican politicians, ERA would have passed.

"ERA is in the deepest interest of all working people. If labor had its own party, based on the unions, a labor party, it would be campaigning for ERA, mobilizing its members to participate in demonstrations, and exposing the corporate links behind the anti-ERA efforts."

"In talking to the many ERA supporters here," Zimmermann said, "I could see the anger and determination to continue the fight. Women are not about to give up the struggle for equality.

"Now is the time for all forces that united for ERA in Illinois this spring to come together to discuss the next stage in this crucial campaign and how to go forward."

Pa. miners host meeting on nuclear power

By Mary Zins

MARIANNA, Pa.—Nearly sixty people gathered here June 21 at the headquarters of United Mine Workers Local 2874 for a community meeting on nuclear power.

Almost half those attending the meeting sponsored by UMWA Local 2874 were coal miners. Most came from Bethlehem Steel mines in western Pennsylvania. Four came from a Republic Steel mine in Phillippi, West Virginia.

Other unionists were in attendance as well, including some steelworkers from the Pittsburgh area. Activists from the Pittsburgh antinuclear coalition came and were invited to set up a literature table at the back of the hall.

After opening remarks by Local 2874 President Steve Ziatts, Joe Jurczak,

director of Pennsylvania Coal Miners Political Action Committee (COM-PAC), spoke.

"Not one nuclear power plant would have been built unless the government had underwritten it," he said. "We in the United Mine Workers are opposed to the continued use of nuclear power. We have an alternative: coal. We can burn it. We can synthesize it. We can liquefy it. And we can do it all safely and cleanly."

Referring to the miners' ongoing struggle for job safety, Jurczak said, "We at least have some control over our working conditions. We can withdraw from an unsafe site. But if you own a house and they decide to build a nuclear power plant next door, you don't have any say at all.

"We think that people in the county where they propose to build a nuclear power plant should be the ones to

decide."

The other featured speaker of the meeting was Jerry Gordon, chair of the antinuclear Labor Task Force. "Worldwide there are over a trillion tons of coal in reserve," Gordon said. "That would last for 250 years at 1977 levels of production.

"If a job were really done to use this resource, it would provide a stimulus to the whole economy. We could wipe out unemployment in the coalfields and hire on more miners. It would mean more jobs in the railroad industry and the merchant marine for exporting coal."

Detailing the dangers involved in the entire nuclear fuel cycle, from mining uranium to the disposal of nuclear wastes, Gordon scored the callousness of the nuclear industry that spends millions on propaganda but is unwilling to invest the money needed to safely clean up Three Mile Island.

"How do we start to fight this powerful lineup?" he asked. "By starting to mobilize working people and uniting with environmentalists, women's groups, minorities, to build a powerful movement to demand that all nuclear power plants be shut down now."

Gordon also encouraged all those at the meeting to attend the trade union antinuclear planning meeting in Toledo June 29.

Following the presentations, a lively discussion took place. District 5 UMWA board member Steve Seged said, "We sent a bus of miners to the [April 26] antinuclear march on Washington. And I want to say we will support these kinds of meetings throughout the coalfields."

A slide show on the April 26 march was a highlight of this part of the meeting—especially the shots of the two UMWA contingents from District 5 and neighboring District 2 in the Johnstown area.

Mary Zins is a member of United Mine Workers Local 2874 in Marianna, Pennsylvania.