

THE MILITANT

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



NICARAGUA

Mass upsurge
batters
U.S.-backed
dictatorship

—PAGE 5

Campaign to free Iranian Trotskyists

—PAGE 6

Steel workers hit racist lawsuit

New testimony
in 'Weber' case

—PAGE 15

Black marchers defy KKK violence

1,500 protest racist frame-up



Militant/Susan Ellis

DECATUR, Ala., June 9—Demonstrators led by Southern Christian Leadership Conference brave Klan threats to demand freedom for Tommy Lee Hines. Story and photos, page 8.

Coal miners defend free speech in Ala.

Hold U.S. Steel responsible
for beating of Militant salespeople

—PAGE 9

The pope in Poland

Heads of state must have been green with envy over Pope John Paul's nine-day visit to his native Poland.

Large numbers turned out for the touring pontiff. In his base city of Cracow, a reported million people thronged to a papal mass.

Partisans of the church rejoiced. See, they argued, that's how necessary to humanity religion is. More than thirty years after the revolution in Poland, the masses pour out for a pope. Christianity has a stronger appeal to working people than Marxism.

But what happened in Poland was no test of Christianity versus Marxism. It was a massive expression of revulsion by the Polish people against a police regime that oppresses them in every sphere of life.

The revolution that ended capitalism in Poland, while it created the potential for great economic and social advances for the masses, came into the world cruelly deformed. Privilege-hungry bureaucrats, backed by Stalin's troops, blocked the workers from exercising political power. Determined to prevent the working class from running the economy democratically, these bureaucrats have mismanaged and distorted the planned economy. They hold back wages and let prices skyrocket. They suppress democratic rights. And when the workers resist they unleash club-swinging, trigger-happy cops.

That's why the Poles are so deeply alienated, so hungry for any broader social vision, that they will turn out for a pope.

But the Catholic church is no progressive alternative to the Stalinist bureaucrats.

At the pope's mass, directly in front of the altar, there flew a red flag with a white eagle and crown—the flag of the Polish monarchy.

For generations on end, the Polish workers and peasants suffered under kings and dictators. Catholicism was the state religion and the church played a key role in the subjugation of the people.

That was and is its world role. The church has been the traditional ally of the most reactionary forces, including those represented by Mussolini, Hitler, and Franco.

In Latin America it is the same. The Catholic priests fled Cuba when the socialist revolution came, but they had been right at home with the Batista dictatorship.

The church doesn't fight the death penalty. But it's a bastion of the "right to life" anti-abortion forces.

But, some say, the church changes with the times. Look at the worker-priests, the socially involved nuns.

Pope John Paul took a look at them when he visited Mexico last January. And his message to them was—knock it off. Just look at the contrast. In capitalist Mexico, John Paul advised the masses to appreciate "the simple joys of the poor." He warned the clergy to stop interfering in "temporal questions."

But in Poland, the pope pressed for a greater role for the hierarchy in political life. The church there is demanding access to state-operated radio and television.

Why, then, did the Polish government permit the pope to conduct his obviously political religious tour?

Because they need the Polish Catholic church.

For what?

For what the Catholic hierarchy has always been so good at—instilling acceptance of oppression and tyranny.

That's not simply our view. The June 10 *New York Times* flatly stated that the ruling Polish Communist Party "needs the support of the church for some of the disagreeable remedies it will have to apply soon to realign the economy—keeping down wages, raising food prices. . . ."

Despite John Paul's demagogy, history confirms that at critical moments the church has moved to stem popular rebellions and prop up the Stalinist rulers. In 1970, for example, massive strikes erupted as Polish shipyard and factory workers demanded wage hikes, price rollbacks, and union rights. The Catholic church helped herd them back to work.

Another upsurge broke out in 1976, again sparked by price increases. The Polish bishops told the masses to exercise restraint, "to preserve public order." They counseled that "solid

work is a moral obligation, and ability to make sacrifices—a Christian virtue."

So what explains the apparent tension between the church and government? As the *New York Times* explained June 9, the Polish church "recognizes that its standing with the bulk of its adherents, particularly the younger generation, rests partly on its posture of conflict with the state."

So both the Stalinists and the church benefit from the shadow boxing. But the biggest beneficiary is world capitalism—particularly its dominant and leading component, U.S. capitalism. The capitalists, as we've seen, reap enormous propaganda gains from being able to portray the church—that bastion of reaction and repression—as a defender of popular freedom against what they falsely portray as socialism. At the same time, they appreciate the church's services in helping to stabilize the Stalinist regime against the workers.

Because, like the church that serves it so well, capitalism prefers the Stalinist bureaucrats to the workers.

Washington's ultimate aim is to restore capitalism in all the states that have abolished it. But today the world workers movement is too big an obstacle to that. So the U.S. rulers feel compelled to rely on deals with the bureaucrats.

It's similar to how the bosses can't stand the unions. But as long as they can't get rid of them, they prefer to keep the union bureaucrats in power and rely on their help to police the workers and moderate their demands.

The future of the "peaceful coexistence" between the church and the Stalinist bureaucrats in Poland, however, is not as rosy as it may seem.

The Polish workers have a heroic record of resistance to the bureaucrats. In 1956, 1970, and 1976 this resistance flared into strikes and open rebellions. As the bureaucrats try to resolve their own economic difficulties on the backs of the workers, new and sharper struggles are sure to arise.

The Polish masses will increasingly demand *working-class solutions* to their economic and social problems.

There's not a prayer of a chance they will settle for wafers, holy water, and hypocritical papal rhetoric.

Militant Highlights This Week

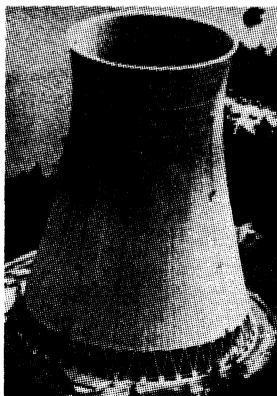
- 3 Carter to build MX missile
- 4 Hugo Blanco arrested
- 5 Mass upsurge in Nicaragua
- 6 Free Iranian Trotskyists
- 7 Socialist support in Ahwaz
- 10 Truckers protest diesel ripoff
- 12 Unionists vs. nukes
- 13 Rubber workers fight
- 14 Steelworkers hit 'Weber'
- 15 New 'Weber' testimony
- 16 Va. Steelworkers speak out
- 19 Marroquin testimony
- 21 Zimbabwe sanctions
- 27 Black unionists meet
- 18 National Picket Line
- 26 In Review
- 28 In Brief
What's Going On
- 29 The Great Society
Union Talk
- 30 Our Revolutionary Heritage
Letters
- 31 Learning About Socialism
If You Like This Paper . . .

WORLD OUTLOOK

- 23 Iran Arabs demand rights
- 24 Israeli Trotskyists unity conf.
- 25 Spain Socialist Party congress

Indochina war

As Thai army steps up role in Kampuchea war, ousted Kampuchean vice-premier Ieng Sary (right) admits to 'slaughter' under Khmer Rouge regime. **Page 20.**



Radiation: the hidden peril

Radiation from nuclear plants and weapons tests causes cancer and birth defects every day. Government standards legalize the killing. **Page 11.**



Gov't vs. Vietnam vets

While cruelly cutting back on benefits to ex-GIs, Washington seeks to exploit their plight to whip up patriotic fervor in preparation for war. **Page 22.**

The Militant

Editor: STEVE CLARK
Associate Editors: CINDY JAQUITH
ANDY ROSE
Business Manager: ANDREA BARON

Editorial Staff: Nancy Cole, Fred Feldman, David Frankel, Jim Garrison, Suzanne Haig, Osborne Hart, Shelley Kramer, Ivan Licho, August Nimtz, Harry Ring, Dick Roberts, Priscilla Schenk, Arnold Weissberg.

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

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

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscriptions: U.S. \$15.00 a year; outside U.S. \$20.50. By first-class mail U.S., Canada, and Mexico \$42.50. Write for surface and airmail rates to all other countries.

For subscriptions airfreighted to London then posted to Britain and Ireland £2.50 for ten issues, £5.50 for six months (twenty-four issues), £10 for one year (forty-eight issues). Posted from London to Continental Europe £4 for ten issues, £8 for six months (twenty-four issues), £13 for one year (forty-eight issues). Send checks or international money orders (payable to *Intercontinental Press* account) to *Intercontinental Press* (The Militant) P.O. Box 50, London N1 2XP, England.

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

Carter to build MX missile

A giant step toward nuclear annihilation

By David Frankel

In the midst of posturing as a peacemaker and staunch advocate of arms control, President Carter announced plans to move full speed ahead with the MX missile.

Carter's action takes the world a big step closer to a nuclear war that would wipe out the human race.

News commentators are portraying the MX go-ahead as a concession by Carter to win the support of hawkish senators for the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT II). This turns reality upside down.

MX demonstrates Carter's actual intentions; SALT is above all an attempt to cloak this war policy—which has the unanimous, bipartisan agreement of the U.S. rulers—in a mantle of peace.

The MX is a 190,000-pound monster that will be moved about by rail in a system of underground trenches. Each of the 200 MX missiles Carter is planning to build will carry 10 nuclear warheads. Each one of the 2,000 MX warheads will be a city-buster capable of incinerating several million people.

According to Carter, this will improve the "security" of the American people. It will help us all sleep easier.

The official justification for building the MX system is that roughly 25 percent of U.S. nuclear warheads on land-based missiles may become vulnerable to a Soviet first strike by 1985.

Assuming that such a strike were 100 percent successful, it would leave the Pentagon with a mere 3,000 submarine-based nuclear warheads and 800 air-based warheads—still more than adequate to destroy civilization several times over.

The truth is that it is the U.S. warmakers who are driving toward the capability to launch a first strike. The Pentagon has twice as many nuclear warheads as Moscow, and it has a long-established lead in missile accuracy. Moreover, three-quarters of Soviet missiles are land-based, and thus theoretically vulnerable to a first strike.

The MX missile is intended precisely as a first-strike weapon. Once it is deployed, George Wilson reported in the June 1 *Washington Post*, U.S.

missiles "would be threatening Soviet ICBMs to a greater degree than at any time since the late 1950s and early 1960s when Soviet land missiles were above ground and thus very vulnerable to destruction."

As Sen. Mark Hatfield (R-Ore.) put it, deployment of the MX will "put a 'hair trigger' on nuclear war in the decade ahead."

However, Air Force Chief of Staff Lew Allen is not worried. He referred to Utah and Nevada, where the government proposes to set up the MX system, as a "sponge" that could soak up Soviet missiles!

The cost of this doomsday system will fall squarely on American workers. Carter tells workers to hold our wage increases to 7 percent. He tells us there isn't enough money for a decent national health-care plan; that there isn't enough money for schools, or to protect the environment, or to provide jobs for the unemployed.

Then he turns around and says he is going to spend \$30 billion for the Pentagon's latest mass-murder project.

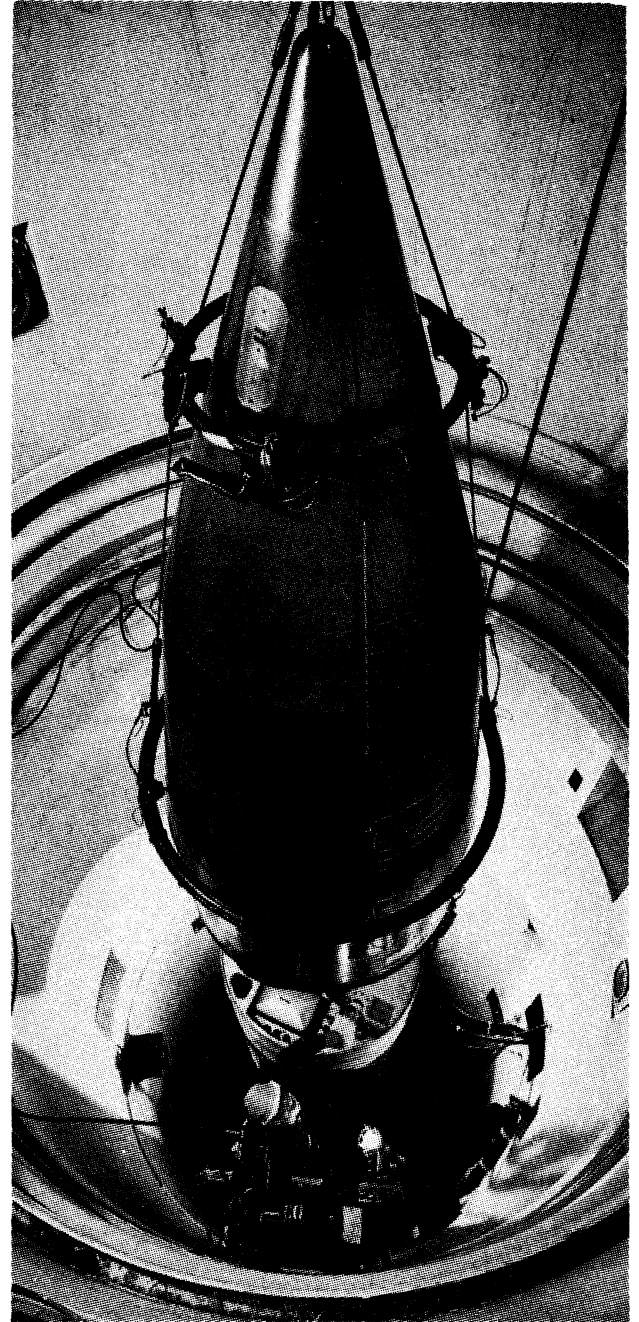
And the \$30 billion figure is only the government's preliminary estimate. By the time they're through with cost overruns and refinements, the real price is certain to be several times that much.

Carter's announcement of the MX decision came just one week before his June 15-18 summit meeting with Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev. It was followed June 11 by a report that Carter is urging NATO to adopt a new nuclear missile that could hit targets in the USSR from Europe.

Brezhnev will complain, of course. But as Carter has been quick to point out, these escalations of the arms race are all within the framework of SALT II, which the Soviet bureaucrats along with Carter are falsely portraying as a step toward peace.

Rather than fall in with this charade by backing the SALT II accords, the labor movement here should demand that the U.S. government stop building new nuclear weapons and scrap the ones it already has.

Fighting on this issue is necessary if the unions are to protect the living standards and very existence of the working class.



Current U.S. missiles not deadly enough for Carter

'Limited' nuclear war? Congress studies options

By Harry Ring

A "limited" nuclear war might kill only 20 million Americans. A full-scale war might claim 165 million. For the Soviet Union, the toll might be a shade lower.

In any event, both societies would survive, albeit in a primitive form. So, should we or shouldn't we?

You think only a raving lunatic could pose such a question?

As part of its preparation for considering ratification of the SALT II agreement, Congress commissioned a special study on nuclear war.

No big deal. Just one of your routine data-gathering studies by a very practical-sounding body called the Office of Technology Assessment.

The report obviously strives for balance and objectivity. While insisting that both the USSR and the United States could survive the death of some three-quarters of their populations, the report does concede that the remainder would live in the "economic equivalent of the Middle Ages."

What the social equivalent would be, the report doesn't say.

The study also concedes some uncertainties. For instance, "the possibility of significant long-term ecological damage cannot be excluded."

"Some regions might be almost uninhabitable."

While the immediate results—20 million dead—might be "endurable," the report says, it cautions that in

the months following such a war an equal number of people might die of starvation, lack of shelter, and lack of medical care.

In fact, "cancer deaths in the millions could be expected in the forty years following a large nuclear attack."

Fallout shelters, the report suggests, would be a real bummer.

For instance, people wouldn't know if it was safe to leave, or if a further attack was imminent.

Radiation sickness "would present special problems."

For example, one of the symptoms of such sickness is vomiting. But this is also a symptom of acute psychological shock of the type to be expected in such a situation.

"Thus," the OTA explains, "someone who vomited would not know if he had received a moderate, severe, or lethal dose of radiation," or was simply shook up.

This, we must say, strikes us as a quibble since, as the report emphasizes, there wouldn't be much medical care available anyway.

The *Washington Post* asserted May 15 that the report was commissioned by those who felt that a reminder of the "horrors" of nuclear war might give pause to congressional hawks.

But, the *Post* adds, it might also "promote their idea that a nation could survive a nuclear war and thus plan to fight it."

Special offer to new readers

The Militant—10 weeks/\$2

The *Militant* provides weekly news and analysis of important developments in the national liberation struggles in South Africa, Zimbabwe, and Namibia, as well as timely coverage of the fight here to end U.S. government and business support to southern Africa's racist regimes. Don't miss an issue.



Subscribe today

\$2 for ten issues (new readers only)
 \$8.50 for six months \$15 for one year
 New Renewal

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014

As labor ferment deepens

Peruvian regime arrests Hugo Blanco

By Fred Murphy

Hugo Blanco, a leader of the Trotskyist Fourth International, was seized by the political police of Peru's military dictatorship on June 8, while passing through the Arequipa airport on his way to discuss demands for language rights with Indian groups in southern Peru.

Blanco was transported under guard to State Security headquarters in Lima, the capital, where he was held for several hours. He was then brought before the executive committee of the Constituent Assembly, which ordered his conditional release.

Blanco was set free, but during subsequent days was kept under close surveillance. By June 13, the authorities had presented no public accounting of the charges they are seeking to bring against the Trotskyist leader.

Blanco is a deputy in Peru's Constituent Assembly from the Workers, Peasants, Students, and People's Front (FOCEP), and a leader of the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (Revolutionary Workers Party). As a deputy he is supposed to be immune from prosecution unless the Assembly votes to lift that immunity.

In a similar case a victory was won June 12, when the Assembly voted not to allow the dictatorship to prosecute FOCEP deputy and miners' leader Hernán Cuentas.

On June 13, the *Militant* spoke with Miguel Echeandía, a member of the Constituent Assembly's Commission on Human Rights. He said the military had reportedly cooked up charges of "political agitation" against Blanco for his numerous speaking tours around Peru. "Legally, there is nothing they can charge him with," Echeandía said, adding that the Assembly would probably take up Blanco's case "by the end of the week."

It is possible, however, that the dictatorship will seek to keep its charges against Blanco secret until the Assembly's term expires July 28. After that, no deputies will have immunity.

Teachers jailed

Blanco's arrest comes at a time when the military dictatorship is trying to crack down on a new wave of labor ferment and popular protest in Peru.

Some 300 leaders of the national teachers' union, SUTEP, were jailed in late May as the regime sought to head off a strike by Peru's 140,000 teachers.

The strike nonetheless began June 4



Intercontinental Press/Inprecor/Fred Murphy

SUTEP teachers demonstrate at Constituent Assembly in Lima last year. Blanco (inset) was arrested June 8 as teachers began new nationwide strike.

and is nearly 100 percent solid. The teachers are demanding recognition of their union, a 100 percent wage increase, and fulfillment of other pledges the regime made to halt an eighty-day strike by the SUTEP last July.

Daily street demonstrations in Lima and other cities to build support for the strike have been broken up by cops firing tear gas. Altogether, Echeandía said, 780 teachers and students are under arrest in various parts of the country.

The SUTEP's 1978 strike became a focus for mass discontent and opposition to the dictatorship. By carrying out massive arrests and stepping up harassment of well-known working-

class leaders like Blanco, the regime is trying to prevent that from happening again.

University and hospital workers are also on strike, and a number of leaders of these unions have also been imprisoned.

On June 12, police opened fire on a crowd of about 3,000 persons who had gathered outside the Nicaraguan embassy in Lima to protest the Somoza regime's brutal response to the offensive of the Sandinista National Liberation Front. Lucy Borja, a leader of Peru's public-employees was badly beaten.

The most ominous recent attack on

the workers movement came on June 7, when unidentified assailants tried to kidnap Maoist leader Breña Pantoja, whose group Patria Roja is influential in the SUTEP.

Breña Pantoja had held a news conference at the Constituent Assembly and was leaving the building with deputies Genaro Ledesma of the FOCEP and Javier Diez Canseco of the Democratic People's Unity (UDP). Several men in plainclothes tried to grab Breña Pantoja, but Diez Canseco interceded and the three managed to get into their car and drive off. Shots were fired at them and they were pursued several blocks down a main street by a number of cars without license plates.

The whole operation was quite similar to an incident last September, when three Trotskyist activists and a visiting Colombian journalist were kidnapped outside a FOCEP headquarters in downtown Lima. Hugo Blanco narrowly escaped being seized at that time.

A shadowy group called the "Peruvian Anticommunist Alliance" subsequently claimed credit for the September kidnappings; the independent press soon published evidence linking this outfit to the military intelligence apparatus.

Protests needed

The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) is urging protests against the current repression in Peru. Telegrams and letters—demanding that all charges against Hugo Blanco be dropped; that imprisoned teachers, students and union leaders be released; and that terrorist attacks on leaders of left groups be halted—should be sent to the Peruvian Embassy, 1700 Massachusetts Avenue N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Send copies to USLA, 200 Park Avenue South, Room 812, New York, New York 10003.

Hugo Blanco

LAND OR DEATH

The Peasant Struggle in Peru

"Blanco is acknowledged to be a foremost Latin American revolutionary. . . . authentic glimpse into a significant pocket of simmering Latin American rebellion."—**Publishers Weekly**

"A most interesting personal account—necessary reading for those involved with contemporary Latin America."—**Library Journal**

"Hugo Blanco has set an example, a good example. . . ."—**Che Guevara, Algiers, 1963**

LAND OR DEATH describes the conditions of peasant life and tells the fascinating story of how thousands of Quechua Indians began to take back the lands stolen from them. Blanco's incisive analysis and strategy for revolutionary action make this one of the decade's most important books on Latin America. Translated by Naomi Allen with an introduction by Pedro Camejo. 178 pp. \$3.45.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Please enclose \$.50 for postage.

Nicaragua:

Mass upsurge batters U.S.-backed dictator

By David Frankel

For the second time in less than nine months the brutal regime of Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza Debayle is facing a popular rebellion that threatens to sweep it away.

Economic activity has been paralyzed by a nationwide general strike, and an armed rebellion spearheaded by fighters of the Sandinista National Liberation Front is in progress throughout the country.

Washington is well aware of the similarities between what is happening in Nicaragua today and the events that led to the Cuban revolution twenty years ago. Moreover, it fears that the Nicaraguan rebellion could spread to other Central American countries.

Under these circumstances, the danger of U.S. troops being sent into Nicaragua—especially if Somoza should fall—is real. Such an intervention would inevitably involve new U.S. attacks on revolutionary Cuba.

Installed in power by the U.S. Marines in 1933, the Somoza family has ruled Nicaragua as its private fief for the past forty-six years. Opposition was effectively silenced by Somoza's U.S.-armed and U.S.-trained National Guard.

In return, Somoza maintained Nicaragua as a stable base for U.S. corporate interests. The CIA-organized expedition that overthrew the mildly left-wing government of Guatemala in 1954 set out from Nicaragua.

Similarly, the U.S.-backed counter-revolutionaries who invaded Cuba in 1961 were based and trained in Nicaragua.

But what was previously a stable point of support for U.S. domination of Central America has begun to turn into its opposite.

Just as in Iran under the shah, terror



SOMOZA AND NATIONAL GUARD: 'We take no prisoners.'

alone has proved to be inadequate for holding the masses in check. Corruption and repression reached such a pitch under Somoza that every layer of society has turned against his regime and is seeking an alternative.

Somoza's father vowed, "I'll give this country peace if I have to kill every other man in Nicaragua." That is the policy now being attempted by the current dictator.

In September, Somoza's forces successfully crushed the rebellion of the Nicaraguan masses by bombing and shelling rebel-held cities, killing thousands in the process.

This was followed by an orgy of terror, with Somoza's National Guard randomly executing men and boys on the assumption that anyone not in the National Guard was either an enemy or would probably become one.

During the current uprising, the Sandinistas claim to have taken control over the cities of Chichigalpa, Ocotal, Granada, Diriamba, Masaya, Estelí, Matagalpa, and León. (León and Matagalpa are Nicaragua's second- and third-largest cities.)

On June 9, the uprising spread to the capital city of Managua, with rebel forces entrenching themselves in the shantytowns that ring the city and contain most of its 500,000 people.

"Most of the slums have been organized for months," *Washington Post* correspondent Karen DeYoung reported June 12. The anti-Somoza forces have been "designating civil defense centers and gathering stores of food and medicine. Many residents are believed to be actively aiding the guerrillas and many slum youths are now on the barricades."

The response of the National Guard has been to turn its heavy armaments against the rebel districts. DeYoung reported the results of a similar strategy in Masaya, a city of 50,000, in a June 10 dispatch:

"Nearly every building in the city . . . was poked with gunfire. Many buildings were destroyed from air-launched rockets and heavy-caliber weapons. Blocks around the local military garrison, which Sandinistas had surrounded until National Guard reinforcements drove them out last night, were little more than charred rubble. . . .

"Troops inside the garrison today

said they had taken no prisoners. 'We don't take prisoners,' one officer said, 'They have all died.'"

American rockets

But *New York Times* correspondent Alan Riding reported that even here the fighting was continuing. Riding also reported who the Nicaraguan people hold responsible for the slaughter:

"In Monimbó, which was the main target of three days of air rocket attacks, the mood was angry. 'Those were American rockets!' a poorly dressed woman shouted at the visitor. A younger man tried to calm her. 'It's not the American people who support Somoza,' he said. 'It's the State Department and the Government.'"

Last August, President Carter sent

Somoza a personal letter commending him for his "progress" in the field of human rights. After the September uprising, Carter tried to disassociate Washington from its creature in Managua by cutting off open economic and military aid to Somoza.

However, the slack in military aid has been taken up by the Israeli regime, which has received quiet encouragement from Carter. And on May 14, Carter went along with a \$65 million loan to Somoza by the International Monetary Fund.

With the latest upsurge in the struggle, opposition forces charged that U.S. Hercules transport planes from Howard Air Force Base in the Panama Canal Zone landed in Nicaragua May 30 and 31.

When asked why U.S. troops in the Canal Zone were on alert, with tanks and artillery being prepared for deployment, a Pentagon official explained that they were involved in training exercises for jungle warfare!

Another Iran?

Carter obviously hopes that Somoza can be propped up without any deployment of U.S. troops. But he is getting ready just in case. The State Department has already raised the possibility of evacuating U.S. citizens in Managua—a traditional cover for U.S. military intervention.

Somoza, meanwhile, is offering Carter another excuse for intervention with his continual charges that the Cuban government is sending arms to the Sandinistas.

Commenting on Carter's failure so far to play up the anti-Cuban angle more aggressively, the editors of the *New York Times* noted June 12 that "the risk in this gingerly approach is that it could facilitate a radical takeover."

Top U.S. policymakers certainly don't think they can count on the Sandinista leaders to protect imperialist interests if Somoza falls, despite assurances that the rebels will maintain capitalist property relations.

As Somoza himself put it in an interview with Carl Migdail in the June 18 *U.S. News & World Report*: "If I stepped down, something similar to what happened in Iran would happen here."

Marroquin hits INS for jailing Nicaraguans

The following are excerpts from a letter sent by Héctor Marroquín to Nicaraguan refugees imprisoned by U.S. immigration authorities in California. Marroquín is threatened with deportation to Mexico because of his socialist views (see page 19).

I want to express my solidarity with your struggle to obtain political asylum in this country.

I know that if the U.S. government deports you into the hands of the Somoza dictatorship, you will undoubtedly face the same brutal treatment that thousands of fellow Nicaraguans have met.

Not only has the INS refused refugees from Somoza's terror asylum, but worse, they hold you in subhuman conditions in El Centro prison camp. What is the "crime" you have committed to deserve this? Simply fleeing political persecution, torture, imprisonment, and death at the hands of the Nicaraguan dictator.

The U.S. government is trying to deport me too, even though I have proven that my life would be seriously endangered if I am forced to return to Mexico.

Just as they don't want to allow me to stay in this country because I am a socialist, so they don't want to allow you asylum because you are fighting for freedom and independence, for a new society.

In Solidarity,
Hasta la Victoria Siempre!
Venceremos!

'No U.S. intervention!'

By Rina Cassi

NEW YORK—Nearly 500 demonstrators picketed the Nicaraguan Consulate here June 9 to demand "No U.S. intervention in Nicaragua."

Elmo Dominguez, a spokesperson for the emergency coalition of Nicaraguan groups that called the action, told the *Militant*, "We are holding this demonstration today because the threat of U.S. intervention is greater than ever before."

Dominguez noted that the protest "shows the support of the American people for our cause."

Despite the attitude of the American people, however, the Coalition for a Free Nicaragua pointed out in a June 9 statement that Washington continues to oppose the struggle of the Nicaraguan people for their liberation from the Somoza dictatorship.

The coalition charged that there is "strong evidence that the U.S. government, despite professing a 'hands off' policy, has sent extensive military aid in recent days to Somoza. . . . Sources in Panama report tremendous military activity at U.S. bases in the Canal Zone with troops, tanks and other heavy artillery being prepared for deployment. Such

activity has not been seen there since the U.S. invaded the Dominican Republic in 1965."

Organizations sponsoring the protest included the Coalition for a Free Nicaragua, the Association for Human Rights in Nicaragua, the New York-New Jersey Committee in Solidarity With the Nicaraguan People, the New York Committee on Nicaragua, and the Nicaraguan Patriotic Front.



Militant/Rina Cassi

Lives in danger

Campaign grows to free 9 Trotskyists in Iran

By Cindy Jaquith

The Socialist Workers Party of Iran (HKS—Hezb-e Kargar-e Sosialist) has launched a campaign to win the release of nine HKS members imprisoned in Ahwaz. Because the lives of all nine are in immediate danger, the HKS has appealed for emergency protests from supporters of the Iranian revolution around the world.

The case has already received wide media coverage in Iran, with reports on the arrests in every major daily.

The Trotskyists were arrested between May 30 and June 1 during the massive roundup of Arab protesters, oil workers, steelworkers, and others in Khuzestan Province, the center of the oil industry. The Khomeini-Bazargan government sent in troops in an attempt to crush opposition in the province after a strike by customs workers in the port city of Khorramshahr exploded into a major struggle of Arabs for their full national rights.

The Arab struggle in Khuzestan poses one of the most serious challenges to the capitalist central government to date. Of the many oppressed nationalities in Iran, the Arabs are the most proletarianized. Sixty to seventy percent of Arab workers are in industry, many of these in the oil fields. Their struggle will have repercussions throughout the Iranian working class.

Oil workers arrested

Although the military conflict between Arabs and government troops has subsided, hundreds of people, including three members of the oil workers council and at least twenty steelworkers, are under arrest in the province.

HKS members Omid Mirbaha and Mohammed Poorkahvaz were picked up May 30 by officials of the local Imam's Committee, whose leadership is loyal to the procapitalist Ayatollah Khomeini. They are in Karoun Prison.

On June 1 seven more HKS members in Ahwaz were arrested at their homes by Imam's Committee guards. Their books, other political literature, and clothing were confiscated. The roundup occurred the day after the Ahwaz HKS issued a statement in support of Arab rights and for the lifting of martial law.

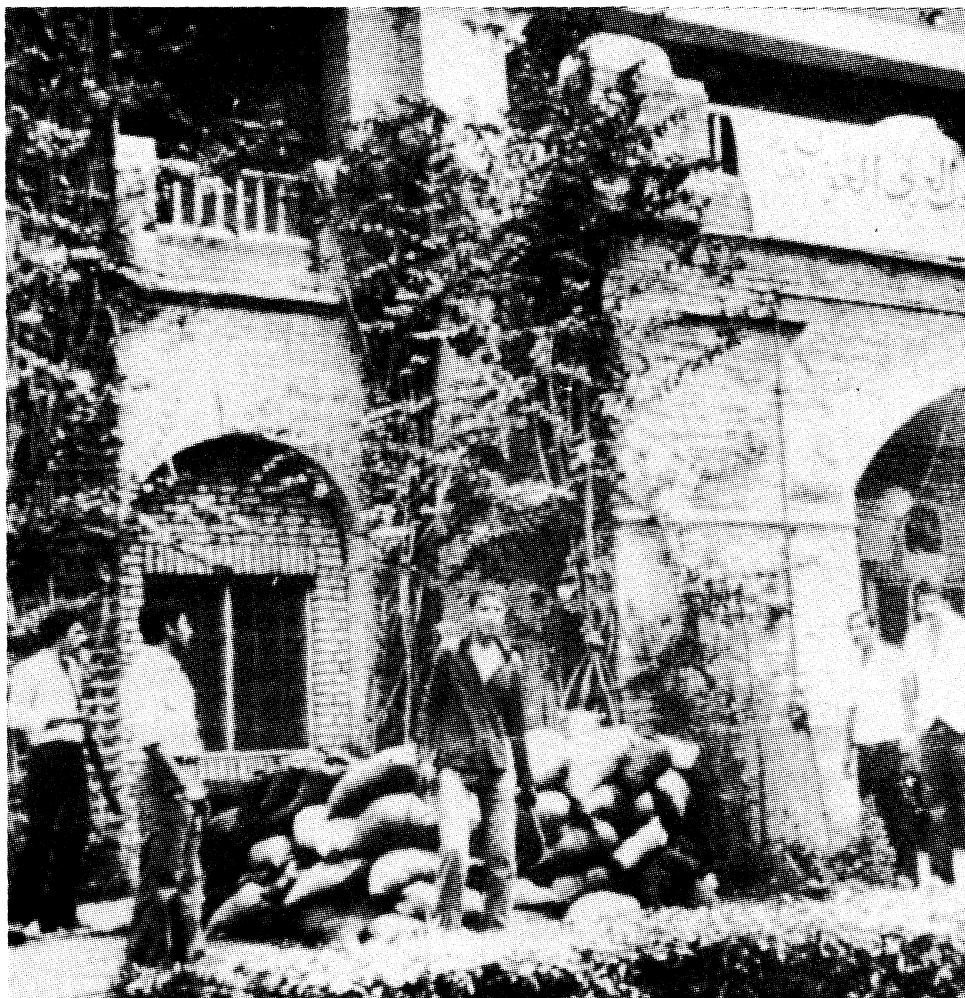
The Imam's Committee has refused to disclose the whereabouts of these seven Trotskyists or to allow lawyers to see them. The seven include five men—Mustafa Seifabadi, Hormoz Fallahi, Mustafa Gorgzadeh, Morteza Gorgzadeh, and Hamid Shahrabi—and two women—Fatima Fallahi and Maha Hashemi.

The Ahwaz prosecutor has told relatives of the HKS members that their case is "serious" and that a full investigation is under way.

No formal charges have been made. However, the Council of Revolutionary Courts in Ahwaz released a statement that was reported in the Tehran daily *Ettela'at*. The council said that among the many people who have been arrested are "CIA collaborators." It also said that four men and two women who had "provoked" the Arab masses were under arrest. No names were given.

These statements and the government's attempt to keep the Trotskyists' case shrouded in secrecy indicate the danger of the situation.

Nevertheless, the HKS has been able to publicize the case of the nine throughout Iran and mount an aggressive fight around democratic rights. Trotskyists in Tehran, in addition to holding two news conferences, have been leafletting on the case widely. They report that many people know about the arrests despite attempts by the government to prevent the facts



Arab militants in Khorramshahr. Trotskyists are only party to urge class solidarity with Arabs' struggle.

from getting out.

In one incident where HKS supporters were leafletting in a park, Imam's Committee guards tried to arrest them. People in the park came to the defense of the Trotskyists, forcing the guards to back down.

The attempt to crack down on the HKS comes in the context of the government's continued inability to establish stable capitalist rule.

Where the Khomeini-Bazargan regime has tried to militarily suppress struggles, as in Kurdistan and Khuzestan, it has failed to decisively crush the militants and has had to back off. Nor has it been able to whip up a chauvinist fervor among Persian workers against the oppressed nationalities.

The masses remain vigilant in defending the gains of the revolution from imperialist threat. After the United States Senate condemned the execution of criminals from the shah's regime, large demonstrations against the U.S. government took place in Tehran.

In the industrial working class, where the decisive power to advance the revolution lies, political discussion continues unabated. The same is true in the armed forces.

Workers seek answers

The workers are looking for answers for how to carry through the economic and social changes they fought for in the February insurrection. The HKS is the only party presenting a concrete program of class struggle, the only party explaining how the workers and peasants can protect the revolution from imperialist threat. It is also the only party that has championed the rights of oppressed nationalities, explaining the need for class solidarity with their struggle as part of uniting all revolutionary forces to defend and extend their gains.

Thus the HKS has gained a wide hearing among the masses despite its relatively small size.

This was shown by the turnout of 70,000 people in Tehran May 30 to hear

HKS leader Babak Zahraie debate Islamic Republic ideologist Abu al-Hassan Bani Sadr. Thousands have also turned out in other cities for HKS rallies. Some 35,000 copies of the Trotskyist newspaper *Kargar* (Worker) are being sold weekly.

Antishah fighters

The move to arrest nine HKS members is one of the regime's first attempts to victimize revolutionists known for years of struggle against the shah and his imperialist backers. Several of those arrested were active in exile in the United States, where they helped build the internationally known Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI).

The HKS case can become a major test for the regime in the battle for democratic rights. Already in Tehran the arrests are becoming known as "The Case of the Nine."

By the aggressive stance it has taken to defend its comrades and others arrested in Khuzestan Province, the HKS is taking the lead in combatting government attacks on democratic rights. Workers and others will be watching closely to see the outcome of the case. A victory for the Trotskyists can have a big impact on the struggle across Iran for free speech, freedom of the press, and the right to form political organizations.

These issues are central to the ability of the workers to advance the revolution. The government has tried to cut off democratic rights so as to block the workers from organizing their own factory committees to fight for such demands as opening the employers' books, higher wages, and workers control of industry. But the workers' struggles are continuing, drawing strength from the protests of oppressed nationalities, peasants, and women.

Four months since the insurrection, the appointed capitalist government still refuses to hold elections. Khomeini has stated recently that there should be no elections. The promised constituent assembly should be appointed, he said. This antidemocratic stand inspired wide protests, as have similar moves against freedom of the press.

With the arrest of the HKS members, the regime is making another serious challenge to democracy and to the right of a revolutionary party to exist. The broadest possible outcry from all supporters of the Iranian revolution must be heard to defeat this attack and advance the struggle of the Iranian masses as a whole.

300 picket prime minister's office

Three hundred supporters of the nine imprisoned Socialist Workers Party (HKS) members picketed Prime Minister Bazargan's offices in Tehran on June 9.

The protestors carried signs demanding "Free the Nine!" They also waved placards in defense of the three members of the oil workers council and the twenty steelworkers arrested in Khuzestan Province, and in support of a People's Fedayeen activist who was jailed by the government some time ago.

On June 10 the Tehran dailies reported on the picket line, and noted that protests against the arrest of the HKS militants were taking place in other countries as well.

The success of the picket line was a victory for democratic rights in and of itself. In the past, public

meetings of the HKS have been attacked by right-wing thugs.

At the June 9 picket line, a gang of rightist goons arrived and tried to provoke a fight with the HKS supporters. But the picketers continued their demonstration, refusing to be drawn into a fight.

Toward the end of the picket, guards from the Imam's Committee showed up. Leaders of the guards, apparently under orders, intervened to prevent the right wingers from creating an incident.

The parents of two of the arrested HKS members came to the picket line and demanded to see someone in the ministry. Officials refused them entry and would not discuss the case with them. Thus far, Bazargan has made no public statement on the HKS arrests.



BAZARGAN: still silent on imprisoned socialists.

Int'l labor outcry hits arrest of Iran socialists

An international outcry from labor organizations and other supporters of democratic rights is being mounted against the arrest of nine Trotskyists in Iran. The nine—members of the Hezb-e Kargar-e Socialist (HKS—Socialist Workers Party)—were arrested in Khuzestan Province along with three members of the oil workers council, some twenty steelworkers, and hundreds of Arab protesters.

In Sweden, the National Seamen's Union and the Harbor Workers union have sent protests to the Iranian government.

The Harbor Workers said in their telegram: "Our organization had great expectations in your regime in the beginning when you drove out the shah and freed yourself from U.S. domination. But during the recent period our hopes and expectations have been shaken due to the information we have received."

The telegram went on to condemn the Iranian government's attacks on "progressive political parties and trade-union and worker fighters who are struggling for a socialist Iran."

The Harbor Workers concluded: "We demand now that you release the nine members of the HKS that have been arrested and cease your harassment and repression of these progressive parts of the workers movement."

Through a defense campaign initiated by supporters of the Fourth International, the world Trotskyist organization, protests have poured in from many countries.

In Spain the Communist Party and Socialist Workers Party sent telegrams to the Iranian embassy in Madrid.

Six Labour Party members of the Australian Senate lodged protests, as did the regional state conference in Perth of Australian Young Labour, the

Labour Party's youth group. Chris Hobson, president of the Australian Student Union, also sent a telegram.

The national congress of the Union of Printing Workers in Switzerland sent a message to Prime Minister Bazargan demanding release of the HKS members.

In Québec, the Arab Students Federation of Montréal and Québec Palestine registered protests, as did Michel Chartrand, adviser to the Confederation of National Trade Unions, Montréal Council.

Four New Democratic Party legislators in Vancouver, Canada, have sent messages.

In the United States, a protest statement is being circulated (see box). It was initiated by well-known supporters of the Iranian revolution who have actively opposed the U.S. aid to the shah.

Picket lines have been held at Iranian embassies and consulates in Sweden, Australia, and Switzerland. The Danish and Dutch media have covered the arrests.

Protests demanding the release of the nine HKS members should be sent to: Prime Minister Bazargan, Office of the Prime Minister, Tehran, Iran; and to the Revolutionary Islamic Council, Tehran, Iran.

Protests may also be sent to the Iranian Embassy in the United States, 3005 Massachusetts Avenue NW, Washington, D.C. 20008.

Please send copies to the 'Militant,' 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

Release the HKS members at once!

The following protest statement to Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan and the Revolutionary Islamic Council in Iran is being circulated in the United States.

It has been initiated by Philip Berrigan; Indiana University Prof. Rajai-e Busailah, a prominent Palestinian human rights activist; Jerry Gordon; Cindy Jaquith, associate editor of the 'Militant' who covered the February insurrection in Iran; George Novack, Socialist Workers Party leader and former executive board member of the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran; and Ali Shokri, the Iranian airman w'ho defected from the shah's air force and organized protests in the United States against the repression of the Pahlavi regime.

We are deeply concerned for the

lives of nine members of the Hezb-e Kargar-e Socialist (Socialist Workers Party) who have been arrested by the Imam's Committee in Ahwaz. We have learned that two of the HKS members, Mohammed Poorkavaz and Omid Mirbaha, are being held at Karoun Prison. The Imam's Committee has refused to disclose the whereabouts of the seven others, nor has it allowed lawyers to visit these prisoners. The seven are: Mustafa Seifabadi, Fatima Fallahi, Hormoz Fallahi, Maha Hashemi, Mustafa Gorgzadeh, Morteza Gorgzadeh, and Hamid Shahrabi.

Due to the secrecy with which your government is handling this case, we fear for the lives of all nine prisoners.

This is a clear case of victimization of a workers' party for its political ideas. The HKS has committed no crime save to exercise its right to free speech in defending the demo-

cratic rights of Arabs and other workers in Khuzestan Province.

HKS members are well known abroad as vigorous supporters of the Iranian revolution and as opponents of U.S. imperialism. Some of the HKS members your government has arrested fought for years against the shah while in exile in the United States. Through the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI), they helped win the release of many Iranian political prisoners in the shah's jails. CAIFI was also among the groups which defended the Ayatollah Khomeini when he was attacked by the French government, during his exile, for urging the overthrow of the shah.

As supporters of the February revolution that ended the Pahlavi tyranny, and as opponents of the U.S. government's continued attacks on the Iranian revolution, we demand that you release all nine HKS members at once.

Why socialist workers won support in Ahwaz

By Gerry Foley

For months before the arrests of nine Iranian Socialist Workers Party (HKS) members in Ahwaz, the Trotskyists in this southern oil center had suffered systematic harassment by procapitalist forces, including former SAVAK agents, in the local Imam's Committee.

In an interview I conducted with Hamid Shahrabi, one of those recently arrested, and other Ahwaz HKS members in Tehran in early April, Shahrabi said:

"Our comrades are constantly being arrested while selling our paper, sometimes two or three times a day. They are taken to the Imam's Committee, given the third degree, and threatened."

The rightists also organized gangster-style attacks. Ali, another HKS member in Ahwaz, described an incident that happened in early March when HKS members were selling their newspaper in front of the oil refinery.

"First a man came by in a car and tried to provoke us. Then a group came in a minibus and attacked us with knives, axes, and brass knuckles. They tried to turn over our car, and they threw our papers in the gutter."

Fatima Fallahi, a woman HKS member, who is also among those arrested, said: "The man in the car called the women 'whores.' When they take us to the Imam's Committee, they tell us that it's not decent for women to sell newspapers. But even though there are a lot of backward attitudes about women in Iran, activists at the committee defend our right to sell."

Ali described a similar response at the oil company gate:

"People there we didn't know at all defended us. We found out later that the workers there took our papers out of the gutter and read them. It's very important for us to continue to work openly. Everywhere groups are developing that want to assert their democratic rights. They look to us as an

example, and that includes groups of soldiers."

The HKS organized a news conference in Ahwaz to protest the attack by the thugs and to launch a petition in defense of their right to sell their paper.

"After the news conference," Fallahi said, "a comrade of ours rushed off to the official press agency without combing his hair. The man there told him to take better care of himself because 'the Socialist Workers Party is so important for us.'"

"The other day," she continued, "I was talking to an old peasant. He is always giving us tea. I told him that he might be threatened, because everyone who talks to us is. He said, 'Don't worry about me, I have nothing to lose. Just take care of yourselves because we know that the Savakis are after you.'"

It was ex-SAVAK agents in the committee and not the group as a whole that were responsible for the harassment, another activist said.

"These people attacking us say they're Islamic fighters. We think that is not true. We think they're instigated by ex-Savakis."

"There are real militant fighters in the Imam's Committee, people who spend twenty hours a day giving protection, helping people. There is also another group that I can say without hesitation are ex-Savakis."

"To cite just one incident: We went to one of these committees to ask an ayatollah for a statement. One of us, an electrical worker, recognized well-known Savakis. They were actually running the committee, giving directions to the people coming in."

"While we were there one thing happened that was very revealing. A man came in to talk to the head of the committee. He said, 'Why are you just sitting here. In Izeh, they're taking over, the students are electing their representatives, the teachers are doing

the same thing, the workers are doing the same thing. This can't go on.'

"It turned out that he had been sent to Izeh by the committee to stop the things he was upset about."

There is indignation among the radicalized committee activists about the role played by ex-Savakis.

"Members of the committee told us they have a list of SAVAK agents they got from the police files," Ali said.

"They turned a copy of the list over to the committee," Fatima Fallahi added, "But the committee didn't do anything about it. They also found a SAVAK agent and took him to the committee, but he was let go. These people were mad."

"Fatima is famous in the committee," Shahrabi said, "for going there and explaining socialism, opening the paper and saying look at this article, this is why we think the banks should be nationalized, this is why we think that the present way of organizing the army is bad and why the officers should be elected."

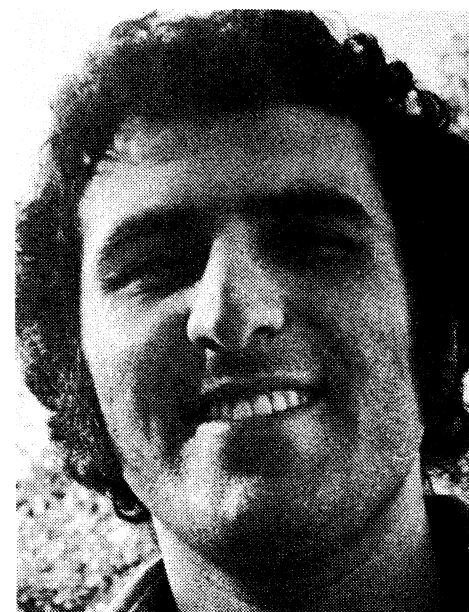
The rightist influence in the committee had created an atmosphere of intimidation in the city, Shahrabi explained, and that was why the example given by the HKS is standing up for its rights was so important.

"We have the reputation of being the only people who are fighting aggressively for our rights."

"There is a rumor that our party has 4,000 cadres in Ahwaz and 20,000 supporters. The reason is that people cannot believe that a small group of people can stand up under this pressure. They don't know that the force behind our aggressiveness is our confidence in our program."

In particular, the oppressed Arab population has taken note of the HKS's defense of Arab rights.

"Our work with the Arabs is very important," Shahrabi said. "They are the real militants. We want to build a party branch here that has a majority



SHAHRABI: 'Force behind us is confidence in our program.'

of Arab workers as members. Till now they have been suspicious of all parties. But they say they like us because we defend their rights.

"To give you some idea of the spirit of these worker militants; we have just recruited one who had a house left him by his father. It was all he had. He came to the conclusion that he should sell it and give the money to the party. He told us, 'I have found my house, it is the Socialist Workers Party. I don't need another one.' That is the sort of thing that encourages us."

The Arabs, who suffered double oppression under the old regime, were particularly angry about the assault on democratic rights, Shahrabi said.

"An Arab worker told me 'We were shut in this hot building [Ahwaz is in a torrid desert area]. We finally managed to push our way out to the roof, and now they want to drive us back. But we like the open air too much. We're not going to let them shut us up again.'"

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor



Militant photos by Susan Ellis

Decatur marchers protest KKK violence

By Marcel Black

DECATUR, Ala.—“We’re fired up, free Tommy Lee Hines! Fired up indeed!” The 1,500 marchers in the June 9 Southern Christian Leadership Conference demonstration here were young, predominantly Black, and very spirited.

The demonstration was a protest against the frame-up conviction of Tommy Lee Hines, a severely retarded Black man, for the rape of a white woman.

The march and rally, which proceeded without incident, were a big victory for the Black community and its supporters.

Two weeks before, on May 26, an armed attack by the Ku Klux Klan had succeeded in disrupting an SCLC march in support of Hines.

That day, fifty racist thugs hiding under sheets went through police lines and attacked the Black march of 100 local people. Eyewitness accounts of the attack agree that the KKK then opened fire on the demonstrators. After the smoke cleared, two Blacks and two Ku Kluxers had been wounded.

So far the only arrest to come out of the police “investigation” has been that of Curtis Lee Robinson. A forty-four-year-old Black man, Robinson has been charged with attempted murder in the shooting of Klan leader David Lee Kelso. Eyewitnesses told the *Militant* that Robinson was not armed and was, along with other marchers, running away from the shooting.

Rev. R. B. Cottonreader, Alabama field secretary of the SCLC, called for the June 9 demonstration to show that the Black community intends to exercise its right to march.

The June 9 demonstration won wide endorsement in a short time. Among those supporting the march were the

Congressional Black Caucus, the Black mayor of Tuskegee, the NAACP, and others.

Marchers came from all over the South. One bus came from New Orleans. Two came from Atlanta. A busload of Distributive Workers came from Memphis. SCLC even succeeded in sending twenty-four people from Los Angeles and twenty-one from New York.

After assembling at a church in the Decatur Black community, the marchers stepped off for city hall with banners and posters saying, “Decatur justice is retarded” and “Free Tommy Lee Hines now.”

The KKK held a march and rally at the same location a couple of hours earlier. The racist gathering drew 150 robed Klansmen and another 150 unrobed Ku Kluxers.

Following the May 26 attack, Bill Wilkinson, KKK “Imperial Wizard,” had pledged that the Klan would not allow the Black community to march in the streets of Decatur again. His threats didn’t stop the 1,500 marchers.

Wilkinson also refused to tell Klan members not to come armed to the June 9 demonstration. A new ordinance in Decatur makes it illegal to carry arms at demonstrations. Several Klansmen were seen with pistols and shoulder holsters. Police made no arrests.

At the SCLC march assembly point, SCLC marshals asked everyone who was armed to leave their weapons at the church. Several weapons were relinquished.

So the situation was tense as the marchers approached the corner of Jefferson Davis and Robert E. Lee streets.

This is where the Klan attack on the last demonstration took place. It is also where the racists reassembled

after their march and rally earlier in the day.

Braving racist epithets and other provocations, the SCLC demonstrators responded with chants and songs and avoided any physical confrontation.

Moreover, the campaign launched by the SCLC following the May 26 Klan attack had pressured the state government to take steps to ensure the safety of the marchers.

More than 500 heavily armed state troopers, sheriff’s deputies, national guardsmen, and local police were on hand. The presence of these forces helped deter the KKK from attacking the marchers as they had planned.

John Nettles, president of the Alabama SCLC, opened the rally at Decatur City Hall by saying that the successful demonstration was the beginning of a process that would “transplant a new heart in the heart of Dixie.”

Rev. Cottonreader said that “as long as Black people are in trouble in Decatur, they are in trouble everywhere.”

Rep. Mickey Leland of Texas and Rep. Walter Fauntroy of Washington, D.C., spoke for the Congressional Black Caucus.

One of the speakers to receive the warmest response at the rally was Anne Braden, a long time civil rights activist. Braden, who is white, spoke about the importance of involving whites in the campaign to defend the civil rights of Blacks.

She said that rape was the charge used traditionally to frame up Blacks. “Some white women,” she said, “figured out this was used to keep them down as well as the Blacks.”

The major speaker at the rally was Joseph Lowery, national president of SCLC.

Commenting on Mayor Bill Duke’s

statement that Decatur was “innocent of any wrongdoing,” Lowery said, “Decatur is as innocent as Judas.”

“This city took a Black man with a child’s mind and charged him with a man’s crime,” he said. “They read him rights he couldn’t understand and made him sign a confession he couldn’t comprehend. They took Tommy Lee Hines and put him in a cell for thirty years when he should be playing in someone’s backyard.”

Hines now faces trial on two more rape charges and a robbery count.

The SCLC president pointed to the city’s refusal to arrest Klansmen for attempting to murder Blacks during the May 26 attack, or to arrest them that day for illegally carrying arms.

Lowery said that the resurgence of Klan violence took place in the context of renewed government attacks on the rights of Blacks and other working people. He cited the *Weber* case, increased police brutality, and reinstatement of the death penalty.

Speaking about the murder of John Spenkelink by the state of Florida on May 25, Lowery said, “All they did was electrocute one poor white in order to do the same to hundreds of Black folks.”

DECATUR—Socialists participating in the demonstration here sold nearly 150 copies of the *Militant* with the front-page headline, “Alabama Blacks hit KKK attacks.”

One young Black woman liked the paper so much she took a bundle and sold all of them at the rally.

A young Black steelworker, after reading the *Militant* and talking with members of the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party, asked to join the SWP.

Coal miners defend free speech in Ala.

By Garrett Brown
and Ken Shilman

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—Members of the United Mine Workers and other unionists across the country have condemned a company-inspired goon-squad attack on two *Militant* salespeople at the entrance to U.S. Steel's Concord coal mine here June 7.

Nelson Blackstock and Eric Flint were attacked and badly beaten by about twenty-five goons carrying baseball bats, wrenches, and iron pipes.

The assault occurred less than fifteen minutes after Blackstock and Flint began selling on a road near the entrance to the company property.

Blackstock remains hospitalized following an operation to implant a metal pin in his fractured and dislocated hip socket. Doctors said it will be nine months before they know the extent of any permanent damage to Blackstock's hip.

As word of the attack spread through the Mine Workers union, statements of support to the *Militant* sellers and protests against U.S. Steel began arriving here.

"I'm a reader and supporter of the *Militant* newspaper," wired Gary Fleming, a member of UMWA Local 9909 in Fairmont, West Virginia. "But if you can't sell it, I can't read it. Your right to sell the paper must be protected."

Klan violence

The goon-squad attack came in the midst of escalating anti-Black violence by the Ku Klux Klan throughout the state. The issue of the *Militant* being sold outside the mine was headlined, "Alabama Blacks hit KKK attacks," and featured a story by Blackstock.

The assault came just two days before a march planned by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in Decatur, Alabama, to protest Klan violence and the continued prosecution of Tommy Lee Hines.

In Hueytown, Alabama, which is right next to the Concord mine, the SCLC has led two marches protesting the killing of an unarmed Black man by cops.

Meanwhile, seventeen Talladega County Klansmen are on trial in a federal court in Birmingham for shooting into the homes of NAACP leaders and interracial couples and for flogging whites suspected of being friendly to Blacks. Just before the start of that trial, a white man who had agreed to testify against the Klan was found killed in a Birmingham alley.

'Struggle for free speech'

Statements protesting the responsibility of the U.S. Steel Corporation for the violent attack on Blackstock and Flint have been sent by unionists and civil rights fighters.

Gerald Cornette, president of the striking UMWA local at the Jericol mine in Harlan County, Kentucky, telegraphed U.S. Steel, "Your responsibility for this assault is clear. The democratic right to sell a newspaper is not subject to the approval of your company. The *Militant* has my complete support in its struggle for free speech against U.S. Steel corporation."

Bill Worthington, president of the Black Lung Association and a retired member of UMWA Local 8771, told U.S. Steel: "Especially in the current atmosphere of Ku Klux Klan terrorism we hold U.S. Steel responsible for the beating of these two individuals. The Black Lung Association supports their right to free speech through sales of their paper. We demand that U.S. Steel Corporation put an end to all such acts of violence."

Chuck Simon, a veteran UMWA leader and a member of Local 5955 in Beckley, West Virginia, telegraphed U.S. Steel: "The number of your employees involved, the timing of the

attack, and the fact that the attackers came from and returned to your company's property make your responsibility for this violence undeniable.

"Considering the situation in Alabama at this time, I can only salute the courage of the *Militant* and its representatives. In standing up to both Ku Klux Klan terrorism and the efforts of U.S. Steel Corporation to utilize that atmosphere to prevent the sale of a newspaper, they do the labor movement and the civil rights movement a valuable service. They have my active and continuing support."

'Pro-union and anti-Klan'

"The *Militant* has supported the miners' cause, we support right to sell *Militant*," wired Rudi Durci and Bill Moyers, UMWA members from Worthington and Monongah, West Virginia. "Believe atmosphere created by local Klan activity and this attack attempt to intimidate pro-union and anti-Klan activists. Hold you responsible. Stop these attacks."

On June 7, Blackstock and Flint had just begun selling newspapers to miners on the 8:00 a.m. shift when three pickup trucks raced down the entrance road from the mine office and portal.

The thugs leaped from the trucks without a word and began beating the pair. The twenty-five attackers punched Blackstock and Flint to the ground and then repeatedly kicked and

pummeled them. The thugs warned, "The next time it will be fatal."

Blackstock told the *Militant*: "There were two or three older ringleaders, probably foremen, leading the operation and giving instructions to the others. It was a disciplined, organized squad."

After the organizers of the gang called a halt to the beating, they allowed Flint, who was beaten and bleeding, to walk forty yards to his car, drive back to the site of the attack, and drag Blackstock, who was unable to walk, into the backseat of the car.

"Then the guy in charge told the gang to 'police up the area,' picking up the torn pieces of the *Militant* they had grabbed," said Blackstock.

Perhaps a third of the 700 miners at the Concord mine are Black. None of the assailants were Black.

Evidence points to company

The evidence points to direct company involvement in the incident. Blackstock had with him valuable camera equipment. In the course of the attack, the camera bag disappeared. The stolen equipment was returned the following day by William Myers, general superintendent of U.S. Steel's Southern District mining operations.

Myers relinquished the camera and lenses at the company's district office, more than ten miles from the site of

the beatings. In the presence of a U.S. Steel lawyer, Myers refused to say who had turned in the equipment.

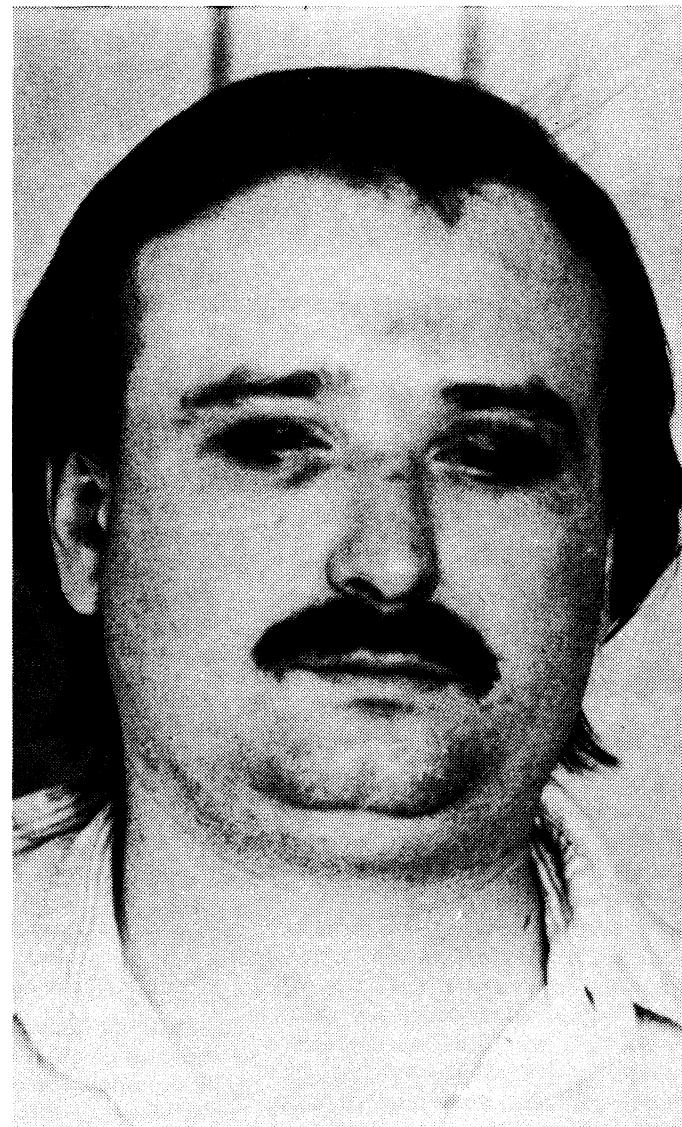
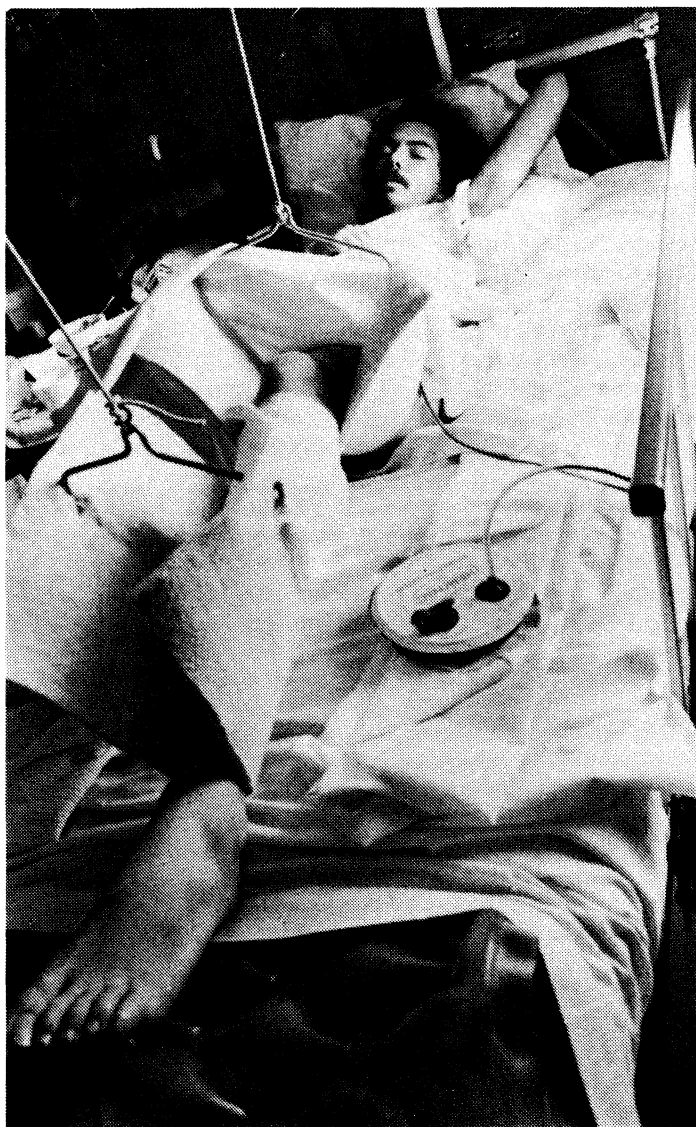
Myers also tried to shift the blame onto the UMWA for the attack, claiming that the union has a "history of violence."

But it is the U.S. Steel Corporation and the anti-union and anti-Black KKK that have a history of violence—violence aimed at union activists and fighters for civil rights. It is the KKK that has been trying to terrorize and intimidate into silence defenders of Black rights in Alabama.

Supporters of the right to sell the *Militant*, and the right to speak out against Klan violence, are demanding that U.S. Steel immediately fire all foremen or other supervisory personnel responsible for the beatings; that the company immediately issue a policy statement condemning such violence and affirming the right of everyone to engage in activities protected by the First Amendment; and that U.S. Steel fully compensate Blackstock and Flint for the injuries they have suffered.

Protests should be sent to: United States Steel Corporation, Southern District Mines, Attention William Myers, RM-1, P.O. Box 599, Fairfield, Alabama 35064. Copies should be sent to Nelson Blackstock, University Hospital, Room 1255, 6195 Nineteenth Street South, Birmingham, Alabama 35233.

Victims are civil rights & union activists



Militant/Susan Ellis

Evidence points to U.S. Steel's responsibility for goon attack on Nelson Blackstock (left) and Eric Flint.

Nelson Blackstock, thirty-four years old, is a longtime civil rights activist. In 1964 he joined the staff of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and took part in its Mississippi Freedom Summer. That same year he was a founder of the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC).

Today Blackstock is the chief *Militant* reporter covering the civil rights struggles in Alabama. He is also the organizer of the newly

formed Birmingham branch of the Socialist Workers Party.

Blackstock is a former managing editor of the *Militant*. He is the author of *COINTELPRO: The FBI's Secret War on Political Freedom* and is a member of the National Committee of the SWP.

Eric Flint, thirty-two years old, is a member of the International Association of Machinists in Birmingham.

While living in Morgantown, West Virginia, he helped organize activities supporting the coal miners' 1977-78 strike.

Flint is a former member of United Steelworkers Local 2058 at U.S. Steel's American Bridge Division in Los Angeles. He has also worked as a Teamster and construction laborer.

Flint is a member of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party.

Truckers protest diesel fuel ripoff

By Suzanne Haig

Convoys of angry truckers have blockaded truck stops and conducted highway "slowdowns" in more than fifteen states this month.

The independent truckers, who own and operate their own rigs, are protesting the shortages and soaring prices of diesel fuel, which make it impossible for them to earn a living.

The Interstate Commerce Commission reports that diesel fuel prices are up from 63.9 cents a gallon in January to 81.7 cents at the end of May.

However, Lewis Masterman, president of Colorado Convoy, a newly formed trucker's organization, told *Militant* correspondents in Denver that prices in the West are as high as \$1.25 and \$1.50 a gallon. Also truck stop operators are limiting purchases to under 50 gallons. Trucks hold about 150 gallons.

Shutdowns are occurring primarily in the western and midwestern states where shortages and fuel price hikes are the most drastic, although actions are also reported in Connecticut and Florida.

In Indiana, for example, 300 drivers parked their trucks in a giant blockade across a major toll road near Gary on June 7 to protest the limiting of fuel purchases.

According to Masterman, who drove with a convoy of thirty truckers to Washington, D.C., June 4 to bring their concerns to the government, diesel fuel is more plentiful in the East and sells for about seventy-four cents a gallon.

The striking truckers have won the support of the Nebraska chapter of the American Agriculture Movement, which called on members to withhold farm products from the market in solidarity.

Below are reports from *Militant* correspondents on the truckers' strike.

Salt Lake City

By Shawn Gillard and Clemens Bak

SALT LAKE CITY—Trucker pickets have shut down most of the major truck stops in this area and have begun to picket the oil refineries in north Salt Lake.

Pickets were also dispatched early in

the strike to the gates of several of the major trucking firms in the city.

The busy scene at Burningham's Truck Plaza, the organizing center for the area's trucker strike, resembles an army command post. Truckers drive their big rigs in and out to picket points around the state.

To one side of the truck stop stands a row of struck cabs with license plates from all over the country, decked out with signs protesting the fuel hike and calling on truckers to "shut down."

On the other side of the truck stop, a couple of rigs with flatbed trailers stand with billboards nailed to the decks calling for support to the strike and giving news of progress as reports come in from around the country.

The strike here began when more than sixty truckers drove their rigs through the main streets of Salt Lake and up to the state capitol building. By the second day of the strike there were 300 angry drivers actively picketing around the state.

One trucker who just drove in from California and shut his rig down to join the strike told the *Militant* that the interstate to the west of here was practically empty of trucks. While some of the truck stops were still open, he said, nobody was buying diesel fuel.

A trucker from Kansas, who has been shut down for a week here, told us he's confident that if the strike goes national it will quickly force the government to talk. "Many of the loads we haul are perishable, like grocery goods," he said, "and independent truckers are responsible for almost 70 percent of all trucking. Sooner or later they will feel the pinch."

Denver

By Jim Altenberg and Sue Adley

DENVER—You could tell from what the independent truckers were saying here that sooner or later a protest would erupt.

"Everything you've got," a woman truck driver told the *Militant*, "the food you eat, the shirt on your back, even the glasses you need to see with comes by truck."

"Maybe we ought to stop driving for a few days, call it a strike or something. That will clear up this mess. I've said it all along that there's no shortage."



Militant/Clemens Bak

One of the main centers of the strike in Salt Lake City is Burningham's truck stop. Truckers hope their giant picket signs will attract support.

This was the view of many over-the-road truckers who found themselves stranded at the Union 76 Auto/Truck Stop northwest of Denver when the station ran out of fuel.

More than 100 drivers were waiting at the stop, unable to buy enough fuel to continue on their routes. Many had spent two and three days waiting for a chance to fill up. For owner-operators, who must bear all of the fuel, maintenance, and travel costs themselves, such lost days are unpaid days.

"It's the gas companies—the gas companies and the government. Carter could end this thing," said one driver. He had participated in the independent truckers' strikes in 1968 and 1974. But "nobody listened then. We've got to do it again. People have to get together on this."

"If there was a shortage of oil," said another, "they wouldn't be rebuilding that Conoco refinery here so fast. There are oil wells capped [shut off] all over Colorado."

Feelings ran just as high at the Tomahawk truck stop in Brighton, Colorado. "There ain't no shortage," one trucker declared. "The companies are holding back to raise the fuel prices to where they want them."

"I've seen that paper," said Bill Knight, grabbing a June 1 *Militant* with the banner headline "Gas ripoff."

"There's only one thing wrong with this cover," he said. "It should have read gas and diesel ripoff."

Although diesel fuel generally costs less per gallon than gasoline, a loaded semi gets only four to five miles per gallon. Moreover, the diesel pump outside may read 74.9 cents, but the owner-operators must also pay a special fuel tax to the state of 7 cents for every gallon they buy.

In Colorado truckers also pay a gross ton-mile tax that averages out to over fifty dollars a month.

"The state of Colorado to a trucker is one gigantic toll road," Grady Blatcher told the *Militant*.

Dallas

By Marty Boyars

DALLAS—This is one of the largest trucking centers in the country and was the scene of actions during the last round of trucker strikes in 1974.

There were several blockades last week at truck stops. On June 9 the truckers organized a parade around the Dallas area driving at the minimum speed limit.

They have planned a blockade of the Exxon distribution center at Irving, a suburb of Dallas, to call attention to rising diesel prices.

Twin Cities

By Greg Cornell

MINNEAPOLIS—Most truck stops throughout Minnesota were shut down last week by independent truckers.

Across the state, drivers pulled into truck stops and blockaded them as the strike spread through word of mouth.

At Ray's North Star Truck stop, east of St. Paul, about fifteen trucks blockaded fuel pumps. Eight trucks blockaded a truck stop in St. Paul.

About eighty independents held an all-day meeting June 10, then met with Gov. Al Quie to present a list of demands that included cheaper diesel fuel, increased supplies of diesel for trucks, and increase in the speed limit to sixty-five miles per hour, and an end to harassment by state troopers.

Charles Clifton of the United Truckers Congress told Quie that fuel costs have jumped 35 percent for truckers.

"When we go out on a trip we pay one price," Clifton said. "We come back and we pay three or four more cents. "At the same time," Clifton said, "truckers get to increase their own rates by only 3 or 4 percent."

"This isn't even a good cost-of-living increase," he said. "We have no alternative but to shut down until this is resolved."

Minnesota truck stops as far north as Detroit Lakes and as far south as Rochester had opened during the weekend but were reported shut down again June 11.

Socialist program for energy crisis

By Suzanne Haig

Millions of working people are convinced that the oil companies and the government are in league to hold back oil, create an artificial shortage, and thus drive up prices.

Hoping to allay these suspicions, the federal energy department has announced it is hiring an "independent auditor" to check the records of the oil companies.

A group of twenty-five senators requested the investigation because "they were concerned that the controversy had so undermined public confidence in the government's energy policy that solving the energy problem might be impossible," reported the June 11 *Wall Street Journal*. In other words, they feared that they might run into flak for legislating still higher profits for the energy trust.

To ensure that the auditor doesn't accidentally stumble on the truth, however, the investigation will not consist of an actual physical inspection of inventories. It will be limited to checking the "reliability of . . . inventory accounting systems" used by the oil companies, according to Energy Secretary James Schlesinger.

This little runaround just underlines again that virtually all of the

government's information on the energy crisis is supplied by the corporations themselves.

An "independent" audit controlled by the government will only be part of the cover-up of the truth about the contrived gas shortage. The big-business government and the Democratic and Republican politicians—whatever criticisms of the oil trust they may occasionally make for public consumption—always stop short of challenging the "business secrets" of the energy corporations.

Instead, socialists propose that the labor movement launch a fight for bold, effective measures to deal with the energy crisis:

- **Open all the books and secret records of the energy companies to public scrutiny**—not a phony "audit." This should include opening all financial records, internal correspondence, stock portfolios, technical data on different energy sources, fuel reserves, and refining and shipping capacity to inspection by union and consumer committees, so the entire working class can see for itself.

- **All health and safety records and studies should also be made public** to uncover the full extent of hazards to the environment, to public health, and to workers in the industry.

- **Immediate shutdown of all nuclear facilities.** As long as any nuclear plant is in operation it poses a deadly threat to present and future generations. Instead, coal—which is plentiful and can be mined safely and burned cleanly—should be mined and burned to provide the electricity we need.

- **Surveillance and control by the workers in the energy industry.** They are in the best position to know if fuel supplies are being held back or profits hidden. Following the example of the struggle of the United Mine Workers, health and safety conditions in particular should be under the control of the workers, who must have the unconditional right to shut down any hazardous operation.

- **Public ownership of the energy industry and its amalgamation under a single system.** Crisis, inflation, unemployment, shortages, catastrophes will occur with greater frequency as long as energy production is controlled by the capitalists. Big business produces only for profit, not for the needs of society. The entire energy industry should be nationalized and placed under public ownership, to be managed by a directly elected board whose meetings and decisions are completely open to the public.

The hidden threat of 'low level' radiation

Gov't standards mean cancer epidemic

By Arnold Weissberg

Imagine a gun that fires 37 billion times a second. And imagine that every tiny "bullet" the gun fired could cause cancer or birth defects.

Imagine 17 billion of these guns, all blasting away constantly.

Then imagine packing 72 buildings each with 17 billion guns, scattering the buildings around the country, and starting to build another 130.

Imagine all that, and you begin to understand the dangers of radiation from nuclear power plants.

The "gun" is a collection of atoms throwing off 37 billion subatomic particles a second (this amount is known as a curie of radiation). Each nuclear power plant holds around 17 billion curies.

Add to this brew the enormous but secret radiation from nuclear weapons manufacture and storage, fallout from nuclear weapons tests, nuclear wastes, and uranium mining, and you have a truly frightening mixture.

Within every nuclear power plant sits more radioactivity than ever existed in the entire history of life on earth.

According to the nuclear industry and the government, all those "bullets"—fragments of atoms traveling near the speed of light—are safely contained behind many feet of steel and concrete.

But government studies—one in 1957, one in 1964 that was suppressed for nine years, and one in 1974—admitted that a massive release of radiation was possible. Such a catastrophe could kill 45,000 people, injure 100,000, and cause \$17 billion in radiation-related property damage, according to the 1964 study.

And that would be only the immediate effects. Tens of thousands more would die from cancer and leukemia in five, ten, twenty years.

Deadly federal standards

Such an accident is a frightening enough possibility. But just as deadly—and less well known—is the constant release of radioactive materials into the environment from every nuclear facility.

These releases are legal, and meet federal standards.

That is, the federal government permits the nuclear industry to poison the air, water, and land every single day.

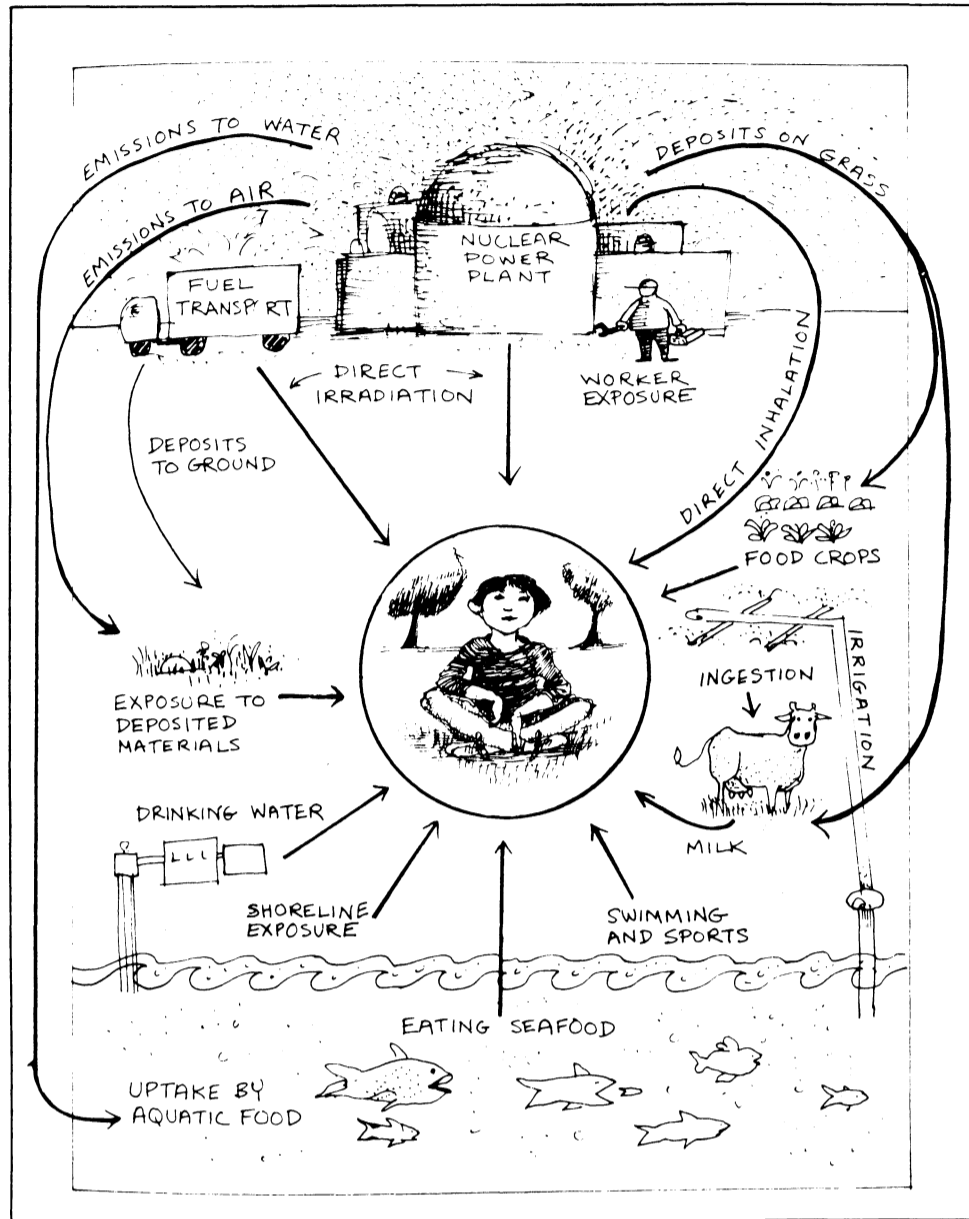
These radioactive emissions are supposed to be "safe." But the truth is that no amount of radiation is "safe."

Every day these legal radioactive emissions increase the number of cancers and birth defects.

Drs. John Gofman and Arthur Tamplin, two eminent medical researchers, declared ten years ago that 32,000 extra cases of cancer would occur each year if everyone in the country received the government-set exposure limit of 170 millirems.*

Gofman and Tamplin also said the radiation would cause between 150,000 and 1.5 million genetic deaths a year—that is, deaths from birth defects or genetically linked diseases such as diabetes.

*A "rem" is a standard measure of the amount of radiation absorbed by the body. A millirem is a thousandth of a rem. According to federal standards set in 1959, no one, except nuclear industry workers, is supposed to get more than 500 millirems a year. The average dose for the whole population isn't supposed to exceed 170 millirems a year. Nuclear industry workers are permitted to receive five rems—or 5,000 millirems—yearly.



Drawing shows how humans are exposed to radiation from atomic power plants. Other sources of radiation include uranium mining, radioactive waste disposal, and fallout from nuclear weapons tests.

Their figures have never been successfully challenged.

- Cancer rates leaped 58 percent between 1970 and 1975 in Waterford County, Connecticut, site of the Millstone nuclear power plant, according to a study by radiation expert Dr. Ernest Sternglass of the University of Pittsburgh.

Five miles upwind, in New London, cancer rates jumped 44 percent. New Haven, thirty miles upwind, suffered a 27 percent cancer rate hike. The national average was up 6 percent.

The cancer rate raced off at a 30 percent higher rate in Beaver County, Pennsylvania, home of the Shippingport nuclear plant, between 1958 and 1968, according to Sternglass.

And one mile downstream from Shippingport, in Midland, whose water supply is routinely irradiated, cancer rates skyrocketed in the same ten years by an incredible 180 percent.

Nuclear workers

- Workers on nuclear ships at the Portsmouth (New Hampshire) Naval Shipyards died of cancer at a rate six times higher than the rest of the workers in the yard.

- Worker exposure to radiation at the federal nuclear complex in Hanford, Washington, resulted in thirty more cancer deaths than the average for a group that size. All these workers were exposed to "permissible" radiation levels.

- Plutonium contamination from the Rocky Flats, Colorado, nuclear bomb plant caused 501 extra cases of cancer between 1969 and 1971.

- In 1957, Nobel Prize winner Linus Pauling estimated that fallout from

nuclear weapons tests to that date would kill one million people worldwide and cause 200,000 serious birth defects. The tests went on for five more years.

- Artificially produced radiation will cause one million cases of cancer among today's U.S. population and has been responsible for 6,000 birth defects, according to a study released earlier this year by the National Academy of Sciences. Another NAS report said that 2,000 people, most of them nuclear industry workers, will die of cancer caused by nuclear power plants in the next twenty years. In 1972, an NAS committee called for lowering the maximum exposure limit from 500 millirems to 50. Nothing has happened so far.

3 X rays a day

Nuclear advocates like to compare radiation exposure to X rays. People get X-rayed all the time, they argue, and you don't see them dropping like flies.

The comparison is deliberately misleading.

To begin with, no X ray is good for you. Every exposure to radiation carries with it the risk of cancer, leukemia, and genetic damage. That's why the dentist tells you to hold the film between your teeth or with your finger, while he or she leaves the room.

Second, an X ray is focused on a particular part of the body—the jaw, the chest, a broken arm. Radiation in the environment endangers your whole body.

And third, an X ray lasts for only fractions of a second. Radiation leaking from Three Mile Island was mea-

sured by the hour.

Radiation exposure from the Three Mile Island accident was like getting three X rays a day.

Nuclear advocates also seek to minimize the impact of radiation from nuclear power plants and nuclear weapons by pointing to natural radiation from cosmic rays or naturally occurring radioactive elements.

It is true that we are all irradiated every day. It is also true that natural radiation causes cancer. It is grotesque to justify killing more people by arguing that some people are dying already anyway.

Splitting atoms

Radiation originates in the decay of radioactive elements. Their atoms either split or give off subatomic particles. The new elements thus formed are often themselves radioactive, and the process continues until a stable atom is created.

Radioactive decay also gives off huge quantities of energy. Kept under control, it's the heat at the core of a nuclear power plant. Out of control, it's an atomic explosion.

Radioactive atoms give off three harmful types of particles or rays—alpha, beta, and gamma. Alpha particles are identical to helium nuclei—two protons and two neutrons. Beta particles are high-energy electrons. Gamma rays are similar to X rays, only more powerful.

The three kinds of radiation differ in their levels of energy. Alpha and beta particles are too weak to penetrate even human skin, but can cause cancer if inhaled or ingested in food, milk, or water. It takes three feet of concrete to stop gamma rays, and they can pass right through the body.

Government estimates of cancer resulting from the Three Mile Island nuclear accident failed to take account of the damage done by inhaled and ingested alpha and beta particles. In asserting that no more than ten people would get cancer, Health, Education and Welfare Secretary Joseph Califano didn't mention that the figure was based on gamma measurement only. Ernest Sternglass has estimated that as many as 2,500 cancers may develop.

Cell damage

All three kinds of radiation tear through living tissue, leaving a mass of chemical dislocation in their wakes.

If the cells are battered sufficiently by radiation, they die. Thousands of people at Hiroshima and Nagasaki were killed by radiation exposure.

If the cells aren't killed off at once, their control mechanisms may go berserk. One day or twenty years later, they may turn cancerous. A single particle can trigger cancer.

The speeding bullets can also break or damage the chromosomes of the reproductive cells, causing birth defects.

Some elements that are normally radioactive have relatively rare forms, or isotopes, that are.

Take, for example, the element iodine, a vital substance in human body chemistry. In an atomic explosion or in the heart of a nuclear power plant iodine 131, a radioactive isotope, is formed.

Iodine 131 is almost exactly like normal iodine. It is absorbed by the body just like normal iodine, and it concentrates in the thyroid gland just like normal iodine.

The one deadly difference is that

Continued on next page

'Public officials have lied to us'

Unionists speak out against nuclear threat

The two speeches excerpted below were delivered at an anti-nuclear power demonstration in Michigan City, Indiana, June 3. Alice Peurala is the newly elected president of United Steelworkers Local 65, which represents 7,500 workers at U.S. Steel's South Works in Chicago. Fred Duckworth is an international representative of the United Mine Workers union.



ALICE PEURALA

In These Times

Alice Peurala

I'm very proud that at the first meeting that I conducted as chairman, one of the first orders that came under new business was a resolution to support this demonstration. The membership voted to support this rally. We got leaflets out in the plant and I think there's a number of our members out here today. So I'm proud of that.

Public officials, whether they're the politicians in office or whether they're the heads of corporations, have continually lied to the American people, and they have lied to workers in industry. We know from our experiences in the plant, especially in the plant that I work in. The foundry at South Works is going to be shut down, because in that foundry they found that out of fifty to seventy foundry workers examined, almost thirty had signs of silicosis, a very crippling lung disease.

The company withheld the medical records of these workers. They did not know for the ten, twenty, thirty years that they worked in that foundry that they were being affected by a fatal disease because of the dust levels.

So we have a corporation that lies to

workers, that refuses to show them their medical records, and they end up with diseases which are crippling and eventually fatal.

I noticed on the radio this morning [a report about] the Vietnam veterans who have been afflicted with Agent Orange. The man said there are 5,000 deaths among Vietnam veterans in America today related to the exposure to Agent Orange.

Again, we've had the army and the government lying to the soldiers who fought in Vietnam, lying to the American people on the dangers of nuclear energy, lying to workers in the plant about the hazards they are exposed to, whether it is asbestos, or lead, the coal miners, the foundry workers.

It seems to me there is an alliance between the corporate officials and the government officials to hide and to continue to lie to the American people. And I think it's about time that we held these officials responsible to do something about the conditions and to stop the lies and to continue to have demonstrations of this kind, and expose the big lie.

The labor movement has always been in the forefront of fighting for the protection of workers. We have to go beyond that. We have to become involved politically, and politically involved in such a way that has meaning. Up to this point I do not believe that the labor movement has done that. We've continued to support politicians who have continued to lie to us, or continued not to enforce the standards in plants, not to enforce the standards in building these nuclear energy plants.

And I intend in my local union, and hopefully with other local unions in this district, to explore some of the ways that we can work politically to do something about the conditions under which we work and the conditions under which we live in our communities.

Fred Duckworth

On behalf of the United Mine Workers of America, and the 6,000 Indiana coal mine members, I appreciate being able to address you this afternoon.

You know we oppose nuclear power. We feel that there is room for research into other energy sources, but because of the amount of vast reserves in the

United States today, coal should be the number one source.

A lot of people accept nuclear energy as their energy answer. The force of nuclear bombs so awed the people, that the idea of harnessing that force provided a certain mystique.

All energy has a source. The source of nuclear energy is uranium. Uranium is mined like coal. It is processed four times prior to its actual conversion to fuel and to the subsequent use of this fuel to produce energy. If coal were processed that many times, little or no waste or pollutants would result from the burning of coal either.

The United States and the world need all the energy supplies that technology today can provide. Coal is being ignored, while nuclear energy, without proper technology, is expanding to deadly proportions. It is time for the American people to wake up to the dangers.

Coal is still the answer. I think that nuclear energy is viewed by some people as the only fuel because it's been promoted by a well-heeled industry that can distribute hundreds of millions of dollars at the expense of the

coal industry.

The Three Mile Island incident clearly demonstrates that human lives are more important than being exposed to some sophisticated energy which has proven to be unreliable, prone to accidents, and would endanger hundreds of thousands of lives in urban or suburban areas. It's been proven that exposure to coal and its contaminants isn't as hazardous to health as radiation leaked from a nuclear power plant.

The technology exists for safely using more coal. Better mining safety standards, coupled with the creation of more mining jobs, could boost the national and local economies. Even more research and development could make coal an even more viable energy source.

It's a disgrace in the state of Indiana, with all the coal that's available, to be using anything other than coal.

And if it's necessary to keep the clean air standards, what's wrong with using scrubbers?

This nation sits on 1.3 trillion tons of coal reserves. That's 300 years of reserves.

Construction worker charges nuke plant built over fault

By Morris Starsky

CLEVELAND—Charges that the Perry, Ohio, nuclear power plant is being built on a geological fault were leveled here by a former construction worker at the plant site.

Tom Stewart, now a member of the Sunflower Alliance in Ashtabula, worked at the nuclear plant site from 1974 until early last year. Construction of the twin-reactor plant is about 30 percent complete.

Stewart claims that he and other construction workers saw the fault during site preparation, but were ordered by supervisors not to say anything about it. The nuclear reactors are being built on top of the fault according to Stewart. Federal regulations required that such faults discovered during construction of a nuclear plant be reported immediately. After such a report is made,

a full-scale study of the site by scientists is required. No such study was made regarding the fault seen by Stewart.

When asked why he quit his job at the nuclear plant and decided to make his concerns public, Stewart said that when you work at a nuclear site you run into many people against nuclear power. "When you begin to listen, they have a lot of nice things to say," he stated.

Stewart also alleged that safety procedures at the construction site were very lax. There was very little concern for either the safety of the workers or the safety of the community in the actual construction of the plant, he said. Workers with years of experience in construction were overruled on important decisions by management personnel who were "more concerned with quantity than with quality" construction.

...radiation

Continued from preceding page

iodine 131 gives off beta particles and causes cancer and birth defects.

Because children are so sensitive to radiation, special care must be taken to keep radioactive iodine out of milk. In the Three Mile Island area, iodine 131 levels in milk increased sharply after the accident. Government officials, however, declared the milk safe.

Some radioactive elements behave like other nonradioactive elements. Strontium 90, for instance, one of the deadliest byproducts of atomic tests, takes the place of calcium. Falling on pastures, strontium 90 is concentrated by cows as they make milk, and then further concentrated in human—especially children's—bones and teeth.

Strontium 90 is, like iodine 131, a beta emitter.

Lung cancer for all

One of the most fiendishly toxic substances known to science is plutonium. A millionth of a gram can cause lung cancer.

Yet there are thousands of pounds of plutonium in the United States right now. The element does not occur in nature; it has all been artificially produced.

Plutonium is an alpha particle emit-

ter. You can safely hold a piece in your hand. But once it penetrates the skin, through a cut, for example—or if you inhale a speck—it's cancer.

Plutonium is 10 to 1,000 times as powerful a cancer-causing agent as other alpha emitters. It gives off a tremendous number of particles. With these particles hitting a very small number of cells right around the plutonium, its cancer-causing energy is more focused.

In 1963, Edward Gleason, a New Jersey warehouse worker, unloaded a leaking glass container from a truck and spilled some of the contents on his left side. The package had been improperly marked, and Gleason later found out it contained some plutonium.

Three years later, Gleason developed bone cancer in his left hand. By 1968, he had to have his left arm and part of his left shoulder amputated. Soon after, Gleason died, his body riddled with cancer.

Because plutonium loses its radioactivity extremely slowly, the same atoms can kill over and over again. If a body that has been contaminated by plutonium is buried, the plutonium will eventually find its way back into the soil. If the body is cremated, the plutonium goes up the chimney with the smoke.

"In Britain, by the late 1940s, more than one scientist had been heard to

declare that, should he happen to get plutonium on a cut finger, he would at once cut the finger off," wrote physicist Walter Patterson in his book *Nuclear Power*.

Government cover-up

The history of radiation has been a history of government and industry lies and cover-ups. Instead of investigating the effects of radiation on human beings, the government took its failure to investigate as "proof" that "low levels" of radiation were safe. For years, government representatives declared no harmful effects had been detected.

The reason no harmful effects had been detected is that no one looked.

And when they did start to look, like Thomas Mancuso's study of the Hanford workers, or Gofman and Tamplin's research into cancer and nuclear power, the government cut off funding for these researchers and sought to discredit them.

Meanwhile, \$10 billion in subsidies went to the nuclear industry.

It has been government policy, supported by every president and both the Democratic and Republican parties, to encourage nuclear development.

It has meant profits for the nuclear industry above all.

The \$100 billion nuclear industry has a lot at stake, and it has the might

of the federal government behind it. But working people have a bigger stake—our lives and the future of humanity.

It is going to be a long, difficult fight to put a stop to the hazards of radiation. And it will take the organized strength of America's working people to win.

Books on nuclear power

Nuclear Power by Walter Patterson
Penguin Books, 302 pp., \$3.50

The Silent Bomb, ed. Peter Faulkner
Vintage, 382 pp., \$3.95

We Almost Lost Detroit by John G. Fuller
Ballantine, 288 pp., \$1.95

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, New York 10014, or visit the socialist bookstore nearest you (see listing on p. 31). Please include \$25 for postage and handling; \$50 if order of more than \$5.

Uniroyal striker tells:

What rubber workers are fighting for

The following are excerpts from a speech given at the Detroit Militant Labor Forum on May 20 by Charlie Russel, a member of United Rubber Workers (URW) Local 101 and the Socialist Workers Party. Russel is one of 1,700 workers at the Jefferson Tire Plant and 8,500 workers nationwide who have been on strike against Uniroyal since May 9.

What's it like to be a rubber worker? Do you know what burning rubber smells like? I don't. I'm so used to it I can't smell it anymore. It permeates everything.

Then there is carbon black, which is used to make rubber. If you just walk through the millroom, the place where rubber is made, much less work there for eight hours, you get filthy. It gets into everything—your clothes, your eyes, your nose, your lungs, even into the pores of your skin. I've taken a shower for a half hour—with sand soap and harsh detergents—and still couldn't get it out. Four hours later my clothes were filthy where it had started to come out of my pores.

Uniroyal says carbon black is inert; it can't hurt you. Everybody I work with knows better. Every time I have to work in the millroom I end up with a dry, hacking cough for a week and my eyes burn for the rest of the day. The company says it would cost too much to get rid of the carbon black in the air.

I say it costs rubber workers too much *not* to clean it up.

Outside the millroom different hazards take over. Like deafening noise. Or the back and hand injuries that go with working in the building department. Or the roaches and mice that are everywhere.

All these safety and health problems can be corrected. But Uniroyal won't do a thing unless the union forces them to. Because their concern is profit and more profit. If someone gets hurt on the job, management writes *them* up. It never occurs to Uniroyal that the cause is their own speedup and unsafe conditions.

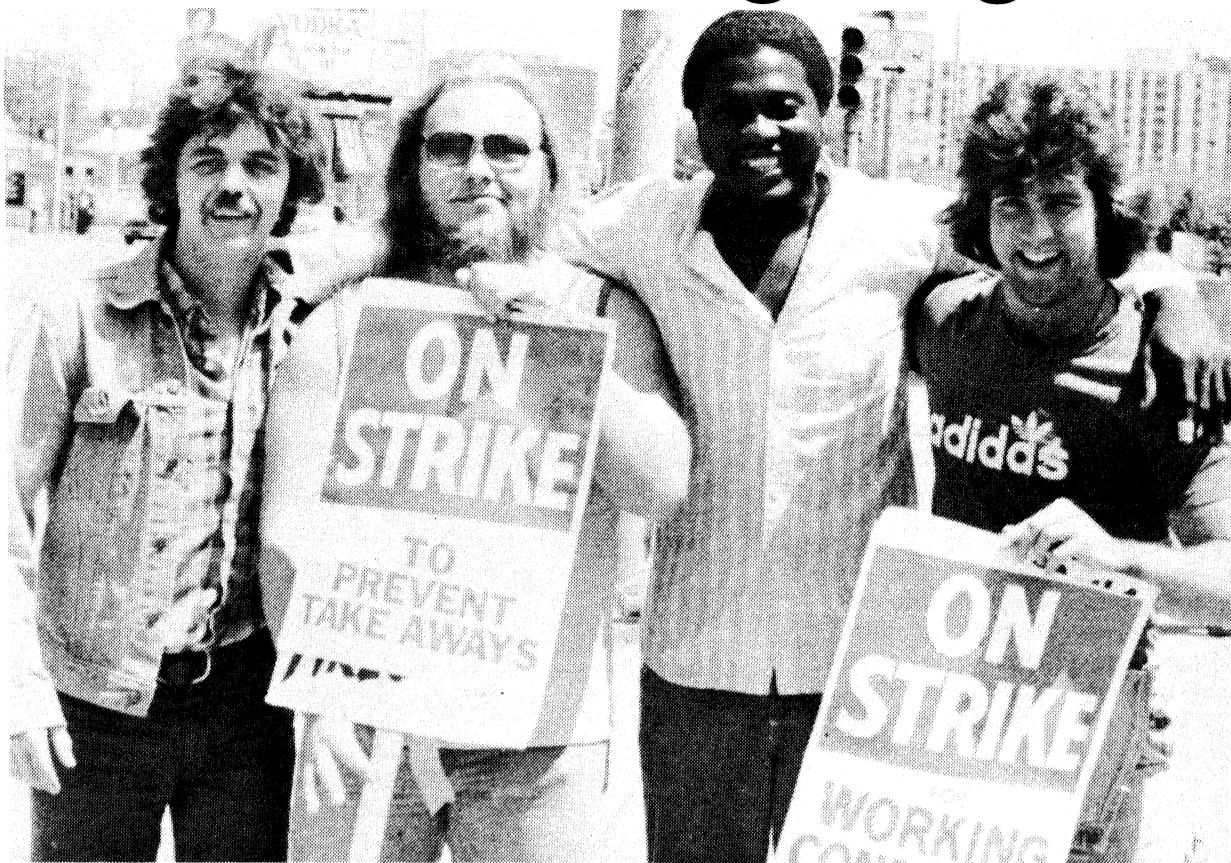
These are just some of the reasons why I consider health and safety issues so important in this strike.

Piecework & COLA

Another important issue is money. Three years ago the URW struck for five months to win a cost-of-living allowance. A cost of living we never see!

The rubber industry is on piecework, so our average rate of pay varies from week to week. Uniroyal refuses to pay cost of living separately. This way the company can hide the fact that they are driving down our average pay by changing work standards and not paying delay time. A key demand for this contract is to have cost of living paid separately—where we can see it and see what the company is doing to our pay rates.

We also want to improve our cost-of-living adjustment, so our wages won't keep trailing so far behind prices. Since auto workers have the



Strikers outside Uniroyal's Jefferson Avenue plant in Detroit. Improving unsafe, filthy conditions is one of their top demands.

same COLA formula we do, if we win gains it can help set the pattern for their contract talks later this summer.

Another sticking point for Uniroyal is our demand that the company stay neutral in URW organizing drives. Tire companies are shutting down older northern union plants and shifting work to open shops in the South. The only way to stop their flight and protect our union is to unionize all rubber plants. We've been complacent for too long. We have to organize the unorganized now—before it's too late.

What's new in this year's strike is the fact that we've had to take on the government as well—in the form of Carter's wage-cutting guidelines.

On the picket lines, my co-workers are quick to point out that these guidelines are a fraud. There are no price guidelines for General Motors, for instance, when they introduce their new "X cars" at 18 percent over the models they replace. And in the same week GM announces another quarter of record profits! And there's surely no guidelines on the price of peanut butter in the supermarket.

The URW has been singled out for a major test of Carter's guidelines. The employers and the government decided we could be forced into submission. They thought after a five-month strike in 1976—and with a smaller membership this time around—we'd be forced to give in.

But Carter and the rest of the Republicans and Democrats in Washington are wrong. We won't fold! We may not be as strong as some other unions, but we can win the support of the entire

labor movement for our fight against Carter and his 7 percent.

The URW must reach out and tap this support so the bosses and their government can't isolate us. We can take a lesson from the coal miners and go out to talk to workers everywhere, explain about our struggle, and show them it is their struggle as well.

Government power

During our strike in Detroit we've experienced how the government's power is utilized against workers. On May 10 we had more cops than pickets out—and they weren't there to protect us, that's for sure. In fact they arrested and mauled two union pickets while ignoring the speeding cars of salaried scabs.

As workers and union members we should learn a lesson from this. It's a Democrat in Washington—Jimmy Carter—who we're fighting to get a decent contract. And it's a Democrat in Detroit—Mayor Coleman Young—whose cops we have to fight to walk our picket lines. We all know the Republicans aren't any better.

Both major political parties are parties of the bosses. They are controlled by—and protect the interests of—the ruling class in this country. We need a party run by workers that defends the interests of the working class. A party based on our unions. A labor party.

I've seen more than enough of what the Democrats and Republicans can do running this country—and I don't like what I've seen. I think we could do a whole lot better job of it.

Steelworkers discuss new pregnancy benefits law

By Carolyn Jasin and Maggie McCraw

CHICAGO—On May 29, 175 steelworkers attended a panel discussion on the Pregnancy Discrimination Act passed last October, which bans employment discrimination on the basis of pregnancy.

The new law overrides the 1976 U.S. Supreme Court decision that employers can legally refuse disability benefits to pregnant workers.

The panel discussion held at United Steelworkers Local 65's union hall in South Chicago, was initiated by USWA District 31 Women's Caucus in response to many problems women steelworkers are encountering with steel companies implementation of the new legislation.

Bernard Kleiman, USWA general counsel, and Bob Prior, USWA Insu-

rance and Pension Department, stated that the union would support the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission's interpretive guidelines.

These guidelines state that an employer cannot refuse to hire or promote pregnant workers, or discharge or suspend a woman because she is pregnant. An employer must provide disability benefits for pregnancy, childbirth, and other related conditions as they provide for other nonoccupational disabilities and illnesses. Female workers who return after pregnancy must have the same job rights as other workers who return from other forms of sick leave, with no loss of seniority.

During the question and answer period, more than a dozen women described the problems they have

One woman showed a letter by her employer requiring her to deduct the six weeks' benefits allowed her prior to implementation of the new law from benefits she may receive under it.

Many women testified that when pregnant they were denied the light duty given to other workers on medical disability.

A woman working in a coke plant protested her company's refusal to temporarily transfer her to a job away from toxic chemicals and other materials hazardous to her health while pregnant.

Steel industry officials are claiming this new law will cost them "a nickel an hour per worker," and intend to challenge it in the courts.

Women steelworkers are keenly aware that the steel industry will try to make up its "loss" in the 1980 contract

negotiations either by hiring fewer women, firing more women, reducing medical benefits for all workers, or extending the length of time to qualify for medical insurance and disability coverage.

Medical benefits covering abortion could also be eliminated, since the new law does not cover abortion unless the life of the mother is at stake.

Kleiman encouraged union members to file grievances and to file charges with the EEOC against an employer who refuses to comply with the amendment.

Alice Peurala, the first woman president of a major basic steel local, remarked that credit goes to women and our union movement allies for getting this law passed. She called on all those present to fight to maintain such gains.

Unions urged to take lead

Baltimore steelworkers hit 'Weber' suit

By Yvonne Hayes
and Norton Sandler

BALTIMORE—In 1961, Francis Brown walked into a company lunchroom at Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point plant, which offered Blacks carry-out service only. He ordered food and refused to pay unless he was allowed to sit down and eat.

The action sparked a chain of protests that eventually led to the desegregation of restaurant and locker room facilities at the giant steel plant.

On June 6 this year, 125 unionists heard Brown describe these events at a union-sponsored meeting on the Weber case and affirmative action.

Brown, a member of Steelworkers Local 2610 and former vice-president of Steelworkers and Shipyardworkers for Equality, applauded the stand the USWA has taken in opposition to Weber. This meeting, he said, was the first event in years to draw together women, Blacks, and top union officials in agreement over a single issue.

The meeting was sponsored by the Civil Rights and Women's Advisory Committees of USWA Locals 2609 and Local 2610. It represented progress over the earlier struggles of Blacks at Sparrows Point, when the union refused to stand behind civil rights activists, Brown said.

David Wilson, president of Local 2609, opened the meeting by explaining how the Sparrows Point company town had been segregated in a conscious effort to divide and weaken the work force.

"These decisions were imposed on us and we are now starting to overcome them," he said.

William Simons, president of the Washington Teachers Union, said that the USWA is providing an example of "what unions ought to be doing in pushing affirmative action forward. . . . We can modify the seniority clause to take into account the reality of the situation, to give everyone a chance."

Brian Weber's lawsuit aims to overturn affirmative-action provisions of the contract the USWA negotiated in 1974 with Kaiser Aluminum (see story on facing page). Those provisions modified seniority by allotting half the training positions in skilled jobs to Blacks and women, who had been excluded from these jobs in the past.

The meeting also heard from Isidore Booker, head of the Civil Rights Committee of USWA Local 13000 at Kaiser's plant in Chalmette, Louisiana. He



Women steelworkers—and all unionists—stand to lose if Supreme Court upholds 'Weber' decision. Women's advisory committees in Sparrows Point union locals helped initiate anti-'Weber' meeting.

explained the need for affirmative action "to increase education and employment opportunities for Blacks, women, other minorities, and the handicapped, who have been and continue to be victims of discriminatory practices."

Booker urged "people who have the same goals to unify around that objective. The labor force is the main force which will provide us with the way to move forward. . . . We are all brothers and sisters in the struggle to isolate the Brian Webers and Allan Bakkes."

Joseph Kotelchuck, president of Local 2610, warned that "if Weber succeeds, the affirmative-action programs which are now at Sparrows Point will go down the drain, and there isn't anything the company would like better."

He explained that through the consent decree, an affirmative-action plan in the basic steel contract, "The union and the courts have forced the company to do things it has never done before. . . . On-the-job training is among those things threatened by

Weber."

Barbara Bowman, chairperson of the Local 2609 Women's Advisory Committee, said that "affirmative action is a union fight. It is a fight against the division management fosters in order to conquer us."

She explained that we must have the same confidence and spirit that has been so inspiring in the Steelworkers' organizing drive in Newport News, where unionists, "Black and white, sister and brother, are marching united beneath the banner of organized labor."

Bowman also pointed out the need for the unions to ensure that women and Blacks as well as others can express their views within the union on controversial issues such as affirmative action. Only through democratic discussions, she said, can the union become an effective organization to defend all workers

Lee Douglas, former president of Steelworkers and Shipyardworkers for Equality, joined Francis Brown in applauding the role of women in initiat-

ing activity in the mills in support of women's rights and affirmative action.

Also chairing the meeting were Arthur Alexander and Howard Easley of the Local 2609 Civil Rights Committee, and Octavia Roberts, chairperson of Local 2610 Women's Advisory Committee.

In summing up the meeting, Roberts told the *Militant*, "We were successful in our purpose—to educate fellow union members on the importance of Weber and on the gains which Blacks and women will lose if Weber wins."

The program was attended mostly by steelworkers from the sponsoring locals, but also by members of USWA Local 3185 at Armco Steel, the Communications Workers of America, and United Auto Workers.

The meeting was planned and organized by weekly joint meetings of the civil rights and women's committees, open to all union members. Activists distributed 6,500 flyers at plant gates, local bars, and in the community. Over 550 raffle tickets were sold to cover transportation costs for the guest speakers.

Kathy Gregg, active in the women's committee from its inception, said that building the meeting "was even more exciting than the meeting itself. So many people got involved in leafleting and selling tickets."

Doretha Whittenburg, a Black crane operator, explained that the rank-and-file activists "accomplished this on our own. This meeting was the first to draw so many members. It shows that there are people interested in affirmative action. Union members must try to change things because we can't place the whole burden on the union leadership. This is the members' union."

"People saw this as something serious outside the regular day-to-day functions of the union," according to Bobbie Kennedy, a women's representative from Local 2609. "People have been very detached from the union, but we are bringing the fight back into the union."

"We would all like to think that there is no prejudice at the Point but we can't deny that it exists. The new life coming into the mills can change that."

The Weber case is a real threat to that change however. "If it weren't for affirmative action and the consent decree," said Octavia Roberts, "discrimination would be even worse than it is. Especially for the women. If Brian Weber wins, it will affect all of us."

Houston unionists beat ARCO discrimination

By Debby Leonard

HOUSTON—Three Atlantic Richfield Company workers, with the support of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union (OCAW) Local 4-227, have won a victory for affirmative action at the ARCO refinery.

Just over one year ago, Tommy Clayton, Cheryl Norton, and James Harrison were thrown out of the machinist trainee program at the plant on the grounds that they were not qualified. Clayton and Harrison were the only Blacks in the program and Norton was the only woman—and the first woman to get a bid as a machinist trainee at the refinery.

All three are now back in the program with a different supervisor. They also won back seniority and Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) supervision of the remainder of their training.

When the three were disqualified last

year, they came to the union for help.

Clayton had been an aircraft mechanic, a crew chief, and earned the rank of sergeant; Norton was taking machinist courses at a local college on her own time.

Their problems began after Clayton received a "Nigger Application for Employment" in the company mail. He did not take it as a joke and complained to the supervisor, demanding that something be done about the racist slur. Prior to his complaint, Clayton's work in the program had been satisfactory. But soon afterward, the supervisor became hostile to him and Clayton found that he could not pass a test in the training program. Norton and Harrison also began having problems.

Clayton kept a good record of all the incidents of racist harassment and discriminatory treatment he had experienced from company supervisors.

When he came to the union, the Workmen's Committee encouraged him to prepare a detailed statement and obtain affidavits from fellow employees. His ten-page statement was circulated through the machine shop

and the plant as a whole.

Clayton collected many affidavits supporting his statement, including from ten white first-class machinists and a white operator who had served at the same air force base as Clayton.

The union, in an unprecedented move at the time, agreed to go to the EEOC with Clayton, Norton, and Harrison and to pay the time they took off from work to file charges against the company. The Workmen's Committee pushed the company's labor relations staff for a full investigation of the machinist trainee program, which has the highest rate of minority disqualifications of any trainee program at the refinery.

The union met with international representatives of OCAW and contacted ARCO company headquarters in Los Angeles. Union activists promoted the case around the plant until the facts became common knowledge. Norton spoke at a Coalition of Labor Union Women meeting on job discrimination and the Weber case.

Apparently convinced that Clayton, Norton, and Harrison were not going to drop their case, ARCO finally sent

representatives from their headquarters in Los Angeles to the Houston refinery to look into the situation.

They interviewed everyone who had submitted an affidavit; everyone in Clayton, Norton, and Harrison's training class; and everyone in the machinist training class before theirs. In the face of the virtually unanimous support for the three victimized workers, the company was forced to retreat.

The only thing the three did not win was their back-pay differential. Clayton has spent the past year as a janitor at the plant, Harrison as a laborer, and Norton as a machinist helper.

They were angry at not making up their loss in pay. As Clayton put it, "It would have opened the door. With all the discrimination there has been in this plant over the years, hundreds of people here now, and even relatives of dead workers, would have been able to come forward and demand a financial settlement."

Tommy Clayton, Cheryl Norton, and James Harrison are back on the road to becoming first-class machinists. And our union is stronger for defending them.

Debby Leonard is a member of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 4-227 and the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Houston mayor.

New testimony in 'Weber' case

Black workers charge racism at Kaiser

By August Nimtz

For the first time in the landmark *Weber* "reverse discrimination" case, the Black workers who have the most at stake have been able to put their testimony before the court.

Four Black workers at Kaiser Aluminum's Gramercy, Louisiana, plant, along with another Black worker who has tried unsuccessfully to get a job there, filed affidavits May 18 charging the company with racist and sexist discrimination.

In their suit on behalf of all Black and women workers at Gramercy, the five—one woman and four men—are seeking the right to intervene in the *Weber* case, whose outcome threatens affirmative-action programs throughout industry.

The *Weber* case was argued before the Supreme Court on March 28; a ruling is expected soon.

Brian Weber, a white lab technician at the Gramercy plant, filed suit in 1974 to overturn the affirmative-action plan negotiated by the United Steelworkers.

Under the plan, 50 percent of the openings in a craft training program were to be filled by Black and women employees. The quotas were to continue until Blacks held craft jobs equal to their proportion in the area work force and until women held 5 percent.

Lower courts upheld Weber's claim of "reverse discrimination." Their rulings were based on the claim that Kaiser never discriminated against Blacks.

The absurdity of this claim was clear from the fact that—before the union negotiated the affirmative-action plan—Blacks held less than 2 percent of the craft jobs at the plant, while Blacks are 40 percent of the work force in that area. Women held no craft jobs.

Nevertheless, Black and women workers were never given an opportunity to testify. The evidence they could give of why the program was needed was simply ignored.

The five Black Gramercy workers who have now filed suit to intervene in the case contend that if the court gives importance to the issue of past discrimination, then there should be a new trial so that workers can testify.

The fact that these workers have come forward to expose the real situation at Kaiser is in itself significant. Until recently most Black workers in the area felt intimidated about speaking out against Kaiser.

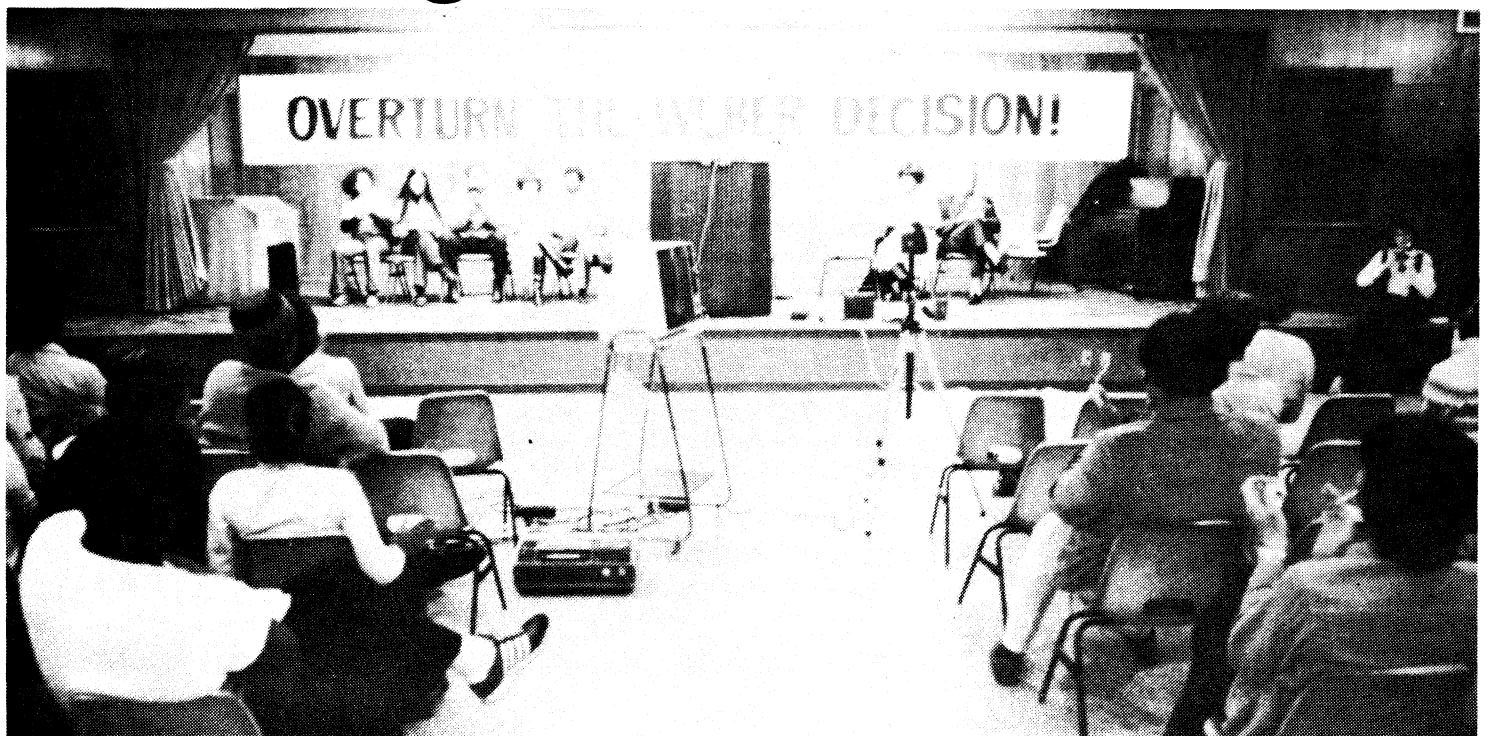
Because of the attention that the labor movement has given to the *Weber* case, Blacks, women, and many other workers across the country have begun to learn about the *Weber* threat and to speak out against it. They recognize that the situation in Gramercy is not unlike that of other workplaces and that affirmative action must be defended if all workers are to move forward.

The following excerpts from their testimony offer compelling evidence of why Weber's suit must be defeated.



Militant/Nelson Blackstock

RUDY GORDEN



Militant/Nelson Blackstock

Anti-'Weber' actions such as this New Orleans rally last March helped create climate for five Gramercy workers to speak out against Kaiser.

Rudy Gorden

Rudy Gorden, the woman worker, began at Kaiser in 1973.

"I began work in the cylinder fill department and was required to lift 100 pound sacks. I am not a large woman. Many men at the plant do not want to do this heavy work. I believe this was given to me as my first job to scare me and to stir up the feelings of the male workers against women. I carried the load until my union steward was able to get me transferred.

"I am still in the labor pool, which is the lowest class job with the lowest pay and has little opportunities for overtime. In 1974, I bid on the job-training program, but did not have the requisite seniority; no woman would, given the hiring practices of the company.

"It has been my experience that without an affirmative action program, most of the better jobs at the plant will be closed to women. I recently bid on a job as a guard and the company responded by taking the job opening off the board.

"When I complained to EEOC [Equal Employment Opportunity Commission], they said I needed training in fire protection and emergency aid. No male worker has ever been required to have this training.

"I have personally known two other women who bid on jobs as lab technicians and the company again responded by taking the job opening off the board. It later put it back on and gave the job to a white male worker.

"There are no women lab technicians or guards. There are still only about nineteen women in the plant, most of whom are janitors or in the cylinder fill department."

Kernell Goudia

Kernell Goudia has worked at Kaiser since 1968 in a variety of positions. As the only Black on the Equal Employment Committee, and as a union grievance committee person, he has a lot of familiarity with complaints of discrimination.

"It was my understanding that Black applicants for craft positions have been subjected to discriminatory testing procedures, specifically, the physical tests. That at least one occasion in 1976, in an EEC meeting the Company admitted that it had been necessary to re-evaluate scores since the supervisors administering the test had used a more stringent scale than used on prior occasions.

"This subjective testing becomes more crucial when considered in connection with the discriminatory promotions to supervisory positions. Out of approximately 100 supervisory positions, Blacks still only account for

approximately 5.

"In at least one instance, a Black worker with over 10 years of experience was not ever considered for a foreman position, whereas white workers with much less experience were offered the position. After calling Mr. Ben West, a compliance officer, the Company agreed to consider the Black worker."

Dinnell Herbert

Dinnell Herbert, who has seven years' experience as a welder, has been trying unsuccessfully since 1974 to get hired at Gramercy for that position.

"... when I did apply, I was told by the personnel director that they were looking for a mechanic with two years experience and two years experience in pipefitting. The personnel director told me to try the Kaiser plant at Chalmette. When the Chalmette plant was contacted, they were not hiring. At no time was anything mentioned to me regarding any type of hiring program.

"It is my understanding and the belief of most Blacks that I have

known in this area, that the only way to get a job at Kaiser is through inside connections, family relations and political pull. This is how I heard of the job openings at the Kaiser plant in Gramercy. At no time were these openings advertised in the newspaper to my knowledge."

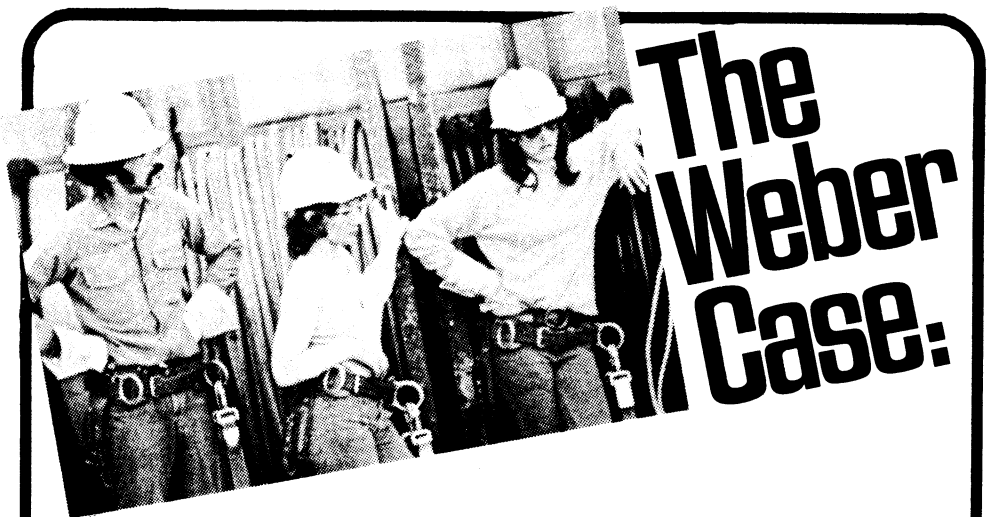
Edward Miller

After working for Kaiser for ten years, Edward Miller has been unable to advance into a skilled job.

"In 1962, I attended school in Baton Rouge, Louisiana for two years and earned a certificate in carpentry. Afterwards, I applied for a carpenters position at the Kaiser plant but was told that I needed five years of experience. I personally know of white men who have gotten these positions without these five years.

"I did not apply for the training position [under the affirmative-action plan] in 1974, because I was told that it would involve a drastic cut in pay which I couldn't afford at the time. I

Continued on page 18



HELP GET OUT THE TRUTH

The Weber Case: New Threat to Affirmative Action by Militant staff writer Andy Rose presents the real story behind Weber's assault on job rights. It takes up key issues posed by the case: so-called reverse discrimination against white males, seniority, and how the labor movement can win jobs and better conditions for all. Join the effort to get out the facts to working people.

Please send me:

- 5 copies for \$3.30 10 copies for \$6.60
 25 copies for \$12 50 copies for \$24
 100 copies for \$45

Other _____ (75 cents each; 5 or more, 25% discount; 25 or more, 40% discount. Add 50 cents for postage.)

Name _____

Address _____

City/State _____ Zip _____

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014

Newport News: prepar

Steelworkers speak

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—It has been almost two months since United Steelworkers (USWA) Local 8888 suspended its three-month-long strike against Newport News Shipbuilding and Drydock Company.

The strike climaxed the most promising organizing effort of southern labor in half a century—the drive to establish a union for 15,500 production and maintenance workers in the world's largest private shipyard.

Today Tenneco, the oil-rich Houston conglomerate that owns the shipyard, continues its legal strategy of delay-and-destroy, dragging the Steelworkers through endless hearings and appeals to the National Labor Relations Board and the courts. A second ruling from the NLRB, which has already certified the union's January 1978 election triumph once, is expected soon.

Intensified organizing work—designed to strengthen the union and prepare the next round of struggle for recognition and a decent contract—has occupied union militants over the past two months. That period has also offered the Steelworkers a chance to think about and discuss what they have done, where they are going, what they have learned, and the lessons of their strike.

In a series of interviews with the *Militant* recently, several Steelworkers shared their ideas on these questions.

* * *

For Waymon and Kathy Free, the strike was one of the biggest events in their lives.

Her greatest fear, "the fear of the unknown," having "no idea the union would give us the support it did," was quelled immediately, as benefit checks and financial support came in regularly.

For Waymon, a pipefitter, the uncertainty was about the picket line. He had never been on one. The big turnouts at the beginning of the strike resolved his doubts. A member of the union's negotiating committee, he was a picket captain and became increasingly involved in strike activities.



'The decision-making power of the union should be the membership. We need regular meetings to keep informed—so we can inform other people.'

What angered Waymon the most was Tenneco's refusal to accept the NLRB's certification of the USWA after the union won the representation election.

"The majority voted for the Steelworkers. When Tenneco appealed, they were taking away my right, the majority's right, to have the union of our choice," he said. "That's when they became the lawbreakers."

Long hours on the picket line and in the strike headquarters made the strike a central part of the Frees' family life. Waymon explained to his seven-year-old daughter why he went to the picket line, instead of to work, every day.

For Kathy, the unions that "I read about in the history books became more real. The strike brought it all home."

The strength of the strike and the union, Waymon said, was based on a recognition of "a common enemy, and united hatred for Tenneco."

Their common fight for a union brought Black and white workers together.

Free explains that he looks at the workers not in terms of their color, but bases his attitude on "the ones that have got the guts—that's who has my highest respect." He felt the Black workers would fight harder because "of all that's been done to them" and because of "what they had done in the 1960s."

On Free's shoulder there is a tattoo of crossed Confederate flags, the emblem of the "Rebel Rousers" motorcycle club, which he used to belong to. Free had grown up in the heart of Jim Crow country in rural North Carolina. Once, in a shipyard toolroom, a Black worker challenged him about the flags.

The incident, he said, both scared him and compelled him "to find out why he felt that way." The Black worker explained his feelings; Free said he learned something; and the two became friends. Now, "I keep the tattoo as a reminder to me where I came from."

The strike also began to forge a new kind of relationship between the men and women workers. On the picket line, it seemed that the women "were a lot stronger than the men" as they marched, challenged the scabs, and stood their ground. They had shown they could do the hard, physical work, as well.

"I learned to relate to them as co-workers," Free said, pausing for a moment, "and not to view it sexually."

He believes that the next stage of struggle will be provoked again by Tenneco, "which will defy the law and take its appeals to the courts."

More union meetings

To strengthen the union in that battle will require "more communication in the union." Free hopes there will be regular meetings of the workers in the shipyard's thirty-one departments and a special effort to communicate with those workers who don't attend such meetings.

Tenneco, Free is convinced, will do anything it can to break the Steelworkers because it realizes that the stakes in the struggle go far beyond Newport News. "If we win, it will spread like wildfire," he said.

Kathy Free plans to be more active in the union's auxiliary, getting other Steelworkers' spouses involved in the fight. For her, "the strike has opened my eyes and made me think a lot more about everything."

One of these things that Free is thinking more about is politics.

The Democratic Party, he says, could help working people "if it would, but I doubt that they'd do it." This doubt prompts him to conclude that "locally, we may just have to form some kind of independent labor party." This experiment, he says, could "get people involved in politics—and people here are thinking about politics more than ever before in their lives."

Independent labor candidates could give workers people to vote for "who are against the right-to-work laws," because "we can't vote for any candidate who's not against 'right to work.'"

Free says these laws are "anti-union, antipicket, and antihuman. They mean death for the blue-collar worker. They're a cancer."

'Stronger than ever'

Free is optimistic about a Steelworker victory, about "getting the union solid for the next strike." He thinks the union is "stronger than ever" inside the shipyard. "We have people who are now totally devoted people who came out for a principle and are ready to go out again or moment's notice."

In addition, the union is winning fresh support, including among the workers hired as scabs. A twenty-eight-

Designers still striking

There are still Steelworker pickets up at the Newport News shipyard.

They are from Local 8417, representing the yard's designers, who have been on strike since April 1, 1977.

Tenneco's standing offer to the designers amounts to a 1.67 percent wage increase from the workers' last raise in 1976, to the end of the contract, in 1981.

The shipyard's brass also "offer" themselves complete screening power over returning strikers and demand the designers' leaders purge the ranks of anybody deemed "disreputable" by Tenneco.

It's no wonder that the designers voted 329-to-0 last April to continue their strike. Local 8417 has made it clear to Local 8888 that it understands the bigger union had to return to work to strengthen itself for the next stage of struggle against Tenneco.

But there isn't a Local 8888 member who doesn't relish the day they'll be able to give Local 8417 a big boost of support on the picket lines. It was the designers' positive experience with the USWA, beginning in 1975, that convinced the founding organizers of Local 8888 to affiliate with the Steelworkers in 1976.

Messages of support for the designers, and urgently needed contributions to the strike fund can be sent to: USWA Local 8417, 4615 Huntington Avenue, Newport News, Virginia 23607.

'We need to show our strength. Freedom rides by the trade-union movement to Newport News—that would be beautiful.'



ing for the next battle

out on strike lessons



Militant/Andy Rose

'Steelworkers on city council would not have allowed the cops to riot. I think it would be better if Steelworkers ran for office.'

year-old Black worker, who didn't want his name used for fear of reprisals, told the *Militant*: "In my wife's department there was a lot of harassment. They'd tell the workers who were hired during the strike not to talk to Steelworkers because we're a bad influence."

But that's failed. Most of the scab hires, he said, "are signing up as Steelworkers."

Local 8888 has to work on broadening out its backing in the shipyard and the community, this Steelworker said. "It's hard to say if we have enough support in and out of the yard to completely close it down. But that's what has to happen for us to win—we have to close down the yard altogether."

'Right to work'

A big obstacle to that is "right to work."

"These laws have got to go," he says. "One way to get rid of it is to put 'right to work' on the ballot. That way we could tell people what it really is and get them to vote it out."

He also likes the idea of the union running its own independent candidates. "I think it would be better if Steelworkers ran for office. Steelworkers on the city council in Newport News would not have allowed the police to riot."

The reference is to April 16, when local and state cops smashed into Local 8888's picket lines, ran amok on city streets, and tried to storm the union's headquarters. More than thirty Steelworkers were hospitalized and sixty-three were arrested.

The two Democrats on the city council, who refused to whisper a protest of the cop riot, joined with the Republicans to bar Local 8888 members from even taking the floor to address the council about the attack.

* * *

When Jan Hooks says the strike and the union have changed her life, it's clear she's talking for a lot of Local 8888 members.

One of Hooks's bitterest complaints against Tenneco and its company union, the Peninsula Shipbuilders Association, was blatant sex discrimination on the job. Hooks had to file a grievance to get a wage increase in her all-male department. She does heavy manual labor as a shipwright.

From the outset, she saw the union as a weapon in the hands of the workers, something that could fight for the hiring, training, and advancement of the women workers.

What drew her more and more into Steelworker activity was the way in which the union "educated us. We didn't know we had rights." The union sponsored educational classes and conducted an "honest election" for officers, one quite different than the charades occasionally held by the PSA.

Hooks was always on the go, a volunteer organizer, a picket-line leader, and she was instrumental in setting up the social services section for strike assistance. She now edits Local 8888's newspaper, the *Voyager*.

"We are not just fighting for jobs," Hooks says of the union and its female members, "but a helluva lot more. For recognition, for equal opportunity. When it comes to a job, to work, those who can do it deserve it, whether they're Black or white, male or female. And for the same pay."

She believes the whole union has a special job to reach the spouses and families of strikers, who early on in the first strike became a target of Tenneco and PSA propaganda. "We should have mass meetings where you could bring your whole family," she said, "and educational classes for strikers and their families."

'Union freedom rides'

Fighting Tenneco means "we're up against everything," Hooks said. "We need to show our strength. We need financial help from other unions. We should have trade unionists come down here and march with us. Like the poor people's march on Washington or the tractorcade the farmers had there. This would show that it's not just a Newport News issue, but something the entire South, the whole country, needs to know about."

Hooks's eyes lit up as she continued. We're showing there's a better way of making a living than being in bondage for a dollar a day. That's what people have to know about. We have to break through the media blackout of the strike, of what's happening here.

"Freedom rides by the trade-union movement to Newport News," she said. "That would be beautiful. An entire influx of the labor movement."

The experience of the strike showed us, Hooks said, "where to look for

leadership," a leadership based on "the people who staffed strike assistance, who made up the picket lines."

It was there that the women distinguished themselves, she said. "To an extent, women became leaders of men, and they found out our place was on the picket line, not behind a typewriter."

Hooks's union activity over the past couple of years has made her "more aware of my rights as an individual, that I'm not in there by myself. It's made me aware of myself as a person. That I could accomplish things I never thought I could. What all of us have found is a lot of talent you didn't know you had."

* * *

Jerry Kelly, twenty-six, has been in the yard for almost seven years as a welder and is a member of the union's executive board. He was the *Voyager's* first editor and was responsible for the strike bulletin for most of the strike. Jeanine Kelly helped to start Local 8888's strike auxiliary.

"What solidarity means," Jerry told the *Militant*, "is you take everything to beat the hell out of them [Tenneco]. Everyone in the local has to be informed, active, and participate to fight tooth and nail against Tenneco."

"We have to be prepared to be arrested," he said in reference to the antipicketing restrictions in the "right to work" laws. "If six get arrested, 60 have to take their place. If sixty get arrested, 600 have to be ready to take their place. The jail here can only hold so many people."

"We have to raise people's consciousness" about the anti-union laws. "Right to work" doesn't guarantee a job and never will. If it did, I'd give my life blood for it. But all it guarantees is the employers have the 'right' to pay employees as little as possible and get away with it."

Educating working people and fighting the antipicket restrictions of "right to work" require massive solidarity and action, he believes. "We get nothing from the courts except delays."

Unfortunately, Jerry said, the potential for such solidarity was never fully tapped during the first strike.

'Just the beginning'

The two Steelworker marches, on February 24 and March 2, which did mobilize thousands of Steelworkers and their backers, should have been "just the beginning. We should have these type of marches weekly," Jerry said.

"The decision-making power of the union should be the membership," Kelly said. "We need regular meetings to keep informed so we can inform



Militant/Eric Simpson

'The union is stronger than ever. We have people who are totally devoted—who came out for a principle—and are ready to go out again.'

other people, so we can know what's happening."

Jerry said that the lack of such meetings during the strike weakened the fighting capacity of the union. With proper planning, he said, "getting a place big enough won't be a problem."

Jeanine is convinced that reaching strikers' wives and families is a big task for the union. "It's just a sexist remark to say that a striker's wife 'nagged him back' to work," she said. "But it's the union's responsibility to see that the wife and family are informed and involved."

Both Jerry and Jeanine talk about making the union the center of people's lives, "like the United Mine Workers."

'Labor candidates'

The Democrats and Republicans are a roadblock, both say.

"We had to go to Tennessee to get a Democrat for a rally and I haven't seen him since," Jeanine said.

"Independent labor candidates are

Continued on next page

Help organize support

As Local 8888 gets ready for its next battle against Tenneco, unionists from coast to coast can show their solidarity.

- They can pass resolutions supporting Local 8888 and protesting the victimization of union militants by Tenneco.

- Send delegations to Newport News to get the firsthand story and report back to their locals.

- Stage rallies with speakers from Local 8888 and show the union's

film, "88 Close the Gate!"

- Collect money for the embattled Newport News Steelworkers.

This can set the stage for labor's greatest organizing victory since the 1930s—a 15,500-member Steelworkers local in Newport News.

Messages of solidarity and financial aid can be sent to Local 8888's Suspended Strike Headquarters, Bank of Newport News Building, Third Floor, 3301 Washington Avenue, Newport News, Virginia 23607.

Continued from preceding page
thirty years overdue," Jerry agreed. "We could run them in a small election, on a program around energy, taxes, and inflation—and 'right to work.'"

"We need a grassroots party, a populist party truly in touch with working people, not imposed on them, a party that could take up the problems of farmers. You have to get everybody united. Labor can't be the Democratic Party's doormat."

Jerry Kelly hopes the union is not forced to strike right away. He believes there has to be more time to prepare and to organize so that when the union goes out "it stays out until we win."

* * *

I also talked with a twenty-three-year-old Black worker who got a job in the shipyard a year ago. He didn't want his name used.

It didn't take much convincing from the Steelworker volunteer organizer for him to join the USWA. "The safety conditions were awful. I was asked to do work I wasn't qualified to do, and I thought a union would raise hell about these conditions."

He was a strike assistance volunteer and picketed from the first day of the strike.

"We were severely restricted on the picket lines because of the presence of law enforcement and 'right to work' laws," he told the *Militant*. A key to making the picket lines better "would be to have more people on them."

To defeat "right to work," he said, "unions have to stop electing public officials who support them. We have to get 'right to work' on a referendum and get it voted on."

His frustrations with the inability of the union to deal effectively with "right to work," the unevenness of communication between members, and the lack of regular general membership meetings to decide strike strategy "made me feel isolated from the people that head the unions. I don't feel that there is now enough means for the membership to provide input into what the unions should do."

But the strike which "is by no means over," and the questions it has raised have "made me a lot more interested in the workings of a labor union, why the unions decide to do what they do when they do." And he's proud to be a Steelworker.

Education and power

Education of the union's membership is essential to make it more powerful, deal with broader social problems as we recognize what they are," he told the *Militant*.

This goes all the way to figuring out how to change society.

"Labor must act as the working person's representative. We could present how we feel about certain political events through organized labor, since organized labor is just an extension of what we need," he said.

One form of this representation, he thinks, is an independent labor party.

"A labor party would be great if it was able to represent its constituents effectively. The labor party I'm thinking of is run by the ranks. Why not have a welder as vice-president? A labor party would intimidate the hell out of the U.S. government. It would show them and the members how much power to change things we have."

...Anti-'Weber' testimony

Continued from page 15

also believed that I had already had this training. I later learned that there was no reduction in classification.

Clinton Wiltz

Clinton Wiltz, who had worked at Gramercy for five years, was fired in 1978.

"While I was employed I worked in a number of capacities, but the majority of my time was in the scaler department with Earnest Rouselle as my immediate foreman. In this department there were five Blacks out of the twenty employees working there.

"It was my experience that the Black workers were assigned to the hardest and dirtiest jobs. Instead of rotating the assignments, Rouselle continually put me and other Black workers on these same jobs. When I complained about the situation, I was fired for insubordination.

"During my employment at Kaiser, I never knew of any white worker fired for insubordination. I personally know of several white workers who refused

to obey the orders of a Black foreman and who cursed out a foreman and were given at the most one day off.

I also know of several other Black workers who were also fired for insubordination, one for merely refusing to work in the rain because he was sick. This sort of discrimination in terms of firing Black workers and disciplining them with time off, prevents them from gaining the seniority necessary to advance.

"I have personally known of several Black workers who have taken the test for craft positions and who were well qualified, but who failed the tests because the person who administered the test didn't want him to pass. The tests that are given involve a great deal of personal judgement as to whether a person passes.

"I understand that a number of workers at the plant are afraid to speak out because they will lose their jobs. I understand this from my own experience in protesting the discrimination in the scaling department, as I was fired for just this reason."

White House hits Machinists pact

Stung by the militancy of airline mechanics in their fifty-five-day strike against United Airlines, the Carter administration is criticizing the union's new contract as probably in violation of the 7 percent wage guidelines. Whether the White House can do anything about it is another question.

Members of the International Association of Machinists voted three to one in favor of the new contract with United on May 24. It reportedly raises wages more than 30 percent over three years. That figure, however, includes all cost-of-living adjustments as well. So at present double-digit rates of inflation, airline workers' wages will fall significantly behind prices.

The United settlement is said to be a little better than the industry-wide pattern previously negotiated with the other major airlines. Despite the tradition of pattern bargaining, United tried to force its workers to accept an inferior pact. With congressional deregulation of the airline industry expected later this summer, United hoped to get the jump on other airlines in cutting labor costs.

Carter's 7 percent guideline provided United with a handy weapon. But the striking machinists refused to be intimidated. Twice—in mid-March and then on April 1—union members voted down tentative pacts that fell far short of their demands.



Carter moves to cut federal workers' pay . . .

President Carter is proposing to Congress that the wages and benefits of government white-collar workers be pegged to what workers with similar jobs in private industry receive.

The argument is "fairness." But here are the hitches:

First, industry wages will be determined on a regional basis—lower in the "right to work" South than the unionized North. Thus government workers will receive different rates of pay for the same jobs, further weakening the bargaining power of public employee unions. In addition, by giving government sanction to the sub-standard wage scales in the South, Carter is dealing a direct blow to union organizing efforts there.

Second, government pay will be calculated to include the alleged value of "fringe benefits," thereby greatly overstating what federal workers actually take home.

Third, while no federal employee will take a pay cut, says Carter, some will be denied raises until the private sector "catches up."

And finally, federal blue-collar workers—whose pay rates are already tied to local wages—will be hit as well. Special provisions that have helped protect their wages will be repealed as "inflationary."

The administration admits this proposed wage cut is a concession to big-business demands. The bosses—who are busy chopping away at their own workers' wages—don't want government pay to set a higher example.

. . . while Senate takes aim at building trades

On June 6 the Senate Armed Services Committee took a swipe at organized labor by waiving the Davis-Bacon Act as it applies to military construction.

This 1931 law requires the government to pay the same wages for its construction projects as private industry does in the same area.

A corporate frontal assault on Davis-Bacon is widely predicted in Congress later this year as various housing and community development bills are considered.

Justice, J.P. Stevens-style

How has J.P. Stevens—the "nation's number-one lawbreaker" in labor's book—gotten away with it?

Easy—the company owns the law.

The mayor, police chief, and other officials of Milledgeville, Georgia, recently agreed to a consent order issued by a federal court to stop their spying on representatives of the American Clothing and Textile Workers Union who are trying to organize the J.P. Stevens plant in town.

The defendants agreed to stop: 1) conducting surveillance of union organizers and people they meet with; 2) using the police department computer to gather out-of-town information about unionists and their contacts; and 3) passing on such information to the town's employers.

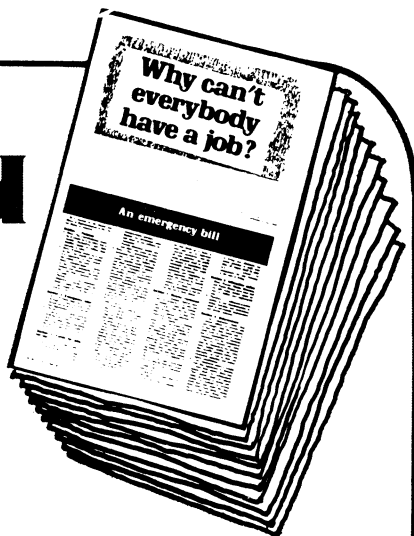
The local Holiday Inn manager was also a party to the consent order. He agreed to stop providing hotel rooms to the cops for use in carrying out their illegal spying.

We wonder if a closer look might not uncover similar government-industry spy rackets in other southern towns where workers are seeking union rights . . . such as Newport News, Virginia.

—Shelley Kramer

Help get it around

Socialist Workers Party candidates have proposed an "Emergency Bill to Provide Jobs for All." You can help distribute this bill and the accompanying article, which explains the causes and solutions to unemployment, by ordering copies (2½ cents each, 2 cents each for 1,000 or more) from the Socialist Workers National Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.



Marroquin: 'Terrorism gives gov't pretext for repression'

With this issue the 'Militant' continues its publication of major excerpts from Héctor Marroquín's deportation hearing. The hearing took place April 3-5 in Houston, Texas, before Immigration and Naturalization Service Judge James Smith.

Marroquín—who is seeking political asylum in this country—is a trade unionist and a member of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. He was forced to flee Mexico in 1974 to avoid being victimized by the regime for his political beliefs.

At the deportation hearing, Marroquín testified and offered documentary proof and expert witnesses on behalf of his claim for asylum. Six days after the hearing, Judge Smith, ignoring the evidence, denied asylum and ordered Marroquín deported from the United States.

Smith's decision is currently under appeal to the Board of Immigration Appeals in Washington, D.C.

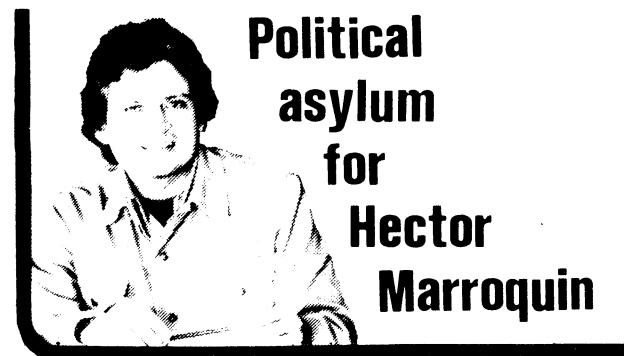
In the excerpts from the hearing, below, Margaret Winter is Marroquín's attorney; James Smith is the immigration judge; and Daniel Kahn is the INS prosecuting attorney.

Winter: Mr. Marroquín, did there come a time when you quit the CER [Student Revolutionary Committee, a group at the University of Nuevo León in Monterrey, Mexico]?

Marroquín: Yes. I quit the CER in August of 1973. I quit the CER because of political disagreements with most of the leadership of that organization.

Winter: Could you please give more of the specifics of your disagreements?

Marroquín: Well, in the CER, as in some other groups, revolutionary groups, not only in Mexico



Political asylum for Hector Marroquin

but all over Latin America, [they developed] the idea that in order to oppose the Mexican government's brutality and violence, it was necessary to form smaller groups to carry out armed actions.

Winter: When was that approximately?

Marroquín: It was around the months of July and August [1973].

I was absolutely opposed to these ideas and so were many other political activists in the Student Revolutionary Committee. I was absolutely opposed to the idea that in order to oppose the violence and terrorism of the regime, it was necessary to carry out violent acts, to oppose with violence this official violence.

I was, I have been, and I am for mass mobilizations, for mass education, for mass organizations, for political independence from the present regime.

And I don't think that this kind of strategy of small armed actions or any kind of violence can help to achieve these goals. Because it doesn't help to educate the Mexican people, it doesn't help to organize the Mexican people, and it only gives a pretext to those that really commit the violence in Mexico. A pretext to torture, assassinate, imprison, and disappear political activists.

Winter: Did you try to persuade members of the group that they were wrong?

Marroquín: Yes, I did. We went through several discussions, but we did not come to an agreement.

Winter: So then did you sever your relations with the group?

Marroquín: Yes, I did.

Winter: Were you at that time a member of a political group or party or organization?

Revolutionary perspective

Marroquín: I was not. And I did not become a member of any political party at the time because there was not one that satisfied my political beliefs. There was not one that offered a revolutionary perspective.

Winter: You said that you were having political



Recent demonstration in Mexico City demanded presentation of 'disappeared'—those arrested by government and never heard from again. Fearing such repression against political activists, Marroquín fled Mexico in 1974.

discussions during this period. Were you also continuing the political activities, the demonstrations and work of that kind that you described earlier?

Marroquín: I was mostly involved in political discussion. I dedicated much of my time to do more reading. To continue trying to find a correct political perspective.

Winter: Mr. Marroquín, can you describe the circumstances that resulted in your leaving Monterrey.

Marroquín: Well, on January 17, a librarian in the department of economics at the university was assassinated. Two days later the Mexican police claimed that the Student Revolutionary Committee was involved in the conspiracy to assassinate the librarian.

Winter: Let's back up a little bit. What was his name?

Marroquín: The name of this librarian was Joel Rojo. I saw him every day, every time I was going to get books. I had political discussions with him. I would bring him cigarettes, coke, and things like this. We were not very close friends, but we were casual friends.

Winter: How did you learn of the assassination of Joel Rojo?

Marroquín: I was at my apartment. I had just moved to a new apartment. I remember that I was painting furniture and listening to the radio. I heard on the radio that this librarian had been assassinated, and I was surprised. But then I became afraid, because I felt that the police were going to use this assassination as a pretext to initiate a witch-hunt in the university, as a pretext to arrest many political activists in the university.

Winter: Did you have any particular fear that you would be charged?

Marroquín: I did not. . . . I have never had anything to do with terrorism. Nothing to do with individual violence.

Winter: So when you say that you were afraid of a witch-hunt, you mean just generally?

Marroquín: I was afraid that the Mexican police would use this as a witch-hunt, and that they would start assassinating or arresting political activists. It came to my mind, for example, what happened to my roommate, who had been assassinated two years before, on a pretext of terrorism.

And I was afraid that something like this would happen, but never did it come through my mind that I would be one of the suspected.

Winter: What happened then?

Students arrested, tortured

Marroquín: Well, the next day the police gave a report to the press that they were following the investigation. They had some leads. I called several of my friends at the campus, and they told me that many students on campus were being arrested, that some of the students had been released severely tortured.

On January 19 the police came out with a version for the press that they had finally identified some members of that organization [the CER] that they

claim was involved in the conspiracy to assassinate the librarian. One of those persons accused of being involved in this conspiracy, and of being a member of that organization, was me.

Kahn: Your honor, I object . . . we're trying a 1979 political asylum claim based on 1974 conditions and this is five years later. . . .

Smith: Well, I think he's coming to that. Your objection is noted but overruled.

Winter: Mr. Marroquín, after you read this article, what did you do immediately?

Marroquín: After I read this article my first reaction was to try to see attorneys to find out a legal alternative. I went to see some friends who got me in touch with several attorneys. I told the attorney that I wanted to prove my innocence and I wanted to turn myself in to the court in Mexico to prove my innocence, to prove that I was not a conspirator.

The attorney said there was no chance that I could receive a fair trial in Mexico . . . instead of getting a fair trial I would be tortured, maltreated, maybe disappeared like many others and forced to give a false confession.

Winter: Do you know who Alejandra Rios is?

Marroquín: She is a friend of mine from Monterrey. We have a statement from her testifying to the fact that I visited her and her husband to find a way to discuss the case with an attorney.

Winter: Your honor, I'd like to submit with translation this affidavit. Mr. Marroquín, is Alejandra Rios your friend's real name?

Afraid of reprisals

Marroquín: No. . . . She did not want to give her name in the affidavit because she's afraid of reprisals.

Kahn: I object to that as rank hearsay, your honor.

Winter: Your honor, if Mr. Kahn's objection was that an assumed name was used in the affidavit . . . is that your objection?

Smith: It's hearsay, is what his objection is.

Kahn: Did this person testify with a hood or a mask?

Winter: Mr. Barry Fatland took the affidavit. He spoke with Mrs. Rios. He'd be happy to be examined on the subject.

Smith: But the lady is not here. . . .

Winter: Obviously, your honor, we could not afford to bring up 100 witnesses and in this case the lady was afraid to sign her name, let alone appear.

What did you do, Mr. Marroquín, when you consulted a lawyer?

Marroquín: My decision was to follow their advice, their advice only confirmed my fears . . . that I would be the victim of police brutality because I had seen how many other student activists from school had been victimized before through brutal use of torture. And I have known through friends of mine that the police were torturing and arresting people at my department. My reaction was to follow their advice and leave the city and go as far away as I could. So I decided to leave Monterrey to the farthest place that I could get at that point.

Thai army steps up role in Kampuchea war

Khmer Rouge leader admits 'slaughter'



Kampuchean refugees fleeing to Vietnam to escape Khmer Rouge terror before overthrow of Pol Pot regime.

By Fred Feldman

"We no longer pay attention to the past or to political tendency. The priority is the struggle against Vietnam," Ieng Sary told correspondent R.-P. Paringaux in an interview published in the June 2 *Le Monde*.

The former deputy prime minister in Pol Pot's regime is now second in command of the Khmer Rouge forces fighting to overturn the government of Heng Samrin in Kampuchea. The interview, one of several Ieng Sary recently gave to major international dailies, took place in Colombo, Sri Lanka, where a conference of ministers of "nonaligned" governments is meeting. The issue of who is the legitimate representative of Kampuchea has been hotly contested by participants there.

The *Le Monde* interview covered similar ground to one printed in the June 1 *New York Times*. The Khmer Rouge commander is openly calling for a counterrevolutionary front and increased U.S. help to impose a proimperialist government on Kampuchea. He admits that the U.S.-dominated military regime in Thailand and the CIA-controlled Khmer Serei guerrillas are working closely with Pol Pot's forces.

Ieng Sary told Paringaux that the Khmer Rouge "will accept a regime with a mixed economy and the existence of a bourgeoisie" if the rightist front triumphs in Kampuchea.

Khmer Rouge planned war

One of the more interesting aspects of the *Le Monde* interview was Ieng Sary's account of the history and policies of the Pol Pot regime, which was overthrown last January by Kampuchean oppositionists and Vietnamese forces. He explained that the "radical" policies adopted by the Khmer Rouge when they came to power in 1975—such as the brutal evacuation of all cities, dispersal of families, and estab-

lishment of agricultural forced labor camps throughout the countryside—were dictated by the desire to prepare for war against Vietnam.

We cannot accept the legalization . . . of the Vietnamese presence [in Kampuchea]. That is a question of life or death. Otherwise, what would have been the purpose of the sacrifice of the lives of hundreds of thousands of our inhabitants since the beginning? If we had accepted association with Vietnam, many deaths would have been avoided. . . .

We acknowledge that there have been excesses. They did not come from the leadership. They are excesses due to the ranks and to Vietnamese infiltration. We do not deny our responsibility for the slaughter, but our share is minimal. It is true that our revolution is radical, but we weighed the pros and cons before transferring the population, abolishing currency, and so forth. The necessity [in 1975] was to stabilize the country. We foresaw already the war with Vietnam.

In addition, widespread opposition to these reactionary measures within the Khmer Rouge apparatus had to be suppressed. Paringaux writes:

As for the purges and attempted coups within his own regime, the minister said that "Vietnamese infiltration" was the fundamental explanation. He said there have been six attempted coups. Some Khmer Rouge leaders—"agents infiltrated long ago"—took part in them: So Phim in May 1978; Vorn Vet, former minister of the economy, in November 1978. They were said to have committed "suicide" after their defeat. The subject of our interview was noticeably reluctant, however, to go any deeper into the question of internal dissent.

Anything to stop revolution

For Ieng Sary, as for the imperialists, the admitted slaughter, starvation, and disease that characterized Kampuchea under Pol Pot were a small price to pay for preventing "association with Vietnam"—that is, blocking the spread of socialist revolu-

tion in Indochina.

Far from the Vietnam-Kampuchea clashes being caused by "traditional national hostilities" between the workers and peasants of the two nations, it is clear that brutal repression of the Kampuchean masses was necessary in order to wage war against Vietnam.

Ieng Sary's interviews have been designed to promote the counterrevolutionary alliance imperialism has brought together against the Indochinese revolutions. American and Japanese imperialism, the U.S.-dominated Kriangsak dictatorship in Thailand, the governments of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), and Kampuchean forces of every stripe—from the remnants of the supposedly pro-socialist Khmer Rouge to the CIA-built Khmer Serei—all have their assigned role to play in the drive to roll back the advances of the workers and peasants of Indochina.

The Carter administration hopes that the counterrevolutionary front now being openly put together will provide a cover for stepped-up U.S. involvement in military moves against Kampuchea and Vietnam.

Recent victories by Kampuchean government and Vietnamese forces in the Kampuchean civil war demonstrated that the Thai regime and the Kampuchean counterrevolutionary bloc don't have the muscle to single-handedly impose a proimperialist regime in Kampuchea.

Ieng Sary pointed to a basic reason for this when he admitted to Paringaux that between January and mid-April 1979 there were "people who went toward Heng Samrin and the Vietnamese, attracted by their program."

Carter fears—with good reason—that a victory for the Kampuchean workers and peasants, opening the

prospect of a socialist revolution in that country, will give added impetus to the anticapitalist struggles in Thailand, further weakening imperialism's grip on that nation of some 45 million inhabitants.

U.S. role 'only hope'?

Referring to the views of "authoritative diplomats," correspondent Louis Winitzer presented some of the Carter administration's thinking in the June 6 *Christian Science Monitor*.

Much like the Balkans before World War I, Southeast Asia is now a powder keg that could explode at any moment. . . .

The diplomats fear that the removal of Cambodia as an independent "buffer" between the two arch-rival nations of Vietnam and Thailand has created a permanent and dangerous instability.

The Vietnamese authorities, in turn, have made it clear, in private and public statements, that they are not interested in a Geneva-type conference aimed at neutralizing Cambodia under the rule of Prince Sihanouk. With the establishment of the Heng Samrin government, they consider the Cambodia chapter closed. . . .

"The only hope to bring back stability in the area," according to a high-ranking and experienced diplomat, "depends on the will of the United States to play a more active role in Southeast Asia."

The effort to prop up the reactionary forces in Kampuchea in the wake of their military setbacks was a feature of the "nonaligned" gathering in Colombo. Most of the governments represented are neocolonial regimes deeply worried about the impact the spread of socialist revolution in Southeast Asia could have on workers and peasants in their countries.

The *New York Times* reported June 8 that the governments of Indonesia, Malaysia, and Singapore—all members of the U.S.-dominated Association of Southeast Asian Nations—are "solidly in favor of seating the Pol Pot delegates as the representatives of Cambodia at the current conference of third-world nations."

The imperialists hope this stand on the part of ASEAN nations will slow down other governments that might consider following India's example in recognizing the Heng Samrin government.

Thai regime's role

The military dictatorship in Thailand is growing more aggressive in its collaboration with the Khmer Rouge. The U.S.-supplied army has in turn been openly supplying the Khmer Rouge, helping them seek out weak points in Kampuchea's border defenses, transporting them miles into Kampuchean territory, blocking their capture by pro-government troops, and providing them with bases on the Thai side of the border.

Reports in the June 8 *Far Eastern Economic Review* and the May 31 *Latin American Daily Post* describe how the Khmer Rouge are extending their brutal antipeasant terror across the border. Thai peasants have complained that their homes, farms, and orchards are being plundered by Khmer Rouge gangs. Some peasants have been killed.

Despite a protest demonstration by more than a thousand peasants, Kriangsak's army has refused to stop the Khmer Rouge from pillaging.

The Thai army's active role in the fighting in Kampuchea is leading to clashes with forces supporting the Heng Samrin government as they seek to capture Khmer Rouge units or defend themselves against Thai military probes. Kriangsak announced May 27 that eighteen Vietnamese soldiers have recently been captured on Thai territory, according to the June 8 *Far Eastern Economic Review*.

U.S. imperialism's game plan includes the possibility of using such incidents as a pretext for a massive escalation of military action against Kampuchea.

The U.S. imperialists are also urging Beijing to increase military pressure on Hanoi. The Chinese Stalinist re-



Christian Science Monitor
Imperialists tried to use Kampuchea as base for attacking Vietnamese revolution.

gime hopes to win economic aid in exchange for its counterrevolutionary services in Southeast Asia. The invasion of Vietnam's border region last February was aimed at forcing Vietnamese troops out of Kampuchea so that a reliable capitalist government could be installed there.

Now the U.S. rulers are letting the Deng Xiaoping government know that so far its efforts have received a failing grade.

In the June 7 *New York Times*, Hedrick Smith wrote:

Six weeks after the Chinese-Vietnamese border war, American specialists believe that China failed to achieve most of its objectives, raising the danger of another, larger border conflict in the next year or so. . . .

"If there is a second war, it will be bigger than the first," a high-ranking American official said. "That war resolved nothing. The Vietnamese have not changed policy. They've showed no fear of China." . . .

By American reckoning, one Chinese objective was to force Vietnam to withdraw some of its troops from Cambodia, where they had led an insurgent Cambodian movement against the regime of Prime Minister Pol Pot, a Chinese ally. But instead of withdrawing, the Americans say, Vietnam has increased its forces in Cambodia by 30,000 to 40,000 troops. . . .

More recently, Vietnam has permitted Soviet naval vessels to use the naval base at Cam Ranh Bay.

Beijing . . . or Washington

Smith follows the current custom of imperialist spokesmen, describing U.S. imperialist goals and then ascribing them to the Beijing regime.

Thus Smith claims that it is primarily Beijing that objects to the reported Soviet use of Cam Ranh Bay as a stopover for its vessels. But it is the U.S. and Japanese imperialists who have expressed the most alarm.

The imperialist rulers are afraid that Soviet access to Cam Ranh Bay may strengthen the defense of the Vietnamese revolution, and mark a further breach in the imperialist military encirclement of the USSR.

To clear the road for stepped-up imperialist moves in Southeast Asia, capitalist governments and news media are on a concerted campaign to turn public opinion against the Vietnamese revolution.

A full-page advertisement that appeared in five major U.S. newspapers on May 30 is one example of this war propaganda. Signed by a combination of long-time bitter opponents of the Vietnamese revolution and onetime antiwar activists, the "Open Letter" describes Vietnamese society as a "nightmare" because of purported vio-

lations of human rights.

Another theme is the charge of Vietnamese "expansionism." According to this the Vietnamese people—having just won a thirty-year war during which the French and U.S. imperialists devastated the country—have set off on a crusade to conquer Southeast Asia.

Thus Patrice de Beer wrote in the June 3 issue of the British *Manchester Guardian Weekly*:

The question is whether [Vietnamese] nationalism, once victorious, did not feel cramped on its own territory and has not now found itself a vocation on an Indochinese, even South-east Asian, scale. Isn't the "march toward the South," which has been a constant of Vietnamese history in the past few centuries, about to repeat itself, but this time towards the West?

Louis Wiznitzer warned in the June 6 *Christian Science Monitor* that the Vietnamese regime might "send their tanks all the way to Bangkok in an effort to topple the Thai 'domino' once and for all."

And the Beijing Stalinists have joined in this imperialist war propaganda. Wiznitzer wrote:

Peking is said to be convinced that Vietnam wants: (1) to create an "Indo-Chinese Federation" that would subject Cambodia and Laos to its rule; and (2) to march west and then south to bring Thailand and Malaysia under its control as well. China has, therefore, made it clear that it would come to the assistance of Thailand, should that country be attacked by Vietnam.

Imperialist aggression

This is a classic example of the way imperialist propaganda tries to turn the victim into the criminal. Resistance by a workers state to imperialist aggression is portrayed as a war of conquest.

Neither the Beijing Stalinists nor the imperialist powers are suffering from the hallucination that Hanoi is scheming to conquer Indochina or Southeast Asia. They know that as a workers state, Vietnam is under no compulsion to seek new markets and arenas for investment through military conquest.

And they know that the Vietnamese regime seeks class collaboration, not war, with imperialism and its clients. That is why Hanoi has offered to politically support the Thai and Malaysian rulers against peasant guerrillas in those countries.

That is why the Vietnamese leadership sought peaceful coexistence with the Pol Pot regime despite its increasingly bloody attacks on the vital agricultural regions along Vietnam's borders. Hanoi maintained this stance until it became evident that Pol Pot was getting steadily increasing support not only from Beijing, but from U.S., Japanese, and Australian imperialism, and from the semicolonial Thai regime.

It is not Hanoi's nonexistent expansionism that the imperialists and their neocolonial allies fear, but the depth and attractive power of Vietnam's socialist revolution. The drive to crush the workers and peasants of Indochina remains the source of the escalating war danger in Southeast Asia today.



IENG SARY: Pol Pot aide wants imperialist help in smashing Kampuchean masses.

Why Carter kept Zimbabwe sanctions

By August Nimitz

President Carter announced June 7 that he will not lift economic sanctions against the newly installed regime in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia)—at least not for now.

Carter is required by law to end the sanctions if he determines that the present government in Zimbabwe has been installed by "fair or free" elections and has willingly negotiated with all political parties.

Last month the Senate adopted a resolution endorsing the Rhodesian elections and urging Carter to drop sanctions against Bishop Abel Muzorewa's regime.

In rejecting the Senate resolution, Carter noted that "the Black citizens, who constitute 96 percent of the population of Zimbabwe Rhodesia, never had a chance to consider or vote for or against the constitution."

The constitution gives whites "vastly disproportionate numbers of votes on the country's policies," Carter said.

"It gives this 4 percent continued

" . . . the Muzorewa Government still lacks necessary appeal among Rhodesian and African blacks and cannot be safely annointed from London and Washington" (emphasis added).

Because of the antiwar sentiment of the American working class and the hatred of millions of Americans—especially Blacks—for the racist regimes, Carter knows that he must try to play for time in southern Africa. He said of his policy:

"It should preserve our diplomatic and ties of trade with friendly African governments, and also limit—and this is very important—the opportunity of outside powers to take advantage of the situation in southern Africa at the expense of the United States."

By "outside powers" Carter means the possibility that the Zimbabwean liberation fighters might get increased aid from the Soviet Union or—especially upsetting to Washington—from Cuba. Carter recalls full well that during the rigged elections in Zimbabwe, Black students there demonstrated with signs appealing for help



Carter's point man for Africa, Andrew Young, conferring with Muzorewa last year.

control over the army, the police, the system of justice and the civil service, and it also lets the 4 percent minority exercise a veto over any significant constitutional reforms."

Nevertheless, the Senate voted to drop sanctions once again June 12. The prevalence of know-nothing racism and anticommunism in the country's highest legislative body was indicated by the view of Sen. S.I. Hayakawa, who had earlier declared:

"At the beginning of black rule, the whites obviously need some assurances and protection. After all, under our original Constitution, neither blacks nor women could vote."

Both the Senate and Carter are desperately trying to find some way of stabilizing a Zimbabwean regime that would continue to defend imperialist interests. What they have disagreed on so far is how to arrive at such a goal.

Calling Carter's policy "a sensible middle course," the editors of the *New York Times* put their finger on the trouble with the Senate's approach from the point of view of the U.S. rulers. They said June 11:

from Cuba's revolutionary troops.

At the same time, Carter must deal with Black African governments such as the one in Nigeria. Nigeria is the second-biggest exporter of oil to the United States and the biggest market for U.S. goods in Africa—bigger even than South Africa. The Nigerian regime has threatened to cut off oil shipments to the United States if the sanctions against Zimbabwe are lifted.

Much as the Senate would like to bull its way through by openly supporting the racists in southern Africa, Carter just doesn't think it can be done right now.

If things change, of course, Carter will be happy to drop the sanctions. As the editors of the *Christian Science Monitor* put it June 11, "He said he would hold regular consultations with Congress to evaluate Zimbabwean progress toward majority rule."

More accurately, Carter hopes for "progress" in winning credibility for the Muzorewa regime among the radicalized African masses and American workers.

Sibeko: PAC leader killed

By Osborne Hart

David Sibeko, an exiled leader of the banned Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (South Africa) organization, was assassinated in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, June 12.

Sibeko was the PAC's United Nations and U.S. representative since 1975. He campaigned in this country against the white minority regime in South Africa. As a featured speaker on college campuses

and at anti-apartheid conferences, Sibeko called for withdrawal of U.S. corporate investments from his native country.

Also, Sibeko and the PAC came out in defense of the "Bethal 18," members of his organization currently on trial; and the "Soweto 11," leaders of the 1976 student rebellion who were framed up and recently sentenced by the South African government.

Gov't seeks to exploit Vietnam veterans: benefits cut, war propaganda stepped up

By Harry Ring

"Without being flip about serious problems, we'd like to suggest that the Vietnam veterans don't need the ministrations of psychologists so much as they need a good parade."—From a Memorial Day editorial in the May 29 *Wall Street Journal*.

"We still haven't seen any willingness to say that these men may not have been dupes but heroes, that the enterprise they were engaged in was not deprived. . . ."—From a Vietnam Veterans Week editorial in the June 5 *Wall Street Journal*.

These editorials sum up a growing propaganda drive by the rulers of this country. Their aim is to reverse the deep-going antiwar sentiment generated by Vietnam and to ready the American workers for new Vietnams. This propaganda drive seeks to exploit the Vietnam veterans in the same cruel way as they were used in the war itself.

The big-business government that sent them to fight the war and, on their return, stubbornly refuses to meet their needs, now cries crocodile tears about the veterans.

And it tries to blame the American people for the problems of veterans. The veterans, the propagandists assert, are the victims of popular hate born of opposition to the war.

As if the American people are responsible for the government's failure to provide medical care, education, and jobs. As if it wasn't the opposition of the American people to the war that finally forced the government to withdraw the troops.

As if the GIs themselves did not become—in large part through their own experiences—overwhelmingly opposed to the war and one of the most powerful forces compelling Washington to bring them home.

American business interests sent three million young working-class Americans into Vietnam to defend the corporations' global investments and profits. For U.S. capitalism the struggle of the Vietnamese people for independence was a threat to the security of their profit system.

But that war of aggression didn't succeed. And in recent years powerful struggles by workers and peasants have pushed the U.S. profiteers back in Iran, in Africa, and in Southeast Asia. That's why Washington is now laying the groundwork for new, escalated aggression against Vietnam; why it would like to send troops to Africa and the Mideast—and why it's trying to use the Vietnam vets as pawns in its attempt to reverse antiwar sentiment in this country.

The current governmental protestations of concern about the veterans cannot stand up under any serious scrutiny.



After using hundreds of thousands of young workers as cannon fodder in war of aggression against Vietnamese people, U.S. rulers now shed crocodile tears over vets' plight.

Of the nearly three million Americans who served in Vietnam, 57,000 were killed and more than a quarter million wounded.

Of the wounded, 30,000 are officially classified as totally disabled. Untold thousands were exposed in Vietnam to cancer-causing chemicals whose deadly effects are only now becoming public.

The suicide rate among Vietnam veterans is reportedly 23 percent higher than among nonveterans in the same age bracket.

In Vietnam and since, many have become dependent on alcohol or drugs.

More than 50,000 Vietnam veterans are now in America's jails.

Many of these are being deliberately denied knowledge of disability and other benefits they're entitled to. Prison officials don't want them to get "rich" and the Veterans Administration piously explains that if it informed these veterans of what they are entitled to, people would ask: "Why are you giving this money to criminals?"

Almost 800,000 Vietnam veterans left the army with less than honorable discharges. The American Civil Liberties Union says that large numbers of these—particularly Blacks and *latinos*—were pres-

sured into "plea bargaining" and deprived of the opportunity to defend themselves.

These people are denied various veterans' benefits and have an even harder time getting a job.

Vietnam veterans are especially hard hit by government cutbacks.

In relation to tuition costs and other soaring prices, veterans today get less GI Bill educational benefits than did the veterans of World War II and Korea. And what those earlier vets got was nothing to brag about.

Now the administration—so concerned that we "honor our boys"—is proposing to cut back on the GI Bill even further.

It has sent legislation to Congress that would make educational benefits available only to those deemed to be educationally and financially "disadvantaged."

The House of Representatives voted four times since 1971 to kill financing of a modest psychological readjustment counseling program for vets.

Now, it's said, Congress is finally ready to appropriate \$16 million for such a program.

A appropriation of \$16 million for veterans' counseling looks particularly like a drop in the bucket when you contrast it to the \$135 billion that the Democrats and Republicans have budgeted this year for war.

The government record on ensuring jobs for veterans is just as bad.

Exact figures on the extent of unemployment among Vietnam veterans are hard to come by, and it's no accident.

For example, from 1977 to 1978 the jobless figure for Vietnam vets dropped from 7.4 percent to 4.9 percent.

How? Simple. In 1977 the administration included anyone who served in Vietnam as a Vietnam veteran. That year there were 2.1 million vets looking for work.

So, the next year they decided to exclude those discharged from the service before 1971. Presto! The number of vets looking for work dropped to 790,000.

Among those who have found jobs, the situation isn't all that rosy either.

A solid 26 percent of employed Vietnam veterans, reports the May 27 *New York Times*, are earning less than \$7,000 a year.

During World War II, the politicians used to like to say, "Nothing's too good for our boys."

And that's what they gave them.

It's also what they are giving the Vietnam veterans. Plus trying to convince the American workers that the way to help their brothers who suffered in Vietnam is to justify that imperialist slaughter—and the new Vietnams Washington is planning.

The Democrats and Republicans are not about to provide jobs and adequate benefits for the veterans. That's a fight that the union movement should throw its full support to. As well as making sure the bipartisan warmakers don't get a chance to commit the same crimes against a new generation of working-class youth.

'The whole country reeked of death'

Vietnam Veterans Week was the occasion for a slew of newspaper and magazine articles about the veterans. Several of these did include interviews with combat veterans that illuminate some of their experiences.

A May 27 *New York Times* feature included an interview with Robert Muller, a former marine lieutenant who heads a group called Vietnam Veterans of America.

Wounded in combat, Muller was left a paraplegic.

This is a portion of the *Times* account:

"From the time I got shot, I never cried," he says. "The hospital ship, the naval hospital—the doctors, nurses and attendants cared. When I got to Kingsbridge Hospital [in New York] and saw that this was the place where I was going to be staying, it so overwhelmed me that I broke down and cried. My mother broke down and cried. It was overcrowded. It was smelly. It was filthy. It was just disgusting."

"He grips his wheel chair and speaks in a choked voice. Drainage bags attached to the sides of men's beds often went unemptied and overflowed onto the floors. Rats and mice climbed on the beds at night. The patients were Vietnam wounded as well as old-age veterans who stared vacantly at the ceiling all day."

"My best friend killed himself on that ward," he says. "You want to know how a quadriplegic kills himself? He has his brother help him. Right off the top of my head, five guys I know killed themselves there."

The May 31 *Washington Post* story included an interview with "Johnny," a demolition expert who lost a leg in Vietnam.

The paper reports:

"Johnny was a 'wild' kid who hung around street corners in South Boston and enlisted in the Marines when he was a month shy of seventeen. 'When we were kids we were taught that war was glorious. It isn't. It's just a lot of fear. . . ."

"I can remember the burning flesh. I can never get that out. I mean the whole country just reeked of death."

"For years his dream was always the same. 'It's always the day I got hit. I dream about what happened to me. After the mine, we were hit by ambush. This one V.C. came up on me and looked down at me, right in the face . . . and he shot me in the knee! And I killed him. That's what bothered me. . . . Why did he shoot me in the knee, deliberately? He had me. Why didn't he just blow me away, cuz I blew him away right afterward? I feel guilty that he didn't kill me. . . . This fool give me a second chance and it cost him his life.'

"Now Johnny says, 'I don't believe in heroes. I got every medal you can pick. They felt so guilty about us being there that they gave 'em out like candy. Everybody came home looking like George Patton. I never accepted my medals. They give 'em to my mother. . . ."

"Cardinal Cushing came up to me in the hospital and he asks me how I lost my leg, and I says, 'In a card game.' I just got tired."

World Outlook

News, analysis, and discussion of international political events

An explosive struggle

Arab minority in Iran fights for its rights

[The following article has been excerpted from the May 18 issue of *Kargar*, newspaper of the Hezb-e Kargar-e Sosialist (Socialist Workers Party), Iranian section of the Fourth International. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.]

The Arab people constitute one of the most oppressed sections of our society. Although they live in a region that produces more wealth than any other in the country, they are subjected to the most inhuman conditions—poverty, backwardness, hunger. They have been deprived of all national and human rights.

For these very reasons, the rising of this disinherited people to their feet represents one of the most explosive and revolutionary forces in the struggle of the working people of Iran for liberation from their previous hopeless existence.

With the overthrow of the monarchy, the Arab people are beginning to raise their voices against their previous slavery. In the shah's time, they were forced to adopt Persian names. Now they are going back to using Arab ones. In doing this, the Arab youth are saying "We are Arabs. In the past we were robbed of our human and national rights. But now we have risen up and we are fighting in the name of the Arab people for our rights."

National & class oppression

The Arabs constitute a majority in wide areas of Khuzestan. In Ahwaz and Abadan, more than half the population is Arab. In the cities of Dashtmishan, Khorramshahr, and Shadegan, 80% to 100% of the population is Arab.

The majority of the working people, industrial workers, and poor peasants in the south are Arabs. In Abadan, 50% to 60% of the workers are Arab. In

Bandar-e Shahpur, a majority of the workers who operate the petrochemical factory, the other industrial installations, and the trading enterprises are Arabs. And these are the same Arab workers who fill the shantytowns in Shahpur and Bandar-e Ma'shur.

In fact the program of "de-Arabizing" the south begun under Reza Khan [the deposed shah's father] has meant driving the Arab people down into the lowest levels of the economy through bringing large numbers of non-Arabs into the region.

The discrimination against the Arab people is documented in a brochure recently published by the Arab Cultural Center, *The Class Status of the Arab People of Iran* by Yusuf Bani Taraf. In its statistics about the results of this oppression are made available for the first time. It points out:

The Arabs were pressed down into the lowest strata of the working class, and denied any opportunity to raise themselves up. In Ahwaz Arabs form the largest percentage of the workers in the rolling mills, the steel-tubing industry, the oil industry, in Tavanir [the Iranian Light and Power Company], the railroads, and the municipal labor force. The workers in the schools, the government offices and the hospitals, the taxi drivers and machinists, and other such strata are Arab. On the other hand, the majority of dealers in the big commercial operations and the middle and big capitalists are non-Arabs. Arabs are also under-represented among the professional staffs of government departments and private concerns in Ahwaz.

Because of this class status the Arabs live in the poorest and dirtiest areas of the city, crowded into barracks. . . . But the better-off professionals and capitalists that come from other cities generally own their own homes and live in the middle-class or upper-class parts of town. They are Persians. . . .

More than 70% of the population of Khuzestan is Arab. But only 5% of all the university students, and 1% of the university teachers in Abadan are Arabs. . . .

This situation will undoubtedly put the Arab workers in the vanguard of the struggle of the working people of Iran.

The Arab people rise

In response to this deep oppression, the Arab people have begun to put out publications, hold meetings and demonstrations, and form organizations of their own. They have raised a voice of protest against all aspects of their half-century-old oppression and put forward their demands for a decent life, free from discrimination and national oppression, free from poverty and backwardness.

Undoubtedly in this past period, the struggles of the Kurdish and Turkmeni peoples for their own national demands did not fail to play a role in the deepening and broadening of the national movement of the Arab people of Iran.

In a rally in Khorramshahr in the month of Esfand [February 20 to March 21], the Arab people raised the following demands:

Official recognition of Arabic as the first language of the Arab people and education through Arabic at all levels of education. Freedom to publish statements, books, and newspapers in Arabic, Arab representatives in the constituent assembly, the calling of an Arab assembly in Khuzestan to review local ordinances, establishment of Arab administrative bodies for solving problems on the basis of Islamic law, independently run Arab programs on radio and TV, preferential hiring of Arabs in both the state and private sectors, freedom to disseminate Arab culture, scholarships and a fair share of the oil revenues for the people of Khuzestan, selection of Arab representatives to the National Consultative Assembly and appointment of Arabs as ministers, a role for Arabs in the national army and the training of Arab officers in the military academies, restoring the former Arab names of cities and villages in Khuzestan, and the



New York Times

incorporation of all the foregoing measures into the constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

'Separatism' charge

Not only has the Bazargan government failed so far to respond positively to the demand of the Arab people for justice but it has resorted to harassment and even repression of the various Arab organizations and personalities. It has also attacked the meetings of the Arab people.

The call to "fight separatism"—used in the time of the former shah to shout down the appeals for justice of the oppressed peoples of Iran—is being used once again to justify denying the just national and human rights of the Arab people. The masses of the oppressed nationalities of Iran are thoroughly familiar with this. The same pretext was used in staging the massacres of Kurds in Sanandaj and Turkmenis in Gonbad-e Kavus.

But because of the geographical location and class composition of the Arab people the government has responded even more quickly and violently to their demands for justice. A week ago, in a speech to the municipal employees in Ahwaz, Admiral Madani, the governor of Khuzestan and chief of the navy, said:

Today we raise the national fist of Iran. We will not permit the separation of one centimeter of the land of Iran. Our fist will smash the heads of all those who try to separate any part of Iran.

None of the demands raised so far by the Arab people have proposed separating "one centimeter of the land of Iran." So, against whom was Admiral Madani raising this fist? The answer can be seen from the way the government has responded to the struggle of the Arab people.

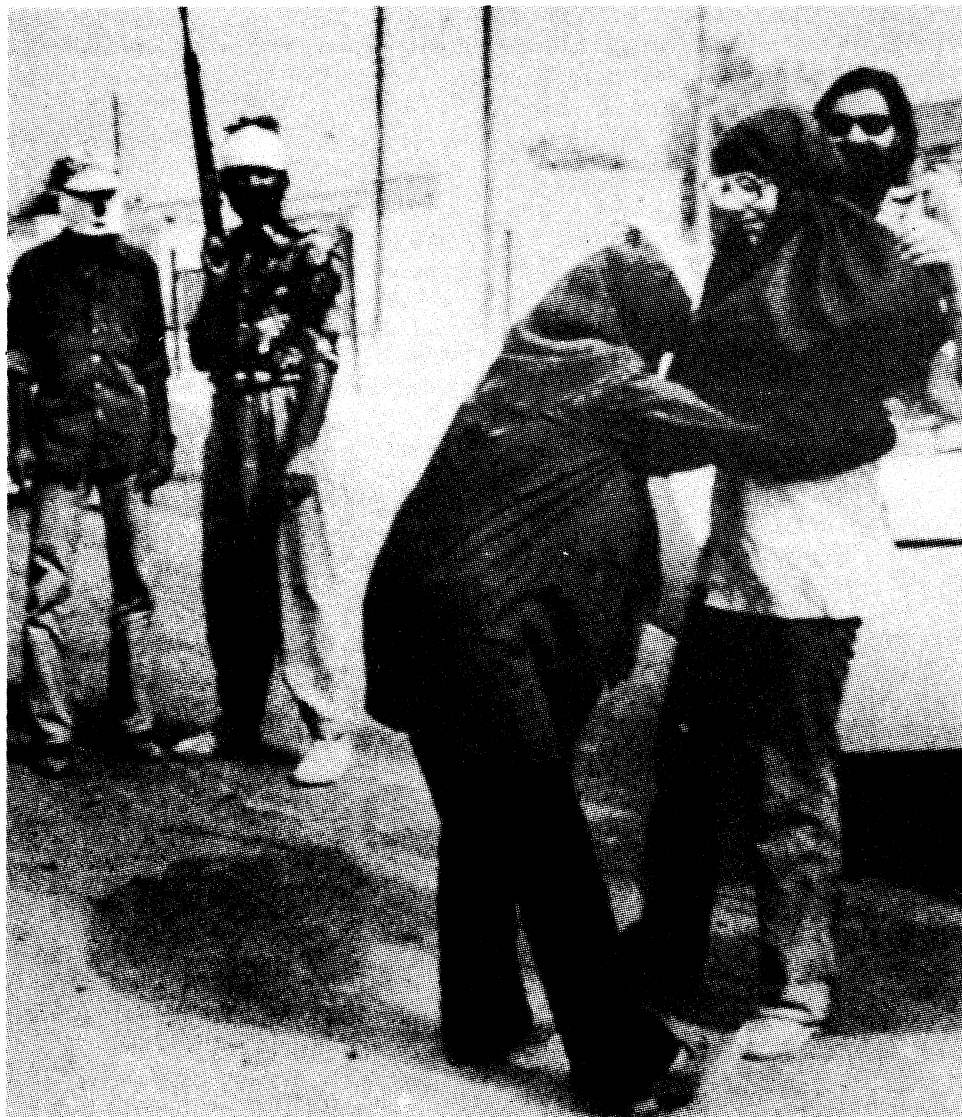
Reactionary attacks

The Imam's Committees, which are made up of non-Arabs and are not subject to any control or even influence from the Arab population, have conducted a campaign of daily attacks on the Arab organizations. They constantly arrest, torture, and harass Arab youth. The publications of the Arab organizations are banned. Arab rallies and demonstrations are attacked.

It was in response to such undemocratic activities that Sheikh Mohammad Taher al-Shobeir Khaqani, one of the national and religious leaders of the Arab people, warned that if such behavior continued he would have to leave Iran. . . . The reason for his decision, he said, was "the illegal interference of the committees . . . the attacks of some bully boys on people's homes, which have terrorized families; the arrests and slandering of people without any justification."

These attacks on the Arab people are

Continued on next page



Roadblock in Khorramshahr. Attack on Arab population by backers of Khomeini-Bazargan regime May 30 left some 200 dead.

Israeli Trotskyists hold unity convention

By Jan Vogt

HAIFA—A convention was held in Jaffa April 12-16 to unify the Revolutionary Communist League (Matzpen-Marxisti) (RCL), the Israeli section of the Fourth International, with the Palestine Communist Group (PCG).

The PCG arose several years ago from a split in the Workers League, a Trotskyist group that at one time was affiliated with the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International.

The RCL and the PCG began drawing closer together in 1977. Discussions and common activities led to the joint publication of a monthly newspaper for five months and culminated in the preparation of common resolutions for the fusion convention.

The resolutions demonstrate the broad agreement reached by the two organizations on the tasks of revolutionary Marxists in Israel. This is based on common adherence to the program and traditions of the Fourth International and on the desire to build a Leninist party based on the principles of democratic centralism.

The first session of the convention heard special greetings from representatives of other revolutionary anti-Zionist groups, from a member of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, and from a member of the Central Committee of the Austrian section, the Revolutionary Marxist

Group.

Among the other speakers were representatives from the Workers League (who also took part in the discussion on the political resolution), from the Abne al-Balad (Sons of the Village) of the Arab town of Umm al-Fahm, from the Progressive National Movement of Palestinian students in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem, and from the Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners.

Of the messages received, special mention should be made of those from the Lebanese section of the Fourth International and from the Union of Communists in Syria, a group that has very broad programmatic agreement with the RCL.

Many of the speeches and messages emphasized the importance of the unification of the RCL and PCG as the first step toward uniting all the anti-Zionist forces in Israel.

The convention sent a special message saluting the comrades of the Iranian Socialist Workers Party and pointing to the importance of the revolutionary process in Iran for the entire Arab world.

Also at the first session of the convention, more than 39,000 Israeli pounds [US \$1,600] was collected for the RCL's fund drive to establish a central headquarters in Tel Aviv.

The resolutions discussed and adopted by the convention included the following:

- "The Imperialist Offensive and the Perspective of the Arab Socialist Revolution." This emphasized the importance of the Iranian revolution at a time when the American imperialists are trying to make a deal behind the backs of the Arab masses and particularly at the expense of the Palestinian people who are being bombed night and day because of Begin's "sincere desire for peace."

- "Two Years of the Begin Government—A Deepening in the Crisis of Zionism." This analyzed the political, economic, and ideological crises the Jewish state is going through. The Israelis can no longer deny the existence of the Palestinians and their struggle, and the Zionist ethic cannot eternally cover up the crimes of Zionism. Not only did it not solve the Jewish question, but it has placed the Jews in a ghetto that survives only through wars and conquest.

The independent organization and mobilization of the Palestinians within Israel is growing daily. They are opposed to the conciliatory attitude taken by the Israeli CP (Rakah) toward Zionism and the Jewish state. Revolutionary Marxist ideas are gaining increasing influence.

All of this makes the perspective of a joint Jewish-Palestinian struggle more concrete, even though a majority of the Jewish population is still tied to Zionism.

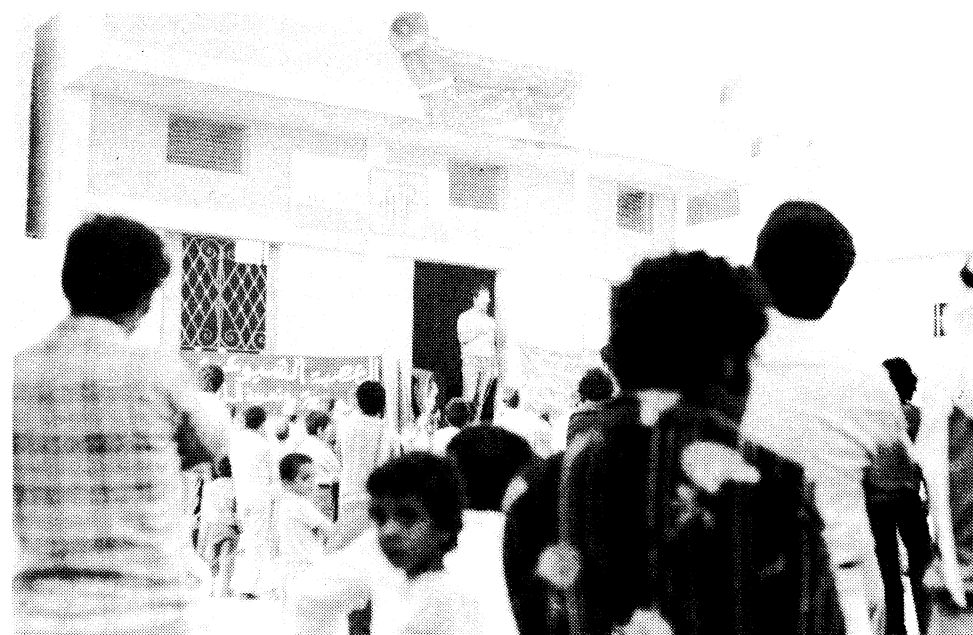
- "The Struggle for Women's Liberation and the Role of the RCL" takes up the present situation of Jewish and Palestinian women. Both are oppressed, although to different degrees since Arab women live within the framework of a more backward society and are part of an oppressed people struggling for national rights. This means that the characteristics of the struggles are different. They are at different stages and for the time being are separate.

This resolution marks the first time an organization on the Israeli left has made a thorough analysis of the oppression of women—its roots, present state, and short- and long-term solutions.

Organizational perspectives were taken up on the final day of the convention. Participants in different areas of activity pointed to the possibilities for the growth of the RCL and the dissemination of revolutionary-Marxist and anti-Zionist ideas.

The final point was the vote on the resolutions, together with the amendments that were the product of the democratic discussions that took place before and during the convention. A new Central Committee was elected, composed of members of the two fused organizations. The new group will continue to function under the name RCL (Matzpen-Marxisti).

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor



Unification of Trotskyist groups was helped by joint activities such as this May Day rally in village of Kfar Kassem. Militant/David Frankel

...Arabs in Iran

Continued from preceding page

becoming increasingly violent. The mass media help to create a favorable atmosphere for them by giving distorted reports about the struggles of the Arab peoples. Even the existence of the Arab people is denied by these media, which refer to them as "the Arabic speaking people in the south." Until now it has been impossible to hear the real voice of the Arab people. The Fist of Abadan [Admiral Madani] ordered that the media black out reports from the region.

What do Arab people want?

Thirty representatives of the Arab people went to Tehran at the end of April to inform the government of the demands of the Arab people. In an interview published in the press, one of them said:

We want official recognition of the right of self-determination of those people living in areas where there is an Arab majority. . . .

Another representative said in the same interview:

Everyone knows what self-determination

means and almost everyone interprets it in the same way. It means having power in the region. At the present time, the Arab people of Khuzestan have no power over the government of the region, and so they want self-determination—that is, power over the political, economic, and cultural affairs of the region.

So far the Bazargan government has chosen to remain silent about this demand for self-determination. It has rested content with saying that every human being in Iran is equal and enjoys the same rights.

That sort of recognition of "equality" will not solve any of the questions facing the oppressed nations of Iran, including the Arab people. After fifty years of unrelieved discrimination and oppression, of being reduced to the status of second-class citizens in their own native lands, the Arabs now want their rights. To free the Arab people from their past oppression it is necessary not just to grant them linguistic and cultural freedom. Vast affirmative action programs are needed to eradicate the results of the past oppression.

This means giving preference to Arab youth in the universities of the region. It means establishing major educational facilities under the control

of the Arab people themselves. It means preferential hiring of Arabs in all state and private concerns. It means extensive public works to build housing and upgrade the cities, to build roads, parks, and hospitals.

Since there is not a single Imam's Committee under the control of the Arab people, Arab committees should be formed to deal with all questions of public order in the Arab areas.

In the Arab districts, non-Arab municipal and Imam's Committee officials act like an occupying army. All these forces must be withdrawn.

Support the Arab people!

The Iranian revolution has opened up the way for ending more than half a century of oppression. It was a two-fold cause for hope to the non-Persian nationalities—the Arabs, Kurds, Baluchis, Azerbaijanis, and Turkmenis.

Now that these nations have risen to their feet and are demanding their rights, the toilers of Iran must defend them. Only through building and reinforcing solidarity of all the peoples of Iran, based on supporting the oppressed nations' demands for justice, can the Iranian revolution move forward to root out all the manifestations and aspects of tyranny and exploitation.

The ranks of the enemies and of the

friends of such unity of the peoples of Iran are now clearly defined. On one side stand those who responded to the demands of the people of Kurdistan by unleashing the massacres of Sanandaj and Naqadeh, who responded to the protests of the Turkmeni people by unleashing the pogrom in Gonbad-e Kavus, and who are now planning to slaughter and suppress the Arab people. On the other stand all the toilers of Iran who are rising up in defense of the demands of their oppressed Arab brothers and sisters.

Only by such action can the Persian working people eliminate the fears of their Arab, Kurd, Azerbaijani, Turkmeni, and Baluchi brothers and sisters who were oppressed by the central government in their name. Only in this way can they eliminate the division fostered by the Pahlavi monarchy and establish the indestructible unity of the Iranian working people of all nations.

Teach-ins must be organized in the universities, other institutions of learning, in the factories and workplaces. Rallies and demonstrations must be built to bring the truth about the Arab people's struggle to all the working people of Iran. This is the way to prevent a repetition of calamities such as those that occurred in Sanandaj, Gonbad-e Kavus, and Naqade.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

Behind blow-up at Spain SP congress

By Gerry Foley

A general crisis that has been brewing in the Spanish Socialist Party for more than a year came out into the open at the party congress held the third week in May.

A head-on confrontation developed between the leadership, which has been trying to carry out a right turn, and an opposition that is anxious for the party to maintain a left image. The result was a resounding defeat for the SP general secretary, Felipe González.

By a vote of 61 percent, the congress rejected González's openly procapitalist orientation, adopting instead a resolution defining the party as "class-based, of the masses, Marxist, democratic and federal."

In face of this blow to his attempt to make the party acceptable to the capitalists as a governmental alternative to Premier Suárez's Democratic Center Union, González resigned his post. He told the delegates, "You have wounded me badly."

He quickly added, however, that his wounds were "already healed over." In fact, as a procapitalist politician masquerading as a "socialist," his sensibilities are not all that tender. Before the parliamentary elections this March, he went on a tour of the businessmen's luncheon circuit to assure the capitalists that an SP government would not be unfriendly to them. He was rebuffed, but did not complain then about his feelings being hurt.

Electoral strategy

The Spanish SP leadership, like those of most of the southern European SP's, has had a two-stage strategy. First they present the image of a militant socialist party, broad and democratic enough to include revolutionists.

Then, once they assemble a vote big enough to make them a credible contender for governmental office, they drop the socialist rhetoric and dump the militant elements so as to win the acceptance of the bourgeoisie.

Both stages of this policy have already been carried out, for example, by the Portuguese SP leadership. In Spain, however, the conditions have not been favorable for completing this operation.

The party's electoral strategy is already in trouble. The SP has lost the momentum it gained in the first parliamentary elections in 1977, when it appeared to be the major party opposing continued rule by Franco's heirs. Its oppositionist image has become tarnished by its cooperation with a repressive bourgeois government and its failure to fight to defend the living standards of the working people against brutal cuts.

Moreover, the SP has largely become exposed among the oppressed nationalities, especially the Basques, as a defender of the Spanish bourgeoisie's centralized state.

SP feels pressure

The pressure of the working people who want to fight back against the cuts in their standard of living and

against government repression is tending to tear apart the loosely knit SP party, union, and youth organizations. The SP leadership has already had to admit that it can no longer sign any austerity pacts with the government and employers. In order to survive, the union federation it dominates, the UGT, is going to have to take a more militant stance.

In this situation, the attempt to drop the SP's left trappings and openly adopt the posture of a house-broken parliamentary party has set off an uproar.

Defense of formal adherence to Marxism has become the symbol of resistance to turning the party into a bureaucratic electoral machine. The opposition, in fact, had no Marxist program. Many of those opposing the shift appear to have been motivated mainly by resentment at the arbitrary and high-handed methods used by the bureaucracy, which threw even the lower echelons of the leadership off balance.

For example, one of the opposition leaders, Francisco Bustello, said in an interview given to the Madrid daily *El País* just before the congress:

"The problem was not agreeing to an only halfway break with the regime, signing the [class-collaborationist] Moncloa Pact, writing a constitution by consensus, or recognizing the monarchy. What was grave was that all this was not discussed in the party or explained to the members and sympathizers."

González, for instance, had launched his campaign to drop the reference to Marxism without warning the membership and the lower leadership.

Moreover, the right turn had been accompanied by a series of measures designed to break or drive out militants from the party and its trade-union and youth organizations.

Bureaucratic methods

In its May 28 issue, *Der Spiegel* quoted a representative of the National Committee of Those Expelled from the SP as saying: "We were given no opportunity to defend ourselves. Most of us just got a letter signed by Comrade Alfonso Guerra."

For a year there had been a steady departure of militants from the SP, both as a result of purges and of disgust with the dictatorial methods and procapitalist policies of the party.

But it was difficult for the SP leadership to "normalize" a party that had grown from a grouplet to an organization of about 100,000 members in a couple of years. As it grew, moreover, the SP absorbed smaller and local groups with their own traditions and leaders. The head of one of these groups, Professor Tierno Galvan, now SP mayor of Madrid, while far from being a militant socialist, emerged as one of the leaders of the opposition in the congress.

Given the nature of the opposition, González's resignation did not represent an acknowledgment of defeat. It was an ultimatum. And the opposition



FELIPE GONZALEZ: Trying to drive militants out of party.

yielded. They did not put forward a representative of their own to take the leadership and they pleaded with González to stay.

In the SP parliamentary fraction of nearly 200, only one person voted against González remaining fraction leader and six abstained. Since the SP is basically built around elections and parliament, this outcome means that González will have control of the party apparatus over the next six months prior to the special party congress that has been called. So, he can continue his campaign to bring the party to heel.

Opposition won't fight

By publicly bemoaning González's withdrawal from the leadership post and by failing to offer any programmatic alternative, the opposition has shown that it is unwilling and unable to fight the turn he is carrying out.

In commenting on the outcome of the SP congress, the Spanish Trotskyists told the oppositionists that they would

have to look to a different kind of party to achieve their aspirations.

"No leadership worthy of the name of Marxist will ever arise in the SP," the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria said in an editorial in the May 23 *Combate*.

"The revolutionary workers party that thousands of SP comrades are looking for will not arise in the Social Democracy. It is being built by the LCR. A few weeks ago, hundreds of comrades from the SP and UGT joined us. We are going to try to use the experience of this congress and the experience that will be gone through in the coming months to bring many more of them to us.

"Let them come to a party where you don't have to fight for Marxism but where you can practice it daily, a party that has internal democracy and is trying to continually expand it, a party that has never permitted, and will never permit any of its leaders to subject it to blackmail."

From *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*

For the very best coverage of world politics

Frankly, 'Intercontinental Press/Inprecor' carries far more articles, documents, and special features about world politics than the 'Militant' has room for.

'Intercontinental Press/Inprecor' is published to help people struggling for a better world learn from each other's successes and setbacks. You can't afford to be without it. Fill in the coupon below and subscribe today.



Intercontinental Press/Inprecor
Post Office Box 116, Varick Street Station, New York, NY 10014

Send me six months of 'Intercontinental Press/Inprecor.' Enclosed is twelve dollars.

Send me a sample copy. Enclosed is seventy-five cents.

Name _____ Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

'Origins of Materialism'

Pathfinder Press has announced the fourth printing of 'The Origins of Materialism' by George Novack. This important work on the origins and development of the materialist school of philosophy has been out of print for several years. To mark its return we are printing these excerpts from a review by Barry Sheppard, which first appeared in the November 22, 1965, issue of the 'Militant.'

One of the tests of a philosopher's method is to see how he explains the origins and development of his own school of thought. George Novack, in this clearly written book, uses the ideas and methods of historical materialism, which lie at the foundations of Marxism, to uncover the social and historical forces which gave birth to materialism some 2,500 years ago in the city-states of Ionian Greece on what is now the Aegean shore of Turkey.

The word materialism is used in philosophy and in this book not with its ordinary meaning of devotion to gross appetites and egotistic interests, but as one of the two opposing views of the world which have dominated philosophy from its beginnings up to the present time. The other viewpoint is that of idealism (idealism, too, is not used here in its ordinary sense of devotion to great ideals, but in its philosophical sense).

Materialism holds that matter is the essence of reality and that human society and thought have arisen out of nature. Idealism, on the other hand, is the view that mind, spirit or thoughts are the basis of reality, and nature and matter are the results of the activity of mind or god. All philosophers have tended towards one view or the other, or have accepted both in an eclectic mixture. The first chapter of the book outlines the opposition between these two views.

Real world

Materialism is based upon an acceptance of the common sense view, rooted in the experience of humankind, that the world is real and can be known and understood. Materialism flows from the practical activities of human beings in their struggle to survive in the real world of material things and forces. The second chapter discusses this "real basis of materialism."

The Origins of Materialism serves as an excellent introduction to the materialist outlook. It is a companion work to the author's earlier *Introduction to the Logic of Marxism*, which goes into the concepts of dialectical thinking and logic.

From its beginnings, materialism has had to contend with opposition from the ruling powers. Its naturalistic and humanistic outlook undermines religious and idealist rationalizations of the domination of the many by the few. One consequence of the general hostility of the ruling classes through history to materialism has been the domination of idealism in the field of philosophy.

Against magic, religion

Materialism and science were born together—along with philosophy. The first philosopher, Thales, of the Ionian city-state of Miletus, was also the first materialist. Novack explains why this was so. He spends a chapter dealing with the predecessors of philosophy in the realm of thought: magic and religion. The views of the first philosophers originated in opposition to the ideas and methods of magic and religion, which gave their thought its materialist direction.

The key problem the book deals with is to explain the social and historical forces which gave rise to the great leap in thought that the Milesians made from religion to the methodical reasoning known as philosophy. Novack's explanation is itself a brilliant use and confirmation of the materialist view.

The birth of philosophy was not the result simply of the advanced intelligence of a few individuals, or of divine inspiration or the racial characteristics of the Greeks. It came about because of the peculiar social and historical circumstances of the Ionian Greek city-states, which Novack discusses in some detail.

The first shoots of philosophy and science "could not have appeared," Novack concludes, "until the historical soil for their growth and cultivation had been prepared and enriched by the elements we



GEORGE NOVACK

have described: the introduction of iron, metallic money, alphabetic writing, weights and measures; a new type of slave production; the shattering of the remaining institutions of tribal society and the breakup of agriculturally based theocratic despotisms; the ascent of trade, manufacturing and colonizing to new levels; the birth of powerful new progressive social forces in the maritime city-states of Greece which carried class antagonisms to a new pitch of intensity and created new types of legal, political and cultural institutions. Such were the indispensable historical preconditions for the formation of philosophy."

Greek city-states

Novack explains how these conditions reached their highest point of development in the trading centers of the Ionian city-states, especially in the central port of Miletus. The fact that Thales' giant step forward was made in Miletus is thus seen as a natural development of the whole of Aegean civilization.

Subsequent chapters trace the elaboration of materialism through antiquity, discussing its major representatives, and the social forces influencing its development and eventual eclipse in the decaying

Roman empire of the 2d century A.D.

The book also deals with the first idealist philosophers. The social climate of Athens, where Socrates, Plato and Aristotle developed, is described. Idealism resurrected the concepts of religion on the new grounds of philosophical reasoning introduced by the materialists. Novack discusses the social needs of the slave-owning Greek ruling class which were at the roots of the rise and triumph of idealism.

* * *

A question remains. Why should George Novack, one of the foremost socialist scholars in the United States, take the time to write a book on *The Origins of Materialism*, and why should socialist activists take time out from their political struggles to read and study a book apart from its scientific value?

Scientific socialism rests upon materialist foundations. An important concept of historical materialism is that nothing can be really understood until its history is understood. To grasp materialism in its present form of historical materialism, and to understand opposing philosophies, it is necessary to know as much as possible about the origins and development of materialism. The better understood it is, the better it will be applied to today's reality and political struggle, and the better it will be defended against the philosophies and ideologies of the ruling class.

Marxism, historical materialism, is the most powerful weapon and tool of the world's working class. It should be as developed, refined and powerful as possible.

Global struggle

Secondly, the world-wide struggle between the workers and peasants on the one side, and the imperialists on the other, is fought out in every field—from the battlefield to the classroom. Every battle won, including the battles of ideology, strengthens the working people of the world. In his foreword, George Novack points out that materialism's biggest battles lie ahead. "As in its infancy, materialism has still to contend for its rightful place as the outlook of emancipated humanity. Its definitive triumph in the domain of thought is still to come. May this introduction to its early history help bring that conquest closer."

Finally, it teaches by example the power of the materialist and dialectical approach to history and to the history of human thought. The dialectic, a strange concept to American minds, seems less strange and abstract when it is applied to a specific problem like the birth of philosophy whose subsequent development and unfolding through contradiction and conflict is seen as natural and real.

This is an important book for all who want to understand Marxism and philosophy better.

—Barry Sheppard

George Novack on philosophy

The Origins Of Materialism, 300 pages, \$4.95.

Empiricism and its Evolution, A Marxist View. A valuable introduction to the Marxist method of treating the history of ideas. 164 pages, \$3.45.

Humanism and Socialism. A major contribution to an international discussion on the essence of being human and the future of social progress and freedom. 159 pages, \$2.95.

An Introduction to the Logic of Marxism. One of the most widely read introductions to dialectical materialism. 144 pages, \$2.95.

Polemics in Marxist Philosophy. A critical examination of the works of Marxist philosophers from Eastern and Western Europe. 336 pages, \$4.95.

Pragmatism Versus Marxism. An Appraisal of John Dewey's Philosophy. A point by point contrast between Dewey's pragmatism and the Marxist approach on questions of scientific method, logic, the nature of experience, the criteria of truth, and the anatomy of society. 320 pages, \$4.95.

Their Morals and Ours. Marxist Versus Liberal Views on Morality. Co-authored with Leon Trotsky and John Dewey. 112 pages, \$1.95.



THE
ORIGINS OF
MATERIALISM
GEORGE NOVACK

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Please include 50 cents for postage.

Discusses 'Weber' threat

Coalition of Black Trade Unionists meets

By Osborne Hart

PHILADELPHIA—More than 1,300 delegates and observers representing forty-four unions gathered at the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU) convention held here May 25-28.

"The Black Worker: The Struggle Continues" was the theme of the CBTU's eighth annual convention. Along that line, Cleveland Robinson, president of the Distributive Workers of America and CBTU first vice-president, paid tribute to a pioneer of the Black trade-union movement, A. Philip Randolph, who died May 16.

CBTU President William Lucy, international secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, observed that "the basic problems of discrimination which faced us earlier still face us today." He enumerated some of the problems: the high rate of Black unemployment and the acute level of Black youth joblessness; inflation and the war budget; the increased attacks on affirmative action through such cases as *Bakke*, *Sears*, and *Weber*.

At a panel discussion on affirmative action Curtis Mack, a regional director of the National Labor Relations Board, and Junius Williams, president of the National Bar Association, explained the adverse effects the *Bakke* ruling is having on affirmative action.

The *Weber* case received particular attention because of its potential of rolling back affirmative action in the workplace and restraining union negotiating rights.

Delegates unanimously approved a measure reaffirming the CBTU's opposition to *Weber*. The CBTU has also filed a court brief in the case.

The convention adopted a resolution reaffirming the organization's commitment to ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment, along with a special resolution urging CBTU members to attend the August 12 labor conference on the ERA in Norfolk, Virginia.

Among the other resolutions passed, several focused on unemployment. But the CBTU continues to limit its efforts on jobs to backing so-called full employment legislation sponsored by Democratic Party politicians.

A resolution on South Africa called upon "the U.S. government to break all relations with the South African gov-



Militant/Eric Simpson

Although CBTU has taken stands in defense of rights of Black workers, organization still looks to Democratic Party, not union ranks.

ernment" and "the American labor movement to withdraw their bank accounts including pension funds from banks" that loan money to South Africa and to companies that invest in that country.

Also, delegates supported a proposal calling on the Carter administration not to lift economic sanctions against Zimbabwe, condemning the recent elections there as "bogus" and "unacceptable."

However, two issues of major concern to the union movement were missing from the convention's more than forty-six resolutions.

There was no resolution on the suspended United Steelworkers strike in Newport News, Virginia. USWA Local 8888, with a large Black membership, has been waging a union recognition fight against the Tenneco conglomerate. This is a crucial battle for union organizing rights in the South.

And in the wake of the nuclear accident at Three Mile Island and the Washington, D.C., march of 125,000 opponents of nuclear power, the CBTU had no proposals against the nuclear threat.

Convention participants attended workshops on union organizing, Black Women and the Labor Movement, and Political Action.

The overriding tone among the delegates was against the Carter administration. Discussion of the 1980 elections at the Political Action workshop reflected the frustration.

Horace Sheffield of the United Auto Workers chaired the session and posed the issue of "what we need to do and can do to meet 1980."

Cornelius Cobb of the UAW in Chicago expressed the sentiment of many. "Let's go independent of the two parties," he said.

A delegate from Washington, D.C.,

future with their problems.

Women asked her to pass on to President Miller their wish for another women miners' conference—called and organized by the international union. They also suggested that she coordinate a meeting of women miners during the upcoming international convention, now scheduled for Denver from December 10-20.

"Maybe you could also check into getting women who are not delegates



Militant/Nancy Cole

Women miners resolved at conference to work through union to win job equality and better conditions for all workers.

...miners

Continued from back page
our union brother."

Conference participants pointed to positive stands taken by the international officials of the UMWA. Last November the UMWA International Executive Board unanimously adopted a resolution supporting the effort to get women jobs in the mines. More recently, the board decided to pull the next international UMWA convention out of Miami because Florida has not ratified the Equal Rights Amendment.

Jerry Gordon, coordinator of Virginia Labor for the ERA, participated in a workshop and spoke at the opening session. He announced that UMWA District 28, along with other labor organizations, is sponsoring a conference in support of the ERA in Norfolk, Virginia, August 12. He urged all women and men coal miners to attend.

Gerald Cornette, president of the UMWA local at the Jericol mine in Harlan County, also spoke. The Jericol miners have been on strike since December 1977 because their company refused to sign the UMWA contract when the national strike ended last year.

Working through union

"There is an important article in a recent *UMWA Journal*," Clare Fraenzl reported in the workshop on women

and minorities. "It reports that the UMWA filed a brief against Brian Weber's challenge to affirmative action. That brief is a step forward for our union and it's a way for us to explain affirmative action and win support from the men we work with."

Around this and other issues, a minority of women at the conference tried to steer the gathering into a sectarian attack on the union's international leadership. The majority of women, however, had come to discuss their problems and opportunities as women miners, and how they could work through the union to fight discrimination. They believed that any other approach to their problems would only be interpreted as an attack by women miners on the union.

"I'm from New Mexico," said Sylvia Leierer, "and women there are not active in the union. I'm guilty of that also, but I'm going to change it. And I don't want anybody getting up and saying women miners don't support the union."

Although the CEP's invitation to the UMWA to bring greetings to the conference was not accepted, Judy Galloway, from the international UMWA staff, did attend as an observer.

Galloway has been appointed to deal with the problems of women miners by UMWA President Arnold Miller. Near the end of the conference she made herself available to answer questions. She urged women to contact her in the

500 PROTEST AGAINST COLUMBIA REACTOR

In another of a series of demonstrations against Columbia University's TRIGA Mk. II nuclear reactor, over 500 people rallied in New York June 9. The action was the culmination of a common effort on the part of community and antinuclear groups in Harlem and Morningside Heights, which are immediately adjacent to Columbia.

Harlem Fightback, an organization for Black and Hispanic rights, was the principal organizer of the action. It received support from the Barnard-Columbia SHAD Alliance, New Yorkers Against Columbia's Nuclear Reactor, the Columbia Tenants Union and others, report *Militant* correspondents Steve Becker and Peter Ember.

Jim Haughton, chairperson of Harlem Fightback, chaired the rally.

Speakers included CCNY Physics Professor Michio Kaku, whose attack on the nuclear power and weapons industry, and his call for nationalization of the oil industry, drew cheers from the crowd.

Numerous speakers drew the connection between the Columbia reactor, nuclear weapons, and what was described as the "profit syndrome."

The sponsors are planning another demonstration July 2 at Columbia's board of trustees meeting.

CHARGES DISMISSED IN ABORTION CASE

A Santa Ana, California, judge dismissed charges against Dr. William Waddill June 11 after a jury deadlocked. Dr. Waddill was accused of being responsible for the death of a fetus after it survived a hospital abortion he performed.

The June 11 dismissal of charges was protested by Waddill's attorney who sought a verdict of acquittal.

It was the second hung jury in the case. In May 1978, after a four-month trial, a jury split seven to five with the majority

favoring acquittal.

In the present trial the jury was eleven to one in favor of acquittal.

The case against Dr. Waddill had rested on the unsubstantiated word of another physician.

Anti-abortion "right to lifers" saw the prosecution of Dr. Waddill as a means of pressing their reactionary fight.

Dr. Waddill had the support of National Organization for Women chapters in the area and other supporters of a woman's right to choose.

CARTER PUSHES SLASH IN AMTRAK SERVICE

Despite opposition from commuters and rail labor, Carter is pushing ahead with his plan to slash Amtrak service by 43 percent. The cuts, mainly in passenger service, would take effect October 1.

There is grim irony in the situation in that the cutback plan comes at a time of mounting demand for rail service.

As a result of the holdback on gasoline supplies, increased numbers of commuters are looking to public transportation.

In one recent week, Amtrak received a record 2 million calls and its advance ticket sales are reported up 50 percent over last year.

Amtrak is a government bailout operation for seven bankrupt railroads designed to assure the profits of the controlling banks.

In mid-May resolutions disapproving the cutbacks failed in the Senate and House.

The railroads have traditionally pressed to reduce passenger service since freight is more profitable. The Carter administration obviously agrees.

NERVE GAS INSPECTOR FELLED AT ARSENAL

Denise Garnett, an Army lab technician, was hospitalized May 24 after being involved in testing nerve gas bombs for leaks at the Rocky Mountain Arsenal near Denver.

The deadly cannisters are

Skylab: 'Potentially disastrous situation'

No more likely to hit someone than a meteor.

That's the official government stance on Skylab, the giant space station that may plunge to earth any day.

We don't know what the odds are on being hit by a meteor. But we do know that once again the government is lying.

This is confirmed by an article that appeared in the science section of the June 11 *New York Times*.

The article reports the prediction of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration that the most likely re-entry date is July 16.

But that's really just a "guesstimate."

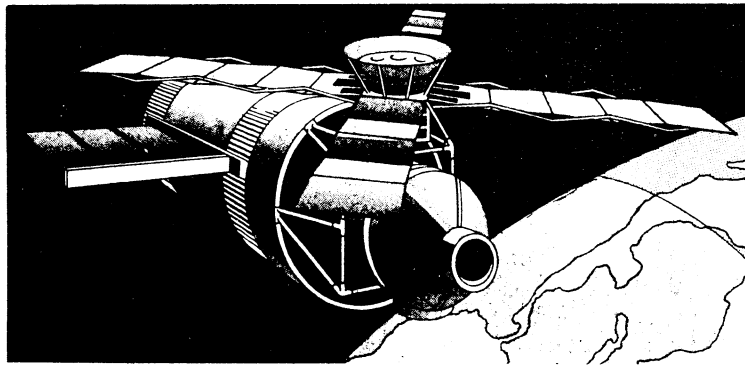
In any event, the *Times* reports, the re-entry promises to be the "most dangerous in the 22 years since the first space satellite was placed in orbit."

The paper flatly states that "a potentially disastrous situation now looms."

Skylab isn't a little ball circling the planet. The *Times* describes it as the size and shape of a Dutch windmill twelve stories high and weighing seventy-seven tons.

When it does plunge back to earth, the 500 pieces into which it is expected to break up will be strewn over an area 100 miles wide and 4,000 miles long. Not exactly like a meteor.

Apparently a bit more relaxed with a science reporter, Richard Smith, director



of the Skylab project, confided, "What worries us most are the big pieces. About ten will come in weighing at least 1,000 pounds each."

NASA says it's banking on being able to slow down the final crash and that way get the doomed satellite past populated areas.

But, Director Smith concedes, if efforts to manipulate the falling spacecraft fail, it could start tumbling uncontrollably and "put us in a worse situation."

Responding to charges that the agency is trying to cover up the danger and failing to give safety advice to the public, Smith concedes it is a dangerous situation but insists that any advice is "risky."

For instance, he observed, staying indoors might help if small pieces hit but it would be much worse inside if it was a big piece.

"It's a very iffy proposition," Mr. Smith said. "I'll be glad when it's all over."

Meanwhile, in testimony before a congressional committee June 4, William Schaffer, an attorney for the Justice Department, repeated NASA's "advice" that "it is very unlikely that Skylab will cause damage to any person or to any property. . . ."

But, he added, the Justice Department is prepared for the "possibility" this might occur.

If it does hit a populated area of the United States, he said, government attorneys will be immediately dispatched "to the scene of any widespread personal injuries or property damage."

The lawyers, he assured, will "ascertain the extent of the damages and . . . obtain all necessary information . . . to facilitate the processing of any such claims."

So, remember, if the Skylab hits in your area and the first one on the scene is a government lawyer, even if you can lift your arm, don't sign anything.

being prepared for transfer to Utah, but shipment has been delayed because four have been found leaking in the past several weeks. More had sprung leaks earlier.

Garnett suffered nausea and convulsion—all symptoms of exposure to the nerve gas.

Army officials immediately asserted that it was pure coincidence. Tests did not show any indication she had been contaminated, they said.

Which is also what they said when thousands of sheep died in Utah after a nerve gas leak in the 1960s.

Utah residents have vigorously opposed shipping the 896 cannisters, containing enough poison to overkill the world thirty-two times.

The demand has been made that the bombs be detoxified, but federal officials say they're needed to deter the Soviet Union.

REPORT ON COP SPYING

The American Friends Service Committee has published an important 156-page book entitled, *The Police Threat to Political Liberty*.

Based on three and a half years of study, the report presents much of the available information on illegal police spying, infiltration, and provocation in nine cities: Baltimore; Los Angeles; Jackson, Mississippi; Seattle; Detroit; Chicago; Minneapolis; Philadelphia; and Denver.

It documents a host of unconstitutional activities by the guardians of "law and order." The victims included labor, civil rights, antinuclear, and other groups, as well as left-wing parties.

One Baltimore secret-police operation included surveillance and infiltration of 125 organizations functioning in the city.

All strikes were covered by the secret gumshoes, and pickets were methodically photographed.

The book is available from the AFSC, 1501 Cherry Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102. Individual copies are two dollars.

NEW SENATE MOVE TO REINSTATE DRAFT

Sen. Sam Nunn (D-Ga.) disclosed June 7 that a secret meeting of a Senate Armed Services subcommittee had voted to reinstitute registration for the draft.

If the proposal is adopted, he said, registration of all males eighteen to twenty-six would begin January 2, 1980, and classification for service would begin a year later, unless the

What's Going On

CALIFORNIA LOS ANGELES

AMERICAN WORKERS NEED A LABOR PARTY. Forum and barbecue. Speaker: Wendy Lyons, Socialist Workers Party National Committee member. Sun., June 24, barbecue 2 p.m.; forum 4 p.m. 2099 Barnett Road, corner of O'Sullivan, near Cal State LA campus. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 482-1820.

COLORADO DENVER

SALT II ACCORD: NO STEP TOWARD PEACE. Speaker: Tom Vernier, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., June 22, 8 p.m. 126 W. 12th Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (303) 534-8954.

FLORIDA MIAMI

COME TO A PARTY TO RAISE FUNDS FOR HECTOR MARROQUIN'S FIGHT FOR POLITICAL ASYLUM. Sat., June 23, 3 p.m. swimming and tennis; 6 p.m. potluck supper (bring a pot); 8:30 p.m. film: "Mexico, The Frozen Revolution"; 10 p.m. dance. 8501 N.W. 8th, reception room across from pool. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Hector Marroquin Defense Committee, Miami chapter. For more information call (305) 757-4999 or 756-8358.

ILLINOIS CHICAGO

THE FIGHT FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS TODAY AND THE ROLE OF THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT. One-day conference with special tribute to Marxist anthropologist Evelyn Reed. Speakers: Nan Bailey, National Committee, Socialist Workers Party; Matilde Zimmermann, SWP national coordinator of women's rights work; Linda Loew, member of Steelworkers Local 153711 and National Organization for Women. Sat., June 16, Blackstone Hotel, Embassy Room, Michigan Ave. at Balbo. Sessions 12 noon, 3 p.m., and 7:30 p.m. Donation: \$1.50 per session or \$4 for entire conference. Ausp: Chicago/Gary Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call Chicago: (312) 939-0737 or Gary: (219) 884-9509.

NEW YORK LOWER MANHATTAN

IRAN: THE REVOLUTION CONTINUES. Speaker: Gerry Foley, staff writer for *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*, recently returned from Iran. Fri., June 22, 8 p.m. 108 E. 16th, 2nd floor. Donation: \$1.50; Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 260-6400.

UPPER MANHATTAN

CAMBODIA AND THE INDOCHINESE REVOLUTION. Speaker: Fred Feldman, staff writer for the *Militant*. Mon., June 18, 1:30 p.m. and 6:30 p.m. 564 W. 1—ST St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$1.

Monday, June 25, 1:30 p.m. and 6:30 p.m. "Women's Liberation and the Socialist Revolution," a taped speech by Mary-Alice Waters, editor of *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (212) 928-1718.

NEW YORK CITY JOIN OUR DEMONSTRATION

Foley Square, U.S. Courthouse
Tuesday, June 19, 12-2 p.m.

To commemorate the twenty-sixth anniversary of the executions of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg.

Sponsor: National Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case, 853 Broadway, New York, New York 10003. For more information call (212) 228-4500.

BALTIMORE SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY

NORTON SANDLER, SOCIALIST CANDIDATE FOR MAYOR will offer "A proposal for Baltimore workers: Why we need a labor party."

JOHN HAWKINS, National Committee member of the Socialist Workers Party, will speak on "The rise of Black militancy in the unions today."

Sunday, June 24

reception: 6 p.m. rally: 7 p.m.
2913 Greenmount Avenue
Donation: \$2. For more information call (301) 235-0013

Paid for by the Socialist Workers Campaign. Toba Singer, chairwoman. Steven Fuchs, treasurer.



La. socialist gets to be heard

Louisiana hears "an unscheduled airing of Socialist views."

That's how the New Orleans *Times-Picayune* reported the June 1 gubernatorial debate at the Chateau Estates Country Club.

The Kenner Voters League had invited all the candidates for governor of Louisiana—all except Socialist Workers Party candidate Greg Nelson, that is. In fact, Nelson, a steelworker, only found out about the debate when some of his co-workers at Kaiser Aluminum wanted to know if he would be there.

When the SWP campaign committee called the league to arrange for Nelson to speak, the league refused. But he and his supporters decided to attend anyway.

On his arrival Nelson again asked to speak, and was refused again.

As the program began, the cameras broadcasting it throughout the state, Nelson mounted the speakers platform, standing alongside the other candidates as a Kenner police officer hovered nearby.

The crowd's murmurs grew: "Who's that up there?" Some recognized him from the two-page article and photo spread in a local paper: "It's that socialist candidate." "Is he going



GREG NELSON

to speak?"

As the second Democrat rose to speak, the league officers were huddled off-stage. Finally, they agreed to let Nelson speak, as the moderator explained, "in keeping with our sense of fair play."

Nelson's ten-minute speech, broadcast throughout Louisiana, explained the need for the unions to build their own labor party. During the discussion period he answered questions on the Weber case, education, crime, and the energy crisis. The next day's *Times-Picayune* reported Nelson's "first act as Governor would be to order all oil companies to open their records to the public."

president decided it was necessary before then.

The moves to reinstate the draft coincide with a steady escalation of administration moves to lay the basis for some new Vietnam-like military aggression.

Many of those in the country's ruling circles have indicated concern that the present "volunteer" army—with a large Black component—might prove "unreliable" in such a war and that therefore the draft is again needed.

SHIPYARD WORKERS SWINDLED IN MARYLAND

The Maryland Shipbuilding and Drydock company gave a recent demonstration of how an added twist can be given to antilabor state statutes deny-

ing jobless benefits to strikers.

Since April 6 the company, a subsidiary of the Fruehauf Corporation in Detroit, had been negotiating a new contract.

Then, the company announced there wasn't enough business to keep the yard open.

But they didn't just lay the workers off and shut down.

No, instead they declared negotiations at an impasse and locked the workers out.

The state unemployment commission sent in an examiner who decided that the workers were ineligible for compensation "due to a stoppage of work . . . which exists because of a 'labor dispute' at the plant."

So, Fruehauf saves a few dollars on taxes and the laid-off workers can go scratch.

Florida cops let it all hang out

When John Spenkelink was murdered by the state of Florida May 25, it left 133 victims facing execution in the state. This is the highest number of condemned inmates in the entire country.

Cops in Jacksonville, Florida, can barely restrain themselves. They're peddling a T-shirt bearing a drawing of Florida's electric chair and the inscription: "1 down—133 to go."

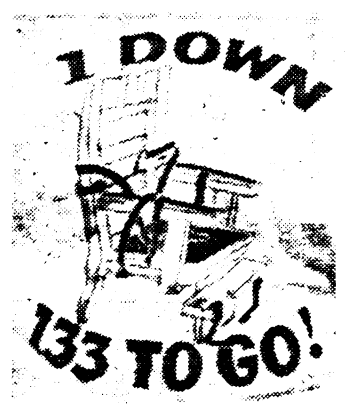
The T-shirts are being peddled by a police softball team associated with the Fraternal Order of Police, described by one wire service as a "police union."

They want the money to play in a "Super Cops" tournament.

The president of the "union" issued a pious disclaimer, stating that while the organization sponsors

the ball team, it doesn't sanction sale of the shirts.

Jacksonville cops are not unique. Their sadistic mentality reflects the capitalist system they're paid to uphold.



Inscription on T-shirts peddled by Jacksonville, Florida, cops

Golly—"To be honest, we were surprised they increased by five million barrels a day."—Edward Murphy of the American Petroleum Institute explaining that gas inventories had risen during the Memorial Day week "shortage."

And a nut was always a nut?—"I'll tell you one thing: A man was always a man, a dog was always a dog, a cat was always a cat."—Richard Bliss of the Christian Heritage College arguing against the evolution of the species.

Hold your hat, button your coat—McDonnell Douglas, the folks who brought you the DC-10, is considering diversifying into solar power and wind-mills.

Decisive response—Pollsters find Carter's approval rating among voters down to 30 percent. Meanwhile, on advice of his image makers, the president moved his part from the right side of his head to the left. This is intended to impart a more youthful image.

They tightened the bolts?—The Pilgrim I nuclear power plant in Plymouth,

Massachusetts, was shut down for two weeks to strengthen the reactor's resistance to earthquakes.

That golden, gasless chariot—Buy now and "save your family money and gas," advises an ad for Trinity Church's high-rise burial facility in Manhattan, available by bus or subway.

Sociology dep't—According to Dr. Joyce Brothers, a recent study revealed that age bracket doesn't determine happiness. "Males and wealthy people," she reported, "seemed to enjoy themselves the most."

Free advice—Gov. Snelling of Vermont taped a series of radio ads urging citizens to "vacation at home" and save gasoline. He and his spouse then split for a West Indies vacation.

The ultimate shortage—We may be running out of sand, reports the *Christian Science Monitor*. The continuing ocean-front buildup, piers, marinas, housing, etc., seem to be interfering with the natural processes by which the sands are normally replenished.

Union Talk

Steel incentive fight

This week's column is by Norma Saldaña, a member of United Steelworkers Local 7756 at U.S. Steel Texas Works in Baytown, Texas.

HOUSTON—Steelworkers are angry about the incentive-pay plan in the pipe mill here and want it changed.

They know it's a farce from their pay checks, and see that it hurts their health and forces workers to compete with each other.

The incentive earned here is based on the percentage of pipe produced over the average. This average is calculated—by management—to be about 100 pipes per turn. We would have to speed up production to 150 pipes each shift in order to make fifty cents more in our hourly wage.

But this is unrealistic, to say the least. If all the machines run perfectly (which they don't) and if we aren't shorthanded (which we are) we can run about 100 pipes per shift.

So workers can see that even when they push themselves to the utmost level of fatigue, the block on our paychecks for incentive premium only amounts to a few pennies an hour.

Another reason dissatisfaction has grown is the difference between the incentive earned in the pipe mill and that earned in the plate mill. Plate mill workers receive anywhere from \$70 to \$100 more in incentive on their paychecks.

This unequal pay rate serves to keep the work force at Texas Works divided, undermines the solidarity of the ranks, and prevents them from launching a united fight against the company.

Recently, the company met to "reevaluate" the plan. The outcome was that they decided that no change was needed—nothing more and nothing less.

When word began to filter down from the air-conditioned company offices to the mill on this decision, some workers who were relying on a favorable decision by the company became incensed and struck out against the speedup in the plant.

A small slowdown was organized in one department. Soon some workers began to speak of the need for a meeting where everyone could discuss the company's decision and a course of action. Petitions were circulated calling for a meeting by

the union. This idea received a positive response from every worker contacted.

Workers need to discuss the incentive plan: why it exists, what we can do now, and why eventually we must abolish it.

The incentive plan aims to fool the workers into thinking that they are benefiting from it. That if they work real hard to produce as much as they can as quickly as possible, they will make more money and have a better chance of holding on to their jobs.

The incentive pay system is exactly the same as piecework used in the early sweatshops. Today's sweatshops try to disguise their plans with different names but it all boils down to the company's drive for higher profits for themselves and really nothing after inflation and taxes for the workers.

In fact, no matter how large our incentive premiums are, you can be sure we are always adding far more than that to the company's profits.

Moreover, by getting greater production out of each worker, the incentive system has led to layoffs in the past and will lead to layoffs in the future. U.S. Steel is going to work more and more workers out of a job.

At the minimum, it would seem reasonable to demand a program that compensates the pipe mill at parity with the plate mill.

For the long haul, we steelworkers have a bigger fight on our hands, and that fight concerns our basic steel contract.

Steelworkers never had a say about negotiating this piecework plan into our contract in the first place. These deals were cooked up behind closed doors by the company and the \$75,000-a-year union bureaucrats who view themselves as "partners" with the company in raising productivity.

When our next contract comes up in 1980, we should fight for the elementary right to have every steelworker read and vote on it as it will determine the conditions of our lives for the next three years.

Such a right will help us to get these odious company speedup plans out of our contract and to instead go forward in winning a big across-the-board hourly wage increase for all.

1969 GE strike

General Electric, the eighth-largest industrial corporation in the United States, is determined to hold its work force to President Carter's 7 percent wage guidelines. The GE contract—covering 150,000 unionized workers, less than half the company's work force—expires June 30.

Representatives of the thirteen unions in the Coordinated Bargaining Committee have vowed to break the arbitrary 7 percent limit. Thus, it is possible that this year will see the first nationwide electrical walk-out since 1969, when the unions conducted a courageous 101-day strike.

Overconfident GE executives forced the workers out ten years ago with their traditional "take it or leave it" negotiation policy, (known as "Boulwarism" after a former GE head of labor relations). GE thought that with less than half the industry organized, and with the organized workers split up into thirteen different unions, it would have little trouble imposing its conditions.

Furthermore, GE knew it could count on help from the government. The war in Vietnam was going full steam, and GE was the second-largest war contractor in the country. Moreover, the Nixon administration was blaming war-fueled inflation on the wages of working people—a course that was later reflected in Nixon's 1971 wage freeze.

But GE got more than it bargained for. The unions, which had just formed the Coordinated Bargaining Committee, stuck together. For the first time since 1946, the company faced a nationwide strike.

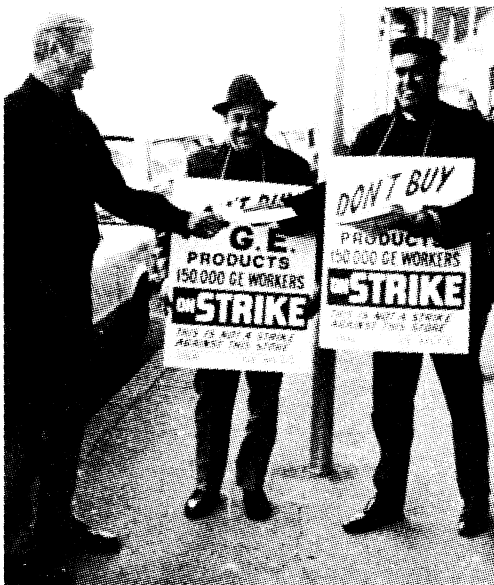
On the first day of the strike only 25 out of 280 GE plants were operating normally. Frank Lovell reported in the November 7, 1969, issue of the *Militant*:

"Everywhere the strikers have set up mass picket lines and are keeping the scabs—supervisors as well as nonunion production workers—out of the plants. This has led to some picket line clashes and at the huge Schenectady, N.Y., plant there were arrests of strikers. A strike leader there was reported to have told police, 'If you want a war, we'll give you a war.' . . .

"In Philadelphia, where another GE plant was closed, one of the strikers, referring to prices in an A&P store window across the street from the picket line, said, 'That's why we're out here.'"

Writing in the November 21, 1969, *Militant*, Lovell pointed out: "As the General Electric strike enters its third week it becomes clear that here is the testing ground of the Nixon administration's domestic economic policy, its determination to hold wages on the home front, to curtail production, and to induce what government economists call a 'mini-recession.' This is the prescription, they say, to cure inflation. . . .

"Every branch of government and all sections of the ruling class are now moving to weaken the strike. The courts have issued injunctions against pickets, forcing



them to let supervisors and other salaried employees into the plants.

"In Congress there is already talk of 'compulsory arbitration of labor-management disputes involving nationwide strikes.'"

But the union ranks hung tough, and they found an ally in the movement against the Vietnam War. Antiwar committees, noting that GE was a major war profiteer, carried out solidarity actions with the strike. GE recruiters were driven off of a number of campuses, boycotts of GE products were initiated, and antiwar activists helped distribute literature explaining the strike and joined picket lines.

Mike Kelly reported in the February 6, 1970, *Militant*: "Over 300 students at Northeastern University protested the presence of General Electric recruiters on campus Jan. 27. . . .

"They were joined by three carloads of striking GE workers from the Ashland, Mass., plant, members of United Electrical Local 205. The strikers carried signs protesting the use of injunctions against both workers and students, GE's ties with the war, GE's unfair treatment of its workers."

In the end, GE was forced to settle. Among the gains made by the strikers was a cost-of-living clause the company had originally refused to consider.

The 1969 strike proved that American workers were not willing to sacrifice their living standards to pay for a war that more and more opposed. It also marked a breakthrough in building solidarity among the divided electrical unions.

But today electrical workers continue to lag significantly behind other organized industrial workers such as steel, auto, oil, and Teamsters. And they face the added task of organizing the unorganized majority of the electrical industry.

Now GE, with open support from Carter, is on the prod again. But as the employers found out in 1969, things don't always work out as planned.

—David Frankel

Got an education

I just wanted to inform you that I will be honorably discharged from the United States Army in approximately one week. Please start sending my sub to the new address that I've enclosed.

When you spend three years in the armed forces your attitude and, in particular, your political attitudes, go through a lot of changes. You get a first hand knowledge of what capitalism and imperialism are and do when you work "in the belly of the beast." This knowledge is even greater when you've been stationed in an imperialist-dominated country like South Korea as I have been.

Probably I am luckier than most service people. The revolutionary socialist movement has provided me with an organized and constructive outlet for the anger and frustration I've felt over these past three years.

In addition, it has given me an opportunity to work for the abolition of this corrupt, brutal, and racist system that makes the rich richer while forcing the young and the poor to fight its wars to protect its interests.

A soldier
Fort Knox, Kentucky

'Deer Hunter' defense

Brian Riffert's review of "The Deer Hunter" was ideologically inaccurate, psychologically muddled, and exemplified the contempt for American GIs that was the hallmark of the antiwar movement. Mr. Riffert may have been stationed in Vietnam himself, but I doubt whether he was a front-line combat soldier.

He says that during the Vietnam War, the majority of soldiers were Black and *latino*. I don't know what the exact ratios were, but I think it would be more accurate to say that virtually all the enlisted men and many of the junior officers came from the working class of this country, and that they were deceived by their government, spat upon by the antiwar movement, killed, wounded, and neglected, and now, when a film attempts to portray them as human beings, people like Mr. Riffert step forward to protest.

All American soldiers were not Calleys, and all of the Viet Cong were not wonderful revolutionaries. The plain ugly historical fact is that atrocities were committed on both sides, which is common in war.

Regarding the incidents of Russian Roulette depicted in the film, nowhere did I get the impression that this was a widespread Vietnamese custom, but yet, those things *could* have happened in the pressure cooker that was Vietnam. Certainly Mr. Riffert can't say for certain that such things never could have happened but perhaps he's omniscient as well as wise.

I was one of those who cried during the film's last scene, when the Vietnam veterans and their families sang "God Bless America" in a little bar. That they still had faith in the greatness of their country was

a testament to their innate decency.

They did their best in a ghastly situation where one segment of America sent them to die in an unjust war, another segment wanted to forget them, and a third segment despised them. They were true heroes and deserve our respect and understanding. That was the point of "The Deer Hunter."

Leonard Jordan
New York, New York

Crimean dissident

Crimean Tatar leader Mustafa Dzhemilev was shipped to Siberia in April to serve his new term of four years' internal exile, according to Aishe Seitmuratova, a former Crimean Tatar political prisoner who now lives in New York. Dzhemilev was sentenced March 6 to his fifth term because he defends the right of Crimean Tatars to return and live in Crimea.

The entire Crimean Tatar population was exiled by Stalin in 1944. Although the Kremlin later admitted that the deportation was unjustified, it has continued persecuting the Crimean Tatars.

When Dzhemilev was arrested February 8 and charged with "violating rules of administrative surveillance," he began a hunger strike to protest this new injustice. He continued the hunger strike until early April.

Seitmuratova also reports that Mustafa's parents and his sister Dilyara Seitvelieva and her family have been forcibly deported from Crimea. They, like thousands of other Crimean Tatars, returned to Crimea to live after the authorities indicated in 1977 that all Crimean Tatars who want to could return.

As has been the case with more than 700 such returning families, they were denied residence permits. Dozens of such families have been forcibly deported back to Central Asia.

Marilyn Vogt
New York, New York

Killer cop

The notorious Denver police chalked up another racist murder May 27.

Sixteen-year-old Joe Rodríguez was killed in a neighbor's kitchen. Patrolman Robert A. Silvas alleged that Rodríguez had been sniffing paint with a friend in a housing project. Approached for questioning, the youth ran into the apartment and pulled a gun, the cop said.

Mary Rojas was present when the chase burst into her home. She said that she saw no gun either in the dead youth's hands or on the kitchen floor just seconds after the fatal shot.

"The cop tried to keep me from seeing the boy's body," Mrs. Rojas told the *Rocky Mountain News*. "But I did, and he had no gun, and there was none on the floor."

A patch of blood staining the bottom of the wall near the kitchen door also belies the cops' story.

Our party is your party

THE MILITANT is the voice of the Socialist Workers Party.

IF YOU AGREE with what you've read, you should join us in fighting for a world without war, racism, or exploitation—a socialist world.

JOIN THE SWP. Fill out this coupon and mail it today.

- I want to join the SWP.
 - Send me _____ copies of *Prospects for Socialism in America* at \$2.95 each. Enclosed \$_____
 - Please send me more information.
- Name _____
- Address _____
- City _____
- State _____ Zip _____
- Telephone _____

SWP, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014

JOIN THE SWP

Learning About Socialism

How Cuba solved energy crisis

"Joe had to be sitting down or lying on the floor for the blood to be so low," John Vigil, a cousin of the victim, told the *News*. "They shot him when he was down. How long is this going to go on before it stops?"

No disciplinary action has been taken against Patrolman Silvas or his partner, Marcos K. Vasquez.

A reader
Denver, Colorado

Rail workers vs. nukes

I am a railroad worker and a member of United Transportation Union Local 232E. I thought you would be interested in how my local came to endorse the May 6 national demonstration against nuclear power in Washington.

Under new business at our local meeting, the local chairperson brought up a letter calling for endorsement of the demonstration. He noted that United Steelworkers District 31 and the Meatcutters had passed resolutions of support.

Then he started talking about the L&N wreck the week before. He talked about the possible causes and the evacuations that took place. Then he brought it home with the statement, "Now, imagine if that had been nuclear waste."

Then the president of the local brought a clipping out and started to read an article about a holding tank for nuclear waste. After this long involved description of eight-foot concrete walls and lead shielding, the article ended with the statement that already this tank was leaking and that the contents would be above boiling temperature for decades to come.

We talked a bit about Three Mile Island. The local chairperson told us about the crew that was laying over near the site when the staff of the motel they were staying at boarded up the windows and told them to keep the air conditioner off.

Needless to say, they marked off and went home. They were afraid that they risked disciplinary action for doing this.

Crews that refused Harrisburg jobs during the crisis were dropped from the extra list for twelve to fourteen hours, as though there were no exceptional circumstances behind their actions.

T.D.
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

"There isn't enough oil," the billionaires who own the wells and refineries tell us. "But," they add, "if you let us double the price, the shortage may ease."

The government, which is supposed to represent "all the people," falls in line behind the oil barons' demands. Carter berates the American working people for not believing the unsupported assertions of oil industry spokesmen. He blames our "greed" for the crisis, not the corporations' greed for profits.

Carter never dreams of forcing the oil companies to open their books and let us inspect their real fuel reserves, storage and refining capacity and their real profit figures. His only proposal for action is that working people accept a big increase in oil prices and a big cut in our own living standards.

The United States isn't the first country where the oil billionaires have contrived an energy crisis. It happened in Cuba in 1960.

The revolutionary government in Cuba, headed by Fidel Castro, decided that Texaco, Shell, and the other big oil firms were overcharging for oil. So the Cubans began to import it at a lower price from the Soviet Union.

Backed by the U.S. and British governments, the oil monopolies decided to teach the Castro government a lesson. They decreed that their refineries in Cuba would not accept Soviet oil. And they waited for Castro to back down and accept the higher prices to prevent a "shortage."

Unlike Carter, Castro didn't put the blame on working people. And he didn't ask them to have faith in the statements of the oil magnates.

Instead, his government ordered the seizure of the oil refineries. Castro told the oil companies that if they wouldn't run the refineries, the government would appoint managers who would. And he called upon the Cuban workers and peasants to mobilize in support of that action.

Huge demonstrations throughout Cuba greeted the decision of the revolutionary government. Workers occupied the refineries and kept them running without a hitch. As a result, the Cubans didn't have to pay the price demanded by the oil barons. At the same time, they took another big step toward breaking the imperialist stranglehold on their economy.

Both the Cuban oil crisis and the gas shortage here in the United States today demonstrate the impossibility of any government serving "all the people." A government can serve either the small minority of capitalists or the great majority who work for a living. Like all previous U.S. governments, the Carter administration is at the service of the capitalists.

To assure that their control of the government is unchallenged, the capitalists have institutionalized a two-party

system in which both parties are controlled by one and the same capitalist class. Whether Carter or Ford, Reagan or Brown is elected, they can rely on these politicians to use governmental power to press the employers' offensive against our working conditions and living standards.

The posture of representing "all the people" is a pose that makes it easier for the capitalist government to put over this policy.

By contrast, Castro's government was a workers and farmers government. It came to power in a popular upheaval that began with guerrilla warfare among the peasants and ended with a general strike in January 1959 that completed the destruction of the military and police apparatus of the Batista dictatorship.

Initially the Castroists attempted to form a coalition with liberal capitalist politicians. They had the illusion that such a coalition government could serve all the Cubans. But these politicians, backed by the U.S. imperialists, opposed the distribution of land to the poor peasants, the nationalization of the sugar plantations, reductions in rent and the masses wanted. Castro called on the population to help him defend these measures, and mass demonstrations forced the capitalist politicians to leave the Cabinet.

At this point a workers and peasants government was established. This is a government—brought to power by the struggles of the workers and peasants—which breaks with the capitalists and their political representatives. Such a government is distinguished by its readiness to mobilize the tremendous power of the workers and poor farmers to carry out measures in the interest of the oppressed and exploited majority.

With the establishment of a workers and peasants government, the oppressed and exploited layers of society have control of the machinery of government. At the same time, however, the capitalist ruling class retains its control of the economy.

This is an unstable situation. It cannot last for very long. If the capitalists are left in their position of economic power they will be able to sabotage the economy, organize politically, and eventually install a counterrevolutionary regime.

To survive in the face of opposition from the capitalist class, a workers and farmers government must organize the workers and their allies to strike at the root of capitalist power—private ownership of the main sectors of the economy. The task of a workers and farmers government is to mobilize the toiling masses in order to replace the capitalist system of private profit with a planned economy devoted to meeting human needs.

That is what the Cubans did in the months that followed Castro's blow against the oil monopoly. The workers and farmers government led the transformation of Cuba to a workers state.

—Fred Feldman

If You Like This Paper, Look Us Up

Where to find the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and socialist books and pamphlets

ALABAMA: Birmingham: SWP, Box 3382-A. Zip: 35205. Tel: (205) 322-6028.

ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 1243 E. McDowell. Zip: 85006. Tel: (602) 255-0450. Tucson: YSA, SUPO 20965. Zip: 85720. Tel: (602) 795-2053.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley: SWP, YSA, 3264 Adeline St. Zip: 94703. Tel: (415) 653-7156. Los Angeles, Eastside: SWP, YSA, 2554 Saturn Ave., Huntington Park. Zip: 90255. Tel: (213) 582-1975. Los Angeles, Westside: SWP, YSA, 2167 W. Washington Blvd. Tel: (213) 732-8196. Zip: 90018. Los Angeles, City-wide: SWP, YSA, 1250 Wilshire Blvd., Room 404. Zip: 90017. Tel: (213) 482-1820. Oakland: SWP, YSA, 1467 Fruitvale Ave. Zip: 94601. Tel: (415) 261-1210. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 942 E. Santa Clara St. Zip: 95112. Tel: (408) 295-8342.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, 126 W. 12th Ave. Zip: 80204. Tel: (303) 534-8954.

CONNECTICUT: Hartford: YSA, c/o Joe Carmack, Univ. of Hartford, 11 Sherman St. Zip: 06105. Tel: (203) 233-6465.

DELAWARE: Newark: YSA, c/o Stephen Krevisky, 638 Lehigh Rd. M4. Zip: 19711. Tel: (302) 368-1394.

FLORIDA: Miami: SWP, YSA, 8171 NE 2nd Ave. Zip: 33138. Tel: (305) 756-8358.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 509 Peachtree St. NE. Zip: 30308. Tel: (404) 872-7229.

ILLINOIS: Champaign-Urbana: YSA, 284 Illini Union, Urbana. Zip: 61801. Chicago: City-wide SWP, YSA, 407 S. Dearborn #1145. Zip: 60605. Tel: SWP—(312) 939-0737. Chicago, South Side: SWP, YSA, 2251 E. 71st St. Zip: 60649. Tel: (312) 643-5520. Chicago, West Side: SWP, 3942 W. Chicago. Zip: 60651. Tel: (312) 384-0606.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University. Zip: 47401. Indianapolis: SWP, YSA, 4163 College Ave. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 925-2616. Gary: SWP, YSA, 3883 Broadway. Zip: 46409. Tel: (219) 884-9509.

KANSAS: Lawrence: YSA, c/o Veronica Cruz, Kansas Univ. 326 Lewis. Zip: 66045. Tel: (913) 864-2066.

KENTUCKY: Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952 University Station. Zip: 40506. Tel: (606) 269-6262.

Louisville: SWP, YSA, 1505 W. Broadway, P.O. Box 3593. Zip: 40201. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

LOUISIANA: New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3319 S. Carrollton Ave. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2913 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013. College Park: YSA, c/o Student Union, University of Maryland. Zip: 20742. Tel: (301) 454-4758.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, c/o M. Casey, 42 McClellan. Zip: 01002. Tel: (413) 537-6537. Boston: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, Room 4321, Michigan Union, U. of M. Zip: 48109. Detroit: SWP, YSA, 6404 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 875-5322. Mt. Pleasant: YSA, Box 51 Warriner Hall, Central Mich. Univ. Zip: 48859.

MINNESOTA: Mesabi Iron Range: SWP, P.O. Box 1287, Virginia, Minn. Zip: 55792. Tel: (218) 749-6327. Minneapolis: SWP, YSA, 23 E. Lake St. Zip: 55408. Tel: (612) 825-6663. St. Paul: SWP, 373 University Ave. Zip: 55103. Tel: (612) 222-8929.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. St. Louis: SWP, YSA, 6223 Delmar Blvd. Zip: 63130. Tel: (314) 725-1570.

NEBRASKA: Omaha: YSA, c/o Hugh Wilcox, 521 4th St., Council Bluffs, Iowa, 51501.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: SWP, YSA, 11-A Central Ave. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

NEW MEXICO: Albuquerque: SWP, 108 Morning-side Dr. NE. Zip: 87108. Tel: (505) 255-6869.

NEW YORK: Binghamton: YSA, c/o Larry Paradis, Box 7261, SUNY-Binghamton. Zip: 13901. Capital District (Albany): SWP, YSA, 103 Central Ave. Zip: 12206. Tel: (518) 463-0072. Ithaca: YSA, Willard Straight Hall, Rm. 41A, Cornell University. Zip: 14853. New York, Brooklyn: SWP, 841 Clason Ave. Zip: 11238. Tel: (212) 783-2135. New York, Lower Manhattan: SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 260-6400.

New York, Upper West Side: SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 1299. Zip: 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000. New York: City-wide SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 533-2902.

NORTH CAROLINA: Raleigh: SWP, Odd Fellows Building, Rm. 209, 19 West Hargett St. Zip: 27601. Tel: (919) 833-9440.

OHIO: Athens: YSA, c/o Balar Center, Ohio University. Zip: 45701. Tel: (614) 594-7497. Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 970 E. McMillan. Zip: 45206. Tel: (513) 751-2636. Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 13002 Kinsman Rd. Zip: 44120. Tel: (216) 991-5030. Columbus: YSA, Box 106 Ohio Union, Rm. 308, Ohio State Univ., 1739 N. High St. Zip: 43210. Tel: (614) 291-8985. Kent: YSA, Student Center Box 41, Kent State University. Zip: 44242. Tel: (216) 678-5974. Toledo: SWP, YSA, 2120 Dorr St. Zip: 43607. Tel: (419) 536-0383.

OREGON: Portland: SWP, YSA, 711 NW Everett. Zip: 97209. Tel: (503) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16412. Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, 5811 N. Broad St. Zip: 19141. Tel: (215) 927-4747 or 927-4748. Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, 1210 E. Carson St. Zip: 15203. Tel: (412) 488-7000. State College: YSA, c/o Jack Craypo, 132 Keller St. Zip: 16801.

RHODE ISLAND: Kingston: YSA, P.O. Box 400. Zip: 02881. Tel: (401) 783-8864.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Dallas: SWP, YSA, 5442 E. Grand. Zip: 75223. Tel: (214) 826-4711. Houston: SWP, YSA, 806 Elgin St. #1. Zip: 77006. Tel: (713) 524-8761. San Antonio: SWP, YSA, 112 Fredericksburg Rd. Zip: 78201. Tel: (512) 735-3141.

UTAH: Logan: YSA, P.O. Box 1233, Utah State University. Zip: 84322. Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. Zip: 84102. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

VIRGINIA: Tidewater Area (Newport News): SWP, P.O. Box 782. Zip: 23607.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699.

WASHINGTON: Olympia: YSA, The Evergreen State College Library, Rm. 3208. Zip: 98505. Tel: (206) 943-3089. Seattle: SWP, YSA, 4868 Rainier Ave. South Seattle. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330. Tacoma: SWP, 1306 S. K St. Zip: 98405. Tel: (206) 627-0432.

WEST VIRGINIA: Morgantown: SWP, YSA, 957 S. University Ave. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

WISCONSIN: Madison: YSA, P.O. Box 1442. Zip: 53701. Tel: (608) 255-4733. Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 3901 N. 27th St. Zip: 53216. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

Women coal miners hold nat'l conference

'We want better treatment for everybody'

By Nancy Cole

INSTITUTE, W. Va.—Women coal miners held their first national conference here June 8-10.

The conference, sponsored by the Tennessee-based Coal Employment Project (CEP), attracted about seventy-five women miners. They came from Illinois, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Kentucky, Virginia, New Mexico, and Wyoming.

Another 125-150 supporters also attended the conference, including male miners.

In the closing news conference, CEP director Betty Jean Hall explained the women had come to "talk about women's future in the coal mines. We came to share our problems, our victories, and where we go from here."

Women had learned of the conference in different ways. The one representative from New Mexico, Sylvia Leierer, had noticed the CEP mentioned in the *United Mine Workers Journal*. She wrote the *Journal*, which referred her to the CEP.

One of the three Wyoming miners had seen a spokesperson on the Phil Donahue TV talk show and after writing several groups, finally tracked down the CEP. Others saw it reported in newspapers or heard about it from friends.

Local union support

Pennsylvania miner Clare Fraenzl told the *Militant* that women at her mine had gone to the United Mine Workers (UMWA) local union for support. The local voted to allocate fifty dollars to send an official observer, the local vice-president.

"The vote was unanimous," reported Fraenzl, "although there were questions raised in the discussion. Some of the union brothers said there was no need for anybody in the union to meet separately, that the union didn't discriminate."

"Other brothers pointed out that some of the best steps taken by the union—such as Miners for Democracy and the black-lung movement—



News conference at first national meeting of women coal miners. Left to right: Paulette Shine, Betty Jean Hall, Connie Weiss, and Mary Zins.

resulted from union members getting together like the women were doing."

Women here were mostly in their twenties and thirties, but more than a handful were past forty. Rae Beaver, a mother of five from Pratt, West Virginia, said she went to work at a surface mine six months ago because she needed the money. It was her first job ever, and "it is the most exciting thing I have ever done," she told the *Militant*.

Women have only begun to get in the mines in the past few years. Their growing involvement in the union was reflected by the fact that one member of the conference steering committee,

Paulette Shine, was just elected president of Local 4172 in Century, West Virginia.

Conference participants, many of whom came to realize for the first time that their problems are shared by other women miners, resolved to go back and get active in their union locals, to educate and work with their union brothers to solve the problems of women miners.

CEP director Hall reported that the government's latest figures show that 2,574 women work as underground coal miners in this country, an increase of more than 500 since last September.

Job discrimination

The CEP last year filed a complaint with the federal government charging 153 coal companies with discrimination against women job applicants. The first settlement, with Consolidation Coal, granted \$360,000 in back pay to seventy-eight women and an agreement to hire one woman for every four inexperienced men until women are 32.8 percent of the mining work force.

"We believe that this is a pattern for the nation," said Hall.

The coal companies, of course, think otherwise. Harlan County, Kentucky, miner Mavis Williams said that a foreman at the Blue Diamond Coal Company's Scotia mine told her that even though they badly need more women at the mine, the company has imposed a hiring freeze on inexperienced miners to avoid hiring women. The U.S. Steel mine in Lynch, Ken-

tucky, reportedly has the same policy, she told the *Militant*.

Once on the job, women explained throughout the two-day conference, they face a variety of problems. They have trouble getting training for some jobs and face discrimination in job bidding. Often there are no shower or bathroom facilities, an excuse that at other times is used to not hire women. They also face sexual harassment from the boss.

"When women want to learn how to run the machines, the companies say just be glad you have a job, so shut your damned mouth," a Virginia miner reported. Women also spoke of securing better maternity benefits and making sure the new federal pregnancy legislation is enforced.

They talked about winning child care, "which is something we can take back that concerns our union brothers as well," explained Pennsylvania miner Margi Mayernik.

Another Pennsylvania miner, Mary Zins, pointed to the victory that some 2,500 women in the mines represents. "But we have to get more of us into the mines and we want to get our union behind this effort," she said.

'Fighting for brothers too'

"In addition to our specific problems, women's problems are men's problems," said Barbara Angle, a miner from northern West Virginia. "We all get bad treatment at times. When women fight for ourselves we're also fighting for our union brothers. We want better treatment for everybody. We want better health care for everybody. We really want the support of

Continued on page 27

'You know which side you're on'

INSTITUTE, W. Va.—Some of the most inspiring moments here at the first national conference of women coal miners were the remarks and songs of seventy-nine-year-old Florence Reece.

In 1930 Reece wrote the song that was to become the symbol of the labor battles of the 1930s: "Which Side Are You On?" She sang it twice for the conference here.

"When I was growing up," Reece said, "they wouldn't let us work in the mines. They said, don't let a woman go into the mines; a man will get killed."

"Women didn't go into the mines and the men got killed anyway. My father got killed in the mines in 1914 and my husband died of black lung a year ago."

She recalled how in Harlan County, Kentucky, the coal bosses provoked bloody battles in the 1930s to keep the union out. "People were hungry, children had big stomachs and little legs, and the men were staggering. And they [the coal operators] would kill them."

After thugs searched her house one day, Reece said, she wrote her song. "They didn't want the outside world to know what was going on. I didn't know what to do. We didn't have no paper. We had this big old calendar on the wall. I jerked a piece off it. I wrote it faster than I thought I would. I wrote "Which Side Are You On?"

"You all know which side you're on," she told the women here, "and stay on it!" —N.C.