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

The Haitian ‘Boat People’
Why Carter Won’t Let Them In

The New Rise in the World Class Struggle
U.S. whitewashes El Salvador terror

Ever since a U.S.-backed junta took power in a coup in El Salvador last October, Washington has been trying to convince people that there has been a change for the better. William G. Bowdler, assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs, wrote in a letter to the New York Times April 29 that "the current military/civilian junta in El Salvador is attempting to carry out fundamental socio-economic reforms in the face of violent opposition from the extreme left and the extreme right."

The talk of "fundamental socio-economic reforms" would sound like a cruel joke to the peasants of Chalatenango, a zone about 50 miles from the capital city of San Salvador. About 200 of them were murdered May 13 and 14 by the National Guard and army because they had taken over a large plantation. A survivor described the massacre: "The soldiers and some guards threw many children and some adults into the river, where they drowned."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

American working people should see to it that the Salvadoran junta is brought to justice.

Cover-up in Jordan case

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

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

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

At first they suggested that the shooting was linked to a personal relationship between Jordan and Fort Wayne Urban League activist Martha Coleman. Now--after trying to damage both Jordan and Coleman with innuendo--the FBI has dropped that line.

When the would-be murderer was found, he wasn't one of the more than 1,000 black professionals. It was a Mississippi white registered agent for the Ku Klux Klan in Fort Wayne.

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

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

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

Right to travel

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

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

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

In fact, visits to the hostages have exploded since Carter has imposed his own limits, as the public can see for itself.

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

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

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

Those who defined the travel ban did a service to the American people.

The threats to prosecute Ramsey Clark and others endanger the rights of all.
Conference exposes crimes against Iran

By Janice Lynn

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Some of the documents found in the U.S. helicopters left in Iran after Washington's abortive military raid were also presented at the conference.

Other documents dealt with the connections between the CIA and Savak, the shah's secret police.

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

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

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

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

Gain for Iran

Many Iranians objected to some of Clark's statements. Although his remarks were in the context of support for the Iranian revolution and opposition to Washington's policies in Iran, Clark urged the release of the hostages, saying he thought the students were holding the wrong people.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The internal combustion Press/Impravor

Socialist defies travel ban

Susan Lyons, who attempted to travel to Iran in defiance of the Carter administration's travel ban several weeks ago, successfully arrived in Iran on May 25 to visit with her Iranian husband.

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

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

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THE MILITANT/June 20, 1980
President offers nothing

Miami Blacks tell Carter: 'We want justice!'

By Andrea Baron and Mark Drewelser

MIAMI—President Carter finally made his way to Miami on June 9, three weeks after the Black rebellion rocked this city. Carter had been making campaign stops in the nation's smaller cities, but he never got to Miami. The president's motorcade was ransacked, and he was confronted by angry demonstrators. His departure was hastened by a horde of bottles thrown at his motorcade as he left a meeting in Liberty City, the heart of the Black community.

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

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

The streets in front of the hotel were lined with demonstrators. Several hundred were Cubans demanding that Key West be opened up to receive Cuban immigrants. The whites during the rebellion exempted May 17 after an all-white jury exonerated cops who had murdered Black insurance executive Arthur McDuffie.

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

They carried signs reading, "Jail killer cops," "Racists in big business are killing Black people," "Make big business—democracy."

"Mr. Carter, time is running out—Remember May 17th!"

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

Police dogs were held nearby. Police marksmen paced the roofs of nearby buildings, and a helicopter circled overhead.

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

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

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

Even Mayor Maurice Ferre admitted it was a "bland, papalum, a Gerber's delight."

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

Bottles, cans, and peanuts sailed through the air as Carter was hustled into his limousine. Bottles hit the president's car and the press bus as the motorcade pulled away.

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

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

The demonstrations against Carter followed a meeting May 30 when 200 people, mostly young Blacks in their twenties, jammed into the Dade County Commission chambers to protest continuing racist injustices.

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

Demands raised by speakers included amnesty for the nearly 1,280 persons, overwhelmingly Black, arrested and charged during the rebellion; firing of Florida State's Attorney Janet Reno for her role in the McDuffie case; and an end to police violence against Blacks.

"Justice" that acquitted McDuffie's killers, "Racism that brought the blacks out," "Miami is a dumping ground for Miami's Blacks," "wants Black jobs," "Police dogs and police dogs," "America is a racist society," "down with Carter," "Mr. Carter, we want our jobs back. We want our rights back."

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

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

Meanwhile police announced "no leads" in finding white snipers who shot through Black windows, "no witnesses."

Pulley demands federal aid for Black community

By Nancy Cole

"The difference between Carter's big-business campaign for the presidency and that of Andrew Pulley is the Black rebellion in Miami. Carter, a millionaire peanut producer, arrived on the scene three weeks later, when he mistakenly believed the anger had subsided." "Mr. Pulley, while in Miami and in his home city, has steadily demonstrated his solidarity with the Black community there. Carter has never condemned the racist jury verdict that sparked the three-day rebellion last month."

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

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

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

Pulley claimed the federal government could promise nothing to spur employment and rebuild the Black community.

In fact, the only steady work Carter holds out for the Black youth of Miami is reinstatement of the military draft. Pulley, while in Miami and in his campaign stops across the nation, has spread the truth about what happened in Miami and why. He joins with the Miami Black community in demanding that the twelve cops who murdered Arthur McDuffie be prosecuted under federal civil rights statutes; that all Blacks rounded up during the rebellion be brought to trial again; that the military budget be cut and its money used to help give Black youth there a future.

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

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

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

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

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

Miami cops scurry as Black protesters hurl peanuts and bottles at a departing Carter.
Protest police frame-ups, brutality

500 marchers defy Wrightsville, Ga., racists

By August Nimtz

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

The demonstration was called by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Conference in response to a series of racist attacks and frame-ups carried out May 19 by Sheriff Lowery. Attyaway, Attyaway and his henchmen broke into homes, roughed up Blacks, and arrested thirty-eight.

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

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

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

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

The majority of the mostly Black demonstrators June 7 came from here, an indication of growing involvement in the antiracist fight by Wrightsville’s Black community. Thirty-five percent of the town’s 2,600 residents are Black.

A cheering, foot-stomping rally at Nieder Chapel A.M.E. Church preceded the march. Fred Taylor, an SCLC field organizer, led the crowd in chants and hymns. John Martin, head of the local SCLC, announced, “E.J. Wilson, pastor of the church, greeted the crowd and explained the nonviolent character of the demonstration.

The march proved to be as spirited as the rally, with marchers chanting, “Fired up, can’t take no more,” and “Johnson County don’t you know, Attyaway has got to go.”

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

Protesters carried signs that said, “Right what’s wrong in Wrightsville,” and “Stop Roland’s outlaw deputies now.”

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

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

The marchers eventually reached the courthouse, site of Attyaway’s office, where they heard a series of racist speeches.

Drawing attention to the fact that Governor Carter’s home state, Rev. Ben Chavis declared, “There are no human rights for Black people in Georgia.”

Chavis said, “We must be vigilant and organize our communities. We must return to the streets.”

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

SCLC President Lowery said of the march, “I think it is the struggle here. We see a little twinking light.”

He was referring to the Justice Department’s announcement that it would convene a special federal grand jury to investigate the racist policies of Attyaway’s office.

Lowery also announced that a Black deputy sheriff would be hired in the future. If Negroes were to organize for their rights at all, Black people would be hounded out of town.

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

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

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

Socialists set education & activists conference

By Barry Sheppard

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Lyons’s talk will also discuss the opportunities immediately ahead for building the socialist movement in the fall, the fourth aspect of the conference. A key element in doing so will be organizing for the upcoming fall political campaign.

The final aspect of the gathering will be discussions on the major aspects of building the socialist movement in Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Grenada.

In the next few weeks we will be discussing the various aspects of the conference in more detail in the Militant. All those wishing to attend should start making preliminary arrangements right away.
Women miners from 10 states meet in W.Va.

By Nancy Cole

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

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

In her speech to the opening session, CEP Director Betty Jean Hall reported that recent federal figures show 3,061 women have gotten jobs in underground coal mines since the government first recorded women miners in 1970. This is an increase of 487 since the first conference one year ago.

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

Hall included among the year's accomplishments a November conference of women coal miners called by the United Mine Workers, the nine women elected to the December UMWA convention, and the participation of a women's contingent in the July 1 march on Richmond, Virginia, for the Equal Rights Amendment.

The hundred women and men attended the conference here. Among those attending was Tom Moore, an active UMWA member who is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of West Virginia.

UMWA participation

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

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

It was another confirmation of the presence women have made in both accepted and recognized as valuable unionists, as well as good people to work with.

A convention here represents the New Employment for Women program here re-presenting the New Employment for Women program in the United Mine Workers, West Virginia.

Funded through federal grants, the agency tries to find non-traditional jobs for women.

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

New Employment for Women has been in existence for a year, and "I just got my first woman fired three months ago," she told the Militant.

"The companies' excuse is that so many men have been laid off, how can they hire women?"

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

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

Three months after filing the complaint, she got the job. Jean Steffey has not been so fortunate. She watched for a year as inexperienced men were hired at Peabody mines. She read an article about the Coal Employment Project and wrote the group. That led to filing a complaint with the Kentucky Human Rights Commission.

It was filed as a class-action complaint on behalf of all women discriminated against by Peabody, but she said, suggesting that efforts be made to "set up some kind of system within the union for new hires. Let them have a vote or something."

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

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

"Are we the only women?"

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

"This" is sexual harassment instigated by the company. Brenda Brock, who works at the same mine, also attended the conference.

"We got the first woman at our mine that ever got pregnant, and the harassment is terrible. They're trying to make an example of her," Estrada explained.

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

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

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

There are six Black women at my mine. Four of us, including myself, were laid off as of today."

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

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

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

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

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

The workshops also discussed setting up support groups such as exist in Illinois and several other states that would help women get jobs in the mines and provide women miners a chance to get together.
We've heard enough promises

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

By Mary Zins

JOHNSTOWN, Pa.—The writing on the Conemaugh River wall reads, "We've heard enough promises from Carter never promised us a rose garden, but we know he never promised us a war.

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

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

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

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

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

Hundreds of years of coal

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

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

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

John Markovich of Miners for Jobs told the rally, "We want our jobs back. We want to go home to see our families and do the things.

We have to remind them that our unemployment problem is only last thirty hours."

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

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

John Markovich, the UMWA's political action committee (COMPAC), called on miners and steelworkers to take political action, "not just out of the ballot-box kind, but also marches on Harrisburg and Washington to let the legislators know what you think.

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

Nuclear power

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

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

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

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

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

The politicians tried to take the heat off them, people agree that shorter hours with no loss in pay could solve the employment problem, according to a thirty-one-year-old jobless woman steelworker, who wants to represent Pennsylvania in the U.S. Senate.

It went on, "In circulating nomination papers, she said she had met 'a single person who was against the shorter workweek. People agree that shorter hours with no loss in pay could solve many jobs. And that is the solution we need."

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

Socialist: 'Cut hours, keep pay same'


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

Mohr-bacher has found many of her strongest supporters among unemployed iron and steel workers. She helped organize a steelworker who was laid off recently when U.S. Steel closed its Edgar Thompson plant in Braddock, outside Pittsburgh.

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

More than 300 people at the unemployment office here signed up to put Mohr-bacher on the ballot, along with SWP candidates Tony Dunn for state treasurer, Andrew Polley for president, and Mattie Zimmermann for vice-president. The law requires the socialists collect 48,000 signatures statewide.

Mohr-bacher returned for the June 5 rally along with a group of campaign supporters. "This is just the kind of action steelworkers, auto workers, and other unemployed workers should be initiating across the country," she told workers here who wanted to know what she thought of the rally.

Many people here had seen the article on Mohr-bacher in the June 1 issue of the Johnstown Tribune-Democrat. The story was titled, "Third party Senate hopeful: Cut week, keep pay same."

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

It went on, "In circulating nomination papers, she said she had met 'a single person who was against the shorter workweek. People agree that shorter hours with no loss in pay could solve many jobs. And that is the solution we need."

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

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

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

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

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

J. P. Oilslick

"I own the action," the cigar smoker de- licated to the delight of the crowd. "I'm J. P. Oilslick. You think OPEC is blackmailling us? They know everything they know. You see, I owned their oil wells before a single Arab did.

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

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

Chuck Wyatt works for a Penncar Pennsylvania paper mill. He pointed to the miners' fight for jobs but is frustrated. "Carter and Reagan make so many promises, but in office, they're all the same. The most you can get is a raise.

The June 5 rally, however, had given new encouragement to many here. Wyatt's friend Gene Peoples inspired him, "Things was just enough to realize. Peoples is a ten-year veteran of the mine, now on total disability from a back injury. Peoples expressed the determination of many leaving the war memorial. "We've got to keep on trying. We need more meetings and rallies and things until change. We'll change them."

Program for jobs

The following is the text of the "Program for Jobs" being circulated among Johnstown miners by Linda Mohr-bacher, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. senator from Pennsylvania.

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

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

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

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


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

For more information and to help get out the word on Mohr-bacher's campaign, contact the Western Pennsylvania Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 1210 East Carson Street, Pittsburgh, Pa. 15203, (412) 488-7000.
Antinuclear unionists to meet in Ohio June 29

The Labor Task Force of the Coalition for a Non-Nuclear World will meet in Toledo, Ohio, on Sunday, June 29. The meeting was set at the last task force meeting following the April 26 antinuclear march of 20,000 in Washington, D.C. The Toledo meeting will offer educational panels, including one on presently available energy alternatives such as wind.

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

Speakers at the June 29 meeting will include Representative John D. Rockefeller, representative of the United Mine Workers District 6. Labor's growing participation in the antinuclear fight was shown on June 7 when more than 700 people from throughout the state protested nuclear power in Chicago. The action was supported by two large locals of the United Steelworkers in District 31—45 and 1010. Mary Jo Wiestrich, cochairperson of Local 2874 of the MWA, told the Chicago rally, "Although I'm not here on behalf of my international union, I can say that my local and the 120,000 members of District 31 are with you in saying we should shut the plant down." Wiestrich announced the Toledo labor meeting on June 29.

The Toledo rally was cut short by a driving hailstorm, but present and scheduled to speak was Michael Rockefeller, UMW legal counsel who was there representing Gerald Hawkins, legislative director of UMW Districts 11 and 12. In Marianna, Pennsylvania, UMW Local 2874 is organizing a "Community Meeting on Nuclear Power" for June 21. The meeting, at 7 p.m. at the UMW hall in Marianna, will be left from Labor Task Force director Jerry Gordon and Joe Jurczak, director of the Pennsylvania Coal Miners Political Action Committee.

For more information on the June 29 Toledo meeting, contact the Labor Task Force, c/o Environmentalists for Full Employment, 1536 Sixteenth Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20036 (202) 347-5950.

April 26 antinuclear march on Washington

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

By Nancy Cole

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

Moriarty, a northern West Virginia coal miner and member of United Mine Workers Local 8519 in the Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor. His opponent in the race are oil-rich Rockefeller and former Republican Governor Arch Moore.

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

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

The suit also ruled that the filing fee of $2,000 for presidential candidates and $500 for gubernatorial candidates be waived if candidates do not have the money.

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

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

Under the election law, before it was amended by the state supreme court, supporters of Moriarty and SWP presidential candidate Andrew Pulley and SWP's vice-presidential candidate Matilde Zimmermann could not even obtain signatures because they were unable to afford the filing fee.

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

The Citizens Party is a co-plaintiff in the suits.

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

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

The May 22 victory enabled Ander­son to exceed the 7,500 signatures, an amount needed in great part by a last-minute concert here for the petitioning drive performed by songwriter and singer James Taylor.

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

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

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

Moriarty told reporters that West Virginia's undemocratic ballot law "is used in conjunction with a hysterical anticommunist campaign aimed at prejudicing working people against any alternative to the Democratic and Republican parties."

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

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

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

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

"We're campaigning against Car­ter's draft in order to win the Equal Rights Amendment."

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

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

Petition drives

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

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

In Michigan, this certification means that the party's name will appear on the August primary ballot. It also requires that the SWP's petition drive achieve 7,500 signatures.

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

When the week ended June 7, petitioners had brought the total signatures collected in the drive to 69,270. Socialist campaign support­ers planned to continue the drive for one more week in order to even further surpass the state require­ment of 68,000 signatures.

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

Rockefeller: The sky's the limit

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

West Virginians' desire for some change, however, was shown in the June 3 primary when 23 percent of those voting Democratic opted for H. J. "Fern" Rog­ers, an unknown lawyer, spent only $360 on campaigning versus the $12,500 shelled out by Rockefeller.

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

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

Rockefeller himself "has set no limit on the amount of money he will spend to get elected," reported the Charleston Daily Mail June 4. The governor already spent all but $25,000 of it was Rockef­eller's own money. He's trying his darnedest to get outside contributions, but admits, says the Daily Mail, that "it isn't easy getting people to contribute money to a Rockefeller."

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

On one could say he isn't trying.
The New Rise in the World Class Struggle
By Steve Clark

The Haitian ‘Boat People’
Why Carter Won’t Let Them In
By Gus Horowitz
Are Rightists in the Saddle in Iran?

An article in the May 21-27 issue of the social democratic weekly in These Times advances the idea that the gains of the Iranian revolution have been seriously set back and are in danger of being completely overturned, largely because of the policies of Ayatollah Khomeini. This thesis has been gaining currency in left-wing circles in Europe and North America. In fact, the author of the In These Times article is Fred Halliday, a respected radical journalist, a member of the editorial board of New Left Review, and the author of a useful book on pre-revolutionary Iran, Iran: Dictatorship and Development.

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

Even more negative, according to Halliday, is that "Khomeini's reckless tussle with Carter over the hostages, which has brought not a jot of benefit to the people of Iran, combined with his destruction of the liberal atmosphere over the hostages has given the left a chance to attack the right. But such anti-imperialist rhetoric has been profoundly negative for the Iranian people, whatever its international ramifications may be.

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

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

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

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

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

In this case, it is clear, the hostage crisis has been used by the oppressed and exploited to strengthen their position. What is more, the example of the Isfahan steelworkers is not unique. Workers committees like the Isfahan steelworkers shors exist in factories all over Iran. Islamic societies have grown up in the ranks of the armed forces, resulting in an open debate with the officer corps over issues ranging from wages, corruption, and the system of rank to fighting in Kurdistan.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Halliday reserves his sharpest vitriol for Khomeini. "Rarely has a country been led by a man so incompetent in government, so ignorant of the world around him, and so insensitive to the demands of his people."

This description is not only a terrible misjudgment of Khomeini's capacities as a mass leader but betrays unwarranted respect for rulers ranging from Carter in the United States to King Khalid in Saudi Arabia.

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

It is not surprising that Halliday's prognosis for Iran is despairing.
The New Rise in the World Class Struggle

By Steve Clark

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

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

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

Going back a bit further in time, there have been two massive urban revolutionary insurrections in one year: in Tehran in the winter of 1979; and in Moscow two weeks later, where there were massive urban revolutionary insurrections.

And in Nicaragua—which only has a population of around 2.5 million—250,000 workers and peasants turned out for May Day in Managua.

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

These two guideposts are:
1) The victory of the Cuban Revolution in 1959-60;
2) The opening of a new stage of the world revolution in 1968-69 with the beginning of a process of radicalization of the working class of the imperialist countries. This process deepened as a result of the 1974-75 worldwide recession and capitalist austerity offensive, and it continues to unfold today.

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

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

The Cuban revolution Let’s start with the Cuban Revolution.

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

The Cuban revolution marked a historic turning point.

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

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

And we drew attention to two important results of this development:
• first, that it would increase the “effectiveness of our defense of the colonial revolutions within the imperialist countries”;
• second, that it would give “added weight” to the "program of Trotskyism" among “serious revolutionists who seek the fundamental . . . transformation of their countries."

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

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

Continued on page 15/8
The Haitian ‘Boat People’

Why Carter Won’t Let Them In

By Gus Horowitz

They have been coming by the hundreds every week, penniless refugees seeking asylum in the United States. They leave their native land secretly, often by night, lest they be found out by the political police. They set sail in flimsy craft on an 800-mile journey in shark-infested Caribbean waters. Fifty people may crowd together in a boat built for fifteen.

The journey, usually by sailboat, takes two to three weeks. Many do not survive. Almost every week there is news of a capsized boat that couldn’t weather the sea. People die of thirst or of complications caused by drinking salt water. Some are thrown overboard by unscrupulous captains who traffic in human suffering. At journey’s end they find no welcoming committees, no job offers, no public services at their disposal.

The news media do not tell the drama of their voyage. The TV newscast don’t ask them about the wretchedness of life in their country—the poorest in the Western Hemisphere—or about the dictator who rules over them so ruthlessly. The president doesn’t suggest an airlift.

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

Who are they?

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

Appeal for Asylum

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

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

But the Haitians hope really lie in the fight for social change. This is now centered around a legal suit that has been filed in a federal court in Miami.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Since 1976, only eight people from Haiti have been granted sanctuary here.

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

Poverty and Repression

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

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

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

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

“There are only about 2,900 miles of road, of which less than 600 are paved ... Port-au-Prince [the capital] and some provincial cities have electricity but most of the country is not electrified.

“The telecommunications network is limited and unreliable. Most of the approximately 23,000 telephone lines are in the Port-au-Prince area.

“Sanitation and health are major problems, particularly in the cities. The infant mortality rate is among the highest in the world. The over-all death rate is high, but still the population growth rate is about 5 percent.

“Hospitals are rudimentary, and, with few exceptions, found only in urban areas. Unemployment and underemployment are major problems. Less than 25 percent of the population is literate. Technical, mechanical and middle-management skills are scarce.” (Miami Herald, February 8, 1980)

“Yet it is not economic privation that causes the continuing exodus of Haitians from their homeland,” comments James Nelson Goodsell of the Christian Science Monitor; it is “rather a harsh political and social system that, despite outward appearance of change, remains much as it has been for the past 20 years.”

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

Duvalier & Big Business

The unbridled corruption and wanton brutality of the elder Duvalier had become so scandalous by the 1960s that the island’s value for capitalist investment was being undermined. But Haiti’s reputation was saved by its “Alliance for Progress” policies at the time, Washington even terminated official U.S. aid to Haiti in 1965. (Off-the-record funds were still channeled to the staunchly anti-Cuban regime, however.)

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

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

Almost 200 American and other imperialist-owned companies set up plants in Haiti in the 1970s, mostly in textiles and the assembly of light goods such as electronics, toys, and furniture. As a result of this new investment, steel mill operators are now stitched by Haitian women who earn $1.80 per day.

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

As an adjunct to that type of imperialist exploitation there has been a big step up in loans and grants to develop the economic infrastructure to support light manufacturing. Aid to the regime increased as much as 600 percent between 1974 and 1978, and is still growing.

Just as before, however, much of the money ends up in the pockets of the Duvalier family’s coteries, either directly or by bookkeeping transfers. The Washington Post reported that “nearly half the government’s internal revenues are unbudgeted and deposited into what one foreign and official called an unaudited ‘presiden­ tial shush fund.’” (September 10, 1978)

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

U.S. Military Involvement

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

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

The U.S. interventions in Puerto Rico and Cuba during and after the Spanish-American War were soon followed by the military occupation of the Dominican Republic (1916-1924), Nica-
New York (JUNE 1980) (PAGE 5/INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW)

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

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

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

Repression Documented

Labor, civil libertarians, church groups, and others have testified that the "medico" regime is every bit as cruel as its father's.

Howard McGillic, legislative representative of the AFL-CIO, gave his impressions to the Senate Appropriations Committee in 1974. "The AFL-CIO witness stated that the dictatorship in Haiti has become significantly less oppressive with Jean-Claude Duvalier. Midnight arrests, secret police and 'absolute suppression of all free expression' are the mode of Haiti's rulers." (AFL-CIO News, August 3, 1974)

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

"Amnesty International remains seriously concerned with the continuing repression of dissent in Haiti and the denial of human and legal rights . . . ." the organization wrote in 1973.

The variety of torture to which the detainees is subjected is incredible: clubbing to death, maiming of the genitals, food deprivation to the point of starvation, and the insertion of red hot poker into the back passage . . . . In fact, these prisoners are death traps . . . .[and] find a parallel with the Nazi concentration camps of the past but have no present-day equivalent." (Quoted in briefing paper of the National Council of Churches, April 9, 1980)

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

"The prisoners in Haiti, reported Amnesty International in 1977, 'have one of the world's highest mortality rates among detainees.'" (Miami Herald, December 11, 1979)

In 1978 the organization reaffirmed that "the apparatus of repression established under Francois Duvalier remains in place under Jean-Claude Duvalier." And it went on to remain "convincing that political imprisonment and torture still take place and that the government has brought虐待 to practice in conformity with even minimal international standards."

The Tonton Macoutes

Chief instrument of the repression are the dreaded Tonton Macoutes, the secret police set up by Francois Duvalier and maintained by Jean-Claude Duvalier as the change in being a stress on their official name, the Volunteers for National Security. The secret police network, reported the October 7, 1979, Philadelphia Inquirer, "continues to strike terror over the length and breadth of this nation of 6 million ... . They are mobile. They exist by practicing extortion on the people. They are a law unto themselves."

The Tonton Macoutes, says the Christian Science Monitor's Goodsell, "are reportedly again operating and terrorizing the population. These summary-executions, murdering things are functionally the same as 'Papa Doc' and in return were given virtual license to torture and kill." (October 30, 1979)

Amnesty International reports that by 1976 police forces had been founded and arm forces had been put in "the deep freezers" after Duvalier became frightened by the recent ousters of dictators such as summer of 1979 by District Court Judge James King, pending the outcome of the lawsuit.

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

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

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

More credible evidence about the fate of the returnees was presented on behalf of the Haitians at the court hearing in Miami. A former member of the Tonton Macoutes and a former journalist in the general headquarters of the Haitian armed forces both testified that there were standing orders to arrest all refugees and take back to Haiti who had sought asylum abroad.

Those returnees received "especially brutal treatment," said the Haitian伴tique, "They were constantly beaten and often executed. (Miami Herald, November 24, 1979)

Many are killed in the deportation of up to fifty Haitians a day from South Florida. Those Haitians not killed in jail or facing deportation proceedings are not much better off. They are denied work permits, can't find jobs, and have neither food nor shelter.

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

"Starvation is the issue!" refugee testified in court that "malnutrition and indeed starvation are the reality for many Haitian children living right here in Dade County! Many children, aged three to five, are not being able to attend school. Their houses are overcrowded. In some cases there are five or more children living in an apartment. Some families are frustrated to death not being able to care for themselves and their children; their children falling ill will be a constant problem. Some parents are living in some hospitals for lack of legal status." (December 4, 1979)

Steve Forster, an attorney for the National Council of Churches, said that "since deportation, they are not getting work permits, and they're starving because of it." (Miami Herald, April 18, 1980)

"Starvation is the issue," says Athalie Range, a well-known figure in Miami's Black community.
... New Rise
Continued from page 154-3

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

This brings us to our second guidepost.

Rise of Workers Struggles
By 1968-69, there were unmistakable signs of a percolation of the class struggle in Western Europe, North America, and other imperialist...
countries. Workers struggles began to rise once again in Europe, following a youth radicalization spurred by identification with the colonial revolution. The May-June 1968 general strike in France—which began from a police attack on a student anti-Vietnam War protest and widened to decisive sections of industrial workers—and the wave of labor battles that kept Italy in prerevolutionary turmoil in 1969, were indicative of these changes.

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

At the same time, the Vietnam-fueled inflation was rapidly undermining the strength of the dollar on which world trade had been based since the late 1940s. For the first time since the end of the war, workers began to feel a pinch, rather than a gradual rise, in their real wages. And this was brought home with a vengeance in 1973 with the price explosions, especially in oil and gas—the beginning of the energy crisis. Following on the heels of this was a worldwide recession—in this country, the worst since the 1937 depression.

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

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

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

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

Origins and Limits of Détente

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

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

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

He noted an important factor "which the American rulers may not see clearly enough to incorporate adequately into their strategy." That factor was that détente "will not guarantee maintenance of the status quo."

"The most characteristic feature remains the built-in contradictions of the capitalist system," he said. "That is the one 'subversive' they can never put in jail."

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

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

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

Intended by the imperialists to bail them out of Vietnam, détente worked for several years—but the struggle broke through again in 1975. The Indochinese revolution had been slowed down but not defeated. And the imperialists had to flee Saigon in helicopters. The Indochinese revolution has continued to show its power, despite U.S. imperialism's economic blockade and military pressures. The workers state initially limited to North Vietnam was consolidated throughout the country in mid-1978; the Pol Pot dictatorship fell before Vietnamese troops and Kampuchean insurgents in early 1979; and there have been further advances in Laos; the Thai dictatorship has been shaken; and Washington's "China Card" was tramped last year when Peking's attempt to "punish" Vietnam for its rule in Kampuchea ended in what is today acknowledged to have been a military and political disaster. The proposal in some capitalist quarters earlier this year that Peking could somehow show its power by coming to the aid of the U.S.-backed rightists in Afghanistan was quickly put on the shelf.

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

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

The outbreak of the revolution in Afghanistan in April 1978 is another example of how the class struggle has undermined détente. This revolution was something that neither the U.S. rulers nor the Soviet bureaucracy wanted or expected; but the revolution began despite them.

The efforts of Washington to halt the revolution and place a U.S.-backed regime in power there, posing a new imperialist presence right on the borders of the Soviet Union, finally forced the Kremlin—for its own reasons and with its own bureaucratic methods—to intervene on the side of the new regime against the reactionary coalition of landlords, capitalists, tribal chiefs, and heroin smugglers.

The resulting sharpening of class conflict in the area, combined with the increasingly aggressive U.S. military pressures against Iran, forced the Kremlin to tone down its condemnation of...
the occupation of the U.S. embassy in Tehran and begin to offer assistance to Iran in the event of imperialist economic sanctions. This, of course, is the same sort of new U.S. military moves in Iran.

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

No Alternative Strategy

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

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

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

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

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

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

And that balance of forces has been radically changed by world events. It was based on the long capitalist expansion, and U.S. imperialism’s preeminent position in it; on Washington’s initial big move in Afghanistan over the Soviet Union and China because of its nuclear arsenal; on the domestic situation in the United States, marked by witch-hunting, anti-communism, and a housecleaning among those who were considered to be a revolutionary or second-class political threat to imperial power. This, in turn, has enabled the imperialists to try to draw the world into their new war in the Middle East.

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

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

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

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

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

More and more often during the past several years, the Cuban leaders have found opportunities to tell the story of the urban underground in Cuba; the role of Frank Pais; Celia Sánchez’s roots in this front of the revolution; the decisive role of the FSLN. Robelo, after January 1980, in mobilizing to defend the gains of the revolution and carry it through to its completion.

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

This is an enormous political question for us. The American workers are the biggest obstacle to Washington carrying out its counterrevolutionary plans in the Caribbean. Whether conscious of it or not, we must identify with the lives of the U.S. workers are the invaluable and irreplaceable ally of the Central American and Caribbean revolution. As Carter succeeds in defining anti-imperialist fighters anywhere in the hemisphere, it won’t only be those fighters who will pay a heavy price, it will mean death and sacrifice for American workers too.

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

Revolution Deepens in Nicaragua

First, Nicaragua. There has been a major change in the composition of the FSLN leadership. This change has taken place over the past several years.

The FSLN, as the result of a complex process, has become a workers and farmers government. The Sandinistas have encouraged the expansion of the revolutionary army, formed committees, women and youth organizations, peasant and agricultural workers organizations—these are the majority in this governmental institute. According to the composition initially outlined in the July 1979 Program of Government, the council was to have had a decisive capitalist majority. The plans to establish that kind of bourgeois-dominated parliamenary body as a brake on the revolution were laid before the Nicaraguan people. The Sandinistas chose to let some of the figures of the bourgeois-dominated parliament be the executive branch, with the FSLN leaders make clear that the Sandinista army, militia, and police will take up arms against any outside aggression against El Salvador.

The August tour will cost $950 from Miami. The November tour will cost $890 from Miami. Tour costs cover hotel, all meals, visas fees, and transportation in Cuba.

For more information, write to Perspectiva Mundial Cuba Tours, Box 657, Villas Station, New York, N.Y. 10014.
indiscriminate enrichment and benefits the dispossessed majority of the country."

The deepening of the revolution has led to growing disarray and tactical differences among the different class forces in Nicaragua, as well as a division of labor. For example, the bourgeois parties are boycotting the Council of State, while the Leninist Strategy Dynamics of the Cuban Revolution paper. $5.95
The Leninist Strategy of Party Building paper. $7.95
Dynamics of the Cuban Revolution paper. $7.95
Als 75 cents for postage
Pathfinder Press
410 West Street, New York, New York 10014
Spanish, and guaranteeing their cultural integrity.
Of course, they have made mistakes in handling certain situations, especially in their relations with various ultra-left sectarian and Stalinist currents in the workers movement; the way they explained the shutdown of the newspaper El Pueblo and the moves against the Frente Obiero, Nicaraguan Catholic Action (POC), and the union federation led by the PDC, the CAUS.
Even on these questions, however, the Sandinistas have acted not from the bureaucratic totalitarian mentality of Stalinista trying to hold back the revolution and keep a tight rein on power and privileges, but more in terms of their supporting the guerrilla movement; of the need for a party to make and lead a socialist revolution.
The LSDLN's ability to handle such problems is hampered by the break in the historical continuity of Leninism. This break is due to the Stalinist distortions of the true history of the October 1917 Russian revolution and its lessons, as well as to the small size and influence of our world movement, which has preserved that continuity.
This historical break means that revolutionists of action such as the LSDLN are sometimes destined to approach revolutionary struggles as if they were entirely new problems without the class-struggle traditions that could help orient them in developing correct solutions.
Class-Struggle Explanations
This significance—first of all, the impossibility of solving the worldwide crisis of proletarian leadership—but in the role of the working class; of the urban mass movement; of the need for a party to make and lead a socialist revolution.

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\text{And they have shown a remarkable capacity to learn from and correct past errors. For example, in the Council of State, five of the eight seats allotted to trade-union confederations were given to unions that are not LSDLN-led, this includes the USO which represents a significant, even partial, recognition that these unions do have a base among certain sections of the workers, and that achieving unity on the trade-union level is a political task, not one that can be imposed from above based on the Sandinistas' political authority.}
\end{align*} \]
suddenly so concerned about the food and shelter of Nicaraguans! Then, the reporter offers an answer to his own question about why literacy is getting top priority. And he is clearly not happy about it:

"From the first sentence to be learned ‘Carlos’ (sic) Sandino guide of the revolution’ to the last. ‘The Sandinistas are the vanguard organization of the Nicaraguan people’—there is scarcely a phrase that does not run the Sandinista message home. The reader is taken through eulogies to land reform, to nationalization and to ‘peoples power.’ At the end of the campaign, many peasants may know no more than how to phrase that power.’ At the end of the campaign, many events in Central America was also conveyed in the readers of our press.

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

This concern with the entire unfolding of events in Central America was also conveyed in the headline of a recent New York Times editorial: ‘The Fire Next Door.’ It’s not only Fidel Castro who recognizes that ‘Grenada, Nicaragua and Cuba are three giants rising up… on the very threshold of imperialism.’ It was no accident that Fidel singled out these three—and pointed to El Salvador as the possible fourth, Fidel has various lists for specific occasions sometimes Jamaica gets prominent mention, or Panama, or Guyana, or Mexico, or—until recently—even the Andean Pact countries or Costa Rica. All these regions have had run-ins with Washington that, at one time or another, have impelled them to open up a crack in the solid wall of boycott and nonrecognition imperialism has tried to throw up around Cuba.

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

Revolution in Caribbean

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

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

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

The New Jewel Movement explicitly points to Cuba as a model for the Grenadan revolution, and it has followed the anti-imperialist line of the Cuban leadership on major questions of international politics, defying the imperialist bully to the north.

The Sandinistas are the vanguard organization of the Nicaraguan people—there is scarcely a phrase that does not run the Sandinista message home. The reader is taken through eulogies to land reform, to nationalization and to ‘peoples power.’ At the end of the campaign, many events in Central America was also conveyed in the readers of our press.

...we recognize in Grenada… that without the Cuban revolution of 1959 there could have been no Grenada revolution, nor Nicaraguan revolution in 1979,” he said.

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

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

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

El Salvador

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

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

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

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

Instead, Washington is preparing to make its stand around El Salvador. And it is already spreading the rumor of “outside intervention” by Cuba and Nicaragua to provide a cover for its own intervention, as well as a cover to use the El Salvador events to strike out against Nicaragua and Cuba. We can bet that any moves Washington makes to “salvage moderation and democracy” in El Salvador will be coupled with moves to “combat subversion” from Nicaragua and Cuba.

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

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

He then listed the series of concession and commission by these regimes—on the Cuban blockade, Guantánamo, El Salvador, Puerto Rican independence. For us in this country and in the Socialist Workers Party, that speech is one of the most important that Castro has ever given. Not primarily because it answered point by point the imperialist lies and slanders about the Peruvian embassy and the emigrants—although it did that devastatingly well and in a way that is the polar opposite of how Stalinist-led regimes have handled the question of emigration.

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

Showdown in Caribbean

The May Day speech was a follow-up to Castro’s International Women’s Day address. At that time, he warned the U.S. that it faced “a new Vietnam” in the Caribbean, but that if they did, that’s exactly what they would get—a new Vietnam.

The Cubans recognize the big obstacles that Washington faces in using its military might, just as we do. But they say that the cost of the imperialists, despite their problems, are dead serious about stopping the spread of the revolution in the Caribbean. The Solid-Shell manual and the U.S. naval maneuvers in the Caribbean in May, and the planned marine landing at Guantánamo were “a practice invasion” of Cuba, Fidel said.

He announced a major expansion of the militias in Cuba, as well as a training program to prepare all Cubans for the eventuality of a total blockade of food and fuel.

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

The sustained mobilizations in Cuba over the past month and a half are intended to prepare the Cuban masses to meet any danger, to inspire and embolden them, to explain and re-explain Cuba’s revolutionary internationalist policies—and to give Washington some pause for thought. Given the revolutionary fighting will of the Cuban people, Fidel said, it would be much easier for a foreign army to enter the island than to leave it! It’s not good to make comparisons with anywhere, he said, “it is not pleasant,” but “no other revolution has the strength of the Cuban revolution has.”

That’s why, with revolutions on the rise in the Western Hemisphere, Cuba becomes a special target for the imperialists, the target of provocations and slander campaigns. Imperialism “wants the peoples to lose faith,” he said. “To get discouraged about the example of Cuba.”

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

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

“We have the duty to struggle to develop peace and collaboration between peoples,” he said.
The revolution continues to deepen. As the large May Day demonstration in Tehran shows, the shah's (and workers' committees) in the factories continue to function. They are raising radical anticapitalist and anti-imperialist demands, and fighting for greater control.

In the conclusion of his court testimony last year: "the greatest and most important human issue in Dade County today is that of the Haitians" (Miami Herald, March 4, 1980).

The point was put more bluntly by Jesse Jackson, who led a march of 1,000 in Miami on April 19 to demand asylum for the Haitians.

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

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

Eduardo Padron, chairman of the Spanish American League, called for granting them assistance and services to political asylum for the Haitians.

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

The point was put even more bluntly by Jesse Jackson, who led a march of 1,000 in Miami on April 19 to demand asylum for the Haitians.

The opposition to the reactionary military probes and supports and protects racist and reactionary regimes all over the world.

Getting Ourselves Ready

This convergence between our view of what's going on in the case of the Cubans is important for two reasons:

First, as Fidel explained on May Day, there can no longer be any security agreements. By acceding to Washington and Moscow following the 1982 Missle Crisis, where the U.S. government agreed not to invade Cuba in return for withdrawal of the missiles, that means that the stakes are very high.

And it places a big responsibility on us. We can be sure that from the outset of any military aggression by Washington, there will be active opposition in this country. This opposition will range from the front line fighters and supporters of the Cuban struggle, to the governments not ready to fight in "another Vietnam." It will have an impact on the imperialists. We will reflect it back in sections of the international. Any act of aggression by the United States will be extraordi- narily popular among Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, and other Latin workers.

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

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

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

We are watching the development of the leadership, and we are determined to help and have to say. We will be in the same trenches against imperialism in the battles that are going on, and all those always like to know who it is they are fighting next to because it becomes a survival question under the test of el salvadorians and other Latin workers.

This is what the Cubanas, Nicaraguans, Grena- dans, and Salvadoreans are preparing for. And that is why the Socialist Workers Party is getting ready for, too.

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The distinction is whether you're Black or whether you're white," he noted, and warned that the U.S. immigration policy, He warned against getting "trapped in a Cuban-Haitian struggle," and "that means that the stakes are very high."

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By Duncan Williams

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

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

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

A number of local campaign committees have registered good success in collecting pledges in the last month. Detroit has sent $1,500 received last in the last week. For the fund drive to meet its June 15 deadline, an all-out effort by campaign committees and supporters of the Pulley-Zimmermann presidential ticket is required for the final phase.

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Glad worker runs sidewalk firing.

Machinists, is challenging the illegal machinist, for attacks on their campaign.

answer for the socialist petition drive.

Twenty-four campaign supporters have been printed in the city's major Black films "Earth," "Malcolm X," "Nicaragua: Against the Draft," spoke at an event.

We're trying to learn what Marx was thinking and how to apply it to current events, Cote explained.

She is excited about campaigning for a socialist candidate.

Cote plans to organize a meeting in Salinas for the socialist campaign.

"Since you guys are mainly labor workers, people here will be really interested," she said. "We'll be glad to get an answer from you."

...Calif. ballot drive

Continued from back page

Since 1975 he has been a supporter of the SWP.

The campaign director Sara Gates made a fund appeal that raised $7,930.

The Los Angeles rally on Sunday afternoon was the most successful event of the campaign.

A picket line was started at the company's非法 harassment office in Los Angeles Tuesday morning.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Petition campaign has many new faces

By Peter Seidman

Continued from back page

Debby Kennedy is one of the newest members of the Young Socialist Alliance in California. She joined the East Bay chapter shortly after her union, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 1-1938, ended its strike against the Chevron Oil Company.

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

The SWP's big impression on Kennedy, "Management tried to run us down. The supposedly neutral police department arrested us for past­
during parking tickets. But the YSA offered unconditional help."

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

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

"The interests that opposed our un-

New York - Five thousand people protested cuts in public education on May 20 by holding a march and rally at City Hall. Most participants were Black and Hispanic parents and their children, together with a sizable contingent of teachers.

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

Keynesian economic measures—that is, government deficit spending and "easy money" credit policies to stave off depressions—have failed to stop the boom-and-bust capitalist business cycle. But these measures are not entirely without effect. They have added a new feature to the business cycle—increasingly virulent inflation, especially as the economy reaches the crisis phase of the cycle. This new phenomenon of combined inflation and stagnant production has been dubbed "stagflation" or "slumpflation." Why has this become such a problem in the past decade, when during the 1940s, 50s, and 60s, Keynesian measures seemed to work relatively well? To understand the answer to this question we have to go back once again to that watershed of modern history, the Great Depression of the 1930s. This depression was so severe, prolonged, and destructive that it paved the way for a long period of capitalist expansion afterwards.

Choking on wealth

Keep in mind that a capitalist crisis, a depression or a "slump"—is not a direct reproduction of the standpoint of the capitalists, the problem is that too much has been produced. Too much steel. Too many cars. Too much oil. Too many miles of railroad track. Too much food.

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

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

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

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

World profit boom

The situation looked especially bright as American capitalists surveyed the world in which it had emerged victorious over its capitalist rivals in the World War II. A good recent example of this process is pocket calculators, digital watches, electronic games, and other consumer products based on silicon chips.

Fierce competition is driving out weaker firms. Once a new technology has become dominant, the fact that only living labor creates value means that workers and farmers can restore "healthy" profit growth for the billionaires.

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

Monopoly

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

In a period of prolonged expansion, such as the decades after World War II, these various tendencies to undermine profits gradually built up. Sooner or later they bring on a depression. But this "solution" ignores the nature of the crisis as a result of overproduction. Within the framework of capitalist economy, the cure for overproduction can only be the reduction of production. Depression. The Keynesian measures aimed at maintaining the level of demand and thus production end up making the capitalist crisis worse, because they aggravate the disease of "too much" production.

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

In this situation of capitalist overproduction and weak profit rates, expansion of credit has led to double-digit inflation. Why this happens will be explored in the next article.
Malcolm's death: author still excuses gov't role


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

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

According to the New York police and agencies like the CIA and FBI, was involved in the assassination.

Goldman retreats

But now it turns out, according to Goldman's afterthoughts, that the government's version was not all that accurate, because two of the three men convicted were innocent after all, as all three had contended at the trial. Goldman realized that the government version had in the first place been skewed by a refusal to countenance the possibility that both organizations had been infiltrated by police spies. Further reading

The Assassination of Malcolm X

Edited and with an introduction by Malik Miah, 190 pp., $2.45.

Malcolm X on Afro-American History, 74 pp., $2.25.

Two Speeches by Malcolm X, $1.75.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include $7.50 for postage. Also available at offices listed on page 27.

Role of police spies

Did the government do anything about this conspiracy except offer Malcolm police protection after deciding that he would have to reject the offer for political reasons? A New York police official later told Goldman that the rejection "took us off the hook." But aren't the police supposed to break up murder conspiracies even if their victims refuse special protection offers? "Talmadge Hayer, it's safe to assume, was a member of the murder gang," Breitman continued in 1973. "Whether some or all of the other members were Black Muslims, or ex-Black Muslims, we cannot say, but in this context that question is not decisive.

The CIA-BOSS (New York police) officials did not have to organize a murder gang from scratch in order to accept the rejection, which was an advantage because the participants (except for the agent or agents) wouldn't even know whose interests they were serving. (In this case, the full story may not be disclosed even by Talmadge Hayer decides to talk.) The CIA-BOSS officials did not have to order Kill Malcolm, all they had to do was to have their agents proceed as usual, and wait for the bloody outcome. They were 'off the hook' after the offer of police protection was rejected. But that particular assassination might have been stopped if they had tried to stop it, and therefore they were just as guilty as the assassins.

The case of Malcolm's murder was handled by Butler and Johnson. It is still a harmful and incendiary question whether the CIA-BOSS agents were the actual killers or just accomplices in a murder gang. The CIA and FBI, which have always little credibility the government version had in the first place and leaves Goldman looking pretty gullible at best.

Further reading

Malcolm's afterthoughts include his usual swipes at those on the left who called attention to the connections between the agencies and the murder conspiracy. Goldman retreats and leaves Goldman looking pretty gullible at best.


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Soap and dagger—A Texas millionaire and an ex-CIA agent are projecting a TV series on the CIA. The agency claims it has control. Wirtes Chicago Tribune columnist. But other words, don't look for any true-life tales of how the CIA has assassinated foreign leaders, dropped their bombs, or, of Nonagenarian dictators, spied on law-abiding citizens in this country or tried unsuccessfully to murder Cuban Premier Fidel Castro.

How big-hearted can you get?—The Kodak company, whose recent film price hikes have been in the 100 percent range, recognizes "the realities of the current economic environment" and is granting all employees a three percent wage boost.

Suggestion—Norma Gable, a self-appointed Texas book censor, recently went after the textbook American Government, voicing concern. "Year after year, the Defense Department takes a very substantial slice of the federal budget." This "muddle" said, expressed an opinion of the primary ballot and the complex procedure for voters in parties other than the Democratic. The least says, "Voters must be politically astute enough not to be registered with the Republicans or Democrats, we figure you probably smart enough to ignore the pages applicable to other parties and vote only on the pages applicable to you."

How did he get hired?—Jay Patterson, acting San Francisco registrar of voters, issued an explanation of the ballot and the complex procedure for voters in parties other than the Democratic.

Compensation—Cadillac sales have dropped 39 percent in the past year. The car gets 14 months to the gallon. But, it should be remembered, the tank holds twenty-five-gallon, so you don't have to stop for any more often.

The Kodak company, whose recent film price hikes have been in the 100 percent range, recognizes "the realities of the current economic environment" and is granting all employees a three percent wage boost.

Henry R. Rayner,

THE GREAT SOCIETY

FOR MORE INFORMATION ON VETERANS FOR PEACE, WRITE BOX 4598, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60680.

What's Going On

NEW YORK

HOW TO FIGHT FBI HARASSMENT

Heard: William Kunstler, civil liberties attorney and spokesman for "the right to a trial by an impartial court." The United Workers Party's 3rd floor headquarters.

MARYLAND

BALTIMORE

KICKOFF RALLY FOR 1968 MARYLAND SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY SENATORIAL CAMPAIGN

Speakers: Joe Milen, 5th Ward candidate for U.S. Senate, member United Steelworkers Local 2666; David Fink, 2nd Ward candidate for D.C. City Council. Sun. June 22, reception 3:30 p.m.; rally at 7 p.m., 2919 Greenspring Ave. Donation: $1. For more information call (301) 235-6913.

ILLINOIS

CHICAGO

HOW TO STOP THE DRAFT


MINNESOTA

IRON RANGE

RECESSION: HOW WORKING PEOPLE CAN FIGHT BACK! Lessons from Minnesota labor history. Speaker: Harry Dalby, leader Minnesota Teamsters in the 1930's, much for which he fought in the union town. But union battles throughout Minnesota. Fri., June 20, 7:30 p.m. 1012 2nd Ave. South, Virginia. Donation: $1.50. Audi. Suffolk Bookstore. For more information call (212) 346-6272.

MICHIGAN

DETROIT

REPUBLICAN REVOLUTION IN THE CUBAN REVOLUTION. Speaker: Martin Blumenson, political scientist and author. June 22, 7 p.m. 1411 W. Grand Blvd. Donation: $1.00. For more information call (313) 567-1000.

NEW YORK

LOWER MANHATTAN

EXPOSE THE HIGHER PRICES OF H-BLOCK PRICES IN NORTHERN IRELAND. A public forum.

Suzanne Haig

Women in Revolt

Milton Friedman's hoax

Conservative economist Milton Friedman has a TV series called "Free to Choose." On last week's program, Friedman argued that the minimum wage and unions are designed to help the interests of especially women, Blacks, and youth. But 'right-to-work' laws, however, are.

Friedman argued that a "high" minimum wage (such as the current astronomical $3.20) discriminates against Blacks, women and youth. It keeps them from being hired, he claimed, because they can't compete with the more skilled worker.

Really what Friedman means to say is that the minimum wage discriminates against the employer by denying him the right to pay starvation wages.

The reason why so many Blacks, youth, and women are unemployed or low-paid is discrimination. But not by the minimum wage. It's discrimination in education, job training, hiring and firing, and pay scales.

Friedman is all for these kinds of discrimination. He thinks the bottom is right where women, Blacks, and young people belong.

He wants to dump the minimum wage not to end discrimination, but to increase exploitation. He wants women, Black, and young workers to be the role of being a ready pool of super-exploitable labor for the employers.

Not only is Friedman out to kill the minimum wage, he'd like to take at the unions.

Unions, he claims, only help their own members. Everyone else (employers and non-union members) is hurt by unions.

This is much less than a half truth. The employers are hurt by unions.

Workers in unions make $262 dollars a week on the average, $41 dollars more than non-union workers.

For women, this gap is particularly important. Of the 42 million women in the U.S. work force, about one in every ten belongs to a trade union and accounts for only 27.6 percent of total union membership. Women make on the average 59 cents to every dollar earned by men. The fact that so few are organized is one of the reasons for this discrimination.

Friedman is right when he claims that unions benefit their members. Without unions, there would be hardly any gap in our wages—would all be getting as little as the employer could get away with.

But unions help non-union members as well by pushing up the wages of all. They force non-union management to give their workers some benefits, just to keep unions out. I'd hate to imagine what our wages would be if there were no unions.

To get an inkling of this, look at the twenty southern states where 'right-to-work' laws exist. Friedman would like to see these laws extended to the entire country. Not because they benefit the workers, but because they benefit the employer.

"Right-to-work' laws, which outlaw the closed shop, sap the strength of the union, create divisions, and allow the management to terrorize workers. In Virginia a striker can be fired.

'Right-to-work' laws don't buy the 'right-to-work' fraud. It's the minority of workers are organized is that they don't want unions. Wrong again.

In a recent poll asking non-union workers if they would vote for a union, 40 percent of all women, 35 percent of all southern workers, and 30 percent of all minorities said they would vote for a union.

Friedman wants to pull all workers down to the level imposed on the non-unionized workers in 'right-to-work' states, if not lower. But the non-unionized workers more and more want to move in the other direction—to at least the level of the unionized workers.

They don't buy the 'right-to-work' fraud. It's the right to a union they're fighting for!
The Korean war began in June 1950 with clashes between the troops of North Korea and those of the Syngman Rhee regime in South Korea. The Rhee regime was a creation of the U.S. government. It was imposed after U.S. troops in South Korea turned the forces of the undivided Korean Republic established at the end of World War II.

The artificial division of Korea by Washington’s order was the source of the Korean war. It became evident that Syngman Rhee’s regime, which had no popular support and was being whipped up in the fighting, President Truman ordered U.S. bombers, ships, and troops into action to support him.

But reports and U.S. soldiers began to let slip the truth. The “United Nations” forces were fighting a brutal war against virtually the whole Korean people in order to keep Rhee in power, overthrow the North Korean government, and threaten the recently victorious Chinese revolution.

In attempting to accomplish these goals, Washington devastated all of Korea. Chemical weapons were later brought to bear on an even larger scale against Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea.

In the end the U.S. rulers had to settle for re-establishment of the line dividing Korea at the thirty-eighth parallel.

By this time, the U.S. government kept 60,000 troops in South Korea to help keep Rhee’s equally unpopular successors in power. This poses the constant danger that the American people will be dragged into a new war against the Korean masses.

The Militant’s stance during the Korean War was to demand the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops and to support the Korean people’s right to be free of Washington’s domination.

Following are excerpts from an editorial, “Revelations of atrocities against Korea,” that appeared in the August 28, 1950 issue.

“Much of this war is alien to the Ameri­cans, so shocking to their sense of what they can understand,” says Life correspondent John Osborne in his graphic description of America’s war effort (in Korea). Certainly, decent Americans can feel only revulsion and shock for what Osborne calls the “utmost savagery” of the American armed forces against the populace of Korea.

And they must feel an equal loathing when they read the admissions by columnists like Walter Lippmann and Hanson W. Baldwin about the systematic extermination bombings of Korean civilian centers.

The American people, of course, have no responsibility for the abominations committed in their name. They were permitted no say whatsoever about going to war in Korea. Truman did not even ask leave of Congress when he ordered U.S. troops and bombers to the other side of the world to shoot down defenseless civilians and refugees, to blow up or burn alive thousands of men, women and children and leave to their survivors only a land of charred ruins.

Nor can responsibility be placed on the American boys sent against their will to Korea, where each “feels himself a stranger in a war he doesn’t know much about,” as an AP correspondent Hal Boylston has put it. Surrounded by a hostile population which regards them as foreign invaders, unable to “tell friend from foe,” the American soldiers are reduced by fear, misery and bewilderment to acts which they would normally view with utter distaste.

Those responsible for these vile deeds are the handful of men in Washington and the top capitalist circles who have plunged this country into an undeclared war to dictate to the Korean people the kind of government and the way of life they must follow.

U.S. intervention in Korea, with its shooting and bombing of helpless civilians, is making the name of America a curse on the lips of hundreds of millions in Asia and Europe. That is a fact that the leading capitalist newspaper commentators themselves admit, but it is a fact that the American people dare not ignore.

The conscience of America must speak out against Washington’s “utmost savagery” to Korea, demand an immediate end to these atrocities and brand the scoundrels in high places who are dragging the honor of the American people into the bloody mire.

III. prisoners on KKK & Nazis

In the May 30 ‘Letters’ column David Tucker from Chicago wrote to the Militant describing the brutal conditions at Illinois Pontiac Prison.

He accompanied Lee Artz, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate, on a visit to the prison.

Below are excerpts from two letters received by the Illinois SWP campaign after the visit by Artz and Tucker.

First of all I would like to express my appreciation to Mr. Lee Artz and Mr. Andrew J. Humphrey for showing those of us incarcerated here at the Pontiac Correctional Center the hard and cruel nature of the treatment we receive by taking their time to come visit us.

It was a great inspiration to those of us confined in DOC, to know that we are not forgotten by our brothers and sisters on the outside in the same struggle as ours.

Further, I would like to bring to light the open and blatant activity of the Ku Klux Klan within the Pontiac Correctional Center. Those activities are getting more open every day, especially in the North Cell House Segregation Unit.

Three of the most recent activities of the KKK have been (against the brutal beating of our Black brothers in the segregation unit, those incidents occurred on April 11, 15, and 23.

The wardens here have all been personally informed as well as have received many written complaints concerning these same illegal and racist activities but have in fact sanctioned these KKK activities by doing absolutely nothing about them.

Letters
Learning About Socialism

What causes Love Canals?

Why did the tragedy of Love Canal occur? More specifically, did the Hooker Chemical Corporation pour thousands of deadly chemical wastes into that trench and then allow a school and homes to be built on it? What can put an end to such anti-social behavior on the part of giant corporations?

Questions like these were taken up over 100 years ago by the co-founder of scientific socialism, Frederick Engels. Like his co-founder Karl Marx, Engels pointed to the disastrous consequences of the capitalist system. A system in which the necessities of life are produced socially by working people, while the means of production (the plants, machinery, raw materials, railroads, and so forth) are owned privately by individuals. A system in which the goods produced by workers are sold for the benefit of the entrepreneurs who own them. An economic system which has grown weak and tired of traditional diplomatic norms that once the hostages are shorn, one will become a target.

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subsidized by the Communist Party USA with the editor from the To the Op-Ed page of the New York Times. (See "Reading From the Left to Right" in June 13 Milli-ent.)

Aside from humanitarian reasons and that the CP cannot condone the violation of traditional diplomatic norms [etc.], Hall claims the most urgent reason for Iran to release the hostages is to "save face." This is a spurious argument used by many "leftists" that the oppressed are responsible for making the oppressor. That we should really back off, keep quiet, and the vulture will turn into the lion.

By this logic, if the shipyard workers here in Newport News have been working for poor pay and accepted dirt-cheap wages instead of going out on strike then they would not have been viciously assailed by Tennesco and the shock troopers of Virginia's Finest.

This is nothing but a caving in by the Communist Party unsympathetic to the heavy barrage of imperialist threats.

The recent so-called rescue attempt clearly shows that the hostages are not the primary target of Carter but rather the center of a campaign by workers' sharks (committees) and the Iranian revolution itself.

Does the CP actually believe that once the hostages are released the U.S. will quietly turn around and go back into the war to pick its wounds? Really now?

This is not the time to cowardly cave in, for nor all sorts of sectarian babbling about tyrannical malls. The Imperialists have gained the primary position in the face of the drive by our government to crush their reverberations by wiping out the hostages as a convenient justification.

There are no "Left for Bulls." Craig McKissic

Newport News, Virginia

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California socialists open huge ballot drive

By Peter Seidman

LOS ANGELES—"Help put a steelworker on the ballot for president."

"Would you sign this petition to put Socialist Workers candidates on the ballot?"

"Firma para poner los candidatos socialistas en la balota electoral?"

With requests like these, supporters of the presidential slate of Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann fanned out across California June 9. Their petitioning kicked off the biggest Socialist Workers Party ballot drive in 1980.

At plant gates, unemployment offices, working-class neighborhoods, shopping centers, and campus, the socialists get a friendly response:

"Are you the socialist petitioners? I live across the street. My wife sent me over here to sign your petition. How many are you getting?"

"Yeah, it's about time one of us ran for president."

"Socialists. The older I get, the more socialist I become."

"Sure, I'll sign that."

The first day of petitioning, at least two signers make donations on the spot—one $5 in San Diego, another $20 in Los Angeles. Others buy buttons and copies of the campaign newspapers, the Militant and Young Socialist.

Many ask for more information and sign Young Socialists for Pulse and Zimmermann endorse cards.

The drive has gotten off to an excellent start. Socialists here are more confident than ever that they can make the ambitious goals they have set for this campaign.

Drive wins new members

The main objective of the drive is to sign up as many new members of the Young Socialist Alliance as possible. Already five people have decided to join the SWP.

California socialists have organized classes that will outline the ideas of the Socialist Workers Party. Some of the classes planned are:

* "Labor's struggle to organize the South," by Rebecca Finch, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from North Carolina.
* "The socialist approach to taxation," by SWP national leader Fred Halstead.

Informal dinners have also been organized so that campaign supporters can meet and share their experiences during the petitioning.

Visibility of the SWP

The second goal of the drive is to increase the visibility of the SWP in California.

Rallies in the San Francisco Bay Area, Los Angeles, and San Diego were held on June 1 and 7 to launch the drive. More than 300 people at these events heard both Andrew Pulley and California SWP senatorial candidate George Johnson. Workers from the aerospace, rail, auto, and other industries attended the rallies. Some of these campaign supporters have volunteered to help in the petition drive.

Many young people attended. Some of these youth participated in a "Stop the Draft" conference June 7 in San Francisco. There they'd met George Johnson, who was a speaker at one of the conference workshops.

At the Bay Area rally in Oakland, SWP national leader Mary-Alice Waters explained how the Socialist Workers campaign is helping to defend the gains of revolutionary Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada.

Another speaker was Mel Mason. Mason was recently elected to the city council in Seaside, California. He was an all-star college basketball player who became a member of the Black Panther party to fight against racist conditions at school and on the job.

Continued on page 22